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MIDDLE ENGLISH DIDACTIC VERSE

AN EDITION OF

REPRESENTATIVE POEMS

by
Thomas W. Ross

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INTRODUCTION

The term "didacticism" evokes vivid and repugnant sensations in the modern mind. A personification of Didacticism would doubtless assume the form of a cold, tedious, and austere old man--a schoolmaster dressed in rusty black, with the thumb of one hand marking his place in a book, and the dry fingers of the other hand holding the birch, the symbol of his office.

The influence of this hardy spirit has never been absent from English literature. It is found in works both great and trivial, from the Old English riddles to the novels of C. S. Lewis, and from the verse of Cædmon to that of Charles Williams. The student of English literature should not ignore didactic literature; the student whose special interest is Middle English cannot ignore it. He may cry, with W. P. Ker, that the things preserved in medieval manuscripts "are not always what we would have chosen"; but this is an idle lament. Didactic literature does exist in Middle English, and in great abundance. It is present, in a small or in an overwhelming degree, in the works of the great literary figures of the period, Langland, Gower, Chaucer, and Lydgate.

Of these four, Chaucer alone habitually employed prose as the vehicle of his formal didacticism. Through-

out the Middle English period there was a tradition, which reached its apogee at the close of the Middle Ages, of didactic verse. Although these compositions are often unpretentious and crude, it is unthinkable that the student of Middle English should ignore them, even though they may have been preserved by accident. On the contrary, he must, as G. R. Owst asserts, "deal as lovingly and as faithfully with the small beginnings and the clumsy efforts as with the finer developments of his subject for any true appraisement of the latter."[1]

Although some of it is crude, Middle English didactic verse is instinct with life for the student who approaches it sympathetically. The documents in this study are indeed manifestations of life: they were written by men and for an audience. It will be the purpose of this introduction to account for their composition and preservation by attempting to determine 1) why they were written in verse; 2) by whom they were written; and 3) for whom they were composed. Although necessarily incomplete, the answers which can be given to these questions will clarify the nature of the selections in this study. In addition, it will be possible to make a composite

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[1]G. R. Owst, Literature and the Pulpit in Medieval England (Cambridge, 1933), p. 211.

sketch of the human beings involved in the composition of such verses--a portrait which should prove somewhat less formidable than the spectre of Didacticism which was evoked above. From this data, it will be possible to draw some general conclusions about the cross-section of medieval society which concerned itself with didactic verse.

Before beginning this investigation of the kinds of people who composed and heard didactic verse, it is necessary to justify the basis for the selection of the poems in this study. Of the entire body of Middle English verse, perhaps fifteen or even twenty per cent can be designated "didactic": that is, verse whose purpose is to teach. From an examination of a considerable portion of this poetry, both in print and in manuscript, it was observed that this type of literature can be divided into two general categories: verse which instructs or edifies, and that which admonishes as well. The first group says, as it were, "Here is information." The second group advises its audience, "Act in this way." These two divisions naturally arise from the purpose of the verse itself; they represent the two primary modes of a desire to inform others. Although such a classification has never before been utilized in studies of didactic verse, it is not merely arbitrary or convenient. On the contrary, as will

be demonstrated below, the two-part division is a natural outgrowth of an historical situation.

Within these two general groups of instructive and monitory verse, the selections naturally fall into categories which may be designated religious and secular. The first of these is concerned with the Church, its institutions, practices, and beliefs; the second, with man, his surroundings, and his activity in society. Like all such classifications of literary documents, no matter how useful, lines of demarcation cannot be drawn with mathematical accuracy, nor is such rigidity desirable. The threshhold between religious and secular verse, indeed, constantly shifts as one looks from poem to poem. In medieval culture, with its extreme interpenetration of the spiritual and the worldly, one would expect to find precisely this situation. An outline of the classification employed in this study will be found below on p. 46.

To illustrate these categories, transcripts were made from microfilms preserved at the University of Michigan,[2] and from photostats obtained from libraries in Britain and America. Previously inedited material was chosen because it was deemed worth while to make generally

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[2]For a description of this collection of microfilms, see "American Council of Learned Societies, British Manuscripts Project," PMLA, LIX (1944), 1463-1488.

available another portion, arranged according to a meaningful scheme, of the extensive body of Middle English didactic verse, only a fraction of which exists in print.

Both the scope and the method of this study have necessarily caused the rejection of some kinds of poems. Encyclopedic works like the Pricke of Conscience, which itself badly needs re-editing, obviously cannot represent Middle English verse in its entirety. Allegory, the exemplum, and extended narrative are devices usually employed in all kinds of literary composition; they are not types of verse. The lyric, however defined, is normally not agreeable to didactic purposes, although some restrained forms of lyricism may be discerned in the selections in this study; for example, see Numbers 36, 38, and 46.

All the poems, however, contain evidence of human motives and feelings: to these it is now necessary to turn in order that answers may be given to the three questions posed above.

1. Religious Verse Based on Number-Schemes.

To explain the motives behind Middle English didactic verse, and to gain some insight into the nature of the author and his audience, it is natural to look first to the Church, which was for the greater part of the Middle Ages the fountain-head of all information. No single

piece of evidence will account for the rise of instruction in rhyme, but the impetus behind most of the verses in groups I. A. 1. and I. A. 2. is to be found in Abp. John Peckham's Constitutions, published at the Council of Lambeth in 1281.[3] Because of their importance, the pertinent portions of the Constitutions are quoted in full:

> Ignorantia sacerdotum populum præcipitat in foveam erroris; et clericorum stultitia vel ruditas, qui de fide catholica mentes fidelium instruere jubentur, magis aliquando ad errorem proficit quam doctrinam. Quidam etiam cæci prædicatores non semper loca visitant, quæ magis constat veritatis lumine indigere. . . . In quorum remedium discriminum statuendo præcipimus, ut quilibet sacerdos plebi præsidens, quater in anno, hoc est semel in qualibet quarta anni, die uno solenni vel pluribus, per se vel per alium exponat populo vulgariter, absque cujuslibet subtilitatis textura fantastica, quatuordecim fidei articulos; decem mandata decalogi; duo præcepta evangelii, scilicet geminæ Charitas; septem opera misericordiæ; septem peccata capitalia, cum sua progenie septem gratiæ sacramenta. Et ne quis a prædictis per ignorantiam se excuset, quæ tamen omnes ministri ecclesiæ scire tenentur, ea perstringimus summaria brevitate.

This is the document which G. R. Owst calls "epoch-making"[4]

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[3] Constitutiones Johannis Peckham archiepiscopi Cantuarensis editæ in concilio Lamethensi, A. D. MCCLXXI. . . Ex MS. Cotton Otho A. 15, ed. David Wilkins, Concilia magnæ Britanniæ et Hiberniæ (London, 1737), II, 54.

[4] Preaching in Medieval England (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, ed. G. G. Coulton; Cambridge, 1926), p. 8.

in its influence on the dissemination of vernacular translations and treatises. From it, while taking into consideration the nature of the language in an official pontifical pronouncement, one may conclude that religious instruction had sunk to appalling depths at the end of the thirteenth century; indeed, some parish priests (sacerdotes plebi præsidentes) were themselves ignorant of the basic tenets of the church. Abp. Peckham's enjoinder, that the priest must instruct his flock in the vulgar tongue at least four times each year, was repeated again and again by his successors.[5] The list of items to be taught remains essentially the same until the Reformation. Nearly all the vernacular manuals of the pre-Wiclif period may be traced back to Peckham's Constitutions; indeed, "so general was the acceptance of this primary scheme of instruction for lay people, that when the Lollards tried to issue their own books of instruction, they made use of exactly the same plan."[6]

Abp. Peckham cannot, however, be considered an innovator, except in so far as he "prescribed with unprecedented definiteness that the religious instruction

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[5]G. G. Coulton, Ten Medieval Studies (Cambridge, 1930), p. 232; in his petulant and endless arguments with Cardinal Gasquet, however, Coulton refuses to believe that the enjoinders were obeyed.

[6]Margaret Deanesly, Lollard Bible (Cambridge, 1920), pp. 216-217.

intended for the laity was to be given once a quarter."[7] Religious instruction, even in verse, undoubtedly preceded the Constitutions (cf. Number 16).

The official sanction for the use of rhyme and rhythm came in 1357, when John de Thoresby, Abp. of York, commissiones John de Taystek (?), a monk of St. Mary's abbey at York, to turn the religious knowledge prescribed by Abp. Peckham, along with other formulistic beliefs, into rough verse.[8] Thoresby's purpose was, quite obviously, that the material might "the more easily. . . be committed to memory."[9] It was the opinion of W. W. Skeat that another version, known as "Gaytryge's Sermon," was originally written in alliterative verse.[10] This opinion can be supported by quoting a brief passage, arranged as verse:

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[7]J. L. Peckham, Archbishop Peckham as a Religious Educator (Yale Studies in Religion, No. 7; Scottsdale, Pa., 1934), p. 76.

[8]Taystek's identity is not certain; it is safest to refer to the version as Thoresby's. It appears as the Lay Folks Catechism, ed. T. F. Simmons and H. E. Nolloth (EETS 118; 1901).

[9]Lay Folks Catechism, p. xvii.

[10]"Dan Gaytryge's Sermon," Religious Pieces in Prose and Verse from R. Thornton's MS, ed. G. G. Perry (EETS 26; 1867), p. vi.

Euynly to suffire. þe wele and þe waa,
Welthe or wandrethe. whethire so betyde. . .
Styffely to stande. agaynes our faas.
Whethir þay be bodyly. or þay be gastely.[11]

Soon after the appearance of the Thoresby version of the Lay Folks Catechism, there appeared another, based on the Constitutions, this time with somewhat more skilful prosody, which the editors believe was perhaps in Wiclif's own hand.[12] It is referred to as the "Wycliffite" version. As may be seen from the notes to Numbers 1-15, all these verses are derived, either directly or indirectly, from the Lay Folks Catechism, and ultimately from the impetus provided by Abp. Peckham's Constitutions.

The use of rhyme in the fourteenth and especially in the fifteenth centuries would probably not have met with the approval of Abp. Peckham, who cautioned his parish priests against such devices (absque cujuslibet subtilitatis textura fantastica); the authors of Numbers 1-15 were following the Constitutions in spirit if not in letter. In addition to the mnemonic qualities of poetic language, and perhaps the influence of "French fashion,"[13] it seems likely that rhyme and rhythm were used because of their

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[11] Ibid., p. vii. Perry admits that not all the text can be so arranged.

[12] The evidence for the attribution occurs on pp. xx-xxvii; Wiclif, however, declared himself opposed to the use of rhyme. See p. 13 below.

[13] R. W. Chambers, "Continuity of English Prose," in Harpsfield's Life of More (EETS 186; 1932), p. cx. Chambers' claim is extravagant: "French fashion had led to the substitution of verse for prose in all writing other than the most strictly devotional kind."

ritual-like nature. To cast religious teaching into verse of even the rudest sort probably lent it a kind of awesome dignity; this is made especially clear in the longer poems in this study (e. g., Numbers 35 and 45), in which verse obviously serves other purposes than merely making the lines easier to memorize.

Another reason for the use of rhyme was that it rendered the task of learning more palatable to the audience. The pulpit had to guard the faithful, and perhaps itself as well, against the snares of worldly writings, as is evident from the introductory lines of William of Nassyngton's Speculum Vitæ (dated fourteenth century):[14]

> I warn yow frust [sic] at the begynnyng,
> That I will make na vayn carpynge
> Of dedes of armys, ne of armours,
> As dus mynstralles and jestours
> That makys carpyng in many a place
> Of Octovyane and of Isambrase. . . .[15]

Instead, William says, he will instruct his audience:

> þere fore gode men þat be now here,
> Lysten to me and ȝe may here,
> Whow ȝe schal reule ȝowre lyf
> And gonne [Ullmann's error for gouerne ?] wel
> ȝoure wyttes fyf. . .
> No Latyn wil I speke no waste,
> But English, þat men vse mast.[16]

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[14] H. E. Allen, "Speculum Vitæ: Addendum," PMLA, XXXII (1917), 133.

[15] Printed from MS Royal 17 C. viii, f. 2b, in Owst Literature and the Pulpit, p. 13.

[16] Owst prints only the introductory lines; these are printed from Camb. Univ. Lib. MS Ll. 1. 8, f. 1b, in J. Ullmann, "Studien zur Richard Rolle of Hampole," Englische Studien, VII (1884), 469.

At the beginning of the century, Robert Mannyng likewise saw that, along with his narratives, the sugar-coating of rhyme made instruction easier to accept:

> For lewde men y vndyr-take
> On englyssh tunge to make þys boke.
> For many ben of swyche manere
> Þat talys and rymys wyl bleþly here.[17]

Abp. Peckham provided, unconsciously perhaps, for the use of another mnemonic device, numerical formulas, by prescribing that the priest should teach the Fourteen Articles of Faith, the Ten Commandments, the Seven Works of Mercy, and so on. The use of this kind of framework hardly needed his sanction, however, for the general acceptance of Pythagorean mathematics by the Middle Ages had endowed numbers, particularly the number seven, with almost magical powers. They are constantly employed by such outstanding minds as St. Augustine, Bede, and Aquinas.[18] It may be that such men did not attach any "notion of reality"[19] to these formulas, but there is no evidence that the vulgar did not.

At any rate, number-schemes are certainly present not only in Numbers 1-15, but in Numbers 23, 25, 39, 45,

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[17] Robert of Brunne's Handlyng Synne, ed. F. J. Furnivall (EETS 119; 1901), vv. 43-46.

[18] Bedæ opera de temporibus, ed. C. W. Jones (Medieval Academy of America, Publication No. 41; Cambridge, Mass., 1943), p. 345.

[19] Loc. cit.

51, 56, and 64, to cite only one example from each of the other categories. This device, which had the arch-diocesan sanction of Abp. Thoresby, is one of the links which connects all the types of didactic verse in this study. It would be folly to suggest that there was conscious imitation in the employment of such a widely-used mnemonic tool; nevertheless, the precedent or habit had been established, and was followed.

It is a little difficult for the modern mind to imagine the kind of author responsible for the use of verse, often together with a numerical formula, for the purposes of religious instruction. He was obviously an ecclesiastic--a priest, deacon, or sub-deacon who had "preferment and the care of souls, because those so entitled preach by reason of their preferment, not by reason of their order";[20] or perhaps a clerk, as willing a teacher as was Chaucer's Clerk of Oxenford, but without his formal education, who prepared such verses for his superiors' use. It may be that he was one of the clergy who, as Coulton puts it, were noted for their incredible ignorance, by which he means inability to construe the simplest Latin.[21]

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[20] Owst, Preaching in Medieval England, p. 1, translating a portion of the Regimen animarum, a handbook of Canon Law and instruction.

[21] Medieval Village (Cambridge, 1925), pp. 258-261; Ten Medieval Studies (Cambridge, 1930), pp. 108-114.

At any rate, it is likely that he was one of the "crowd of inferior clergy. . . whose education was rudimentary and who lived on small stipends."[22] Such a man, taken for granted by his parishioners, ignorant of the niceties of pulpit rhetoric, and confronted by an inattentive and noisy congregation, would naturally call upon verse not only for his audience's sake, but to call "to his mind the chief divisions of his theme, as he progresses."[23] Even if he were capable of "solemn orations in Latin," these "were sometimes punctuated with snatches of popular poetry,"[24] like Number 14, which occurs in a group of sermones ad populum. The author probably had no Lollard leanings, for Wiclif himself saw only folly in such departures from Scripture:

> [C]ertis þat prest is to blame þat shulde so frely haue þe gospel, & leeueþ þe preching þer-of & turnyþ hym to mannus fablis. . . & god axiþ not dyuysiouns ne rymes of hym þat shulde preche, but to telle euere goddis gospel & wordis to stire men þer-by.[25]

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[22] A. H. Thompson, English Clergy and their Organization (Oxford, 1947), p. 72.

[23] Owst, op. cit., p. 272.

[24] Owst, Literature and the Pulpit, p. 227.

[25] English Works of Wyclif, ed. F. D. Matthew (EETS 74; 1880), p. 438; there is an identical complaint in the tract "Of Clerks Possessioners," p. 124, but Matthew says, "I hesitate to pronounce an opinion as to the authorship of this tract," p. 114.

Since the author-priest had official care of souls, he was not a monk, mendicant, a University graduate in theology, a vicar, chaplain, pardoner, or recluse;[26] this probability is further supported by the fact that "the increasing corruption of the mendicant orders produced by the middle of the fourteenth century a reaction in favour of their secular rivals"[27] in the discharge of pastoral functions. Like the author of Number 46, he sought Grace "be prechyng, And good warkis thechyng" (vv. 61-62) in rhyme. He himself perhaps learned from rhymed manuals as did the "preste curatoure," whom John Mirk advises:

> ȝef þou plese thy sauyoure
> ȝef thow be not grete clerk,
> Loke thow moste on thys werk;
> For here thow myȝte fynde & rede,
> That þe be-houeþ to conne nede
> How thow schalt thy paresche preche
> And what þe nedeth hem to teche.[28]

He was one of Langland's

> . . .parsones and parisshe prestes. þat
> preche shulde and teche,
> Alle manere men. to amenden by here myȝte[29]

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[26]Owst, Preaching in Medieval England, p. 1.

[27]Hastings Rashdall, Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages, ed. F. M. Powicke and A. B. Emden (Oxford, 1936), III, 449.

[28]Myrc's Instructions for Parish Priests, ed. Edward Peacock (EETS 31; 1868), vv. 12-18.

[29]Vision of William Concerning Piers the Plowman, ed. W. W. Skeat (EETS 38; 1869), B-Text, X, 268-269.

If not, perhaps, the paragon that was Chaucer's Parson, he was at least conscientious enough to set down for future use the simple rhymes which he had employed in the pulpit.

This is the composite portrait, then, that can be drawn of the "author" of Numbers 1-15: in all probability he is a simple member of the secular clergy, a clerk perhaps, but more likely at least in the Holy Orders of the sub-diaconate. It is not to be denied, however, that such verses could have been used by laymen. The responsibility of religious instruction was sometimes delegated to, or at least enjoined upon, parents[30] and god-parents:

> Godfader and godmoder þou moste preche
> Þat þey here godchyldere to gode teche,
> Here paternoster and here crede
> Techen hem thy mote nede.[31]

In an age with a preponderance of readers over writers,[32] it is unlikely that laymen composed such verses, even though, as an act of piety, they may have contracted with others for the multiplication of religious works.[33] If

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[30]Cf. R. H. Robbins, "Levation Prayers in Middle English Verse," MP, XL (1942), 131-146, who prints a list of contemporary examples of parental instruction.

[31]Myrc's Instructions, vv. 151-154.

[32]J. W. Adamson, "Extent of Literacy in England," Library, 4th Ser., X (1929-30), 164.

[33]H. S. Bennett, "Production and Dissemination of Vernacular Manuscripts in the Fifteenth Century," Library, 5th Ser., I (1946-7), 168.

they were of exalted social position, their fathers had sent them to grammar-school to learn Latin[34] or, like the Pastons, had provided for their education by employing a master or a personal chapel-priest.[35] The "lewed" layman could not have written such verses; the literate layman had no motive for doing so.

It is obvious that the audience for whom Numbers 1-15 were written consisted of parishioners in attendance at Mass, at least on the four or more Sundays (quater in anno. . . die uno solenni vel pluribus) prescribed by Abp. Peckham for religious instruction in the vernacular. The ordinary medieval layman perhaps did not learn his lessons well. "It is indeed difficult to realize how little [he] really comprehended of the Church services, and how perfunctory was even his personal attendance."[36] It is not necessary to assert, nor is there evidence to prove, that he memorized verses like Numbers 1-15 in order to preserve them through the process of oral transmission. The author himself could have provided for their publication. In the fifteenth century, moreover, when the demand for

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[34]A. F. Leach, Schools of Medieval England (New York, 1915), pp. 206-207.

[35]Paston Letters, ed. James Gairdner (London, 1904), IV, 299 [No. 684, July 8, 1468].

[36]Coulton, Ten Medieval Studies, p. 118.

manuscript books increased almost daily, didactic verse may even have been copied by a team of scriveners in the publication houses of professional scribes.[37] The persistent multiplication of the kind of rhymes which can be traced through the Lay Folks Catechism back to Peckham's Constitutions demonstrates that such teaching-devices were found useful. Sometimes the only thing remembered from a sermon, no doubt, was this sort of "popular rhyming summary" with which the preacher not only aided his own memory, but tried to hold the attention of his listeners as well.[38]

2. Verse Based on Scriptural and Patristic Tradition.

Nevertheless, "amid all this negligence and ignorance, religious knowledge flourished among the unorthodox."[39] This paradox is an important link between verses which are derived from those approved by Abp. Thoresby, and those which present a greater variety of religious information, though most of the latter is hardly "unorthodox." The layman's curiosity--a dangerous force, according to some points of view--had been aroused. Like the Wife of Bath,

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[37]Bennett, op. cit., pp. 174-175.

[38]Owst, Preaching in Medieval England, p. 272.

[39]Coulton, Ten Medieval Studies, p. 119.

he sometimes, at least, listened to "prechyng" as a form of entertainment.[40] Not only did the preacher occasionally employ rhymes and memorable number-schemes, he also alluded to narratives from Scripture;[41] he larded his exposition with riddles and proverbs;[42] and on days when he preached de Sanctis, he may have employed a verse-outline of a saint's life,[43] or at other times a full-length metrical homily. All the poems in group I. A. 2. (Numbers 16-24) are natural outgrowths of the stricter tradition represented by the first group of verses in this study. This is not to suggest that the Lay Folks Catechism was the only inspiration or guide for the authors of this rhymed religious information; the example of such encyclopedic works as the Cursor Mundi, Handlyng Synne, and particularly the Pricke of Conscience were also influential in the composition of Numbers 18, 19, 21, 23, and 24, as the notes to these poems demonstrate.

The preacher also made extensive use of contemporary natural science, not always "moralized."[44] In addition

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[40]"Wife of Bath's Prologue," v. 557, Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer, ed. F. N. Robinson (Cambridge, Mass., 1933).

[41]Numbers 16 and 20.

[42]Number 17; cf. Owst, Literature and the Pulpit, pp. 40-47, for a documentation of this custom.

[43]Number 21; cf. Owst, Preaching in Medieval England, pp. 244-247.

[44]Owst, Literature and the Pulpit, pp. 190-204.

to strictly religious matters, he discussed "the tasks of parents and servants, the avoidance of witchcraft and superstition--in short, everything that the Church deemed needful for the ordinary man and woman to know."[45]

The layman's curiosity and the preacher's willingness to satisfy it were apparently almost boundless. Yet not all the types of verse included in this study were recited from the pulpit. Literacy, once the exclusive treasure of the clergy, was becoming a fairly common possession of the layman. Before 1400, the ability to read and to write was unusual among the secular, but "it has been shown that a considerable 'reading public' was created during the fifteenth century, that a demand for vernacular literature was spreading rapidly, and that a diversity of literary wares was forthcoming to meet this new demand."[46] Literary patronage, like that granted to Lydgate, and the provision of sinecures for literary men like Hoccleve, became accepted though not yet common practices.[47] Laymen began to collect libraries,[48] although it must be

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[45] Owst, Preaching in Medieval England, p. 243.

[46] H. S. Bennett, "Science and Information in English Writings of the Fifteenth Century," MLR, XXIX (1944), 1.

[47] Bennett, "Author and His Public in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries," Essays and Studies, XXIII (1938),

[48] See the documents collected in the Paston Letters, III, 188; V, 144, 146, 207; VI, 66; see also C. L. Kingsford, Prejudice and Promise in XVth Century England (Oxford, 1925), pp. 41-42, for evidence from other sources.

confessed that part of the motive behind this new habit was the value of the books as chattels. On the other hand, when presented with a book by his protegé, "it would seem that the patron was even under some obligation to further its circulation"[49] by providing for the multiplication of the manuscript. To be sure, there was probably a great preponderance, "among vernacular books, of works of piety or devotion over secular books,"[50] but there was also a public for "works of information."[51]

3. Prognostics and Verses on Popular Science and Crafts.

The simple layman, whom Abp. Thoresby satisfied in 1357 with crude rhymes of a doctrinal nature, was approaching intellectual adolescence, if not maturity. The habits of employing rhyme and mnemonic formulas continued. Although undemonstrable, it is highly probable that the cultivation of these devices in such verses as Numbers 25-34 is a development of the practices which

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[49] R. K. Root, "Publication Before Printing," PMLA, XXVIII (1913), 419.

[50] Margaret Deanesly, "Vernacular Books in England in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries," MLR, XV (1920), 349. Miss Deanesly bases her conclusions on the evidence of English wills.

[51] Bennett, "Production and Dissemination of Vernacular Manuscripts in the Fifteenth Century," Library, 5th Ser., I (1946-7), 171.

are common in all kinds of didactic verse, but which were employed with official sanction in strictly religious poetry. Why else would a poem like Number 26, "The Twelve Signs of the Zodiac," be put into verse at all, if it were not that it is following a traditional use of mnemonic and ritualistic devices?

The author of the verses which instruct the reader in prognostics and in popular science and crafts (Numbers 25-34) may have been either a churchman or a layman, but it is doubtful that he is the same parish priest who was probably responsible for the rhymed religious instruction discussed above. If the latter wrote verse at all, it is likely that he did so in order that he might use his material in the pulpit. It is nevertheless conceivable that rhymed prognostics would have been useful to the parish priest, who was of course intimately concerned with the births, baptisms, illnesses, deaths, and perhaps even with the most propitious times for the travels and medications of his parishioners.

It is not impossible, however, that the author responsible for the material in groups I. B. 1. and I. B. 2. was a layman. As is demonstrated above, there was an increase in lay literacy in the fifteenth century. In some localities, there is evidence that tradespeople, even apprentices could write;[52] it was assumed that any house-

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[52]Adamson, op. cit., p. 164, based on evidence in the Stonor Papers (1474-1478).

holder could read.[53] There was a notable increase in educational opportunity: "Among great schools fifteenth-century Eton was added to fourteenth-century Winchester, but the real growth of education was among local grammar schools, which in many cases were connected with secular institutions."[54] There were, moreover, chantry schools and private teachers; in short, "facilities [of all kinds] for instruction, whether in Latin or in the art of reading,"[55] were so distributed "as to reach even small towns and villages."[56] Although the purposes of such schools was ultimately to teach the rudiments of Latin, in 1385 Trevisa reports:

> . . . in al the gramer-scoles of Engelond childern leveth Frensch and construeth and lurneth an Englysch.[57]

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[53] Ibid., pp. 163-165.

[54] K. H. Vickers, England in the Later Middle Ages (History of England, ed. Charles Oman, vol. III; London, 1913), p. 498. Cf. also C. L. Kingsford, Prejudice and Promise in XVth Century England, pp. 35-39.

[55] Adamson, op. cit., p. 183; Rashdall's opinion, op. cit., III, 350, that "The great majority of schoolmasters in the Middle Ages were chantry priests," seems not to have been supported by subsequent scholarship.

[56] Ibid., p. 193.

[57] Quoted in Leach, Schools of Medieval England, p. 196.

Even at the most famous schools, St. Paul's, St. Peter's (York), and Winchester College, "it was in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries by no means uncommon to have a lay head-master."[58] As early as 1432, indeed, there is evidence of a distinctly "anti-sacerdotal tendency"[59] in the attitude toward educators.

This evidence is adduced not to demonstrate that any of the poems in this study could have been used as textbooks in medieval schools, but rather to suggest that there was an intellectual climate favorable to the education of literate laymen, who in turn could have written rhymed treatises in English on science and popular crafts and skills, like Numbers 25-34. But not every layman was exposed to this climate. Only young men of means were, as a rule, admitted to English schools of the fifteenth century,[60] even though this practice ran contrary to the Statutes of 7 Henry IV (1405-6):

> [It is provided] that every man or woman of whatsoever estate, be free to set their son or daughter to learn letters at any school which may please them within this realm.[61]

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[58]Leach, "St. Paul's School Before Colet," Archæologia, LXII (1911), 203.

[59]Leach, Schools of Medieval England, p. 244.

[60]Ibid., p. 207.

[61]Tr. G. G. Coulton, Social Life in Britain from the Conquest to the Reformation (Cambridge, 1919), p. 58.

There is no specific evidence of provisions for the poor laity; "indeed nearly all the evidence implicitly excludes them except under missionary conditions."[62] There was no motive, however, to impel the newly literate layman to compose religious didactic verse. Where such material was needed, it was supplied by those who used it most frequently. It was natural, on the other hand, for the secular mind to satisfy its own quickening curiosity.

In England, the tradition of composing prognostics may be traced back to Bede.[63] Its popularity grew apace with the spread of literacy, despite the inconsistency of the information which it offered the reader.[64] There are variations of data even in the relatively small scope of Numbers 25-27. All three of these rhymed prognostics, however, have an air of authority, which is enhanced by their rhythm, rhyme, and numerical framework. The audience for whom they were designed was clearly not composed of ecclesiastics; some of the information would have been inappropriate for such people. This does not, of course, preclude their use by churchmen; indeed it seems from the evidence provided by the contents of MS Digby 88, in which Numbers 25 and 26 are found, that these two verses were used by a "clerk" for instructional purposes. Number 27, on the

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[62]Coulton, "Monastic Schools in the Middle Ages," Contemporary Review, CIII (1913), 826.

[63]See notes to Number 27.

[64]R. H. Robbins, "English Almanacks of the Fifteenth Century," PQ, XVIII (1939), 324.

other hand, is in a manuscript which probably the property of a layman.

The poems in the group designated I. B. 2. (on popular science and crafts) also might have been written, with one exception, either by churchman or layman. It is doubtful if Number 33, "A Charm Against the Nightmare," can be traced directly to the Church, even though the prose which accompanies the verses instructs the reader to employ the pater-noster as part of the charm. The conjunction of magical and religious symbols and formulas was not uncommon;[65] but there is no reason to attribute the authorship of Number 33 to the clergy, when the official doctrine of the Church declared that magic was the work of Satan himself.[66] Despite this censure and an ever-growing skepticism, Number 33 has persisted, almost unchanged, until modern times.[67]

A churchman who, like Lydgate, was laboring to suit the tastes of lay patrons might have been responsible for the verses on astrology, the four humours, and physiognomy (Numbers 28, 31, and 34). Few such men, however,

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[65]Cf. for example Lynn Thorndike, History of Magic and Experimental Science (New York, 1923), II, 858, where he quotes from the Tractatus sigillorum of Arnoldus Villanovanus, which describes the process of fashioning gold charm-pieces, inscribed with religious phrases, which protected the wearer against a long list of evils, including witchcraft, demons, thunderbolts, and quinsy.

[66]Owst, Literature and the Pulpit, pp. 112-113.

[67]See notes to Number 33.

achieved Lydgate's "elephantine success"[68] under the patronage system. The poems are designed for secular listeners; and since they do not serve the Church's ends, it is more plausible to attribute them to a secular author as well. Both this hypothetical versifier and Lydgate[69] depended upon the Secreta secretorum, the most popular book of the Middle Ages,[70] as the authority for this kind of information.

Number 32, "How to Detect Usury," carefully explains to the layman how he can avoid twelve varieties of guileful business practice, both in his own commerce, and in that of others. It is undeniably the work of a churchman, and a canny one: hence it provides a link in the tradition between the verse of religious instruction and that of secular information.

If it is indeed the work of George Ripley,[71] Number 29, "The Manufacture of Gold," is the work of a layman. Although the Church condemned alchemy, its officials

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[68]H. S. Bennett, "Author and His Public in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries," p. 14.

[69]See notes to Numbers 31 and 34.

[70]Thorndike, op. cit., II, 267, agrees with M. Gaster, whom he quotes in this opinion.

[71]See notes to Number 29.

in all ranks practiced the evil art. At the beginning of the fifteenth century, its practice was declared a felony by Henry IV,[72] a fact which testifies to its dissemination among laymen, who were naturally subject to civil, not to canon law.

The curiosity of the medieval layman, catholic and without discrimination, even by the standards of his own day, had been aroused. His interests were further quickened by the infusion of the power of ever-extending literacy. The primary source of this curiosity was, as Owst sees it, the pulpit itself, which eventually came to view the layman's extended interests with dismay. Owst asks, "Could minds thus awakened and stirred be expected to stop further inquiry at the arbitrary bidding of the priesthood, where no natural barriers existed?"[73] It is easy to imagine the newly literate layman reading with delight, and memorizing with ease, the useful criteria of Number 34, "The Optimum in Physiognomy," by which he could judge the characters of his neighbors. Perhaps he had seen the tapestry which he found described in Number 30, "A Husbandman's Guide," a set of verses in a rigid but simple framework, which endowed with a certain dignity the bleak cycle of his daily labor. The familiarity with

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[72]Statute of 5 Henry IV, quoted in Queene Elizabethes Achademy, etc., ed. F. J. Furnivall (EETS viii; 1869), p. 111.

[73]Literature and the Pulpit, p. 189.

various scientific "disciplines," which had been common among Chaucer's audience,[74] had filtered down a generation or two later to somewhat lower levels of society. The resulting vulgarization of medieval science may dismay the literary dilettante. The sympathetic student, however, will regard these documents as, if nothing else, evidence of the expanding horizons of the medieval mind.

4. Verses on Death and on the Evils of the Times.

The church did not permit medieval man to forget his vile body and his base beginnings, however, amid the rise of his intellectual curiosity. The themes of man's corruption, his final judgment, and his ultimate abode with the Fiend were, particularly in the later Middle Ages, the churchman's chief weapons against worldliness. As seen from the pulpit, "an evil world must be driven to contemplate the stark realities of current life and the ominous hereafter--sin, disaster, death, and hell-pains."[75] This eternal antithesis, current life and the ominous hereafter, gave rise to the groups of didactic verses which are designated I. C. and I. D. (complaints against the times and poems on death and the grave).

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[74] W. C. Curry, Chaucer and the Medieval Sciences (New York, 1926), pp. viii, 74, and passim.

[75] Owst, Literature and the Pulpit, p. 54.

The "times"--the term itself implies worldliness--have been responsible for evils in almost every modern culture, particularly as viewed by the Church. The fifteenth century, when Numbers 35-37 were composed,[76] was undeniably a period of considerable unrest. The Wars of the Roses, the recurrence of plagues at "irregular, but frequent, intervals,"[77] and the coming of age of a mercantile England could not have favored a stable society. A great many lives were lost in the plagues and in the wars;[78] nevertheless, the century is not without its defenders, who are able to conclude, with Vickers, that "despite the war and turbulence the prospects of the country had risen

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[76]See Manuscript Descriptions for dates of Camb. Univ. Lib. MSS Dd. 1. 1, Hh. 4. 12, and Queens' Coll. Camb. MS 13.

[77]Vickers, England in the Later Middle Ages, p. 500.

[78]William Denton, England in the Fifteenth Century (London, 1888), p. 65, estimates that 80,000 to 100,000 lives were lost among soldiers alone. Kingsford, however, in Prejudice and Promise in XVth Century England, p. 66, dismisses this figure as "wild exaggeration." Vickers, loc. cit., emphasizes the corollary to this decimation (which he admits) by pointing out that it "did much towards solving the problem of over-population." G. M. Trevelyan, English Social History (New York, 1942), takes a moderate position, asserting that the social disorders were "a rural phenomenon, not much affecting the towns." He points to the "increased educational facilities" (p. 74) on one hand, and to the abuses of the law courts (p. 60) on the other.

steadily."[79] There is undeniable evidence,[80] however, that one social evil, corruption in the law courts, "was at its worst in the middle of the fifteenth century."[81] Legal malpractice was one of the pulpit's particular objects of attack, not only in the fifteenth century,[82] but earlier.[83] Number 35, "Corruption in the Courts of Law," is a result of this antipathy between Church and bench. Its author is a churchman; its audience is secular. Its connection with the pulpit is suggested, perhaps, by the fact that it is in the same hand as that of Number 45, a strictly religious poem.

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[79] Loc. cit.; cf. Kingsford, op. cit., pp. 70 ff.; Bennett, "Production and Dissemination of Manuscripts in the Fifteenth Century," p. 171.

[80] For example, Paston Letters, II, 235, 241-242, 278-279; IV, 150 [Nos. 188, 189, 193, 222, 586]; Thomas Gascoigne, Loci e Libro veritatum, ed. J. E. T. Rogers (Oxford, 1881), pp. 109 and 218; Sir John Fortescue, De laudibus legum Anglie, ed. S. B. Chrimes (Cambridge Studies in English Legal History; Cambridge, 1942), pp. 60-63 and 73. Legal malpractice, both in the fifteenth century and later, is one of Bp. Latimer's anathemas; cf. his Sermons, ed. G. E. Corrie (Parker Soc., vol. XXVII; Cambridge, 1844), pp. 146, 181, 190, 318, 344, and 379.

[81] Kingsford, op. cit., p. 74.

[82] For example, see one of the sermons quoted by Owst, Literature and the Pulpit, p. 329, from MS Royal B. xxiii: "3iff [the poor man] goth to the lawe, ther is non helpe; for trewly lawe goys as lordshipp biddeth hym." MS dated early fifteenth century on p. 244.

[83] English Works of Wyclif, p. 123: ". . . fals men of lawe disceyven moche this world"; p. 183: "Jurrouris in questis wolen forsweren them wittyngly for their dyner and a noble."

The "evils" listed in Number 36 seem trivial indeed; nevertheless, the uncertainties of choosing a profession in the university or in business were important to the author. Not before the fifteenth century, perhaps, could a young man have been presented with such a bewildering variety of choices. The author, a layman familiar with university life, displays no depth of personal feeling (beyond timidity), however; his purpose is merely to enumerate the "evils" which confronted him.

Number 37, "The Vanity of Human Desires," complains against society in the most general terms. This brief poem illustrates the close connection of all such complaints with other groups in this study. Like the poems in group II. B. 2., it is based upon the concept of a stratified society: each of its lines is directed against a segment of that society. Its concluding line, "And at the last deth commeth and maketh ende," forms a neat link between Groups I. C. and I. D. (Numbers 35-37 and 38-44).

These two groups are in reality manifestations of the same phenomenon. As the medieval preacher turns from his denunciation of the worldliness which he sees about him, he points to the consequences of such evils, to death and the grave, and to the terrible Last Day. He takes his

text, perhaps, from Job xvii, 14:

> Putredini dixi, pater meus es, mater mea et soror mea, verminibus. . . .

and alludes to Innocent III's celebrated De contemptu mundi,[84] with its enumeration of the pains of hell; or perhaps to the pseudo-Augustinian Sermones ad fratres in Eremo,[85] which will chill his audience with the grisly realism of the corpse's decaying viscera; toads, born of the brains, hopping among the skulls; and the ubiquitous worm. The hypothetical preacher, not necessarily a parish priest, but perhaps an itinerant like Chaucer's Pardoner, will speak in the vernacular. To hold his audience's attention, he will employ the inexorable rhythm and refrain of verses like Numbers 38-44. Turn your backs on this vain world; repent before you face the Judge Himself (Number 44)! Repent, for "Man thow art but wormes mete" (Number 43). When Death comes, he respects no worldly rank or degree (Number 40). In the narrow grave, your fair flesh will "stynke foulere þan an hounde" (Number 41). And at

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[84] J. P. Migne, Patrologiæ latinæ cursus completus (Paris, 1865), CCXVII, cols. 701-746; see also Carl Brunner, "Mittelenglische Todesgedichte," Archiv, CLXVII (1935), 20-35; J. H. Hanford, "Death and Liffe: an Alliterative Poem," SP, XV (1918), 240-241, admirably summarizes the concept of a pitiless and horrific Death--a concept which arose, perhaps, as a result of the "efforts of the mendicant friars to terrify the multitudes."

[85] Migne, op. cit., XL, cols. 1329, 1331-1332.

the "laste ende" you will suffer eternally in a series of fiendish tortures (Number 39).

Numbers 38-44 not only enumerate pains, terror, and degrees of putrefaction; by their very nature, these verses also admonish their audience. The ratio between the two elements of instruction and admonition varies from poem to poem, but both are always present. In this dual function, groups I. C. (on the evils of the times) and I. D. (death and the grave) are identical. Both groups are significant links between didactic verse which instructs or edifies, and that which is monitory as well.

Before proceeding to the second large division of Middle English didactic verse, which is predominantly monitory, it will be useful to summarize the conclusions reached concerning the identity and nature of the authors and the audience by and for whom Numbers 1-44 were written. As one might expect, the hand of the ecclesiastic is discernible in most of these compositions. He was a simple but conscientious man, unlearned in such matters as scholastic polemics, but--if one grants him his purpose--reasonably skilful in the adaptation of rhyme and rhythm to instruction. If he was not a parish priest with the responsibility of his flock's religious education, he might turn to a wider variety of subjects than the doctrines which the bishop had declared necessary for every Christian's

salvation. Like almost any medieval writer, he did not hesitate to "plagiarize"; but he was usually careful to translate or paraphrase whatever scraps of Latin he borrowed for the sake of his "lewed" audience. The secular writer of didactic verse, who is a rarity until the late Middle Ages, is more difficult to visualize. He perhaps had a grammar-school education, which provided him with the tools which he needed to satisfy his impulse to teach. He imitated the techniques of religious didactic verse in order to impose some kind of system upon the eclectic knowledge of the physical world which he attempted to impart to his readers.

The audience to whom these verses were directed was composed completely of laymen. There is no evidence that they were used for the instruction of the clergy. The layman who heard the poems was naturally endowed with curiosity; this was further whetted by the preacher himself. Even if such a secular man were literate, it is doubtful that he possessed any books, which were expensive treasures. He depended upon his memory to reproduce the verses.[86]

5. Monitory Religious Verse

The author and audience concerned with monitory didactic verse (Numbers 45-65) may be treated more briefly than was possible in the foregoing exposition. The people

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[86]See notes to Number 36; cf. Ruth Crosby, "Oral Delivery in the Middle Ages," Speculum, XI (1936), 88-110.

who wrote these verses, and those to whom they were directed, are quite naturally often to be identified with the same author and audience described above. There is a marked change of tone, however, from a dispassionate and often remorseless enumeration, to an attempt to exhort and persuade. This effort is sometimes fairly successful, as in Number 46.

Certainly the simple cleric responsible for most of the purely informative verse could have written that in groups II. A. 1. and II. A. 2. also. He uses similar methods, despite his shift in purpose: there is the rigid, formula-like framework, as in Number 45; the simple rhetorical devices, derived from the pulpit tradition,[87] recur with only slightly different emphasis; and the author depends, perhaps to a slighter degree, upon the same extra-canonical sources. Two poems in this group (Numbers 45 and 50) are in the same hands--perhaps their authors'--as two compositions in the first general group (Numbers 18 and 35). Ordinarily, however, it seems likely that the author of these monitory verses was somewhat more sophisticated than the versifier who merely put a list of some kind into rhyme. If he had attended school at all, he probably learned the fundamentals of Latin grammar from the Doctrinale, in Latin verse, of Alexander de Villa Dei (fl. 1240), which was used

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[87] Owst, Preaching in Medieval England, p. 236; Literature and the Pulpit, pp. 40-47.

almost universally throughout the Middle Ages.[88] Paetow records the existence of a Priscian in verse,[89] and alludes to a tradition of the use of Latin verse for a great variety of educational purposes.[90] At the most elementary schools of all, a study of Cato's Distichs followed the mastery of the Psalms; books were construed in English, and "questions were asked in parsing and exercises set in prose and verse."[91] It is possible, therefore, that a man who had been exposed to this kind of education might transfer the skill he had gained in Latin verse-making to the instruction of others in English. His forms, a variety ranging from couplets to rhyme royal, and a modification of the "wheel and bob" stanza, although ultimately from French fashion, may be assumed to derive immediately from contemporary English models. The versification is relatively smooth, at least when compared with that of Numbers 1-24.

The audience for whom Numbers 45-53 were written may also be identified for the most part with that which listened to the simpler verses in groups I. A. 1. and I. A. 2.

[88] Leach, Schools of Medieval England, pp. 249 and 271; L. J. Paetow, Arts Course at Medieval Universities, with Special Reference to Grammar and Rhetoric (University of Illinois Studies, vol. III, no. 7; Urbana, 1910), pp. 36-37, dates the composition of the Doctrinale 1199.

[89] Op. cit., pp. 34-35.

[90] Ibid., p. 34

[91] Rashdall, op. cit., III, 351-352.

Here too, however, one senses a relatively greater maturity. Instead of meek acquiescence to the precepts of Numbers 1-24, the preacher perhaps encountered some resistance.[92]

6. Monitory Secular Verse.

The author and audience of the last two groups of didactic verse, II. B. 1. and II. B. 2.--general secular advice and that directed to certain sections of society--are further manifestations of a spirit of revolt. Certainly this type of poetry was not an innovation at the end of the Middle Ages. Similar verses had been written in English from the times of the Old English Fæder Larcwidas and the Proverbs of Alfred (thirteenth century). The "revolt," in so far as didactic verse is concerned, was mild--a faint token of the true revolution, the Renaissance, which was to follow. It occurred in the fifteenth century; it was the result of increased lay literacy; and it manifested itself in a burgeoning of rhymed secular advice.

Both the author and audience of the groups designated II. B. 1. and II. B. 2. were laymen. They were concerned not with man's soul, not with his physical surroundings, but with man himself--man in society and as a member of a social group. It was a momentous change.

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[92]See the notes to Number 45, which may have been written to counteract an excessive fanaticism disapproved by the Church.

> For a thousand years the attention of educated mankind had been concentrated on its latter end, or on what was feared to follow it. Not life, but death had been the subject of culture. Not how to prepare for life but how to prepare for death was the sole object of education.[93]

The pendulum was beginning to swing in the opposite direction.

The Church itself, however, had set the pendulum in motion in the first place. At the beginning of the fourteenth century, Robert Mannyng, speaking as if from a pulpit, advises:

> Man or womman þat haþ a chylde
> þat wyþ vnþewys wexyþ wylde,
> þat wyl boþe myssey and do,
> Chastysment behoueþ þarto.[94]

A century later the same precept occurs in an unpublished manuscript of Jacob's Well:

> Also fadyr and modyr schuldyn techyn here chylderyn gode thewis and kepyn hem fro evyll cumpanye and fro swerynge and fro lesynges, and when thei trespasyn chastyse hem, and noȝt for-beryn hem to longe. For as a ȝung thyng kepyth the schap that it takyth whil it is lytell, so wyll a chyld kepe badde thewys that it takyth in ȝouth.[95]

At about the same time, John Mirk counsels his parish priest that he should ask his parishioners this question:

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[93]Leach, Schools of Medieval England, p. 249.

[94]Handlyng Synne, vv. 4849-4852.

[95]From MS Salisb. Cath. Libr. 103, f. 102[b]; printed by Owst, Literature and the Pulpit, pp. 464-465.

> Also þy chyldre þat were schrewes,
> Hast þow I-taght hem gode þewes?[96]

In the north, the long series of precepts known as Ratis Raving points out that refusal to teach the young is sinful:

> . . . thir men, that has knawleg
> Suld tech that ware of tender age.
> For quha conselys wysdome or wyt
> And nocht delitis to tech of it
> He synnys mar excedandly,
> And offendis god mar grewosly
> Na for tyll hurd gret quantyte
> Of gold, that neuer fundyne suld bee.[97]

These vernacular treatises in verse, "together with others in prose. . . constitute the important link between the literature of the pulpit, and literature of the pew or the domestic hearth."[98] A glance at Ratis Raving or at the Instructions attributed to Peter Idley[99] will reveal their nature as the literature of a transition. Both use the device of a father's instructions to his son which, in Occidental literature, may be traced back at least as far

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[96] Myrc's Instructions for Parish Priests, vv. 1481-1482.

[97] Ratis Raving and other Moral and Religious Pieces, ed. J. R. Lumby (EETS 43; 1870), II, 19-26.

[98] Owst, Preaching in Medieval England, p. 278.

[99] Peter Idley's Instructions to His Son, ed. Charlotte D'Evelyn (MLA Monograph No. VI; Boston, 1935).

as the twelfth-century Disciplina clericalis of Petrus Alfonsi. Book I of Ratis Raving consists of predominantly religious advice, and includes discussions of the Seven Gifts of the Holy Spirit, the Ten Commandments, and so on; similarly, Book II of Peter Idley's Instructions is religious in nature. The remainder of both treatises, however, consists almost wholly of secular advice: how to choose one's friends, the necessity of making a good marriage, and the marks of the true wise man.

Even within the smaller dimensions of Numbers 54-65, this dual function is discernible. The slowly developing literate middle class, beginning to feel its literary independence and individuality, is advised at one moment that

> Power, possessyon, and rychesse,
> No man may sette yn sykernesse.[100]

This, the familiar de contemptu mundi theme, reiterated from the pulpit throughout the later Middle Ages, is followed almost at once by

> Ouere thy hed loke þou neuer hew:
> Pouerte hath but frendys few.
> Who-so of welth takith no hede,
> he schall fynde fawte yn tyme of nede.[101]

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[100] Number 58, vv. 11-12.

[101] Number 58, vv. 23-26.

The author of Number 56 nearly expresses the impossible compromise which, it was hoped, would reconcile the two antithetical themes: "Pleas god surely and þe worlde also."[102] But the attempted fusion was unsuccessful. Nearly half the advice in Numbers 55 and 57 is religious; but Numbers 59, 60, 61, 62, 64, and 65 deal almost exclusively with this life, with man and his social intercourse. Most of these verses, moreover, are concerned with adult conduct, not with the "thewis" of children.

By reason of the Church's own precepts, the authorship of didactic verse had begun to pass from the hands of the "clerk" to those of the layman, who was writing for an audience of his own class. The new versifier was, like Peter Idley,[103] probably a man of means; it is not inconceivable, however, that he was sometimes of a lower station. Compelled by the ineluctable forces of tradition, he continued to echo the religious precepts and to employ the formula-like framework[104] of the didactic verse which is clearly the product of churchmen. It was inevitable that the resulting secular literature of advice should be poorly integrated. With little concern for unity, the writer

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[102]Number 56[2], v. 23.

[103]Peter Idley's Instructions, p. 58.

[104]See notes to Number 56.

seems to have satisfied himself with a string of couplets, not unlike those of Cato's Distichs, which the author had perhaps heard at school.[105] The layman made popular gnomic verse, which had been employed to a lesser extent by the "clerk," his peculiar property. The bewildering amount of mutual borrowing of such material indicates that it was current in oral tradition.[106]

The transition from the verses in group II. B. 1. (Numbers 54-59) to those of II. B. 2. (Numbers 60-65) is easy to account for. In a society which was conceived of as a series of strata, it was natural to address some of the didactic verse to members of social classes, or, like the medieval homilist, to a group of malefactors.[107] With the advent of the Renaissance, a portion of this verse of secular advice was refined into the courtesy literature which is one of the distinguishing marks of that period. As Owst asserts, "It is highly characteristic of the first stage on the road to social and literary emancipation that whatever was thus presented was, for all its new air of reality, still regarded as type rather than individual."[108]

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[105]The Distichs are the direct source, however, of perhaps only one couplet: Number 54, vv. 25-26.

[106]See especially the notes to Numbers 54, 58, and 60.

[107]Literature and the Pulpit, pp. 230-231 and 234.

[108]Ibid., p. 470.

It is hardly surprising that these didactic poems should have continued to be written in conformity to various types. The authors of Middle English didactic verse, and their audience, operated according to the same intellectual habit; indeed, they probably conceived of themselves, if not as types, at least primarily as members of social groups. The anonymity which clouds the identity of the medieval author was not always accidental. It was simply irrelevant to record the name of an author. Consequently it has been impossible to probe beneath the outermost layers of identity in discussing the author and his audience concerned with the didactic verse in this study. The kind of people involved are nevertheless capable of arousing human sympathy. Even the simple parish priest, conscientiously and perhaps laboriously composing his crude verses in order to instruct his parishioners, is an understandable and even a laudable figure. But it is natural that today's student, a product of secular society, should feel greater sympathy with the lay author and his audience. Here are discernible the first faint rustlings, the significant if clumsy beginnings, of an intellectual vigor which eventually led to the composition of some of the great works of the Renaissance.

For the medievalist, a knowledge of the people

involved in the composition of didactic verse serves a more significant purpose. With this knowledge, he may achieve some slight increase in the depth of his historical sense, which will permit him to value all the more the greater works of the Middle Ages. He can thus appreciate more justly the triumph of a Langland, whose purpose was not very different from that of some of these less skilful versifiers.

MIDDLE ENGLISH DIDACTIC VERSE:

Schematic Outline

	Numbers of the Poems
I. Instructive or edifying verse.	1-44
A. Religious.	1-24
1. Verse based on number-schemes.	1-15
2. Verse based on Scriptural and patristic tradition.	16-24
B. Secular.	25-34
1. Prognostics.	25-27
2. Verse on popular science and skills. .	28-34
C. Complaints against the evils of the times	35-37
D. Verse on death, the grave, and judgment.	38-44
II. Monitory verse.	45-65
A. Religious.	45-53
1. Admonitions to live a Christian life.	45-48
2. Admonitions to gain salvation.	49-53
B. Secular.	54-65
1. General advice.	54-59
2. Advice directed to classes or groups.	60-65

PRINCIPLES OF TRANSCRIPTION

I. Types of abbreviations

A. Superscript symbols: nasal bar ["mē" expanded to "men"]; double-function nasal bar (so called because it represents two letters, i and n) ["nacoū" to "nacioun"]; r-plus-vowel symbol ["tn̄e" to "turne"]; vowel-plus-u symbol ["serūnt" to "seruaunt"]

B. Initial and terminal symbols: con- symbol ["grue" to "congrue"]; -er symbol ["mod" to "moder"]; -is symbol ["ded" to "dedis"]; -us symbol ["Taur" to "Taurus"]; p-plus-r-plus vowel symbol ["ued" to "proued"]; s-plus-vowel-plus-r symbol ["ued" to "serued"]; final flourish after -con ["nacon" to "nacion"]

C. Final -e symbols: after d ["rod" to "rode"]; after g ["kyng" to "kynge"]; after long-r ["mor" to "more"]

D. Superscript letters: t ["þ^{t}" to "þat"; "w^{t}" to "with"]; u ["þ^{u}" to "þu" or "þou" depending on internal evidence of spelling]; superscript vowels used to represent r-plus-vowel ["c^{u}tesy" to "curtesy"]; to represent u-plus-vowel (usually after q) ["q^{i}lk" to "quilk"]; to represent p-plus-r-plus-vowel ["p^{e}serued" to "preserued"]; to represent

s-plus-r-plus-vowel ["cons^{e}ued" to "conserued"]; superscript letters above numerals [e. g., ".v.^{the}"] are reproduced without change.

II. Scribal devices without consistent significance

A. Crossed h, ll, and (rarely) l are disregarded.

B. Final flourishes, including those which occur after nasals, are usually disregarded (exception: cf. I. B. above); when this device appears to be an abbreviation for -e, this is indicated in the notes at the bottom of each page.

III. Spelling of abbreviated letters

A. Spelling determined by internal evidence derived from the MSS.

B. When such expansions are ambiguous, alternate spellings are indicated in the notes at the bottom of each page.

IV. Editor's additions

A. Obvious errors and lacunæ caused by imperfections in the MSS (blots, holes, etc.) are represented by letters enclosed in brackets; when necessary, justification for conjectures is included in the notes.

B. Scribal errors and deletions are noted at the bottom of each page; probable errors are further marked by the addition of a question mark.

C. A title is prefixed to each poem (where none exists in MS) in brackets.

D. All punctuation, except the virgule (represented by

/), added by editor; exceptions noted at the bottom of each page.

E. Side-notes, which occur in both right and left margins of MSS, are reproduced in the right margin.

F. Line numbers are added in the left margin.

G. Folio numbers and column numbers are added in the right margin; when a line breaks off in the middle, the location of the break is indicated by an asterisk:

"But whanne þou art in þi * leste lekinge" [*f. 149^{b}]

1[1,2]. [The Seven Virtues *versus* the Seven Deadly Sins] Parallel Texts

First Version: MS Harley 1706

Septem virtutes contra septem vicia / [f. 206a]

Be meke and mylde of herte and tunge; — humilitas
Ayens pryde, boþ oolde and younge.
Kepe cheryte and flee enuye; — Caritas
Hate no man in herte preuylye.
Suffre wronge and chyde þou not; — Paciencia
Be-ware of wraþe and venge þe not. — Misericordia
Do almes whyles þou arte in quarte;
late neuer auaryce dwelle in þi herte.

Second Version: Camb. Univ. Lib. MS Ee. 4. 35 [Part I]

The vij vertwys Agyis the vij dedley synys [f. 5b]
Be meke & meylde yn hert & townge:
Ayens pryd boyt elde & younge.
kepe cherite & ffle envey;
hate no man yn hert preweley.
Suffer thow wronge & cheyde the not;
Be-wer of wreth & veng the not.
Be merseyffell, man, & theynke where þou art;
let meuer weres dwell yn they hert.

---

[2]. Title. Agyis] scribal error for Agynis. 8. meuer] scribal error for neuer; they] scribal error for thy.

1[1,2]. Parallel Texts (continued)

First Version

kepe mesure in mete and drynke at mele; Temperancia
ffle glotonye and wiþ hym not deele.
In clennesse kepe þe chaste and cleere; Sobrietas
Be no lechoure in no maner. Castitas
Euer worche some werke of honeste, Occupacio
And be neuer ydel, y counselle þee.
þese vertues slene þe synnes seuene
And leden a man þe way to heuene.

Second Version

kepe mesure At met & drynke At melle;
ffle gloteney & wet hem not delle.
yn clenleynes kepe the chastite & chere;
Be thow na lecher yn no menere.
Euer werke sum werke of honest;
Be neuer ygyll, y consell the.
These wertwys vij ffle the senys off
And then ledyt A man the wey to hewyn.

---

[2]/ 11. chastite] scribal error for chaste; chere] scribal error for clere. 13. ow or ew deleted before honest; honest] scribal error for honeste. 14. ygyll] scribal error for ydyll. 15. ffle] scribal error for sle?

2. [The Four Cardinal Virtues]

MS Harley 1706

Quatuor virtutes cardinales [f. 208a]

Be ryȝtwys, man, what-euer be tyde, Iusticia
To god and man on euery syde.
Be prudent and ware to know be skyle Prudencia
To take þe good and leue þe yle.
Kepe mesure as reson wylle þe teche: Temperanc[ia]
þi mete and drynke, in werke and speche.
What-euer byfale, in herte by stronge [f. 208b] [Fo]rtitudo
To suffre sykenesse, malyce, and wronge.
þese ben foure vertues cardinal
þat schulde rewle men boþ grete and smale.

---

1. Be ryȝtwys] underlined in MS. 3. Be prudent] underlined in MS. 5. kepe] underlined in MS, right margin cut off. 7. by stronge] underlined in MS, left margin cut off.

3. [The Three Theological Virtues]

MS Harley 1706

Tres virtutes theologice [f. 208a]

Byleue in god þat alle haþ wrouȝte: ffides
Heuene and erþe and alle of nouȝte.
Hope þorouȝ hys grace and hys goodnesse Spes
To come to blysse þat ys endlesse.
loue god ouer al þinge þat is-- Caritas
Thi neyȝbore as þi selfe, y-wysse.
Dyuyne vertuose men þese þre call;
They be moste hyȝe of oþer al.

---

1. Byleue in god] underlined in MS. 3. Hope] underlined in MS. 5. loue god ouer] underlined in MS, þ deleted before ouer.

4. þe gostly werkis of mercy

MS Hatton 12

Counseil þe redeles, & ye wille; [f. 212^{a}, col. 1]
Chasty þe wanton þat wille do ille.
Connforth þam þat es mornand;
To ȝoure misdoers be sufferand.
Kennes þam ȝan ȝe þat can les.
ffor-gif þem þat ȝou dos destres,
And pray for þem þat ere in wa, [col. 2]
þat god deliuer þem sone þare-fra.

---

3. mornand] expanded from abbreviation; murnand? 5. ȝan] scribal error for þan. 7. pray] expanded from abbreviation; prey?

5. The vij. Peticions to the ffader

MS Bodley 549

ffader in heuene, halwed be thy name. [f. 78a]
Thy kyngdom til vs come, now and ay.
In erthe thi wille, as per, be doon the same.
Oure euery dayes breed ȝeeue vs to day.
Oure dettys for-ȝeue vs, as we doon alway.
And in to temptacion thow not vs lede,
Bot delyuer vs from yuel thought, word, & dede.
Amen

Title. Peticions] final flourish. 4. In right margin: .6. debito [sic] nostris. 5. In left margin: cite caritas. 6. temptacion] final flourish.

6. [The Seven Deadly Sins]

MS Hatton 12

First es pryde & sythen envye, [f. 212^{a}, col. 1]
And þan es wrethe & glotony,
And lechery & couatise,
And slawnes in goddes seruise.
þir er þe seuen dedely syns
þat mas soule fro blisse wyns.

---

6. mas] scribal error for mans.

7[1,2,3]. [The Five Spiritual Senses]

Parallel Texts

First Version: Camb. Univ. Lib. MS Ff. 2. 38

here suen þe .v. goostly wyttys [f. 32^{b}, col. 1]
Have mynde on the blys þat neuer schall blyne
And on grete peyne þat synners shall wynne.
Desyre that goddys wylle be wrought;
Thy fleschely wylle sett hyt at nought.

Second Version: MS Harley 1706

Quinque sensus spiritualiter [f. 207^{b}]
Haue mynde on blysse þat neuer schalle blynne memoria
And grete peynes þat synners schul wynne.
Desyre þat goddys wylle be wrougte; Voluntas
Thi flesshely wylle sette yt at nougte.

Third Version: Pepys Library MS 1584

The .v. wittis gostly [Art. 13]
Haue mynd on þe blis þat nevir shall blyn
and on þe great payn þat synnys schall wyn.
desure that goddis will be wrought;
Thy fleschly wyll set it at nought.

---

[2]/1. Haue mynde] underlined in MS. 3. Desyre] underlined in MS.

[3]/1. In left margin, underlined: þise be þe fywe wyttis gostly. 2. synnys] scribal error for synners?

7[1,2,3]. Parallel Texts (continued)

First Version

Rewle the ay be reson ryght
And þo þat ben vndur þe aftur þy myght.
Vndurstonde goddys kyndenes & hys mercy [f. 32b, col. 2]
And ther-ageyn thyn vnkynde foly.

Second Version

Rewle þe ay by reson ryȝte Racio
And þo þat ben vnder þe wiþ alle þi myȝte. [f. 208a]
vnderstond goddys kyndnes and hys mercye Inteligencia
And þer-aȝen þin vnkynde folye.

Third Version

Rule the euer by reson right
And þo that be vndir þe aftir þi myght.
Vndirstond goddis kyndenes & his mercy
And þer-agayn þyne vnkynde foly.

---

[2]/5. Rewle] underlined in MS. 7. vnderstond] underlined in MS.

[3]/7. a deleted before &.

7[1,2,3]. Parallel Texts (continued)

First Version

ymagyne to all men goodnes:
ymagyne no wrong nor falsenes.
Of fyue ynwyttys þe rewle ys thys,
That helpen a man to heuene blys.

Second Version

Ymagyne no wronge ne falsenesse. ymaginaci[o]
Off þi fyue wyttys þe rewle ys þis,
That bryngen a man to heuene blysse.

Third Version

Imagyn to all men godenes:
Imagyn no wrong nor falsnes.
Of fyve in-wittis þe Rule is this,
That helpith a man to heuyn [blis].

---

[2]/9. Line omitted in MS. 10. Ymagine] underlined in MS; right margin cut off.

[3]/12. blis] omitted in MS.

8. The .x. Commaundementys

MS Bodley 549

I worschepe the .o. god in persons thre; [f. 77b]
Not for to take thy name in vayn;
To kepe thyn holyday, lord,/ graunt me;
My ffader and moder to wirschippe souerayne;
Suffre thow no man of me be slayne;
Kepe my fro synne of vnclennesse
And also fro theft / and fals wyttenesse.
Desire I noon others housband or wyff
Or any other thynge of neyghbourys.

---

6. my] scribal error for me.

9. The vij. sacramentys to the sone

MS Bodley 549

Ihesu, aftur oure Baptym euer thow vs kepe. [f. 78^{b}]
Teche vs to fight by that Confirmacioun,
And for alle oure synnes wyth penaunce to wepe,
And the to receyue vn-to oure Saluacioun.
Graunt vs ben Enuntted last for oure purgacioun.
And to kepe oure Ordre euer vnder thyn hond,
whether hyt be in Chirche or Matrimony bond. Amen

---

1. Baptym] underlined in MS. 2. Confirmacioun] underlined in MS; double-function nasal bar. 3. penaunce] underlined in MS. 4. And the to receyue] underlined in MS; Saluacioun] double-function nasal bar. 5. Enuntted] underlined in MS; purgacioun] double-function nasal bar. 6. Ordre] underlined in MS.

10. [The Five Wounds As Payment for the Seven Deadly Sins]

MS Bodley 789

Ihesu, for þi precious blood — Luxuria [f. 148a]
þat þou schaddist for oure good
In þi circumcisioun,
a-3ens þe synne of leccherie:
kepe us, lord, fro þat synne.
bringe hem out þat beþ þer-ynne.
saue us alle from dampnacioun,
and kep us in clennesse of chastite. — Castitas

Pater noster & Aue

Ihesu, for þi precious blood
þat þou schaddist for oure good
in þe mounte of oliueet,
whanne þou were wiþ scourgis beete,
a3ens þe synne of glotonie: — Gula
kepe us, lord, fro þat synne.
delyuere hem out þat ben þerynne,
and holde us in þe uertu of abstinence. — Abstinencia.

Pater noster & Aue

Ihesu, for þi precious blood
þat þou schaddist for oure good
out of þi blesside heed,
þat wiþ a corowne of þornes was biweued,

---

16. uertu] expanded from abbreviation; uirtu? cf. v. 32 below.

longe, scharpe, and kene,
aȝens þe synne * of pride: [*f. 148b]
schulde us alle fro þat synne.
delyuere hem out þat ben þer-ynne,
and kep us alle in meeknesse clene. Humilitas

Pater noster & Aue

Ihesu, for þi precious blood
þat þou schaddist for oure good
out of þi riȝthonde,
aȝens þe synne of wraþþe: Ira
kepe us, lord, fro þat synne.
brynge hem out þat ben þerynne,
and holde us in þe uertu of pacience. Paciencia

Pater noster & Aue

Ihesu, for þi precious blood
þat þou schaddist for oure good
out of þi lift hond,
aȝens þe synne of couetise: Cupiditas
schilde us, lord, fro þat synne.
delyuere hem out þat ben þerynne,
and kepe us in largenesse of werkis of merci. Elemosina

Pater noster & Aue

Ihesu, for þi precious blood
þat þou schaddist for oure good

---

32. uertu] expanded from abbreviation; cf. v. 16 above.

out of boþe feet,
aȝens þe synne of sleuþe: Ociositas
schilde us alle fro þat * synne. [*f. 149a]
brynge hem out þat ben þerynne,
ond kepe us in good occupacioun. Occupacio

Pater noster & Aue maria

Ihesu, for þi precious blood
þat þou schaddist for oure good
out of þi blesside herte,
aȝens þe synne of enuye: [Inuidia]
schilde us, lord, fro þat synne.
delyuere hem out þat ben þerynne,
and kepe us in parfiit charite. Caritas

Ihesu, for þi woundis wide
wiþ þi meeknesse fordo my pride,
and alle yuel þat mai me bitide.

Amen for charite. Pater noster, Aue, & Credo.

---

50. Inuidia] apparently omitted in margin.

11. [The Five Bodily Senses]

Camb. Univ. Lib. MS Ii. 4. 9

Now go we on to our wyttis fyve: [f. 163^{b}] Primus sensus: Visus
I xal hem schewyn here be-lyue.
The fyrst wyt of þes fyue:
Man, quan þu xalt þe schryue,
Certeynly wyth-owte lesyge,
It is in þi syȝt seynge.
God hath þe þi syth sent
þat it xulde ben wyl spent.
If þu be-helde any thynge
A-geyn goddis plesynge,
þan þu synnyst þer by-lyue
In on of þe wyttis fyue;
And comely þu xalt non synne do
But if þi syth lede þe þer-to.
perfor, sey þu for Any thynge
þat þu hast synned in þi seynge.
Another wyth þu xalt forth brynge, Secundus sensus: Auditus
þat men clepyn hernge.
If þu haue harde any thynge [f. 164^{a}]
dysplesynge to heuen kynge,

---

5. lesyge] scribal error for lesynge. 13. comely] scribal error for comenly. 17. wyth] scribal error for wyt? 18. hernge] scribal error for herynge.

But if þu sey þer-Ageyn
In þin herynge þere dost þu synne.
Be ware, I rede, of sweche gynnes:
þin herynge seruyth to many synnes.

Tercius sensus: Gustus

Thred wyt I xal þe spelle
Is in swellynge, as clerkys telle.
If þu swelle owte of mesure
Or speke wordys þat art sure
Or thowth euyl be Any weye,
þu synnyst in swelwynge, by my fey.
And wiis þu mayth non synne do
but if þi thowth helpe þer-to;
for þer was neuer don thynge
But thowth were at þe gynnyge.

Quartus sensus: Odoratus

The forte wytt is smellynge:
To take sawour of a thynge.
If þu delyte in þi smelle
Any tyme other þan wel,
Or in vnderstondyge Amys,
Other þan goddis wyll is,

---

34. gynnyge] scribal error for gynnynge. 39. vnderstondyge] scribal error for vnderstondynge.

þere synnyst þu in þi smellynge
And in þin vndyrstondynge;
for þu may fewe synnes do
but vndrstonyge hepyth þer-to.
The fyfte wytt is towchynge: — Quintus sensus: Tactus
for to handel ouerfele a thynge.
If þu hast handelyd or mysgon, — [f. 164b]
Towchynge eyther frende or fon
Or towchynge þin owyn synne
þat þu fallyst oftyn Inne,
þu mayth synne with owtyn stryfe
But it towch sume of þe wyttis fyue.
þerfor, quan þu art clene schore
Of alle þi synnes tolde be fore,
sey þan, with owtyn stryfe:
I haue synnyd in my wyttis fyue.
with eyne I haue mys seyn in syth;
wyth erys I haue noȝt hard A-ryte;
wyth nose I haue myssmellyd A monge;
with mowth I haue spokyn wronge;

---

42. þin] i interlined. 44. vndrstondyge] scribal error for vndyrstondynge; hepyth] scribal error for helpyth.

wyth myn handis I haue mysdon,
And with my feet I haue mysgon;
with myn hert I haue mysthowth;
wyth al my body I haue myswrout.
Qwher for I crye Ihesu mercy,
And hys modyr, mylde marye,
And alle þe cumpanye of heuen,
And þe prest wyth mylde steuen,
for me to god, sere, þat þu praye,
Vn-to god þat best mAye.
I prey þe prest, in goddis name,
ȝif me penauns for my blame
And be in wyl no more to synne.
& kepe þin penauns wel with-Inne,
And þan hardely dare I say [f. 165[a]]
þu art in a ryth good way:
If þat þu dey with mylde steuen
þu xalt gon to þe blysse of heuen.
Ihesu, lorde, god ȝyf vs grace
To com to þat holy place. Amen

Explicit Confession vij peccatorum
mortalium quinque sensus

---

74. þin] scribal error for þi?

12. The vij. ȝeftys to the holy Gost

MS Bodley 549

O thow holy Gost, ȝeue vs good drede, [f. 78^{b}]
And worthely thy Pyte for to vndir-fonge;
wyth trewthe and kunnynge oure lyyf for to lede,
And a gayn oure Enemy make vs be strong.
ȝeue vs thy counseyll, lord, euer a-monge,
And trewe vnderstandynge of thyn holy wylle,
And wyth clere wysdom hyt to fulfylle. Amen

---

1. drede] underlined in MS. 2. Pyte] underlined in MS. 3. kunnynge] underlined in MS. 4. strong] underlined in MS. 5. counseyll] underlined in MS. 6. vnderstandynge] underlined in MS. 7. wysdom] underlined in MS.

13. þe bodily werkis of mercy

MS Hatton 12

þe thristy gif drynke; hungry þou fede. [f. 212^{a}, col. 1]
þe herberles to hous þou lede.
Clethe þe naked & clatheles;
viset þe ligand in sekenes.
To men in presoun þou socoure bede;
Byry þe dede þare sees nede.

---

6. <u>þou</u> omitted before <u>sees</u>?

14. [The Five Qualities of Christ]

MS Bodley 649

[f. 183^{b}]

þi som ia ȝeuon after þe law; — iusticia
I may þe noȝt help aȝeyn my saw.
In my help trist þou noȝt: — potencia
þou schalt haue as þou has wroȝt.

Potencia rescribit

þi synne is gret, and þat is rewth; — veritas
lerne eft to holde þe trwthe.

Veritas rescribit

why shul þy synne þe be for ȝeuon, — sapiencia
sithe in trwth þou noldos leuon?
In ne may thole þat þou be spilt: — misericordia
I ȝyue me raunson for þi gilt.

---

9. In] scribal error for I.

15. [Ten Remedies Against Venial Sins]

Trinity Coll. Camb. MS 1144

Decem remedia contra peccata venialia [f. 104a]

ut patebit inferus

we fynde wryttyn .x. thyngis sere
That venial synnes for doys here.
Theys .x. are thyes þat I now rede:
holy watar & almus dede;
ffastynge and howsyl of goddis body;
praer of þe pater noster, namely;
General schrifte þat yche day may be;
Blessynge of bysschop thorough hys dygnyte
And blessyng of preyst þat gyfen ys,
namely in þe endyng of þe messe;
Knockynge of brest of man þat ys meke;
Laste a-noyntyng þat ys gyften to þe seke.
Thyes .x. puttis venial synnus a way,
As men may here thyes clarkes say.
But so many veniall synnes sere
May be gaderd to gedyr here,
That thay may way on þe soule as hewy
As a-noder syn ys dedly.
That sles þe soule þat god myspays,
And therefore þe poyt on thys says:

---

4. watar] ar interlined. 8. Blessynge] originally written Belssynge. 10. of] interlined. 12. ys] interlined. 13. poyntis deleted before puttis.

"De minimis granis fit maxima summa caballo, & cetera."

Als of many smale cornes ys mayd
To a hors a gret loyd,
Ryȝth so many veniall synnes smale
may make a dedly syn all.

16. [The Worthies of the Old Testament]

Trin. Coll. Camb. MS 323

Abel wes looset in treunesse; [f. 84a]
Habraham in bousumnesse;
ysaac in studeuestnesse;
Iacob in mekenesse.
Ioseph hede edmodnesse,
7 moyses in ritwisnesse.
dauid þe kinc hede reunesse;
Iob, þe gode, þolemodnesse.

---

4. þ deleted before mekenesse. 5. hede] de interlined.

17. [Riddles from Scripture]

MS Laud Misc. 108

By holde merueylis: A mayde ys moder./ Isaye vij° [f. 238a]
here sone her fader ys & broder./ Isaye ix°
lyfe fawȝt with deþe & deþ is slayne./ Osee xiij°
Most hiȝ was lowe; he styȝe agayne./ philipen ij°

---

1. ix° imperfectly erased after Isaye. 3. This line deleted between vv. 1-2; deþe] e interlined.

18. [A Vision of Hell]

Brit. Mus. Addit. MS 37049

Cum folow me, my frendes, vn-to helle-- [f. 74[a], col. 1]
Ay to dwelle in helle depe.
ffor þar sal ȝe both rare & zelle:
þat to ȝow sal be schame & schenschepe.

ffor to my lare ay ȝe toke gode hede,
when I to ȝow gaf Cownsell.
þarfore gret payne sal be ȝoure mede,
ffor with me ay ȝe sall dwelle.

þar sal ȝe se with ȝour syght
More sorow & payne þan man can telle--
ffor ȝow ay redy dyght,
þat for ȝoure syn ay þar sal dwelle.

Alle þat hert hates & wald flee,
þar sal ȝe se with-in helle ȝate.
And of al þat yll is gret plente,
And defaute of alle godes, as clerkis wate.

---

5. ȝe deleted before ay. 10. can] interlined.
15. þat] interlined and written in left margin.

ffyre þat neuer slokynd sal be
Is þar with brymstone byrnyng hate,
þat if alle þe watyr in þe see [col. 2]
It þorow ran, myght not abate.

ffor as fyre is hoter here aywhare
þan is þe fyre þaynted on a walle,
Ryght so is þe fyre hoter þere
þan is here þe fyre þat we calle.

ȝit þar is swylk cold euermare,
with stormes & wynde þat ay sal blawe,
þat if a hyll byrnande ware,
It suld ay turne to yce & snawe.

þar is ay smoke & stynke ymange,
and myrknes more þan euer was here;
þar is hongyr & thyrst & thrange,
And vgly fendes of gret powere.

þar is wepyng & doolful sange,
Gnaystyng of tethe & grisly chere,
And oþer torments hard & strange:
Mo þan hert can þinnke fer or nere.

---

20. not] interlined. 22. fyre] interlined and written in right margin.

19. [Augustine on Venial Sins]

Trinity Coll. Camb. MS 1144

"Sepcies in die cadit iustus." Parab. [f. 103a]

24°. Augustini de peccatis venialibus

Fyrst, whan a man or woman drynkis more,
Ony tyme here then myster wore,
whan þou may helpe thorwgh wytte or skylle
And wyl not helpe bot holdes hym stylle;
whan þou spekis shortly un-to the pore
That askys som gud at thy dore;
whan þou art hole & may wele laste
and etes wan tyme ware to faste;
whan þou lyste to slepe & wil not ryse
And commes ouer latte in to goddis seruyce;
Or whan þou arte in gud state
And says thy prears ouer late;
Or whan þou has ouer lytul deuocion
In prears or in orison;
whan a man wyl dele in bedde
whyt hys wyfe þat he has wedde,
Hys lust only to fulfylle,
And to geyt a chylde ys not hys wil;
whan þou vysyttis men ouer late
that ys seke in febul state,

---

5. shortly] t interlined. 16. whyt] scribal error for wyth?

Or men þat liggis in preson,
Or in angur or in trybulacyon,
Or men þat are synful or sory,
Or soules that are in purgatory:
To vyset them yt ware gret nede
Thorwgh praer or thorough almis dede.
whan þou folowes nougth aftur thy state, [f. 103b]
To acord them that are at debate;
whan þou spekys ouer bytturly
Un-to any man with noys or cry;
whan þou presys any man, more
Thorowght flaterynge than myster wore;
whan þou in kyrke makys Ianglynge
Or in wayn thynkys on any thyng,
Be yt withoute be yt withinne,
ȝyt yt ys a venial syn.
when þou arte lyȝtly worthe,
Or sweres & may not holde thyn oythe;
whan þou bannys any man
In whom þou fyndis no gylte to banne;
whan þou supposys any wyckednese
Thorowgth susspectyon there non ys:
Thyes smale synnys sent austyn tellus,
Thorowgh wyche many synnys dwellus
In purgatory in payn and woo.

---

21. whan þou deleted before liggis; men þat] interlined. 37. worthe] scribal error for wrothe. 43. says deleted before tellus.

But ȝyt there are many moo
of venyal synnus, be many store
Ouer thyes þat y haue tolde here before.
But so wytte ys no erthly man
That all venyall synnes rekyn can,
ffor ofte-sythes on þe day men falles
In synnes þat clarkes venyall synnes calles,
Thorwght thowte or ded or speche in vayn--
And yche syn ys worthy peyn.

20. [Abel and Eli]

Camb. Univ. Lib. MS Dd. 10. 50

Howe that abell sumtyme had a double corn: [f. 35^{b}]
Oon for his faithfull trewe sacrifice,
Offryng to god of hymble herte & fre;
And a-nother as I shall deuyse:
ffor he his bodie kepte in chastite.

And eli eke, as ye maie rede and se: [f. 36^{a}]
ffor he in herte was a mayden clene,
he was ravyschyd aboue þe sterris seuene
Bodie, & after in a chare of fire,
ffor he him kept from all corrupcioun.

---

6. eke] possible a mistaken repetition of eli which has been partially deleted. 10. h deleted before kept; corrupcioun] double-function nasal bar.

21. [A Miniature Saint's Life: St. Anne]

MS Tanner 407

In the olde lawe, in that lyff, [f. 20a]
A man hyght ysakar--
Nasabath was his wyff,
Namyd so ȝar.

They leuyd in god with-owtyn stryff.
Too dowterys be-twen hem ware:
Anna and Emeria, these namys A-ryff,
Scripture wytnes bare.

Ioachym weddyd Anna;
Ther dowtyr was oure lady. j.
Aaron weddyd Emeria;
She bare Elyzabeth hym by.

These ladys were systerys too,
Her dowterys cosyns ny:
Maria and Elizabeth,
Maydyns of mercy.

Ioseph weddyd mayde mary;
She bare ihesu crist.
Elyzabeth was weddyd to sakary,
ffadyr of iohun Baptist

---

10. j in left margin of MS: indicates husband number one.

They were with chylde, serteynly:
whan they to-gedyr kyst,
Iohun mevyd in his moderys bely,
whan he god in mary wyst.

Ded is now Ioachym:
Come the holy man, Cleophas,
Anne for to wedde and wyn,
And to Anne weddyd he was. ij.

A dowtyr sche had by hym,
And mari her name was.
She was a ful fayer may;
xij yeer sche passyd the pas.

Than came Aman hyght Alphe
and weddyd that mary.
ffoure sunnys that were fayre and fre
he had by that lady:

Symon, on, and Iude;
Ioseph infain and Iamys lovely.
Apostelys were they alle three,
And Ioseph was man worthy.

---

28. ij in left margin of MS indicates husband number two. 37. on] interlined in a different hand. 38. infain] interlined in a different hand.

Now is ded Cleophas,
A man that was of pryse.
Than come holy Salomon
44 that was A man ful wyse, iij.

And Anne weddyd hath:
than was Anne weddyd thryes.
On mary be-twyx hem was,
48 As fayre as floure delyce.

A man hyght zebede,
A lordyng he was on:
He weddyd that lady fre,
52 whyte as whalles bon.

By hym too sunnys had sche:
the more Iamys and Iohun--
the Euangelyst was he.
56 Men sekyth Iamys many on.

Now haue I tolde ȝou of Seynt Anne
And her systyr Emer,
Of oure lady and hyr systerys too,
60 And who to hem weddyd wer;

---

44. iij. in left margin of MS indicates husband number three.

Of faderys, husbondys, and of sunnys,
the kynred fayre in fere.
Seynt Anne shyld vs fro sorow and woo,
An alle þat her wurshyp here.

22. Out of master blomfelds boke / a peos [f. 2[a]]
of þe battayll of þe psalms
Brit. Mus. Addit. MS 29729

That every man in his degree,
withe wepyd Redy that he be,
beatus vir wyth all his hoste,
that blysyd man of mightes moste,
wyll be redy in the felde
with horse, harnys, spere, & shelde.
Euery man kepe warde, how-evar he do,
for drede of dominus illuminacio.
with hym shall go, as it is told,
an .C. & .ij. spalmys that be full bold:
Quare frementum & dominus quid,
and cum invorarem exaudiuit,
verba mea auribus & percepe domine, /
and lyttyll domine ne in furore.
domine deus meus in te speraui,
the whiche was cosen to syr davy,
hathe smet good domine; he gan hym packe hence.
he wolde not be shamed for forty pense
for dred of dixit incipiens.
but domine quis habitavit
and confirma me, þat stode him with,

---

9. illegible word deleted before told. 10. spalmys] perhaps not an error; cf. 48.48.

bad in haste exaudi domine,
and take with hym longe diligate,
and go to cum sancto sanctleris,
amonge þe iiij orders of fryeris.
and ther-of hard Celi ennarant,
þe whiche was wrothe & gat a warrant
and Rappyd exaudiat on þe nose,
that iiij dayes aftar he had þe pose.
domine in virtute caught suche a clout
that bothe his eyne anon stert out, & cetera.

23. Of þe relefyng of saules in purgatory [f. 24b]

Brit. Mus. Addit. MS 37049

þe saules þat to purgatory wendes
May be relefyd þorow help of frendes
Þat almost of þaim dos & prayes.
ffor þe holy man saynt Austyn says,
Non est negandum spiritum defunctorum
pietate suorum amicorum posse releuari.
ffoure maner of helps ar generall
Þat in purgatory avayles þaim alle:
Þat is, to say paternoster, & fastyng;
Almos dede & mes syngyng.
Þerfor, man, when þi frendes ar past,
To help paim hye þe fast.
Also I rede þou take gode hede
To git þe pardon þou spede,
ffor al þe synnes þou has done here
And with parfite penance not made þe clere.
ffor so mykil pardon may a man
Purches, þat he may þan
In purgatory whyte al þe dett
Þat fro blis may drawe or lett.
ffor so large is holy kirk tresore,

---

2. be] interlined. 16. with] interlined and written in left margin; parfite] expanded from abbreviation; perfite? 21. kirk] interlined, kyrk written in right margin.

Þat it is ynoghe to pay þerfore,
And for al þe payns þat det be
Of al þe men of cristiante.
Þus pardon in purgatory avayles,
Bot sum clerke þus cownsayles:
Þat we it spare & kepe holy
To þat we cum to purgatory,
And do here penance whils we may
Þat sone fro purgatory we wyn away.
Her may ȝe se pardon more worthy to gesse
Þan is al warldly rytches.

---

22. þerfore deleted before to.

24. [A Description of Christ's Beauty]

Brit. Mus. Addit. MS 37049

[If þai do so he wil þaim safe] [f. 25a]

As walnot barke his hare is ȝalowe,
In summer ceson when it is grene.
Playne downe to þe eres þai can folow,
And wele þai seme all be-dene.

Abowte þe cowmpes of þe hede
þe hare is blayk forth fro þe eres,
And sumwhat lokyrd wele on brede,
And also schynyng fro þe scholders.

lyke a wyndgale þai ar scheddyng--
Vp ouer þe hede by þe myddes,
As of a custom, I fynde writtyng,
Of pepyll of Nazareth þat so byddes.

A playne front also he has
And face ful clere with-outen spotte:
Modyrd ful wele & ful of grace
And freschely vttrand, wele I wote.

No reprefe was fun þare,
In / nose nor mowthe, cheke nor chyn.
His berd was multiplyed wele with hare,
lyke to downe both fayr & clene--

4. can] smudged in MS. 6. of] interlined. 18. ȝep deleted before reprefe. 19. Inuo deleted before In.

Noght to bostos, bot longe & smaylle,
with oder hare was mykil lesse:
And his berd is forgyd with-alle.
And in his face ful mykil clernes.

with cowntenance swete & schynyng eene,
with dyuers fayrnes in þaim beyng.
In his correctioun is oft-tymes seene
fferdful & dredfull, as wele is semyng;

And in his tretty ful of plesaunce;
And vere blithe when he is plesyd;
Both sad & stabyll in his demenaunce,
And neuer wald laghe bot of-tyme wepyd.

As for is stature wele lettyn on brede
And streyght vp gangyng on his feete.
His handes, his armes ar semely in wede
And seldyn spekyng as ȝe may wete.

when he is noght plesyd ful graciously,
On þe, þou man, þan will he loke.
He is most curteys, now sothly,
Of al þe creatures, as says þe boke.

---

28. correctioun] double-function nasal bar. 34. is] scribal error for his?; lettyn] scribal error settyn? 38. graciously] i abbreviated by bar over co-.

Now god, as þou art lord & kynge
And maker of man in to þis world,
Vn-to þi blis þou vs brynge,
wher þou art emprowre, kyng, & lorde. Amen

25. [Lunar Prognostics]

MS Digby 88

Nota For the days of the Moone // [f. 62a]

God made Adam the fyrst day of þe moone,
And the secunde day Eve, good dedis to doon.
The .iij. day then was Caym borne.
Begynne not on that day tille on þe morne.
The iiij.th day, as I you say, ys right good for men,
ffor Abel in certayn he was borne thanne.
The .v. day ys right good and felle,
And on the .vj. day was borne danyel.
The .vij. day Caym Abel sloo: þat day ys good I-nowe.
The viij. day & the ix.th good dedis may be doo.
the x. day goo noo pilgremage,
But the xj. day do thy vyage.
The .xij. day goo vppon noo floode,
And the .xiij. ys yet not so good.
The .xiiij. ys good to cary,
And the .xv. yt ys contrary.
The .xvi. day, with-owten stryve,
And the xvij. sanke Cyteis .v.
The .xviij. ys good all thynge to do,
And the .xix. ys not soo.
The .xx. day, as I you say,

---

1. Adam] a interlined.

And the .xxj. good dedis do þou may.
The .xxij. & .xxiij., as I rede with-owte drede, [f. 62b]
In all good werke may man spede.
The .xxiiij. and xxv. day
Thow mayste well take thy Iournay.
The .xxvj. day of þe moone
Good dedys may be doon.
The xxvij. day & xxviij. bygynne noo thynge,
But loke þou a-byde a better tymynge.
The .xxix., true it ys,
That thy worke shall turne to blysse.
And the .xxx. day for to spede,
Begynne noo werke, as I the rede.

/ Non plus //

26. [The Twelve Signs of the Zodiac]

MS Digby 88

Signum Aquarij quare dicitur quod Iohannes Baptista in [f. 89a]
Iordanis flumine baptizauit saluatorem. et qui in
illo signo nascitur erit negligens et res suas perdens. //

Hote and moyse ys Aquarius, as ys the Eyer,
men tellyth vs by-fore. //
And it regneth in legge and shanke,
where an hurte wull greve soore. ///
The childe borne in Ianuare
shalbe of wittis clere, /
But he shalhaue grete harme
of water and fyre. /

Signum piscus quare dicitur quod Ionas propheta missus
erat in mare in ventro Ceti tribus diebus et tribus
noctibus. Et qui in illo signo nascitur faciem dei
omnipotentis videbit vt dicitur. //

Colde and moyste ys piscis,
lyke water with fysshis only,
& he regneth in þe fete;
& hoo bledys þer-in doth foly.
He þat borne in ffebrerye [is],

---

13. is] omitted in MS.

grete honour shall he bere,
& goo he shall on pilgremagis,
both ferre & nere.

Signum Arietis quare dicitur quod Abraham fecit holocaustum pro filio suo Isaac. Et qui in illo signo nascitur trepidus erit et graciam habebit.

.Et a Aries ys drye and hoote,
lyke fyre, god it wote. /
he regneth in face & hedde:
Blede not there for drede of dede. //
He þat in marche borne ys
shall recouere much ryches
þat shall turne hym
to honour and grete prowes.

Signum tauri. quare dicitur quod sanctificatus Iacob luctauit cum Angelo in bethleem quasi taurus post filium dei. Et qui in illo signo nascitur graciam habebit in omnem virum et vxorem semper.

Taurus ys colde & drye:
of Erthe he hath hys maistery[e].
Herte & throte it occupies,
& ho þer be hurte shall dye.
He þat ys borne in Aprile,
a his kynne shall passe by skylle, ///

---

17. Et a] scribal error: a mistaken beginning in Latin.

& grete welfare shalhaue
& much of hys wille.

Signum Geminis. quare dicitur quod Adam et Eva de vno corpore fuerunt plasmati. Et qui in illo signo nascitur pauper et valde debilis erit et in gemitu viuet.

Gemini ys hote & a lytell moyste:
after þe Eyer he ys.
In shulder & Armys regneth,
ther bledyng engendereth harmys. ///
He þat in Maij ys borne
shalbe wyse, true, & prevy,
And full of grete boste
and also of grete bounty.

Signum Cancri. quare dicitur quod Iob cancrosus fuit filio dei. Et qui illo signo nascitur terre debilis erit et graciam habebit et paradisum
[ ] accipiet /

Cancer ys moyste & colde:
lyke to water yt ys tolde.
In lungis & breste regneth,
Where a hurte ys þe worste.
He þat borne ys in Iunij
shalbe wicked & ful of envy,

43. (Latin preceding). erasure in MS.

with much false flatery,
& haue shall many enmy.

Signum leonis. quare dicitur quod daniel propheta missus fuit in lacu leonum / Et qui in illo signo nascitur ausus et latro erit. ///

Leo ys hote & drye:
of fyre ys hys mastry.
he regneth in stomake, backe, & side;
he þat hurte ys ther
shall soone loste his pryde. //
He þat borne ys in Iulij
shalbe sone wrath & hasty,
& be weddid rychely
by grete strengith & mastry.

Signum virginis. quare dicitur quod maria in virgo nata fuit et qui in illo signo nascitur sapiens et Iratus et sine culpa criminatus erit. ///

Colde & drye ys virgo;
Astronomy tellyth vs so;
and regneth in bowellis & lyver:
a hurte man þer may not cover. ///
The childe borne in August

---

53. loste] scribal error for lose?

wysely shall se by-forne /
& haue Inowe of Catell and corne. //

Signum Libre quare dicitur quod Iudas scarioth consilium fecit cum Iudeis et dedit vt apprehenderunt filium dei. Et qui in illo signo nascitur malificus et traditor erit et mala morte morietur. ///

Libra ys moyste & hote of humour, /
& of þe Eyer * ys his favour. / [*f. 90b]
he hath the [ ] & Raynes:
a hurt[e] þer never mendys. ///
He þat in September borne ys
mykell love shall haue //
of lord & knaf, /
& suerly hym-self fayn wulde save. ///

Signum scorpionis. quare dicitur quod filij Israel per mare rubrum transierunt. Et qui in illo signo nascitur multas tribulaciones transiet. ///

Scorpio ys moyste & colde:
of þe waters humoris he holte. /
It reyneth in generallis a-bowte;
a hurte þer standith in dowte. ///
He þat in October borne ys
shall love to wedde full soone, //

---

67. space in MS between the and &. 68. hurte] in center fold of MS.

& with maryage shall encrese
& soone haue his boone.

Signum sagitarij quare dicitur quod dauid pugnauit cum Golia. Et qui in illo signo nascitur ausus et luxuriosus erit. ///

Sagitarrius ys drye & hote:
kynde of fyre, well I wote. /
It regnes in hepys & thyes,
and a hurte þer soone dyes. ///
Man borne in November
ys hasty & redy to do foly, //
& þerfor shalbe wondede wykkedly. ///

Signum Capricorni quare dicitur quod Esau matris [convencorum, conventorum?] * perdidit patris benediccionem.[*f.91a] Et qui in illo signo nascitur dives et amabilis erit semper in omnibus. ///

Colde and drye ys Capricorne:
after þe Erthe it ys nay;
& it regneth in Eyþer knee,
where a hurte thryve ne may. /
He that in december / borne ys
shalbe welbelovyde; /
A merke on his hedde shalhaue,
and of a yoynt he shall be revyde.

// Explicit þe signes and þe .xij. Monthis //

27. [Lucky and Unlucky Days]

Bodl. Addit. MS A. 106

Maysters þat war of craftis sere [f. 192b]
Numbers dayes, monethes, & zere;
Þat is, to wete, in a twylmonth
Twa & twynty dayes er selcouth
Þat nedfull is to mannes lyfe.
And also er dayes fyfe,
And whoso in any of þe dayes
In any sekenes down hym hes,
Masters says þat was full wys
of hys seknes schuld he neuer ryse.
And who-so in þe dayes er born,
Sone hys lyf sall be for-lorn.
And he þat takys a lange way,
He sall neuer com a-gayn, I say.
And who-so sall a wyf wed,
þer sall son be stryfe in bed--
Or els to part in twayn,
Or sorow led þar lyfe in [payn].
He þat takes a nerand strange,
He sall noght maynten it full lange;
And bot gret grace god hym send,
He sall neuer mak gud hend.
Ianuer is þe fyrst mone;

---

18. payn] omitted in MS.

yt fallys in þe circumsicion.
Seuen dayes er noght lythe:
þe fyrst, þe secund, þe forth, þe fyft;
The tente þe fyftende er full kyn, [f. 193a]
And also er þe nentende.
And also in feuerȝere
Thre dayes er fers & fere:
The fyrst, þe seuentend, be letter,
And þe eghtende is no better.
Also fowre dayes er in may
þat gres men synge of walaway:
The seuend, þe tente, & þe seuentend;
And þe eghtend is full kyn.
In Iuni is noght bot ane;
þat is þe seuend, hym a-layn.
And also twa er in Iuly:
The fyftend & þe twynty.
Also in august er twa:
The nentende & þe twynty.
Also twa er in september:
The fyftend, þe seuentende er not tender.
Also þe fyrst day of october

---

24. circumsicion] final flourish; but cf. the same symbol, without orthographic significance, in potacion, v. 77 below. 27. kyn] scribal error for kynde? 29. feuerȝere] expanded from abbreviation; feureȝere, feurugere? 36. kyn] scribal error for kynde? 38. a-layn] a interlined. 41. aust deleted before august.

Is full fell & nothynge sober.
Also in nouember er thre, weterly:
The fyftend, þe seuen, & þe twynty.
In december er thre, I wen:
The sext, þe seuent, & þe fyftend.
Ilka man in þere dayes for-sake
To lat hym blod or medecyn take.
It is to bestis full honly-- [f. 193b]
And þe dayes, namly
The last day of aueryll,
þat is both stowt & gryll.
The fyrst day of august is not tender,
And þe last day of december.
And who-se in þes dayes ettis fleche
Of gos, other mare or lesse,
The master says, I mak no ly,
Wyth-in fortty dayes he sall dy.
Who-so in marche, þe seuenet day
Or þe eleuent samȝ delay,
Lattis hym blod, if þat he myght,
He sall neuer lose hys syght.
And he þat in þe hend of may,
The fyrst or þe fyft day,
Of both hys armys lattis hym blod,

---

53. honly] scribal error for homly or hamly? 64. samȝ] scribal error for sanz or saunz.

He sall neuer haf þe feuer wode--
yf he do it in goddis pety,
ffor it is proued by profecy.
Bede says, þat was clark clere,
þer is thre dayes in þe 3ere
In þe qwylk for nakyn case of ned
lyket noght to man no best to bled,
Ne tak any potacion [f. 194a]
þat is of drynkis confecion.
The last day of all aprell:
þat many a man lykys well.
The fyrst day of august:
þat lettis many fro þe lust.
The last day of december beand,
passes many a man fro þe land.
þes er thre days for to ken
with all 3owr besenes full eueyn.
In þer thre dayes þat er ser,
Watte man or woman or 3e 3ere
Er born, so says þe prophecy,
Thurght euyle ded þai sall dy.

---

78. confecion] final flourish. 88. 3e] scribal error for þe.

28[1,2]. [The Four Humours and the Zodiac]

Parallel Texts

First Version: MS Ashmole 391

Doctours woordes mowe not vari: [f. 4b]
seyen þat aries, leo, and sagittari:
þeis signes be in special
Colrik, fyry, and oriental. Eest

Thus it is termyned longe aforne:
þat taurus, virgo, & Capricorne--
as þei acorden also withal--
been malencoly, meridional. Southe

Second Version: MS Ashmole 1393

Este: whoot & dr[y] [f. 55a]
[Doc]toris woordis, þat mow not warry,
Seyhtte þat Aries, leo, & Satgitarry:
Theis synys ben in es yn esspiciall
Coloryke: fire yn the orientall.

Sowhtte: Colde & dry
[ ]
Tauro, virgo, and Capricorun--
As thei acorde also with-all--
Ben MAlencoly merydyAnall.

---

[2](preceding v. 1). dry] y torn off. 1. Doctoris] Doc torn off. 3. Seyht deleted before Theis; in es] should be deleted. 5. line omitted; no space left for it.

First Version

Gemyny, libra, and Aquary--
of oon nature and not to vary--
Sangwyn and occidental:
12 þis is þaire kinde in generall. Weste

Cancer, Scorpion, þe fissh: þeis thre
be fleumatik, who þat list to se;
And as bookes vs ensure,
16 Septentrional of þaire nature. Northe

Second Version

Weste: whoot & moyste
Geminy, librA, and AquaAri--
Of on naturre and not varry--
Off Sangwen naturre, as I trowe,
12 In þe occidentAl set vppon A rowhe.

Northe: Coolde & moyste
Cancer, scorpio, and pisce
Ben fleumaticus, who þat wyll se;
And as bookis vs ynsewyre,
16 Septem-trianAll of ther naturre.

---

[2]/11. of deleted before os. 15. bookis] second o interlined.

29. [The Manufacture of Gold]

MS Ashmole 759

ffyrst calcyn and after putrefie; [f. 78a]
dissolue, distille, sublyme, descende, and fixe.
with aqua vite oftentymes wesshe and drie,
and make A mariage of body and sowle the sprite betwixe;
which thus togeder naturally if ye can myxe,
In laufynge of the body the water congilide shall be.
Then shall the body vtterly dye in the flixe,
Bledynge and chaungynge his colours as ye shall se.
In [ ] and [ ] he shall vprise and discende--
ffyrst vp to the mone and sith vp to the sonne,
Only shippide withyn alitill glasen tonne. //
When he comyth theder, then is all the mastirie [f. 78b]
wonne,
aboute whiche iourney gret goodes shall ye not spende;
And ye shall be gladde that euer it was begon,
paciently if ye list to your werk to attende.
who-so will our perell and rubye make,
Our principle lette hym not forsake;
ffor at the begynnynge, if his principle be true,
and that he can by craft hym so bake,
Truly at thende his werk shall hym not rewe.

---

8. chaungynge] MS chungynge with symbol for u plus vowel above. 9. two illegible words.

30. [A Husbandman's Guide]

MS Harley 5401

Pictura cuius pani de Mensibus Anni. [f. 81a]

I am Mayus þat is bothe gay & shene, Sedet in cathedra ante ollam
ffull of swete flowres--rede, whyte, & grene.

Mulier cum floribus in ambabus manibus. homo seminans

I am Iunius that wedyth þe corne, wedynge
late at evyn & arely at morne.

homo tenens due vrinalia rigans terram.

I am Iulius þat mawes down þe cor gresse, cum ffalce
To seroff bestes both more & lesse.

cum vanga, cultello, & planta.

I am Augustus þat repith þe whete: repynge
dysdeyn no man þis wark to lete.

I am septembyr monyth, I-wys: homo torcurando
It is my kynde shavys to thresch.

I am Octobre, ordayned for þis tyme cum baculo per mast ad porcos
To bete down mast for þe swyne.

---

5. cor] faintly underlined, perhaps to indicate deletion.

I am Nouembre: it is gode skyll — Cum magno securo mactando porcos
all þis ceson swyne to kyll.

I am Decembre, most of plente, — Rex sedens cum dapibus & potibus
And kynge off riches & of rialte.

31[1,2,3,4,5]. [The Four Humours: Physiology and Psychology]

Parallel Texts

First Version: MS Digby 88

// Sanguinus. // [f. 29a]

In gyftys large & in love hath grete delyte;
2 Iocand & gladde, ever of laghyng Chere;

Second Version: Camb. Univ. Lib. MS Ff. 1. 6

Sanguinus [f. 162b]

Off yefftis large, in loue hayth gret delite;
2 Iocund and glad, & ay of laughynge chere;

Third Version: Trin. Coll. Camb. MS 599

Of the iiij Complexiouns [f. 52b]

Of yeftis large, love hathe gret delite;
2 Ioconde and glade, ay of lawyng chere;

Fourth Version: MS Harley 2251

Off yiftes large, in love hath grete delite; Sanguineus [f. 80a]
2 Iocunde and gladde, ay of laughynge chere;

Fifth Version: MS Ashmole 59

Here nexst folowepe pe foure complexcyons [f. 71b]
of man-kynde with pe doomis of hem made
by discrete Clerkes.

Off gifftes large, to love hape grete delite;
2 Ioyous and gladde, / aye of laughing chere;

---

[5]/1. to] interlined.

First Version

Of rody color medlede sum-dele with whyte;
Dysposed by kynde to be a Chaunter;
Hardy I-now, manly and bolde of Chere.

Second Version

Off Rody coloure meynd somdell with Rede;
Dysposede to be kynde, to bee a chauntre;
Harde I-nogh, manly and Bolde off chere.

Third Version

Of Ruddy coloure meynt somdele with whight;
Disposide be kynde to be a chauntere;
Hardy I-nowe, manly and bolde of chere.

Fourth Version

Of Ruddy colour meynt somdel with white;
Disposede by kynde to be a champioun;
hardy I-nough, manly and bolde of chiere.

Fifth Version

Of ruddy colour medeld some-dele with white;
Disposde by kynde for to be chauntour;
Hardy y-nought, manly and bolde of chere.

---

[1]/3, 14. color] expanded from abbreviation; colur?

[2]/3. colloure deleted before coloure; Rede] scribal error for white. 4. to be kynde] scribal error for be ("by") kynde.

[4]/4. champioun] -pioun added in darker ink.

First Version

Of the sanguyne also there ys a signe:
7 To be demure, ryght Curtys, & benygne.

Second Version

Off the sangwenn also it is a synge:
7 To be demuere, Ryght curtes, and benigne.

Third Version

Of the Sanguine also it is a signe:
7 To be demure, Riche, curteys, and benigne.

Fourth Version

Of the sangwyne also it is a signe;
7 To be demure, rigchet curteys, and benygne.

Fifth Version

Of þe sangwyne also it is a signe:
To be demure, / right curteyse, and benigne.

---

[3]/7. Riche] scribal error for Right.

[4]/7. rigchet] rig- and -t added in a darker ink in an attempt to alter riche to right.

First Version

// Colericus. //

The Coleryk froward, full of dysseyte;
Irus of herte, prodygall in expence;
Hardy also, & worchith all by sleght;

Second Version

Colericus

The Colerik ffrowarde, ffull of dys[i]et;
Irous in hert, prodegall in exspens;
hardy also, & worchyth all be sleyght;

Third Version

The Coleric froward and full of disceyt;
Irous in hert, prodiggall in expense;
Hardy also, and werchithe ay be sleight;

Fourth Version

The Coleryk froward, and of disceyte; Colericus
Irous in hert, prodigal in expence;
hardy also, and worchith ay by sleyght;

Fifth Version

Colericus

þe Coleryke frowarde, ful of gret desceyte;
Irus of hert, / prodegale in despence;
Hardye alsoo, / and wurcheþe al by sleght;

---

[2]/8. dysiet] MS blotted; i partly legible.

First Version

Sklender & small, full lyght in existence;
12 Ryght drye of nature, for þe grete fervence.

Second Version

Sclendere & small, full high in existens;
12 Ryght drye of nature, ffor þe gret fervens

Third Version

Slender and smale, full light in existens;
12 Right drye of nature, for the gret fervens

Fourth Version

Sklendere and smalle, ful light in existence;
12 Right drye of nature, for the grete fervence

Fifth Version

Sklendre / and smal, ful light in existens;
12 Right druye of nature, / for þe gret fervence

---

[2]/11. high] scribal error for light. 12. illegible word deleted before fervens.

First Version

Of hete & coloryk it ys the signe,

14 & he ys comenly of þe color of Cytryne.

Second Version

Off hete; & þe Colerik hath hys syngn:

14 he is comenly of coloure cetryne.

Third Version

Of hete; and the Coloric hathe this signe:

14 He is comonly of coloure Citryne.

Fourth Version

Of heete; and the coleryk hath this signe:

14 he is communely of coloure cytryne.

Fifth Version

Of heete; þe coloryk haþe þis signe:

14 He comvnly is / of colour cytryne.

---

[2]/13. hath hys] scribal error for hath thys.

[5]/14. following this line the scribe has deleted ffleumaticus.

First Version

// ffleumaticus /

The fleumatik ys sompnolent & slowe,
with humours grose replete, ay habundant;
17 & with spyttyng of Rewmos þe fleumatyk ys knowe;

Second Version

ffleumaticus

The fleumatik is sompnolent and slowe,
withe humours groos Replet, ay habondaund;
17 To spitte Rewmous the fleumatik is knowe;

Third Version

The flewmatique is sompnolent and slowe, [f. 53a]
with humores grosse replete, ay habundaunt;
17 To spitte Inuenons the fleumatic is knowe;

Fourth Version

The fflewmatyk is sompnelent and slowe, fflevmaticus [f. 80b]
with humours grosse replete, ay habundaunt;
17 To spitte Invenons the flewmatik is knowe;

---

[5] entire stanza (vv. 15-21) omitted in this version.

First Version

And by dulle conceyte, & with vnsufficyant
The subtell arte to accompleysh or haunte.
ffat of kynde, the fleumus men may ye trace,
And knowe hym best by hys face.

Second Version

By dull conceit, & wytte insufficiant
The sotell art accomplisse or haunt.
ffat of kynde, the ffleumous may trace,
and know hym best by whytnes of hys face.

Third Version

By dull conseyt, and voide vnsuffisaunt
The suptill art to accomplissh or haunt.
ffat of kynde, the flewmous men may trace,
And knowe them best be fatnes of ther face.

Fourth Version

By dulle conceyte, and voyde vnsufficiaunt
The sutill art to complice or haunt.
ffatt of kynde, the flewmous men may trace,
And know hym best by whitnes of his face.

---

[2]/19. to deleted before accomplisse. 20. men omitted before may. 21. illegible word deleted before hym.

[3,4]/18. voide, voyde] scribal errors for wytte?

First Version

// Malencolicus / [f. 29b]

The malancolik thus men a-spye:

23 He ys thowthfull & set in Covetyse,

Second Version

Malencolicus

The malencolic thus me espie:

23 he thoughtfull & sette in covetes,

Third Version

The malancolius thus men aspie:

23 He is thoughtfull and set in coviteys,

Fourth Version

The Malencolius thus men espye: Malencolicus

23 he is thought and sette in covetise,

Fifth Version

Malencolius

þe malencolius þus men espie: [f. 72a]

23 he is thoughtfull and sette in covetyse,

---

[2]/22. me] scribal error for men? 23. is omitted before thoughtfull.

[4]/23. thought] scribal error for thoughtfull.

[5]/22. at top of f. 72a: þe foure complexiouns, a running title. 23. He is thoughtfcell deleted before he.

First Version

Replenysshede full of fowle fretyng envy;
He herte seruyth hym to spende in noo wyse.
Trecherer ys, fraude cann he full well devyse.

Second Version

Replenyshede ffull of foulie fretynge envy;
his hert servyth hym to spende in no wyse.
Trecherus fraudfull-nys kane he dyvyse.

Third Version

Replenysshede full of fretynge Envie;
Hes hert servithe hym to spende in no wise.
Treason, Envious fraude can he well devise.

Fourth Version

Replenysshith ful of fretynge envye;
his hert servith hym to spende in no wise.
Trayterous frawde ful wele can he devise.

Fifth Version

Replenisshe / of foule fretinge envye;
His hert serveþe him to spende in no wyse.
Treccherous fraude / cane he wele devyse.

---

[1]/25. He] scribal error for His?

[2]/24. foulie] scribal error for foule?

[4,5]/24. Replenysshith, Replenisshe] scribal errors for -de?

First Version

Cowarde of kynde when he shuld be a mann,
28 þu shalt hym knowe by hys vysage pale & wanne.
/ Explicit //

Second Version

Coward of kynde whan he scholde be man,
28 Thou shalt hym knowe by visage pale & wane.

Third Version

Coward of kynde when he shulde be a man,
28 Thou shalt hym know bi visage pale & wan.
EXPLICIT iiij complexions

Fourth Version

Cowarde of kynde whan he shulde be a man,
28 Thow shalt hym knowe by visage pale and wan.

Fifth Version

Coward off kuynde / whane he shoulde be a man,
28 þowe shalt him knowe / by visage pale and wane. /

---

[2]/27. a omitted before man.

32. [How to Detect Usury]

MS Egerton 2810

De Terminis vsure. [f. 180^{b}, col. 1]

Okure, þrow crafte of okerrere,
schewis hit on mony manere.
þe first manere is qwen a mon firstys his þinge
And takys oghte fore þe fyrstynge,
Throgh couenande be-fore yt menn mas:
Alle is okyr þat men so tas.
þis may be holdyn comynly okyre,
Okyr with-owten curtasy.
And þat be-houys hym ȝelde agaynn,
Ore ellys he schalle hafe helle payne.
Other manere of okure is:
(þat is þis, bote it is les):
As a mon of his wylle fre
lene syluer, golde, & mone
And takys oghte fore þe fyrstynge,
Of curtasy with-owten hetynge.
ȝete is þat okure, as menn says,
Bute he þat tas is curtas.
þat behoues hym stope in þo dette,
Ore elles wrathe of god schalle he gete.
ffore iche mon schule, fore goddes sake,
Go oþer firste and noghte þer-fore take.

8, 16. curtasy] expanded from abbreviation: cortasy? 18. curtas] expanded from abbreviation; cortas?

þen wylle god fore þat dede
specialy graunte hym his mede.
þe thride maner of okure kyde
Is þis þat is myculle here hyde:
Als qwen a mon ȝeldys a þinge
þat his frendes wan here in okerrynge,
And þai be passed oute of þis lyue.
B[e] hit fader, moder, ore wyfe,
he schulde note halde hit in store,
Bote he wolde make a sethe be-fore;
þat is to say, if he wete
how his frendes hade wonnen hite.
Ande if he do, he is gylty
Als he þat dyde fyrst þe foly.
[þe] fu[r]the maner is char[g]ande;
[þer i]s þis to vnderstonde:
[Als] quenn a mon a prouande hase
þat okure to his vse tas,
[if] he þer-of payed hym halde,
[he] may be maister okurrer calde.
[þe] fifte maner [o]f okure is þis:
[ ]ynes mys,
Alse quenn a mon okure lenes [f. 180a, col. 2]

30-44. MS faded. 45. lenes] an extra e interlined above last e.

þat syluer þat is oþer mennes,
þat in kepynge hase to safe.
with þat þus wylle he okure hafe.
Ore if he be borw in preuete,
ffore okure, syluer ore mone
To lene to oþer, and to hafe
More okure þen he þer-fore gafe.
he þat is disciple of okerrere,
þat maner schall he by fulle dere,
Bote he þer-fore amendes make
Ere þe dethe hym hethen take.
þe sexte is þis: quen a mon sellys
Corne ore beste or oght elles,
And fyrstes hit to a certayn day
And sellys þe derrer for fyrst of pay.
In þe dette, if he so wele,
he schulde a-low hit ilke-a dele.
þat he hase more I vnderstonde,
þen he wold fyrste take in honde;
Ande bote he do, he mon be schente,
Wenn he of þis word is wente.
þe seuend maner of okure soghte
Is þis, þat sume men chargen noȝte:
þat wann a mon selles a þinge, nomly
To hym þat nede hase hit to by.

---

49. preuete] expanded from abbreviation; priuete?
69. wann] a interlined.

ffore he sees wele & cone wete
þat he þat byes may note tary hit.
Then selles he hit fore dowbyl prise --
he tas ouermykel on þat wise.
No more he schuld take of hym þan
þen hit were worthy to a noþer man.
fore þat he tase more,
Þen þe worthe hym schalle rew sor[e];
ffore on þat wise dose he noghte,
Ase he wold to hym were wrogte.
þer-fore schalle he a-resned be,
fore he bese a gaynn charitc.
Þe aghted maner of þis is to dred[e]:
wenn a mon sees a noþer mon hafe ned[e],
To selle corne, cetelle, ore fee
Be-fore þe tyme þat felle to be;
þen byes he hit fore a lytulle prise, [f. 181a, col. 1]
To his awantage on þis wise;
So þat he make be-fore þe pay
Ande þe corne a-byde to a day.
ffore he hase no doute þat ne þo corne schalle be
More worthe ate þe day þen firste gafe he.
So may þe corne be solde and boghte
þat þe byere schalle hafe fore noghte;
ffore ate þe day may falle so,
þat þe corne is worthe syche tow.

78-84. MS faded. 83. paragraph sign in left margin. 96. tow] scribal error for <u>two</u>?

þere-fore he schulde, quenn he hit tas,
pay hym more also þe corne þen gas.
And if he rewarde hym with no more,
þen tas he okure, ase I sayde ore.
þe neghed maner of okure, I fynde,
þat mas somm mens conciens blynde:
þat is quene a monn fore a vauntage
lenes syluer fore rente in morgage,
And þe profete of þe rente
Ouer þe syluer þat is lente,
Of alle þe tyme to þe day
þat is sete to make þe pay.
Bote he þe profete to prise sete
And a-low hit in þo dette,
His saule schalle be in grete daunchere,
Als he þat is an okurrere.
þe tente maner of okure may be,
in þis case þat may menn ofte se:
Ase quenn a mon with-haldes fore ay
a wede þat layde is to a day,
fore he hase not þe pay of þe dette,
Nomly ate þe day þat is sete.
Alle if þe couenand suche ware,
3ete if þe wedde were worthy mare
þan þe dette a-mounte mighte,
hym by-houyd 3ylde agaynn þrogh ryghte,

Ore elles he schale hafe an hard fyte
Qwene he schalle out of þis world flytte.
Ore if a mon þe wed it layde
Were ay tylle þe dette be payed,
If hit be payrede, as I traw,
In þe pay hym be-houes a-low--
And stop als mycull and no lesse
Als þe wed þen apayred is.
And bote he do, I warne hym wele,
He mone þer-fore hard payne felle.
þe ellend maner, fynde I now, [f. 181a, col. 2]
þat is þis, I dar a-vow:
Quen a mon tase tylle a marchand
Syluer or gold be þis couenande:
þat he hafe half þat wynnyng is,
And his awne syluer neuer þe les.
If he take half wynnyng fre,
with-outen oker may þat not be.
fore he wille hafe half wynnynge
And nogt a-low if þer be tynynge.
Bote if he make first sych couand
þat he to perell of lose wyl stond,
And a-low ase falles costage,
þen may he take half a vauntage,
lefully as couennand wylle,
with-outen okure, & þat is skylle.
And þe same maner in catel lys,

þat to halfe is lettyd on þis wise:
Quen a mon letis catell or fe
To half in suche a couennand be,
þat he half þe vauntage hafe
þat þer comys, and his owne safe;
So if þat catelle be loste,
He wille hafe holy þat hit coste
[and fore þat] alow no costage:
þat hald I okure, al his avauntage.
þe xij maner of okur is Ille:
þat is þis, þat sume men vse wylle:
Als quen a mon wille first or lene
Syluer ore corne to symple men,
Ore oþer þinge þat myȝt þaim availe;
þen puttes he þaim to trauayle
In his werkes þat he wold were wr[oȝte];
And elles wille he first þaim noȝte,
Ore if þai may note þe dett pay,
Als þai are halden ate þe day,
þen mase he with þaim couande
To wirke his werkes with fote & hon[d]
fore þat dete þat þai hym owe,
and þer-to byndes hem with þe law.
He wylle fore ilk peny of dett[e]

157-178. MS wrinkled and faded. 159. paragraph sign in left margin.

þre peny-worth of work [ge]te.
þis is a synfulle bargayne:
þer-fore he schall hafe myc[ul] pa[yne].
Now haf I scheud ȝou of so[the]
þe cawsis in quich okure [byeth cothe].

Explicit

---

178. [byeth cothe] upper half of letters visible.

33. [A Charm Against the Nightmare]

MS Rawl. C. 506

/ ffor the Nyȝthe Mare / [f. 297a]

Take a flynt stone þat hath an hole thorow of hys owen growynge & hange it on þe stabill dore, or ell on horse; and ell writhe þis charme: In nomine patris, & cetera.

Seynt Iorge, our lady knyȝth,
he walkede day, he walkede noyȝth,
till þat he fownde þat fowle wyȝth;
& whan þat he here fownde,
he here bete & he here bownde;
till trewly þer here trowthe sche plyȝth:
þat sche * sholde not come by nyȝthe [*f. 297b]
withInne vij rode of londe space--
þus as seynt Ieorge namyde was.

Seint Ieorge, seinte Ieorge, seint: In nomine patris, & cetera; & wryte þis in a bylle & hange it in þe hors mane.

(prose preceding v. 1). ell] preceding writhe: perhaps an error for eft. 2. noyȝth] scribal error for nyȝth? 5. trewly] e interlined; plyȝth] the crossed h perhaps significant; cf. nyȝthe, v. 7.

34. [The Optimum in Physiognomy]

MS Ashmole 189

That man ys best yn mynde, [f. 213a]
and wel ymade yn kynde,
that hath a mediokre stature--
not to longe ne to shorte of nature;
and softe and tender of skyn and fleissh;
white face with rody lerys;
or ell louely brown with softe and thykke black herys;
Straught of body and covenale shuldrys;
not to fleisshy kneys, with the other Ioyntis;
clere of voyce and mediokre mouth,
by west, Est, north, and south.
to hym wel ye tryst may,
bothe by nyght and eke by day.

---

4. yn his deleted before of. 7. black] interlined.
11. by] interlined in left margin.

35. [Corruption in the Courts of Law]

Camb. Univ. Lib. MS Dd. 1. 1

O Iudex, vi feruida hanc seruabis artem. Acu tin ali merida; i.e., audi alteram partem. [f. 300b]

And þer-for ȝe lordingis þat louedays wile h[olde],
loke ȝe here bope partyes & who haþ right or wro[ng];
& to confound al falsnes, be ȝe brim & bolde;
& to mayntene rightwisnes, make ȝou stif & strong.

Werk not after wil, for ȝe know wel be skil
þat þe on side haþ trupe & þat oþer tresoun;
& þerfor ground ȝow vp-on good feyth, & not after wil,
for wil is no skil wiþ-out good resoun.

is þis good right & resoun? "for þis man is my frend,
I wile mayntene þis man & al his matere als--
nay, forsope & skile--whi, for euer mor at þe last end,
be he fals or be he trew." I proue me-self fals

Whan I wold han myn owne wil, be it right or wron[g],
& I wile take non hede of falshed ne of trupe.
ȝe þat gon on louedays, haue þis in mynde among
& rule ȝow after reson & ellis it is gret rupe.

---

1. And] illuminated capital. 2. or] interlined. 13. or] interlined.

For if ȝe fauoure falshed with word & wiþ dede, [f. 301a]
[W]ilfulli aȝens a cause þat trewe is knowe & told,
[þ]an ȝe synne as dedli, with-out eny drede,
[A]s Iudas dide (þat iauel) whan þat he ihesu sold.

[þ]erfor for loue or lordschipe, for siluer or for gold,
[m]ayntene ȝe no maner man þat wrongwisli wold do.
[B]ut turne ȝow al to truþe, as right & resoun wold.
[&] of þe werst make ȝe þe best. god graunt ȝou grace perto!

Quoniam iustus dominis & iusticias / Amen.
[d]ilexit equitatem vidit vultus eius. Beati
[q]ui faciunt iudicium & iusticiam in omnium
tempore. Et ideo iuste iudicate, filij hominum.
Et quare? Quia iusti imperpetuum viuent. &
impij in te [ ]iebus conticescent, contremescent,
& in tormentis contabescent sibi; tormenta non
decrescent & sic inperpetuum iniquium requiescent.

Estis verax; veritatis partem alteram audi.
ffrangens formam falsitatis non fauebis fraudi.
perpoter nulla munera falsis tu fauebis
ynnus [ ] mortis vulnera privis [?] sustinebis.
Et sic ob rem maximam seu per magnis munis
Salue tuam animam & memento finis.

18-24. left margin covered by binder's paper.

HEre may þat man þat falsli him forsweres
seen wiþ his eyen & heren with his eres,
what synne he doþ þat falsli is forsworn
& what goodnes & grace þer-porw is lorn,
as seyth þe holi doctour Seynt Austyn. St Austin
& þe gret clerk seynt thomas abquyn, Thomas Aquyne: mr of sentences
& þe mayster of sentens, schewiþ in his boke,
in þe .39. distinctioun, who þer wile it loke:
þat man is forsworn, wher þan he goth,
þat mayntainþ a lesing wiþ a gret oth;
& namli þat man þat a-forn a domys-man
wile swere on a boke as fast as he can.
And þer-for, ȝe questmen, loke ȝe be not wroth,
for þat ȝoure soules schuld ben lorn, forsoþe me were loþ!
he is not my best frend þat telliþ me al my wil,
but he þat telliþ me truþe wiþ resoun & with skil.
& þerfor I schal tellen ȝow, as I seyde a-forn,
what goodnes ȝe han lost whan ȝe ben forsworn.

FErst, whan a man consentiþ in his þought
to forswere him on a boke for ought or for nought,
he forsakiþ & lesiþ alle þe gode þoughtis

---

25. HEre] large capitals. 29-30. side-notes added in a later hand. 43. FErst] large capitals.

þat euere he had of god or oþer good þat ought is.
& whan he goþ þe boke forward on his fete,
þer vp-on to swere fals, he schal wel wete,
þer he forsakiþ & lesiþ, for his fals entent,
al þe gode weys & pilgrimages þat euere he rode or went.
As whan þat he on þe boke leyth forþ his hond
þon to forswere him, he schal vnderstond
þat he lesiþ alle his gode werkis with his hondis wrou[ght], [f. 301b]
& to sauacioun of his soule þei seme him of nough[t].
& þerto he forsakiþ alle þe gode wordis of god
þat ben wretin in þat boke, be þei euene or od.
& whan þat he afterward haþ kissid þe boke
for any þank of god þat him neuere loke,
of eny good preyere þat euere haþ he preyd,
or of eny good word wiþ his mouþ seyd.
þus alle his good dedis ben lost with-out eny d[rede],
& mahoun his mayster schal quyte him his med[e].
for crist & his cristendom he haþ þan forsak[in],
& to þe deuyl of helle his soule is betakin,
vn-to þe tyme come þat he may him repent,
& þat he may han grace of good amendement.
But manye swiche folis han þis affiaunce:

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58. þat] scribal error for lat. 59. preyere] expanded from abbreviation; prayere?

þat þei schul ben schreuen & don som penaunce,
& þus þei supposen schortli to ben schreuen,
& þat alle hire synnes schul lightli ben forȝeuen.
But he þat þorw schrifte supposiþ to ben saue,
if he may han tyme .iij. thingis must he haue:
He must han for his synne sum contricioun,
with trew schrifte of mouþ & satisfaccioun.
þese .iij. must him do; & he may do no les
þat of his synnes wile han ful forȝifnes.
But to bring these .iij. þingis wel a-boute,
it is a maystri to many a man, with-out ony doute.
for many fals men, lyue þei neuere so long,
þei wil not ben a-know þat þei did wronge.
& many swiche folis han non hap ne grace
to han tyme of right repentaunce ne space.
but many tymes & oft þei deyen a sodeyn de[d],
as men han herd & seen in many dyuers sted.
but who wile don þe bettere or exsample take,
for eny sodeyn ded or ellis for goddis sake?
but a few folk, as men seyn; but wisdom wold not so,
for he is wys þat can be-war be anoþer mannes wo.
but how may swiche men for hire synn mak satisfa[cioun],
& of þe falshed þat þei han don make restitucioun?

83-92. in fold of MS. 89. synn] with final flourish, perhaps significant of -e here and in vv. 92, 102, and 114; cf. synne, v. 123, etc.

Seynt Austyn seyth, "he þat of falshed is
schreuen, St Austin
but if he make amendis, his synn is not forgeu[en]."
How may þo men make aseeþ of þe londis
þat þorw hire fals othis is in oþer mennys h[ondys]?
How may þe men bring a man to his good name,
þat falsli han brought him in a foul fame?
How may þei bring þat man to lyf a-gayn
þat þorw his fals othis was hangid or slayn?
þe forseyd doctour seyth þus (seynt Austyne):
"þe man þat haþ forfetid, he must make a fyne."
& but he make amendis, in þat he may,
his synn is not forȝouen, as þe clerkis say.
But wher knowe ȝe þe questmen þat wile don
eny cost [f. 302a]
to make asseth of þo þingis þat þorw hem ben lost?
Wher know ȝe þo men þat wile ben aknowen openli,
þat þei defamyd eny trew man or woman falsli?
Wher know ȝe þo questmen þat wil sey in eny sted
þat þei dampnid eny trewe man falsli to ded?
How may þese men þan make amendis
þat þus falsli & openli god & man offendis?
to make amendis lyuyng, þei han no þought;
after hire ded if al þei wold, þan may þai nought.
& seþþe swiche men wile make no restitutioun,

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91. side-note in later hand. 94. MS wrinkled. 98. fals] a interlined.

How may þei þan of hire synn han remissioun?
þe merci of god must answere to þis cas,
& god ful of mercy & goodnes & gras.
He graunt vs of his grace & his goodnys
to amende þo maneris þat we vse amys,
& lete vs neuere swiche synnes do be eny way
þat may ben lasting after oure deed day.
for swiche synnes, whan þat we hens wende,
as longe & late þei may make an ende.
& as longe as oure synne lastiþ, as clerkis seyn,
as longe schul oure soulis dwelle in hire peyn--
peraunter vn-to domes day, or forþ with-out ende,
in bodi & in soule wiþ þat foul fende.
& þer-for ȝe questmen þat gon vp on questis,
for eny wrappe or wynnyng do ȝe þat best is.
loke þat ȝe swere truli & trewe tale telle,
[þat] ȝe dampne not ȝour soulis & wend vn-to helle.

Iudex in iudicem iuste iudicabis.
Et precibus vt precio nullum defraudabis.

But what sey ȝe be þo domes-men
þat ofte-tyme in dome sitte,
and wete wel þat þei seyn fals,
and ȝet þei wile suffer itte?

122. or deleted before þei; may] interlined. 125. peraunter] expanded from abbreviation: paraunter? 130-148. MS wrinkled. 131. But] illuminated capital.

And after hire fals tale
þei wile ȝeuen þe dome.
[W]here hope ȝe þat swiche men
[Sum] tyme schul be come?

[I] wot not where þei schul ben,
but ȝ[if] him-self wate;
but exsampil men may seen
be sire pounce Pilate.

for he sat as a domes-man
[W]ha[n] crist was don to dede;
& þe quest-men of cristis deth
stode forþ in þat stode,

And vn-to pilate lowde þei cride,
[&] þat [wi]þ a boystous breth;
and seyde þat crist was worthi [f. 302b]
to ben don to þe deth.

Pilat answerid þan, & seyde
þat he knew no maner cause
whi crist schuld ben deed,
be eny of his lause.

And whan þe iewis had demyd crist
for to deye vp-on þe rode,
pilat waschid his handis
as giltles of his blode.

ffor pilat wist ful wel
þei knew no cause whi,
but al hire doyng euerideI
was don for enuy.

And þus pilat in his wordis,
in al þat he myght,
Seyde he wold saue crist
in resoun & in right.

But for he schewid fayre wordis,
and al fals be his wil,
& suffrid hem to slen crist
wiþ-out resoun & skil.

& for he turnid fro þe truþe
at þe laste ende,
He is dampnid vn-to helle,
to dwelle with þe foul fende.

But where domes-men, now on daye,
don eny more a-mys
þan dide sire pounce pilate?
Sum men supposen ȝis!

þan wold I wete of wisemen
what schul ben hire mede,
þat mayntene falshed witingli,
for loue or mede or drede.

Where schal ben hire wonyng place
þat wile eueremor wilfulli
hold a-3ens a trewe [sur] cause
if þei may take [cause] why?

Sum men suppose wiþ pilat,
and passe him in his wo;
& whi? for pilat held with trewþe longe,
& swiche men don not so.

And þus þei stond in gret drede,
and þat is grete rewþe--
& alle þat mayntene falshede
and turne awey fro truþe!

If any swich lyue in þis lond,
God to gode turne hire entent;
and alle oþere þat don amys,
God graunt hem grace of amen[d]! Am[en]

185-186. MS blotted. 198. amend] in center fold; amendement?; Amen] preceded by paragraph sign; in center fold.

36[1,2]. [Youth and the Pitfalls of Contemporary Life]

Parallel Texts

First Version: Camb. Univ. Lib. MS Hh. 4. 12

COnsiderynng effectually the gret diuersite [f. 91a]
Of sectys contenyde in the church present,
How eche of hem lyve in a dew degre--
Presthode and religioun euer to be continent;
The layfee in sposayll; the solitary doth consent
Euer to be contemplatyf, we se well it is so:
wherefore thus I saide, verayly as I ment,
"Alas, / Quid eligam ignoro!"

Second Version: Brit. Mus. Addit. MS 29729

Quid eligam ignoro [f. 3a]
Considring effectually þe grete diversity
of sectes conteynyd in the churche present,
how eche of them in dew degre--
as pristhode & Relygyon to be content;
the layfe in spusell; the solitary dothe consent
ever to be contemplatyve, ye know well it is so.
wherefore thus I say, verily as I ment,
"alas, quid eligam ignoro!"

---

1. COnsiderynng] large capitals.

First Version

Thre thynggis, quod Salamon, ben vnknowyn to me;
And to know the fowrth I can not vttyrly:
The way of shypp saylynge in the see;
The way of an heddyr glydynge sodayly;
Of the egle in the ayere the way is full flye;
The worst of all to know is of a yonge man, loo!
wherefore thus I saide, sore syghyng inwarly,
"Alas, Quid eligam ignoro!"

Second Version

Thre thyngs, quod salamon, ban vnknowne to me;
and to know the forthe I can nat vtterly:
the wey of a shyp sailing on the se;
the wey of an adder glidynge sodenly;
of the Egle in the aier the way is full fly;
the worse of all to know is of a yonge man, lo!
wherfore thus he sayd, sore syghyng inwardly,
"Alas, quid Eligam Ignoro!"

---

[1]/11. a deleted before shypp. 12. sodayly] scribal error for sodaynly. 15. ly deleted after syghyng; inwarly] scribal error for inwardly?

First Version

ffor whan I was determinede fyrst to go to scole,
It was to me ryght lothe by-cause of castigacioun.
ȝit me thowght ageynwarde ellis schulde I be a fole--
wich to all my frendis shulde be diffamacioun.
Thus towarde and frowarde I had persuasioun,
Vtterly vnknowynge the best for me to do.
wherefore thus I saide, havynge noo consolacioun,
"Alas, Quid eligam ignoro!"

Second Version

Whan I was determynyd first to go to scole,
it was to be Right lothe bycause of castigacion.
yet me thought agayn, ells I myght be a fole--
the whiche to all my frynds shuld be defamacion.
thus toward and frowward I had persuasyon,
vtterly vnknowynge þe best for to do.
then thus I sayd, havynge no consolacion,
"allas, quid eligam Ignoro!"

---

[1]/18. castigacioun] double-function nasal bar.
20. diffamacioun] double-function nasal bar. 21. persecucioun deleted before persuasioun. 23. consolacioun] double-function nasal bar.

First Version

Yit as my fortune wold, I wat set to lore,
And growndly in gramer had congrue vndirstondynge.
ffurther to procede than set I lityll store,
Thynkkynge my-self able to purchase my lyvynge.
Yit in my consaite I was imaginynge:
If I forthe procede, muche better shulde I doo.
wherefore thus I saide of thys mater musynge,
"Alas, / Quid eligam ignoro!"

Second Version

---

[2]. stanza omitted in this version.

First Version

Thys yit notwithstondynge, with a good avise
My frendis me tolde, "it is thy furtheraunce
To lerne the .vii. science, replenyschyde with delice."
Yit, me thowght, to hige they shulde me nowt avance;
And to be a Ciuilistre is a full harde chaunce--
Bokis be so dere, I know well it is so.
wherefore sore complaynynge, thys was my daliance,
"Alas, / Quid eligam ignoro!"

Second Version

This yet nat with-standynge, with a good avice
my frends me tolde it was the fortheraunce
to lerne the vii sciencis Replenyshid with delice.
then me thought to late: they shuld me nat avaunce;
to be a Civilian it is an harde chaunce--
bokys been so dere, ye know well it is so.
sore complaynyng, thus was my daliunce,
"allas, quid eligam Ignoro!"

---

[2]/39. daliunce] scribal error for daliaunce? 40. Ignoro] added in a different hand.

First Version

Than happyde that in arte I had the magistery;
My Regency finischyde, I had habilite
ffurther to procede; I wolde no longer tary:
to ffysyk or to Ciuille was my felicite.
But wheder of them both had more affinite
To iust adquisicioun, I cowde not chese thoo.
wherefore thus I saide in that aduersite,
"Alas, Quid eligam ignoro!"

Second Version

Then happid it in Arte I had the magistory;
my Regencie fynysshyd, I had habilyte
forther to procede; no lengger wolde I tary:
to phesike or to Civyle was my filicite.
but wheder of tho had more Affynyte
to Iuste adquisicioun, I coude nat chose tho.
then thus I sayd in myne adversite,
"Allas, quid eligam Ignoro!"

[1,2]/46. adquisicioun] double-function nasal bar.

First Version

Than thowght I forto be in spirituall lawe: [f. 92a]
An officiall, aduocat, proctour, or notary.
Anone I was counsellyde thens me to withdraw,
lest I shulde misuse the law, / wich wolde not varye.
Thus mouyd vnwarly I gan both banne and wary,
like vnto a Reede wavynge too and fro.
wherefore thus I saide (I cowde no longer taeye),
"Alas, Quid eligam ignoro!"

Second Version

Then I thought to be of þe spirituall lawe:
as a vocat, proctor, or ellis a notorye.
anone was I counselyd them to withdrawe,
lest I shulde myse vse þe law, which may not varie.
thus toward and froward I gan bothe ban & warie.
like a rede in the watar waving to and fro.
Then I sayd thus (I coude no longar tarie),
"allas, quid eligam Ignoro!"

---

[1]/55. taeye] scribal error for tarye.

First Version

Wel I wote thatt Canon and holy theologie
Ben best of all other, mannys sowle to conuay--
All heresy confoundynge, and fals Ipocrisye.
Them wold I haf lernyde, the soth for to sey!
My fraylte me commandyd not for clymme so hye,
lest I beynge there sodaynly fall hem fro.
wherefor thus I saide, seynge non othyr way,
"Alas, Quid eligam ignoro!"

Second Version

Well I wote that that Canon and holy Theologie [f. 3b]
ben beste of all oder, a mannys soule to convey--
(forther to procede)
all erisie confoundyng, and fals Ipocrysye.
them wolde I have lernyd, the sothe to saye!
my fraylte me comaundid I shuld not clymbe so hye,
lest I ther being myght sodenly fall ther fro.
then I said thus, seinge no nodir wey,
"allas, quid eligam Ignoro!"

---

[2]/58. forther to procede] apparently a mistaken re-copying of v. 43 above; should be deleted.

First Version

Thus mortally bewavyd with stormys procellows,
I nyst where to fynde the porte of stedfastnesse,
To which I myght well guyd my lyfe thus trobelows.
ffor if I were a prest, sum men wold than gesse
That I so dyd for couetyse of ease and sikyrnesse.
Agayneward, if I weddyd war, than shuld I lefe in woo.
Wherfor thus I saide, havynge gret heuynesse,
"Alas, Quid eligam ignoro!"

Second Version

Thus mortally wavid with stormes procellus,
I wist nat wher to fynd þe poynt of stablenes,
to the whiche I myght well gide my lif to trobelus.
If I were a preste, a-none men wolde ges
that I so dyd for covetise of ease or of sikernesse.
Agayn-ward, and I wedid wer, I myght hap to lyve in wo.
Then I sayd thus, havynge great hevynes,
"Alas, quid Eligam Ignoro!"

---

[2]/65. vadyth deleted before wavid. 69. sikernesse] expanded from abbreviation; sikyrnesse?

First Version

The mownte of contemplacioun, strong it is to stey:
Inhabited with possessioner and with mendinant.
If I be a frere, I may begge alway--
Many diuerse townys frely for to hawnt.
Yf I be a possessioner, I haf noo such grawnt;
ffor I must lyffe in cloystre wheder I wyl or noo.
wherfor thus I sayde, in wytte a yonge enfawnt,
"Alas, Quid eligam ignoro!"

Second Version

The mounte of contemplacion harde; it is to flie;
in habite with possessioners & menicanamite.
yf I be a frier y may bege all daye--
many divers tounes frely forto lymite.
to be a posessioner, I have no suche graunte;
then must I lyve in the cloystar whider I will or no.
I sayd, in wille then lyke an enfaunte,
"Allas, quid elegam Ignoro!"

---

[1]/73. contemplacioun] double-function nasal bar.

[2]/74. in habite] scribal error for inhabited.

First Version

whan I had thus complaynyd, expressynge myn entent, [f. 92b]
a yong man herd my processe, disposyd worldly.
"O mercy, god," quod he, "now am I but shent!
Sith thys wyse clerk complaynyth so vttirly,
what is best to doo not knowynge verayly.
And in worldly besinesse is most trobles woo.
wherfor thus I say (gretter cause haf I),
'Alas, Quid eligam ignoro!'"

Second Version

When I had thus complayned, expressing myn entent, [f. 4a]
a yong man herd my complaynte, & was disposed worldly.
"O mercie, lorde," sayd he, "now am I but shent!
to here so who a clerke to compleyne to vtterly,
what is best to do not knowyng verely.
in this worldely besynes ther is most trobelyng wo.
wherfore thus to say great cawse have I,
"Allas, quid Eligam Ignoro!"

First Version

A man to be a marchaunt, he saide, was aventure
Of body and goddis: hit is trowth in-dede!
Of shipwrak and piratys, harde is the recure.
To dycke or to delue, he wold for no nede;
To begge hym thowght shame, so god hym spede!
Of theys to chese, the best was payne and woo.
wherfore thus he said (I toke to hym good hede),
"Alas, Quid eligam ignoro!"

Second Version

To be a marchaunte, he sayd, it is grete aventure
of body and of goods: it is treully, in-dede!
shypwrake and pyrat, hard it is to recure.
to dyke or dawbe, he wyll do for no mede;
to beg he thynkyth shame, so criste hym spede!
of thes to chese, he thought payne and wo.
Wherefore thus he sayd (I toke to hym good hede),
"Allas, quid eligam Ignoro!"

First Version

In cowrt to be bownde to dew attendaunce,
Or to be in office myght torne to hys avayle;
Yit hym thowght agaynewarde, ther myght hap a ch[aunce],
That as an vngiltles innocent he shulde be put in gayle--
As Ioseph was and daniell, that is with-owt faile.
And forto gete hys lyvynge sumwhat must he do.
wherfore thus he saide, and gan both wepe and waile,
"Alas, Quid eligam ignoro!"

Second Version

---

[1]/99. ch[aunce] in center fold. 100. vngiltles] scribal error for giltles; be] interlined.

[2]. stanza omitted in this version.

First Version

To lerne the lawe temporall, gret goddis myght he gete:
As to be in the chauncery or theschequire;
Aftyr to be sargeaunt, causys for to plete.
which gettynge, as hym thowght, was not inly clere
Accordyng with hys conscience, which shulde be the ste[re]
Of thys wrechyd lyvynge, yf we shall well doo.
wherfor he saide, with ryght a piteuowse chere,
"Alas, Quid eligam ignoro!"

Second Version

To lerne the law Temporall, grete good myght I gete:
as to be in the chauncery or in the excheker;
aftar to be a marchaunt, causes for to plete.
whiche getyng, hym thoughte, was nat Iontly clere
accordynge with his concience, whiche must be þe ster
of this worldly lyvyng, yf I shulde well do.
then he sayd thus, with ryght a pitious chere,
"Allas, quid eligam Ignoro!"

---

[1]/109. ste[re] in center fold.

[2]/108. Iontly] scribal error for Inly.

First Version

To be a hand-crafty man, must hafe gret besinesse: [f.93a]
As to be a tailyour, wryghte, or coteler.
And dayly now in craftys is falshode and dowblenesse.
Therfor to þis yonge man in noo wyse they were dere,
And vttyrly he forsoke to be a laborere,
As to dawbe or dyke; he myght not swynk soo.
wherfor thus he said, standyng in grete dwere,
"Alas, Quid eligam ignoro!"

Second Version

To be an handecrafts man, it must have greate besynes:
as to be a taylor, write, or cutteler.
dayly in thes craffts ther is falshed & dobelnes.
therfore to this yong man in no wyse they wer dere;
vttarly he forsoke he wolde be no laborar,
to delve or dyke; he wold not swynke so.
then he sayd thus, stondyng in great dwere,
"Allas, quid elegam Ignoro!"

---

[1]/113. it apparently omitted before must.

First Version

"In any wyse, he said, "I will haf a wyfe!
Shall I wed the bewteuose?" "nay," quod Ielosye.
"I wyll not wed the fowle, for irkyng of my lyfe.
The ryche be passyng strawnge; the good ryght rare to spie.
To parell with the Ientyll--I may not clymbe soo hye!
And if I wed a chrewe, my good days than be doo!"
wherfor thus he said, as lowde as he myght crye,
"Alas, Quid eligam ignoro!"

Second Version

"In any wyse," quod he, "I will have a wyffe!
shall I wad the beutyows?" "nay," quod Ielosye.
"I wyll not wed þe fowle, for yrkyng of my lyffe.
the ryche bene passyng straunge, þe good or yll to spye.
to parill with þe Iantills--I dare nat clym so hye!
If I wed a shrowe, my good days be do!"
then he sayd thus, as loud as he myght crie,
"Allas, quid elegam Ignoro!"

First Version

Thys piteuows gret complaynt of thys yong persone
Vggyd so myn erys, my tounge cowd not refrayne
To say on thys wyse: "yong man, leve thy mone!
The mater that thow waylist towchith both us twayne;
And thow ue be now lokkyd with one woful chayne,
Yit we may haf remedy, expellyng all owre woo--
Neuer sayng aftyr, as we wer wont to sayne,
"Alas, Quid eligam ignoro!"

Second Version

This piteous complaynt of this yonge man [f. 4b]
vggyd myne erys that my tonge coude not refrayne
to say on this wyse: "younge man, leve thy mone!
for this matter towchythe bothe vs twayne;
all-thoughe we be lockyd bothe with one chayne,
yet god of his goodnes may delyver vs from wo--
that we shall nat say, as we wer wont to sayne,
"Allas, quid eligam Ignoro!"

---

[1]/129. persone] expanded from abbreviation; parsone?
[2]/132-133. transposed in MS.

First Version

"lat us take ensample of wofull susanne--
By duresse put to dye, or to consent to synne.
Synne yit she ne wyll, for noo powere of man,
But rather chese to dye by-fore all hyr kynne.
The peple sorowyd sore, both more and mynne;
Yit god thorow hys grace deliuerd hyr fro woo.
So may he do us; to say than may we blynne,
'Alas, Quid eligam ignoro!'" [f. 93b]

Second Version

"let vs take ensample by wofull sewzan--
by dupas put to dye, or to consent to synne.
yet synne wold she nevar, for no powr of man;
rathar chase to dy byfore all hyr kynne.
the people mornyd for her, bothe morn & mynne;
yet god of his goodnes delyveryd her fro wo.
here may we syne longe, or we may blyne,
'Allas, quid eligam Ignoro!'"

---

[1]/144. scribe's hand changes on this folio.

[2]/138. dupas] scribal error for duresse. 141. morn] scribal error for more.

First Version

"Beseche we now for grace the lord omnipotent,
That we may chese the way most to hys plesaunce,
Whos grace to saint powle was so sufficient,
That of hys gostly enmys he had no noyance.
What nedyth rehersall of Grisild or Custaunce,
preseruyd thorow grace, and othyr many moo?
We shall trust in god, voydyng thys daliaunce,
'Alas, Quid eligam ignoro!'"

Second Version

"Beseke we now for grace to the lorde omnipotent,
that we may chuse the beste way wnto hys plesaunce,
whos grace to sent powle was so sufficient,
that of his gostly enmyes he had no noyaunce.
what nede the rehersall of grisille or of Custaunce,
preservyd by grace, and many oder mo?
we shall trust in god, in avoydyng this sentence,
of Allas, quid eligam Ignoro!"

Explicit

---

[2]/145. holde deleted after Be; seke interlined.

First Version

Who made the so hardy, thow simple balad,
The presence to approche of poetys lawreate,
With robys of rethoryk sith thow art not clad,
But with rusty roset like to thyn astate,
Of homly boystyrs langage most rude and desolate?
Make therfor thys excuse in place which thow commyst [to]:
I wyll neuer reherse thys clause disconsolate,
"Alas, / Quid eligam ignoro!"

Eke, sar to thyn excuse, I were upon my bake
The first mysshape cote of vnpullischyd speche
That euer my maister made, whos colour is ryght blak.
To dye with tunggis purpurat, wold god ȝe wold hym teche,
Which hygh a-bofe the sterrys in rethoryk doun areche,
That I myght ben arayed like the gloriose poo!
Than durst I be ryght bold thys refreyt forto preche,
"Alas, Quid eligam ignoro!"

Explicit

---

[1]/154. lawreate] a interlined. 156. who in left margin; preceded by paragraph sign. 158. [to] in center fold.

[2]. these two stanzas omitted in this version.

37. [The Vanity of Human Desires]

Queens' Coll. Camb. MS 13

Eche mannys appetide who may Recompens?
for Greate folke desyre wordly habundans;
pouerte complayneth of paynes & Indygens;
And ȝowthe wold have sport & pleasans;
Age Requireth Rest, kepyng, & Governans.
Thies be the flowres þat wordly Men Entend,
And at the last deth commeth and maketh ende.

38. [The Necessity of Death]

Brit. Mus. Addit. MS 37049

Versa est in luctum cithera mea
& organum meum in vocem flencium. [f. 84b]

Allas, ful warly for wo may I synge:
ffor into sorow turned is my harpe
And my organ into voyce of wepynge,
when I rememyr þe deth þat is sharpe.

ffor in Iolyte ioyed I in my ȝonge age,
and in ryote & rotynge I my lyf ledde;
So þat with vanyte I dyd my selfe fage,
Attendyng not þe tedyosnes þat I am inspred.

wher-fore wofully rememyr now I may
Of dethe þe dolful beheste,
And þus to my-selfe I may say,
In luctum versa mea cithera est.

ffor after my dethe, whyder I sal wende
Vtterly vnknawen it is vnto me.
Bot if gode warkis be þan my frende.
Wondyrly ful wo may I be.

Wherfore when I rememyr me of þis,
Doolfully in luctum versa mea cithera is.

---

6. rotynge] scribal error for ryotynge? 8. inspred] scribal error for inspired? 17. me] interlined.

Bot "allas" now for sorow I may say,
ffor welner attendes men in euere degre
þe welthe of þe warld, gyt yf þai may--
As þaire abydyng euer-more þer-with suld be.

þerfore turned is myne organ into vocem flencium,
When I se þis noght consyderd in cordibus viuencium.

3it "Allas" for sorow I may say,
ffor gret pyte is nowe for to se
How men disgyses þaim in vgly aray,
Consyderyng noght in what myschefe þat þai be.

wherfore when I thynke on þis,
My harp into sorow turned is.

Sum beres bolsters opon þair bak,
with þair haer hyngyn as a gayt berde;
with schone pyked of vgly myschap,
As of þe fende þai war not afferd.

Sum with inuy & fals couetyce
Spendes al þair wytt & wysdom,
[An]d in sotelte & falshede ar wonder wyce,
[an]d þinkes not on þair dome for to cum.
[þerfo]re turned is my organ in vocem flencium

---

34. another of deleted before þe. 37-45. MS torn.

[when] I se þis not consyderd <u>in cordibus viuencium</u>.

þus in lustynes & likyng þai lede al þe l[yfe],
Hafyng no þoght of deth þat sal þaim smyte,
Bot euer debate makyng & stryfe:
Haly þerin þai put þair dely[te].

Wherfore when I thynk on þi[s],
In luctum versa mea cithera is.
Now god of gret mercy his grace to vs sende,
þat of [oure?] mysdeds w[e may amende?].

---

41. al] interlined. 48. MS cut off.

39. [The Tortures of the Damned]

Merton Coll. Oxford MS 248

fyre, sl colde, and tereshatyng; [f. 166^{b}, col. 2]
drede worme, and weping;
bekyngis, stenke, and ope for-lorne;
hunger bandis are em be forne;
wantynge euer of godis se,
and mirkenes wyt-oten lyte;
nythe dede wyt-oten hende:
þis wil manis saule schende!

---

1. sl] these two letters should be deleted: apparently the beginning of slete, which translates the Latin algor. 3. bekyngis] scribal error for betyngis? see glossary and note. 5. se] scribal error for syte (sight); cf. rhyme with lyte, v. 6.

40. [Death and the Empress]

[Death]

Let se your hand, my ladi dam emperys; [f. 158^{b}]
haue no disdeine with me for to dance.
ye may aside ley all your richese,
your freche atyres, deuisis of plesaunc;
your soleyne cheris, your strange countenavns,
your clopis of golde most vnkendely vrozt--
hauynge of deth ful lytill remembraunce.
Bot now ye se vel, all is cum to nozt!

[The Empress]

Whate aualyth gold, riches, or perre,
Or what auayle hiblode or Ientylnes?
Or whate aualyth fresnes or beute,
Or what is vorth hy porte or strangenes?
Deth seith "cheke-mate" to all such veyn nobelnes.
All wordly pouere nov may me not auayle:
Raunson, kenrede, frendschip, nor vordines.
Deth is cum my hy estate to assayle!

41. [A Corpse Speaks]

MS Bodley 789

Here is a good counseil for synful men [f. 149a]
to take heede to while þei ben in þis lyf.

Mi leeue lyf þat lyuest in welþe,
in mete and drinke and fayr schroud;
in richesse, honour, and in bodili helþe:
loke perfor þou be nouȝt proud.

But whanne þou art in þi * leste lekinge, [*f. 149b]
haue mynde sum-tyme, i þe rede:
how foule þou schalt be & stynke,
a litil after þat þou art deed.

I was ful fair; now am i foul.
my faire fleisch bigynneþ forto stinke,
wormis fynden at me greet prow:
i am hire mete--i am hire drinke.

I ligge wounden in a clout;
in boordis narwe i am nailid.
allas, þat euere i was proud!
now alle mi freendis ben to me failid.

---

3. in deleted before honour. 5. ke deleted before þi.

In mi riggeboon bredip an addir kene;
min eizen dasweyn swipe dymme.
mi guttis roten; myn heer is grene;
mi teep grennen swipe grymme.

Mi bodi pat sumtyme was so gay
now liep and rotip in pe grounde.
Mi fairhed is al now goon awai,
and i stynke foulere pan an hounde.

Mi faire feet, mi fyngris longe,
myn eizen, * myn eeren, and mi lymes alle: [*f. 150a]
noon wil now wip oper honge,
but euerich wole from oper falle.

I rede euery man pat wiis wil be,
take kepe herof pat i haue seid.
panne may he sikir of heuen be,
whanne he schal in erpe be laid.

Explicit.

42. [Debate Between Death and a Dying Man]

MS Sloane 1313

[Dying Man]

Ve, ve! in misero vitam cum amisero; [f. 134a]
Diuicius quo viseram, peioris vite exciteram.

Now deþ is at myn hede!
Ic may wel sege "alas!"
þe lenger þat I leue, tunc phasma
þe wors of lyf I was. rudit sic

[Death]

Mala te non deserent quod non dereliquisti;
Mortem te inferent quidam tu meruisti.

The synnes þat þou lete nowth,
Hy nulleþ þe nowth lete. phasma rudit
Wiþ þe 3arde þat þou hast i-wrouth,
þou schalt be wel sore I-bete.

[Dying Man]

Cupidus [i]am apprapinquante ad mortem, dixit:
Ve, ve! in misero vitam cum amisero;
Quia que tenui in-iuste ab alijs rapui.

---

2. Ic] c interlined. 3. leue] scribal error for leuede. (Latin preceding v. 9). MS dim.

Now I schall my lyf for-lete.
Wo is me, alas!
ffor al þat I haue I-gete,
With wronge and vnryght hit was.

[Death]

[ ] [f. 134b]

Celum non mere[b]eris sibi punieris iuste.

But þou ȝelde here aȝee
That þou hast ytake with wronge,
Blisse of heuen schaltou neuer yse,
Bot heyth in hell ben an-honge.

[Dying Man]

Ve, ve! in misero vitam cum amisero;
Semper fuit vita mea in fastu & invidia. Superbus

Now to þe dome I am I-grad.
Alas, now I may crye!
ffor al my lyf i haue ilad
In pryde and In Enuy.

[Death]

Si per arrogancíam sathane seruisti,
Eius ad instanciam perdes lumen Cristi.

(Latin preceding v. 13). first line illegible; cutt off by binder.

ȝef þou hast þy lif i-lad
In onde and boste,
þe kynge of pryde þe haþ Ilad,
And now wol habbe þy gost.

[Dying Man]

Ve, ve! in misero nouissima dum clausero;
Cur non maiora merui gracia ut perfrui?

Alas! þat I nad do more good,
þe while þat I hadde space.
þat i myȝte be for god,
I fynde pe more grace.

[Christ]

iustus ffili, non tristabis qui petis plusquam;
In celis iam letaberis, o bone vite [ ] celum.

leue sone, ne kare þou nowȝt.
woltou bidde more þan wele?
ffor þe good þat þou hast Iwrouȝth,
I he heuene þy soule wende schele.

---

26. þat] a interlined. (Latin preceding v. 29). illegible word after vite. 32. I] scribal error for In.

43. Remember, man, thow art but wormes mette.

Brit. Mus. Addit. MS 29729

O mortall man, masyd with pompe and pride-- [f. 7a]
of vayneglorye makyng thyn edifice:
have in thy mynde, and set it not asyde,
how lucifere was an angyll of price,
and for that synn fell owt of paridice
doune in to hell -- now brynnynge ther in hete.
Remember, man, thow art but wormes mete! /

O mortall man, fretynge in wrathe and Ire--
alteryd away from Iustice and resone--
lyke a tyrant thyn hert all set on fyre,
which putyst thy mynde all in confusyon:
nedes must thou have shamefull conclusyon,
and aftarward infinyt paynis grete.
remember, man, thow art but wormes mete! /

O mortall man, Inflamyd with envy-- [f. 7b]
lyke a serpent in kames Resemblaunce:
what avaylythe it to vse suche foly,
sythen thow haste therby the most penaunce?
to god it is an haynous displesaunce,
which the ffend in no wise will forgete.
remember, man, thow art but wormes mete! /

---

4. pride deleted before price.

O mortall man, with covitise all vsed--
graspynge after worldly prosperite,
and all in vayne haste thy lyf pervsed,
insaciatly forto have dignytie:
thowghe thow be high, yet higher wold thow be;
thowgh thow be Riche, yet more good wold thou gete.
remember, man, thow art but wormes mete! /

O mortall man, Inordinat gloton--
by greate exsesse oppressynge thy nature--
with-owt prudense, voyde of discrecion:
O madly thy death thow doste procure;
every good dede belonginge to be cure,
Is yet a parte by suche bestly dyete.
remembar, man, thow arte but wormes mete!

O mortall man, slugard & full of slowthe--
lesse then an asse vertwe exsersysynge:
god thou forgetythe, n[o]r haste pite me ne rewthe
Vppon thy sowle; nor consyderiste nothynge
to do some good whille thou art here lyvynge,
sithyn sure it is, deathe wyll not with ye trete.
remembre, man, thou arte but wormes mete! /

O mortall man, fowlyd with lecherie--
which worse to the is then a pestilence:
cities have sonke, and princis by and by
body and sowle have loste for that offence.

29. of glotony deleted before Inordinat. 38. n[o]r MS very faint.

grace it expellythe, by exprience,
to them that lust the truthe counterplete.
remembar, man, thow art but wormes mete! /

O mortall man, vsynge thes synnis seven-- [f. 8a]
woo mayste thou be, for the leste is dampnable;
whereby is loste the Ioifull blisse of heven--
the syght of god, which is moste dilectable.
yet dyspayr not, for he is merciable.
If thow ax grace with contrite teres wete,
thy sowle may lyve, thoughe thow be wormes mete!

Explicit

---

48. counterplete] last t superimposed on a d.

44. [Terrors of Doomsday]

Merton Coll. Oxford MS 248

Streit shul be þe waies on hem þat beþ senful, [f. 66a]
on þe day of dome þat shal be so dredful.
hij shellen se a-boue hem þe domes-man boþe wroþ and mody;
hij shellen se bi-neþe ham þe depe put of helle þat shal be so grisly.
Hij shelle felen wiþ-inne hem her owen inwyt brenninde;
hij shullen se wiþ-owten hem al þis world wondrinde.
hij shullen se on her riȝt hond her sinnes þat shullen wreie hem;
hij shullen se on þe left hond þe fendes for to calange hem.
þe sinful man þat is taken þat day,
woder shal he fle a-way?
for to sewe hem þere, stronge shal it be;
bot nedes boueþ hem sewe hem, for hi shullen naweder mowe fle!

---

12. mowe] interlined; unnecessary to sense.

45. [Moderation in Christian Life]

Camb. Univ. Lib. MS Dd. 1. 1

Alle þat loue to here þis lessoun, [f. 298b]
Crist graunt hem his benisoun!
þe ȝer of oure lord a þousand
C C C & xlv, as I vnderstand,
A good trewe man mad his preyere
Vn-to oure lord god, on þis manere:
"Telle me, good god in trenyte,
what maner lyuynge may most plese the?"
And crist apperide to him on a tyme,
as men may rede here in þis ryme,
& told him what maner of lyuyng
was most best to his plesing.
Euery man þat to resoun can acorde,
lere wel þis lessoun of oure lorde.

Crist seyd to þis man þus certeynly:
"Man, ȝeue a peny or an half peny.
to þe pore man, after þi state & þi degre,
whil þu lyuest, for þe loue of me;
& þat schal plesen me mor, with-out drede,
& to þi saule ben mekil mor mede,
þan oþer men ȝaf poundis manyfold,

---

1. Alle] illuminated capital.

or an hous ful of siluer & of gold,
after þe tyme þat þu deed be.
& þe cause whi I schal telle the:
ffor whil þu lyuest, it is in þi fre wil free will
To ȝeue a peny or kepen it stil;
but if þu ȝeue it to him þat haþ nede,
for þat peny þu schalt han mede,
& for al þing þat þu dost here
for þe loue of god in good manere.

But he þat myght don good in many a stede
& wile don litil or nouht or he be dede,
it semiþ þat if he myghte lengere lyue
He wold kepe al & noþing gyue.
But be him leof or loþ, hym must gon
fro alle his godis euerilkon.
what mede schal he han, to ȝeue þan ought
þat oþer men schul han, wile he or wile he nought?
swich ȝiftis may help him on þis manere, [f. 299a]
and tend him in stede as ȝe schal here.

If he go to purgatori, he schal han lesse peyn, purgatorye
but neuer þe mor is his mede in heuen for certeyn.
& if he be dampnid & wend vn-to helle,
his peyne is neuere þe les, as soþ is gospelle.

---

25. side-note in a different hand. 38. or] interlined. 40. tend] scribal error for stend or stand? 41. side-note in a different hand.

But he schal han þer les peyne, as þe b[ok]e s[e]ys,
for þe god dedis þat he dide in his lyf days.
& þer-for whil þu lyuyst, for eueri good dede
þat þu dost in charite, god schal don the mede."
God ȝeue vs grace swich dedis here to don,
þat we ben worthi in heuen for to won. Amen.
And after þis as ȝe schul here,
Crist taught þis man on þis manere.

"Man, knowe þi-self, boþe out & in,
& wepe & weyment for þi syn.
And in þi mynde, make þu mentioun
ofte-tymes of me & of my passioun.
& þat schal plesen me more, with-out drede,
& to þi soule ben mekil mor mede,
þan þu weppist as mekil watir
as myght ben put in pot & plater--
or as mekil watir, if it myght so be,
as is now conteynid in þis grete se.
for wo or wreþþe or worldeli dissese,
þus sorow for synne may innemost plese."
After þis crist bad him to his plesing,
þat he schuld vse þis maner of lyuyng.

"Man, kepe the al-wey fro dedli synne,
for welþe or welfare, for wo or wynne;

---

45. b[ok]e s[e]ys] MS blotted. 53. Man] illuminated capital.
67. Man] illuminated capital.

And also fro venyal synnes, vp þi powere,
for my sone, whil þu lyuest here.
& þat schal plesen me mor, with-out drede,
& to þi soule ben mekil mor mede,
þan þu went vn-to þe holi lond--
armyd þi-self, boþe fote & hond;
And an hundrid men in þin hoste,
Eueri man armyd of þin owne coste,
Ageyn my fomen þer to fighte,
þat wile not ben conuertid & trew & righte.
if al þis dede to me plesing wore,
3et clennes of lyf plesiþ me more."
Oure lord ihesu crist, after þis
he tawghte him a lessoun of meknes.

"Man, suffer an angri word mekeli,
of þin euencristen þat is greuid or angry.
& for wraþþe or wrong, coueyte no wreche,
but rewle the be resoun as I the teche.
& þat schal plesen me mor, with-out drede,
and to þi soule ben mekil mor mede,
þan þu weris on þi bere bodi an hard hayre, [f. 299b]
or an hard haberioun, were it foul or fayre;
or did any penaunce þat is bodiliche--

---

83. Man] illuminated capital.

Mekenes & lownes plesiþ me so myche."
after þis crist tauht him how he schuld kepe his [tonge]:
þat [whi]che folk mys-gouerne, boþe old & ȝonge.

"Man, of þin euen-cristen speke þu non euyl,
for if þu do so, þu plesist þe deuyl.
& perfor I bid the, be-hynde þi broþer bak
make þu no lesing, nor fynde þu no lak--
In presens of þe pepil ne oþer priue place,
oþerwise þan þu may a-vow aforn his face.
for-þi, euermor fond to sey þe beste,
or ellis lete þi tong ben stille in reste.
& loke þat þu sclaunder no man wilfulli,
if al þat þu knowe his synne & his foli;
but speke of him in þis same degre,
as þu wold þat oþer men spak of the,
þat hast don or schal don as euyl a þing,
or peraunter wel wers in tyme commyng.
And þer-for leue þu, for þe loue of me,
alle swiche wordis of wraþþe & vanyte.
& þat schal plesen me mor, with-out drede,
& to þi soule ben mekil mor mede,
þan þu det þi bare bodi with as many wondis
as myght be bounden in many strong bondis;

---

93. kepe] interlined; [tonge] in center fold. 94. MS blotted. 95. Man] illuminated capital. 99. priue] expanded from abbreviation; preue? 108. peraunter] expanded from abbreviation; paraunter?

& mekil mor þan þu went eueri day
barleg & barfot in þe most stony way--
Vnto þe rede blod of boþe þi fete
made þe stonys in þe way al wete.
þus may men seen it is a sori synne
to sclaunder eny man for wraþþe or wynne."
After þ[is], crist taught him þis lessoun:
how he schuld han pite & compassioun.

"Man, loke þu haue compassioun & pyte
of þin euen-cristen, what þat euer he be,
In his dissese, discomfort, & siknes--

& namli of þe pore man þat nedi is.
& for my loue, boþe erli & late,
comfort him & help him after þin astate.
& þat schal plesen me mor, with-out drede,
& to þi soule ben mekil mor mede,
þan þu spent for felischip & frenschipe
þe valew of a þousand schepe;
& mor þan þu fastid watir & bred
iij days in þe weke til þu were ded.
þus god preysiþ mekil mor almes ded,
þan fasting or felischip, with-out eny dred."

---

121. MS dim. 123. Man] illuminated capital. 135. preysiþ] expanded from abbreviation; <u>praysiþ?</u>

þann crist taught him a lessoun of truþe:
þat is out of rule, & þat is gret ruþe.

"Man, loke þu be trewe, for eny-þing, [f. 300a]
in þi beleue & in þi lyuyng.
and late þi wordis þi werkis acord,
to truþe & goodnes, for loue of me, þi lord.
loke þu do truþe in beyeng & in selling,
for eny fals couetise or eny wynnyng.
& do to eueri man euenhed & equyte,
as þu wold þat eueri man dide to the.
& þat schal plesen me mor, with-out drede,
& to þi soule ben mekil more mede,
þan þu of fals goten godis did make
an hundrid chirches for my sake;
or gaf of swiche godis ten M^{t} pound
Vn-to þe pore pepil of penyes round.
þus semiþ it, wel with-out fayle,
þat falsli goten godis may litil a-vayle."
Crist taught him here anoþer þing:
þat he schuld vse no demyng.

"Man, anoþer þing I schal the ken:
Deme þu non euyl of oþer men,
after þin owne wit & þi wenyng,
but put al þing in goddis demyng.

---

139. Man] illuminated capital. 157. Man] illuminated capital.

& if al hire wordis & hire werking
be not al-wey vn-to þi plesing,
pray þu for hem, with good entent,
þat god ȝeue hem grace of amendement.
& deme þi-self & not þi broþer,
lerid ne lewid, on ne oþer.
for peraunter to-morn þei may amende,
& þu may falle in synne & god offende.
& þerfor fro þi mynde put þu owt
al maner demyng þat is in dowt.
& þ[at] schal plesen me mor, with-owt drede,
& to þi soule ben mekil mor mede,
þan alle þe preyeris þat þu can pray
to plese me wiþ be nyght or day,
if þu had in vse þis condisioun
of demyng þat is in dowte & suspicioun.
& þer-for it is a ful perlious þing
a man to vse mekil demyng."
Crist taught him a lessoun last:
How þat his loue schul ben stedefast.

"Man, loue me lastingli a-forn al þing,
with wil & word & good werking,
and be in good loue & in charite

---

167. peraunter] expanded from abbreviation; paraunter?
171. MS wrinkled. 181. Man] illuminated capital.

with eueri man, for þe loue of me.
& þat schal pesen me mor, with-out drede,
& to þi soule ben mekil mor mede,
þan þu kowd speke with aungelis tong
& knew alle misterirs olde & ȝong.
And to þi soule it were mor glad [f. 300b]
þan þu gaf in elmes al þat þu had,
or put þi bodi for to ben brent,
but charite were in þin entent.
for if þu did al þis with-out charite,
litil or nought it schuld help the.
for in erthe no þing may be
þat plesiþ mor god þan charite.
& who þat louiþ god on þis manere,
it passiþ al penaunce þat may be don here."
God ȝeue vs grace him to loue & drede,
þat he may ben plesid & we mow han mede.
þus may a man come to þat lyuyng
þat to oure lord god is most plesing.
and after þis lyf in tyme comyng,
come to þat ioye þat is euere mor lasting--
to which ioye & to which blis,
God bring vs alle whan his wil is. Amen

---

185. pesen] scribal error for plesen. 188. misterirs] scribal error for misteris.

þese .ix. vertewis, wiþ good cheuysaunce,
Eueri man may wel fulfil--
wiþ-out gret cost or gret penaunce,
if þat he haue þer-to good wil.

46. [Man's Three Enemies]

Bodl. Addit. MS B. 60

Be thou pacient in thyn aduersite:
ffor when god wyll, better may be.
To Ihesu criste I make my mon,
That born was of a mayde.
In grete seknes & tribulacioun,
Thus my lyff I haue a-sayde.
My enymes thre,
In there degre,
Hath prouyd me
What I wold do.
But I sore repong
A-geyn them strong,
All my liff long,
To saue me them fro.

Full oft in mynde I haue be sade;
To displese my maker sore haue I drade--
Ruying me sore, his blode that he schade,
And all for my synnys þat be so bade.
Yett pacience gyedyd in aduersite:
Thynkyng when god will, better may be.
The worlde flateryng & full of adulacioun,

---

5. tribulacioun] double-function nasal bar. 21. adulacioun] double-function nasal bar.

With gold, syluer, and gay array,
Hath temptide me sore with gret vexacioun.
But in mynde to consent I seyde euer nay:
In mynde I thought [f. 126a]
This world is nowght;
That cryste dere bowght,
I wyll nott away cast.
The worlde is vayn,
And makis men fayn
Therefor soulys to slayn--
& wrechidnes at the last.

Therfor, after the wysman I you sey:
ffor-sake the worlde; he dose but play.
Hit is full flatryng, thow hit be gay.
And when thou hast most nede, he wyll sey nay.
Yet lett paciense gyde the in aduersite:
Thynkyng when god will, better may be.
On sathan, that traytor, on hym I complayn:
With his sotell wrenchis & his fals wylys,
Many wo[m]yn he desevys & makis them fayn.
There pore soules full oftt he be-gylis.
But I, be grace,
Havyng tyme & space,

---

23. vexacioun] double-function nasal bar. 31. Therefor] scribal error for There pore? cf. v. 42. 41. womyn] m apparently omitted.

Breke of his trace
And seruyde god only.
ffor euer I radde
In bokis that I sprade,
That deth sholde me stade.
Why sholde do foly?
Yf grace had not be my gyde,
Wrechidly of I sholde haue slyde,
And sathan in his cart bad me to ryde.
But grace & mercy bade meeuer a-byde,
[and] seyde,"be pacient in thyn aduersite: [f. 126b]
Thynkyng when god wyll, better may be."
My thirde enemy, carnall affeccioun,
Which is all-wey with me associate,
ffull oft Intendid to cause Infeccioun--
That the soule fro Ioy sholde be reprobate.
But I be prechyng,
And good warkis thechyng,
My owne self studynge,
In warkis good & holy,
I fownde hit full oft
How god þat all thyng wroght
ffull dere me hath boght,
With his precius body.

---

55. MS blotted. 57. affeccioun] double-function nasal bar. 59. Infeccioun] double-function nasal bar.

Then yf I sholde my own self sley,
ffor a schort tyme & lytyll pley,
Not dredyng ony-thyng on domusdey--
Euermore after I shulde syng "well-awey."
Therfore I was pacient in myn aduersite:
Thynkyng when god wyll, better may be.
Amen. Ihesus crist marie filius que.

47[1,2,3]. [Christ Admonishes Man]

Parallel Texts

First Version: Trin. Coll. Camb. MS 1157

O man vnkynde, [f. 69a]
Haue thow yn mynde
My passyon smert!
Thow shall me fynde
To the full kynde.
Lo, here my hert!

Second Version: MS Tanner 407

Man vnkynde, [f. 52b]
haue thow in mynde
my passion smerte!
And thow schall me ffynde
to the ryght kynde.
lo, here myn [herte]!

Third Version: Brit. Mus. Addit. MS 37049

O man-kynde, [f. 24a]
hafe in þi mynde
my passion smert.
And þou sal fynde
Me ful kynde.
lo, here my hert!

---

[2]/6. [herte] replaced in MS by a drawing of a heart.
[3]/2. M deleted before þi.

48. [De Profundis as a Guide of Life]

MS Harley 2252

O Mortall man, Call to Remembraunce! [f. 23a]
The dey shalle com þat þou moste nedis dye.
thynke on the payne & grete Turbance
þat sowlys dure in purgatory,
In þat ardente fyre & moste grevaunce;
In grete langowr and petuus Crye;
how they be woundyde with dethys launce,
Callynge to god for grace & mercy.
pray for them þat so grete woo dope dry--
To Crystis passyon & also vnto hys blody wondis
[ ]
And Remembyr Amonge thys psalme de profundis.

De profundis

ffrom dalys depe to the haue I sayde,
"lorde, lorde here the voyce of me!"
Thus sayde the prophyte Ionas, in hys nede,
lyvynge in the whale dayes three;
danyell with hys lyones in woo & drede;
Iosephe in hys sesterne--þus god prayede hee.
holy Churche confermyth the psalme for our mede,

---

6. langowr] r interlined. 11. line omitted in MS; no space left for it. 18. prayede] r interlined.

Amonge psalmis all to be sayde of grete petye,
to paye the Raunsom of theym þat in paynis be.
I pray to Crystis passyon & also vnto hys blody woundis,
And to þat maydyn callyde mater misericordie.
& Remembyr Amonge þis psalme de profundis.

fyamite aures

let thyne erys attendaunce make
to my voyce, & my prayers also:
Thus, slombrynge man, owte of thy slepe Awake! [f. 23b]
and pray for them þat lyethe in payne & woo--
nyghte & day wayle in that wofull lake!
ffrom þat tymerous payne on fote they may not goe.
woo ys the tendyr sowle, & suche paynis take.
Remembyr in lyke Case, yf thow were soo.
And praye for theym, that partyde be vs froo,
To Crystis passyon, & also vnto hys blody wondis--
Also for thyne owne parte when þou shalte com þerto.
And remembyr Amonge thys psalme de profundis.

si iniquitates

yf Thowe sholdyste any wyckednes Brynge,
who were he, lorde, that suffir myghte
Thus nyghte & day, evyr be by callynge--

---

26. vyu deleted before voyce. 31. &] scribal error for þat?

As moyses prayede for the plage in egypte;
Abraham for hys olde wyffe, was barrayne from
chylde ber[ynge];
The Chyldren of ysraell Also, when they shulde fyghte--
And how god was dysplesyde when they desyrede A kynge,
Tyll Samwell prayede to þat lorde, moste of myghte,
whose prayer was Acceptabyll Afore goddis syghte.
I pray to Crystis passyon, & also vnto hys blody wondis,
for them þat in purgatory in paynus be pyghte.
And remembyr Amonge þis spalme <u>de profundis</u>.

/<u>quia apud te propiciacem</u>/

Ayenste the lorde all mercye is,
And for thy lawys suffryde haue I.
o mortall man, pray to the kynge of blysse,
and submyte the, wreche, vnto hys mercye.
And Amonge thy Thowghtis all, forgete not this:
The day shall cume that thou moste nedis dye.
the date of thyne Abydynge full vnsure hyt ys:
whan or whate tyme, no man Can Certyfye.
Thys ys tymerous to Calle to Memory!
I pray to Crystes passyon & also vnto hys blody wondis,
for the tendyr sowlys lyinge in purgatory.
And Remembyr Amonge thys psalme <u>de profundis</u>.

---

41. ber[ynge] in center fold. 48. spalme] apparently not an error; cf. 22/10.

/ Sustinuit anima mea. / [f. 24a]

My sowle hathe suffryde the worde of hym;
In god my gooste hathe had hys truste.
o good lorde, purge me of my synne!
And there I am Rote, rubbe of the Ruste--
or I be Browghte to pyttis bryme,
To sayle in the dale of duste:
whan I am Closyde my grave with-in;
Then woo worthe welthe and fflessly luste!
Thy mercy, good lorde, helpe me muste:
Thy passyon & thy Blody woundis.
Now pray with me to that Iuge so Iuste,
And Remembyr Amonge thys psalme de profundis.

/ A custodia. /

ffrom the kepynge of Maten tyme
Tyll hyt be nyghte and paste the day,
Be hope of helpe: yt lyethe in hym,
That Royall lorde, pat all welde may.
Exalte in herte, And thyne erys incline,
& take intelligence whate I to the say.
Thow heryste of Antiquyte whate ys the fyne:
all terrestryall thynge consumythe sone Away,
and hense we moste -- thys ys no nay.
I pray to crystis passyon, & Also vnto hys blody
woundis,

to be owr socowr when no wyghte helpe vs may.
& Remembyr Amonge þis psalme de profundis.

/ quia Apud dominum /

In that lorde, all merci ys monstrate:
yn hym ys Aboundaunce of owr Redempcion--
That prynce most exelente in hys estate,
whose lawdabyll wyll all hevyn yevythe intencion,
with Ioye eternall þat never may Abate--
concorde perpetuall with-owte decencion,
In þat pales moste preciouus: for bodies Inmaculate
There shall in-habyte (Holy chyrche makythe mencion).
where we were loste, Cryste made invencion
By hys grete passyon, And be hys Blody woundis.
Beseke þat lorde to kepe the from pervercion.
And Remembyr Amonge thys psalme de profundis.

/ Et ipse Redemet israell /

he shall redeme in Israell
Thy tendyr sowle owte of hys wyckednes:
hys herte Blode, of all mercy the well,
whan thou art wounded with Tentates, [f. 24b]
Ayenst the hidowes ffendes ffell
To pay thy Raunson, and thy reles

---

83. owr socowr] r's interlined. 86. owr] r interlined.
91. preciouus] expanded from abbreviation; -ous?
100. scribe's hand changes on this folio.

Oute of the tymerous pytt of hell.
Of all wofull woos, þer is most exces.
The to defende oute of that dolorous dures,
I pray to Cristis passion, & Also vnto his blody woundis,
To be thy help when thowe arte in distres.
And remembre Among this psalme De profundis.

/ kyrieeleison cristeeleison kyreeleison /

God haue mercy on vs: criste eleyson!
God haue mercy on vs--hye god celestiall,
whos powere is infenite & insuperable alone:
Of hevyn and erthe & hell Regall,
Oure true protectour when we be woo-be-gone;
In tyme of nede to whome we clepe & call,
ffor to resiste oure gostly fone.
And in especially amonge, good praiers all
ffor them that in peyne & pertorbance be ffall,
I praye to crestis passion, & also vnto his blody woundis:
Ale sey a pater noster deuowtely ther with-all.
And remember Among this psalme de profundis.

/ Oremus: / Inclina /

In-clyne thyn eres of exaudicyon
To theym þat to thy mercy calle:

---

113. tene deleted before true. 117. pertorbance] second r interlined.

Thy seruauntis, good lord, in þat abscured dungeon,
By synns in-to that woo be falle--
More sharpe in tastyng þat ardent puyson,
Sulfre, viterall, arsenyk, or galle.
without remedy is their perdicion;
But / by thy mercy /, hye lorde of all,
Abstond, good lorde, our actis carnall--
by thy great passion, & be thy blody woundis.
Delyuer them oute of paynes mortall.
And we shall remembre this psalme de profundis.

Explicit

---

125. þat] scribal error for þan

49. [Christ Like a Falconer]

Brit. Mus. Addit. MS 37049

Also take hede to þis insawmpyl here, [f. 28a]
þat is lykend vn-to þe fawconnere:
þe whilk, when hes hawke fro hym dos flee,
Schews to þe hawke rede flesche to see.
And when þe hawke lokis þer vn-to,
ffast to his mayster he hastes to go.
þus do on criste, as ȝe may see
hynges bledyng opon a tre--
hys body with blody woundes schewynge
ffor to reduce to hym mans saule & brynge;
þe whilk fro hym by syn dos fle a-way,
And to hym will turne agayn with-outen delay.
þus he has his armes spred, man to hals & kysse,
þat to hym by luf wil turne, repentyng his mys.
þerfore, of saluacioun if þou sure wil be,
þe cros of penaunce þou take on þe:
þat is be discret poneschyng of þi body--
And nayled þorow þi left hande for þi foly,
with shame & displesaunce of all þi syn
þat letts þe alway heuen to wyn.
þe nayle in þe right hande also sal be

---

7. on] interlined. 9. with deleted before woundes. 11. whilk] interlined. 12. his] interlined. 15. saluacioun] double-function nasal bar.

Desyre & luf of heuenly þinges in þi hert fre.
þe nayle sal be drede þat þorow þi fete sal go,
þat in dedly syn þou be not dampned to endles wo.
And þe spere, þe whilk sal perche þi hert,
Sal be contricioun for syn with sorow smert.
þe blode & þe watyr þat fro þe hert ryns clere,
Sal be wepyng for þe syns þou has done here.
þus þi-self here þou sal do crucifye,
þat aftyr in blis þou may be set full hye.

---

23. hert salgo deleted before fete. 26. contricioun] double-function nasal bar. 27. I deleted before clere. 29. here] interlined.

50. [A Vision of Heaven]

Brit. Mus. Addit. MS 37049

Behald, man, & þi þoght vplede [f. 80b]
To heuen, with al þi spede.
ffor þar ar saules fedde & cled wele,
with ioy of sight þat þai sal fele.
þai sal wyrke þar none oþer thynge,
Bot lofe ay god with-outen cesynge.
ffor with þe syght of god þai salbe fedde,
And with bryghtnes of lyght þai salbe cled.
And þair warke salbe ay lofynge,
In þe whilk þai sal hafe gret lykynge.
Bot þair moste ioy in heuen sa be
þe blyssid syght of þe trynyte,
þe whilk þai sal se euer-more.
And þat ioy sal passe al oþer þore,
ffor ay whils þai þat sight sal se,
Of al ioyes þa sal fulfylled be.
þai sal þar god ay apertly se,
And al thre persons in trynyte:
ffader & son & holy goste.
þat sight salbe þair ioy moste,
ffor as he is, þai sal se hym þan:
Sothfast god & sothfast man,

---

11. sa be] scribal error for sal be. 17. illegible letter deleted before þar.

þorow þe whilk syght þai sal knawe
And se al thyng, both hye & lawe.
Also þar sal þai se apertly
Gods blissedful moder, our lady saynt Mary,
þat next syts to god in heuen bryght--
Abof al angels, as is right.
Sche is so fayr, þar sche syttes,
þat hir fayrnes passes al mans wytts.
A gret ioy þar may be cald
Hyr fayrnes to behalde.
þerfore when þou has heuen sene,
þorow sight of þi hert fre,
At þi synnes þou suld sore tene,
þat puts þe fro þat fayr cyte.
ffor al if hell suld neuer hafe bene,
And syn suld neuer venged be,
ȝit suld þou ȝerne to kepe þe clene,
ffor þat ioy to hafe and god to se.

---

27. next] t interlined. 28. Abowne deleted before al; Abof] interlined.

51. [Six Steps to Salvation]

Parallel Texts

First Version: MS Douce 322

Euery man and woman hath grete nede, [f. 18[a], col. 2]
That be of age, or that they dye
Of syx thyngys to take hede.
ffurst, to consyder dyligentlye

yef they haue any good, lesse or more,
Goten and kept agaynst the ryght,
That consciensly they hit restore,
In dede or wyll after theyre myght.

Second Version: MS Harley 1706

Euery man and woman [hath] grette nede, [f. 18[b], col. 2]
That be of age, or that they d[ye]
Off syx thynges / to take [hede].
ffurst, to consydre dylygen[tle]

yeff they haue any good, l[esse] or more,
Goten and kepte ayenst the r[yght],
[ ]
In dede or wyll aftyr theyr m[yght].

---

[2]/1-25. ends of lines hidden in center fold of MS.
7. line omitted in MS; no space left for it.

First Version

when thow hast for the thus arayed,
That satisfaction be dewly made,
And ordeyne that thy dettis be payde.
Than ys the secunde thynge to be had:

Of suche thyng as god hath the lente,
That thow hast trewe tytle vnto,
wysely thow make thy testament;
Than hast thow no more for to do: [f. 18b, col. 1]

To thynke on thyng that worldly ys.
The thryd thyng ys, thow shryue the clene
Of synne that thow hast done a-mysse,
whyle that god the lyfe woll lene.

Second Version

whan thou hast for the thus [arayed],
That satisfaccion be dewly ma[de],
And ordeyne that thy dettis be p[ayde].
Than ys / the secunde thy[ng] to be had:

Off suche thyngis as god hath [the lente],
That thou hast trew tytle [vnto],
wysely thou make thy testam[ent];
Than hast þou no more for to d[o]:

To thynke on thyng þat word[ly ys].
The thyrde thynge ys, þou sch[ry]ue the clene
Off synne that þou hast done am[ysse],
whyll that god the lyfe woll [lene].

First Version

Sorowe thow and desyir to sorowe;
And sorow thow, for thow sorowes nat dewly:
At mydnyght, mydday, euen, and morowe.
when thow thynkest on thy synne, euer sorow newly.

Do penaunce for thy synne past,
And pacyently suffir dissease--
Purposing whyle thy lyfe woll laste,
In vertuos lyuyng to encrese,

Second Version

Sorow þou and desyre to sorowe;
And sorowe thow, for thow [soro]wes nat dewly:
At myd[nyght], mydday, euen, and morowe.
whan thow thynkest on thy synne, euer sorow new[ly].

Do penaunce for thy syn[ne] * past, [*f. 19a, col. 1]
And pacyently suffre disease--
Purposyng whyle that thy lyfe wol laste,
In vertuos lyuyng to encrese.

---

[1]/22. nat] interlined.

[2]/25. past] also written as catchword at bottom of f. 18b, col. 2.

First Version

Than art thow parted from the fende--
But yet that thy sowle be more heled,
The fourth poynt ys, agayne thyn ende
Dewly for to be aneled.

whyle thy mynde ys good and fresshe,
Resceue thys sacrament, rede I. [col. 2]
Ofte hast thow synned in thy flesshe
with thy v. wyttes venyally.

Second Version

Than art thou partyd ffrom the ffende--
But yet that thy soule be more heled,
The iiij^{the} poynt ys, ageyn thyn ende
Dewly for to be aneled.

whyle thy mynde ys good and ffressh,
Resceue thys sacrament, rede I,
Offte hast thou synned in thy fflessh
wyth thy v wyttes venyally.

First Version

Also yef thow haue contricion
Of all thy synnes more and lesse,
Yet ys at last a disposicion
In thy firel flessh to wykednes.

He that resceueth thys sacrament,
Ayenst hys defautes grete helpe he hathe.
And hit resceueth with good entent,
He geteth also increse of grace.

Second Version

Also yef thou haue contrycion
Off all thy synnes more and lesse,
Yet ys at last a desposicion
In thy freel fflessh to wykkednes.

he that resceueth thys sacrament,
Ayenst hys defaute grete helpe he hath.
And hit resceue with good entent,
he geteth also encrese of grace.

---

[1]/40. firel] scribal error for freel; wykednes] s interlined.

First Version

And yef hit to hym be profyte
lenger to lyue, hym to amende,
He may also purchase by hyt
lenger lyfe, as god lyketh to sende.

when thow hast thus disposyd the
Ayenst the worlde, the fende, thy flesshe,
Than sewing shall the fyfte thyng be:
whyle thy mynde ys also fressh,

Second Version

And yef hit to hym be profyght
lenger to lyue, hym to ament,
He may also purchase be hit
lenger lyff, as god pleaseth to sende.

when thow hast thus desposed the.
Ayenst the worlde, the ffende, the fflessh,
Than sewyng shall the v^{the} thynge be:
whyle thy mynde ys also ffressh,

First Version

Deuoutly receyue Crystis body,
And so to Cryste be strongly knytte:
Thy grace shall yet encrese therby,
And euel spiryttys be ferde of hit. [f. 19a, col. 1]

Thy deuocion shall uex also;
Thy hope, thy charyte shall increase--
That thow thy god shall neuer parte fro:
Hit ys an ernyst of endele pease.

Second Version

Deuoutely resceue crstes body,
And so to Cryst be strongely knytte:
Thy grace shall yet encrese therby,
And euel spyrytes / be ferde off hit.

Thy deuocion shall wexe al-so;
Thy hope, thy charyte shall encrease--
That thou thy god shall neuer parte fro:
Hit ys an ernest of endeles pease.

---

[1]/55. following this line: a paragraph sign followed by by, which perhaps serves as a catch-word.

[2]/53. crstes] scribal error for cristes, crystes.

First Version

Than seweth the syxth thyng at last:
Gyue the alonly to prayere.
Thy mynde on god be set stedfast;
Trust in hys grace that bought the dere.

Crye mercy for thy mysdoyng,
And thanke god of all hys goodnes.
lyfte vp thyn hert fro thyngys passyng,
And thynke on thyngis that be endeles.

Second Version

Than seweth the syxte thynge att last:
Gyue the alonly to prayer.
Thy mynde on god be sett stedefast;
Truste in hys grace that bought the dere.

Crye mercy for thy mysdoyng, [col. 2]
And thanke god of all hys goodnesse.
lyfte vp thy herte fro thynges passyng,
And thynke on thynges that be endeles.

First Version

Thynke what ioy hit ys god to se--
Hys moder, hys aungellys, hys seyntys all.
There ys no maner aduersite,
But myrthe and blysse that neuer ende shall.

And yef thow drede in thy memory
(Because thow art nat fully pure)
That thow must passe by purgatory,
Yet thy payne shall nat euer endure.

Second Version

Thynke what **ioye** hit ys god to **se**--
Hys moder, hys angellys alle.
Ther ys no maner of aduersyte,
But myrthe and blysse that neuer ende shall.

And yeff þou drede in thy memory
(By-cause thou art nat fully pure)
That thou must passe be purgatory,
Yet thy peyne shal neuer endure.

First Version

Thow hast deserued, yef thow dye thus,
That suffragys after thy deth done [col. 2]
Shall brynge the from that payne greuouse,
As god seyth, tyme lenger or sone.

And trust wele then that euer, euer--
Yea! euer, euer thow shalt haue blysse
So grete, so good that tongue telle neuer,
Ne hert couthe thynk how grete hit ys.

Second Version

Thou hast deserued, yef thou dye thus,
That suffrages after thy deth done
Shal brynge the ffrom that payne greuouse,
As god seyth, tyme lenger or sone.

And trust well than that euer, euer
thow shalt haue blysse
So grete, so good that tonge telle neuer,
Ne herte cowthe thynke how grete hit ys.

First Version

Than as cryste sayde on the rood tre,
Say thow, to thys Ioye that thow come,
In manus tuas, domine,
Commendo spiritum meum.

That ys to sey, "lord, I commende
In-to thyne handys spyryt myne.
Thow bought hit dere; thow hit defende.
Thow has ryght to hyt; hyt thys thyne."

Second Version

Than as cryst seyd on the rode tre,
Say thou, to thys that thou come,
In manus / tuas /, domine.
[ ]

That ys to sey, "lorde, I commende
In-to thyn handes spyryte myn.
Thow bought hit dere; thou hit defende.
Thow hast ryght to hit; hit ys thyne."

---

[1]/92. thys] scribal error for ys.

[2]/88. line omitted in MS; no space left for it.

First Version

God graunte vs all that be of age
Thus to do or we dye, that then
we haue heuen to oure herytage,
That cryste for vs ordeyned. Amen.

Second Version

God graunte vs all that be off age
Thus do or we dye, that then
we haue heuen to oure herytage,
That cryst for vs ordeyned. Amen.

---

[2]/94. to omitted before do.

52. [Doomsday]

Brit. Mus. Addit. MS 37049

Of þoes thynges þe whilk þai sal se before þe day of dome [f. 18b]

When þe day of dome sall be,
It is in gods pryuyte.
ffor al þe prophets þat men may neuen,
And al þe halows & angels of heuen
Myȝt neuer none wytt þat preuyte--
what tyme þat day of dome salbe--
ffor god wil þat none before wytte,
Bot hym-selfe þat ordand it.
Þarfore crist to his dyscipyls says þus,
As þe boke of þe Apocalips schews vs,
Non est vestrium nosce tempora vel momenta
que pater posuit in sua potestate.
("It fals not ȝow to knawe þe tyme of preuyte
Þat þe fader has sett in his powste.")
Þarfore no man suld aske ne saye
How mykil we hafe to domesday;
Ne we suld not desyre it to lere,
To wytt whedyr it war far or nere.
Bot we suld make vs redy alle,

---

4. al deleted before angels. 13. preuyte] expanded from abbreviation; cf. pryuyte, v. 2 above; preuyte, v. 5 above.

As þe day of dome to-morne suld falle;
And þinke ay on þe dredful dome,
As þe holy man sayd, saynt Ierome,
Þat ay þeropon thoght nyght & day--
And þarfore þus in a boke gan he say,
Siue comedam siue bibam siue aliquid
Aliud faciam, semper mi videtur illa tuba
sonare in auribus meis: surgite mortui; venite ad
iudicium!
He says, "wheder I ete or drynke
Or oght els do, ay me thynke
Þat þe beme þat blawe sal at domesday
Sowndes in myne ere, & þus says ay:
Ryse ȝe vp þat ar ded, and come
Vnto þe gret dredful dome!"
Now, mercyfull god, þou graunte vs here
Grace of gode lyfyng, þat we may appere
By-fore þi face to oure saluacyon,
At þe gret dome before ilk nacyon.
Now, lord, þi grace þou shews be mony ways;
Þerfore þe prophet Dauyd says,
Misericordia domini plena est terra.
"Þe erth," he says, "is full of gods mercy."

---

31. says] s interlined.

Þan may men here it fynde plentyfully;
And he þat has mercy or he hence wende,
Sal fynde criste at þe gret dome his frende--
wher rightwysnes onely salbe hawntyd,
And no mercy þan be graunted.
Þarfore, gracios god, þat alle goodenes hasse,
Gyf vs mercy here or we passe.

---

47. gracios] interlined over an illegible word. 48. after this line, at bottom of folio, occurs hence, written in a rectangular box.

53. [This Transitory Life]

Corpus Christi Coll. Oxford MS C. 237

Whoso-euyr oute of this worde passyth penytent, [f. 242b]
And for hys offence hathe nat made A seethe suffysaunt,
In peyne of pyrgotory he owith to make pAyment--
with-owte dulgence and dedis merytory here make a SupplyAnt.

who-so-euer oute of þis worde pAssith not penytent,
And of cursyd levynge will nat hym repent,
In þe peynis of helle he schall nedys be brent,
And with develys for-euer lastinge schall be in tornement.

That man þat prayth with herte clene & pure
And Gevith to god ffeythfully his thought,
It may be sayd þat he schall be ryght sure,
And all tho þat he forthe brovyght,
That good lorde ne forgith nowght,
That man to norysche, ryte here In þis lyfe:
hym-selfe, his goode, his chyldre, & his wyfe.

That man ys blynde þat syttyth In place to praye--
his herte, his mynde At home In his tresure,
As on his golde, his ffare, & his greete A-Raye;
And so forgetys his blessyde creature,
And mAkith his riches only his comforture.

---

5. þis] i interlined. 8. tornement] scribal error for torment?

with-owte A-mende, þer is no more to sey;
It is to dreede lest he singe "welle-A-wAy."

MAn and woman of euery degre, revolve in youre mynde
The variAbelnes of þis worde, before & be-hynde.
ffor, nyll ye wyll ye, hence ye schall wende--
youre Rewarde to haue In hevyn or In helle, with-owtyn ende.

---

23. MAn] large capitals. 24. þis] i interlined.

54[1,2,3]. How schal a mann best in pes abide?

Parallel Texts

First Version: Huntington Lib. MS HM 183

how schal a mann best in pes abide? [f. 4a, col. 1]
hy hart and enuy set aside.
he þat will noo wynde spille,
sey the best or holde hym stille.

Second Version: Huntington Lib. MS HM 183

How schal a mann best in pes abide? [f. 4a, col. 2]
Hy[1] hart and enuy set aside.
He that will noo wynde spille,
Seye the best or holde hym stille.

1. High.

Third Version: Brit. Mus. Addit. MS 11307

"This World is but a Vanity." [f. 120a]

How schal a mann best in pes abide?
Hy hart and enuy set aside.
He that will noo wynde spille;
Seye the best or holde hym still.

---

[1]/1. schal] scha underlined. 4. sey] short stroke over e, without significance.

[2]/2, 14, 15, 17, etc.: Haslewood's (?) notes in right margin.

[3]. title and punctuation added by Haslewood?

First Version

All honesti y rede thow take;
Maners and clothe man doth make.
Resoun and wytte is best for man,
But wo is hym þat no good can.
Of thi frynde make nat thi foo;
lat anger pas and euer goo.

Second Version

All honesti y rede thow take;
Manners and clothe man doth make.
Resonn and wytte is best for man,
But wo is hym that noo good can.
Of thi frynde make nat thi foo;
Lat anger pas and euer goo.

Third Version

All honesté y rede thow take;
Manners and clothe man doth make.
Resonn and wytte is best for man,
But wo is hym that noo good can.
Of thi frynde make nat thi foo,
Lat anger pas and euer goo.

First Version

Bende thi thombe yn thi fyste,
And euer be ware of "had-y-wiste."
Or þou begynn, thynke of the ende,
And euer, y rede the, plece thi frynde.
Yf þou plece nat thi frynde, yn fay,
his frenschipp sone will pas away.

Second Version

Bende thi thombe yn thi fyste,
And euer be ware of "had-y-wiste."
Or thou begynn, thynke of the ende,
And euer, y rede[2] the, plece thi frynde.
Yf thou plece nat thi frynde, yn fay[3],
His frensthipp sone will pas away.

2. advise
3. faith

Third Version

Bende thi thombe yn thi fyste
And euer be ware of had y wiste;
Or thou begynn thynke of the ende,
And euer y rede the plece thi frynde
Yf thou plece nat thi frynde yn fay,
His frensthipp sone will pas away

---

[1]/11. fyrst deleted before fyste. 12. had] underlined.

First Version

Ther-for y rede the yn all þou kan,
To gete the loue of god and man.
Be nat prowde of thi degre,
ffor this worlde is but a vanyte.
Vndir grete lordis, men haue grete strokys;
with grete wyndis doo fall grete ookys.

Second Version

Ther for y rede the yn all thou kan[4],
To gete the loue of god and man.
Be nat prowde of thi degre,
For this worlde is but a Vanyte.
Vndir grete lordis, men haue grete strokys;
Wit grete wyndis doo fall grete ookys.

4. difference of this word & the 9th line preceding arises from the unsettled orthography of ye period.

Third Version

Ther for y rede the yn all thou kan,
To gete the loue of god and man.
Be nat prowde of thi degre,
For this worlde is but a Vanyte.
Vndir grete lordis men haue grete strokys,
Wit grete wyndis doo fall grete ookys.

---

[1]/19. proude deleted before prowde.

[2]/20. Vanity deleted before Vanyte.

First Version

Avise the wel what þou doyst say,
And haue few wordis, y the pray.
Be ware of hym þat tellith the talys,
lest þou haue harme and be brougt yn balis.
Take no more aponn the than þou may,
Nodyr of howsholde nodyr off ray.

Second Version

Advise the wel what thou doyst say,
And haue few wordis, I the pray.
Beware of hym that tellith the talys,
Lest thou haue harme and be brougt yn balis.[5]
Take no more aponn the than thou may,
Nodyr of howsholde nodyr off ray.[6]

5. Misery
6. Raiment

Third Version

Avise the wel what thou doyst say,
And haue few wordis I the pray.
Beware of hym that tellith the talys, [f. 120b]
Lest thou haue harme and be brougt yn balis.
Take no more uponn the than thou may,
Nodyr of howsholde nodyr offray;

First Version

A nyse gyile, a backe dere, an hege ful of frute
Makith yn euery howsholde an onthrifty sute.
who will beware of theis thre,
Suffir neuer idill folke yn thi hows to be.
A ȝere or ij wronge will onne goo,
And euer at the ȝynde wronge will haue woo.

Second Version

Auyse gyile, a backe dere, an hegeful of frute
Makith yn euery howsholde an outhrifty sute.
Who will beware of theis thre,
Suffir neuer idill folke yn thi hows to be.
A ȝere[7] or y wronge will onne goo,
And euer at the ȝynde[8] wronge will haue woo.

7. Year
8. end

Third Version

Auyse gyile, abacke dere, an hegeful of frute,
Makith yn euery howsholde an onthrifty sute.
Who will beware of theis thre, -
Suffer neuer idill folke yn thi hows to be.
A ȝere or y wronge will onne goo,
And euer at the ȝynde wronge will haue woo.

---

[1]/29. dere] scribal error for dore. 31. thes deleted before theis. 32. hous deleted before hows.

[2]/29. dore deleted before dere. 30. outll deleted before outhrifty. 33. y] cf. ij in 54[1]/33, where these two letters, written close together, resemble a y.

First Version

This prouerbe is true and full sothe:
he kann neuer wele deme þat euyll dothe.
Sildenn þou trust that folowith his luste:
Yn many beheste ys litill truste.
who þat yn ȝowthe noo virtu will vse,
Yn age all honoure will hym refuse.

Second Version

This prouerbe is true and full sothe:[9] 9. truth
He kaun neuer wele deme that euyll dothe.
Sildenn thou trust that folowith his luste:
Yn many beheste[10] ys litill truste. 10. Promise
Who that yn ȝowthe[11] noo virtu will vse, 11. Youth
Yn age all honoure will hym refuse.

Third Version

This prouerbe is true and full sothe,
He kann neuer wele deme that euyll dothe.
Sildenn thou trust that folewith his luste,
Yn many beheste ys litill truste.
Who that yn ȝowthe noo virtu will vse,
Yn age all honoure will hym refuse.

---

[1]/38. lite deleted before litill.

[2]/39. us deleted before vse.

First Version

Tell no man wat þou wilte doo;
That now is thi frynde mai be þi foo.
Trust yn god, thus seith the texte;
whann bale is most, than bote is nexte.
Esy sufferynge and good abidynge
schall brynge a man to his desierynge.

Second Version

Tell no man wat thou wilte doo;
That now is thi frynde mai be thi foo.
Trust yn god, thus seith the texte;
Whaun bale is most, than bote[12] is nexte. 12. better
Esy sufferynge and good abidynge
Schall brynge a man to his desierynge.

Third Version

Tell no man wat thou wilte doo,
That now is thi frynde mai be thi foo.
Trust yn god thus seithe the texte,
Whann bale is most that bote is nexte,
Esy sufferynge and good abidynge,
Schall brynge a man to his desierynge.

---

[1]/44. bete deleted before bote. 45. sufferynge] ng underlined.

[2]/44. than] n resembles a t; cf. that, the error in [3]/44.

First Version

Yf þou wilte thi lorde plece,
helpe thi nebur yn his disece.
Eche man wel be-holde his degre,
ffor this worlde is but A vanyte.

Quod hichecoke

Second Version

Yf thou wilte thi lorde plece,
Helpe thi nebur yn his disece.
Eche man wel be holde his degre,
For this worlde is but a vanyte.

W. Hichecoke

Third Version

Yf thou wilte thi lorde plece,
Helpe thi nebur yn his disece:
Eche man wel be holde his degre;
For this worlde is but a vanyte.

W. Hichecoke

---

[1]/50. space in MS after but, following this line, Quod] expanded from abbreviation, which is repeated three times below poem, as if for practice.

[2,3]/50. following this line, W.] error for Quod.

55. Truth is a-slepe

MS Tanner 201

O man, beholde before the how thy lyf wastith; [p. 1]
Man, beholde the howe thy deth hastith.
Man, beholde on thy right side how the worlde the begilith;
Man, beholde on thy lyft side how the feynde the foylith.

Man, beholde beneth the to the payne that endith neuer;
O man, beholde aboue the to that ioye that lestith euer.
Now is loue and lewte shet vndir lok:
ffalshode and flateringe berith the bell in euery flok.
Rightuysnes is rauysshide and doluyn wondir depe.
pees now and speke softe, for truth is a slepe.

5,6. neuer: euer] expanded from abbreviations; neuir: euir? cf. wondir, v. 9 below.

56[1,2]. Pleas god surely and þe worlde also

Parallel Texts

First Version: MS Harley 2252

O Mortall Man, By grete exaltacion [f. 160a]
in Ryches, awtoryte, & dyngnyte sett,
take hede þat noo worllye Corupcion operacion
ffrom seruynge of god the hynder or lette,
for ony maner vauntage þat thow mayste þerbye gete.
But fyrst, with lawde & thanke hym & to regarde;
And then with all nessessarys he wyll the Rewarde.

Second Version: MS Harley 2252

O Mortall Man, By grete exaltacion [f. 157a]
In Ryches, Awtoryte, or in dygnyte sette,
take hede þat no wordly corrupte operacion
from seruynge of god the hynder or lette,
for eny maner of lucre þat thow mayste þerby gete.
But ffyrst, with lawde & thanke þou hym Regarde;
And then with all nessessarys he wyll þe rewarde.

---

[1]/1. exaltacion] final flourish. 3. corupcion] scribal error for corupte. 4. deuocion deleted after lette. 6. hym &] scribal error for thow hym.

[2]/1. exaltacion] final flourish. 3. operacion] final flourish.

First Version

Then in thy faculte, whate-so-ever hyt Bee,
vse thy-selfe All-wayes indyferentlye:
Accordynge to Iustyce & equyte--
no man desevynge wyttyn[g]lye,
but ever respectynge dylygentlye
to Avoyde All sotelte, Crafte, & sleyghte,
& mynister trulye nombyr, mesure, & weyghte.

Second Version

Then in þi faculty, whate-so-ever hyt be,
vse þi-selfe Alwayes indyferentle:
Acordynge to Iustyce & equite--
No man deseyvynge wyttyngelye,
But ever Resspectynge dylygently
To voyde all soteltese, Crafte, & sleyghte,
And to mynester truly bope nombyr & weyghte.

---

[1]/11. MS blotted.

First Version

And vnto thy wyfe & thyne cheldyr Also,
& to thy servantis, mynester love Cherytabylly.
and to thy neyghbore & ynferyor þou mayste nothynge do,
opynly by dede nor yette secretlye,
but suche as thow owghtyste conveniently.
then shalte thowe surely of theyme aptayne
vnto þi love, drede, & dewe obedyens Agayne.

Second Version

And vnto þi wyfe & Chyldren Also,
& to þi seruauntis þou mynester love Cherytabylly.
and to thy neyghbour & Inferyor thow Mayste nothynge do,
opynly by dede nor yet secretlye,
But suche as þou owghtyste conveniently.
Then shalte thow surely of them apteyne
Vnto the love, drede, & dew obedyens Agayne.

---

[1]/18-19. lines transposed in MS; not marked a and b (cf. vv. 32-33 below). 21. þi] scribal error for þe.

First Version

So doinge, then shalte thow lyve quietlye yn pece,
And pleas god hyghly & the worlde Also.
And Stryfe & debate in thy mynde shall seas,
And oppressyon & extorcyon from the shall goe;
and of all men be lovede, bothe to & froo.
but & thow deall lyke A Churle or A snoge,
Then rysythe dysobedyens, debate, & groge.

Second Version

So doinge, thow shalte lyve quietlye & in pece,
And pleas god surely and the worlde also.
And stryfe and debate in þi mynde shall sease,
And oppressyon & extorcion from þe shall goe;
And of all men be belovyde, bothe toe and froe.
But & þou dele lyke A Churle or A Curre dogge,
then Rysythe dyssobedyens, de-bate, & gruge.

---

[1]/28. stryfe deleted before groge.

First Version

Wherefore beware, & do not Intende
god to dyspleas, to thy payne & woo,
Sythe he hathe Armyde the, to defende
Ayenste thy mortall enemy & ffoo,
with prudens, Counsell, & Reason Also--
by the whyche þou mayste do well, yf þat þou yllyste,
& all hys dysseytfulnes & Malys to resyste.

Second Version

Wherfor beware, & do not Intende
God to dyspleas, to þi payne & woo,
sythe he hathe the Armyde, þe to defende
Ayenste þi mortall enmy & foe,
with prudens, Councell, & Reason Also--
By the whyche þou mayste do well, yf þou lyste,
And all Inconvenientis refuce & Resyste.

---

[1]/32-33. lines transposed in MS; v. 32 marked b; v. 33 marked a in left margin. 32. iug (beginning of iugement?) interlined in a different hand over Counsell. 34. yllyste] first letter (undoubtedly w) deleted; scribal error for lyste.

First Version

Second Version

with prudens, by the whyche þou mayste Estchewe
[þe] Crafte of the devyll, & so hyt to please;
By [co]unsell, of the whyche, yf þou hyt ensue,
Thow [m]ayste Cawse quyetnes & all þi neybors pleas;
By o[cca]sion of whyche, yf þou thynke hyt for thyne ease,
þou shalt knowe how þou shuldyste to god þe Behave--
þat in tyme Comynge thowe mayste þi sowle save.

---

[1]/36-42. stanza omitted in this version.

[2]/36-42. MS smudged.

First Version

And yff ony thynge fortune contrary þi mynde,
hotherwyse then thow woldyste hyt shulde be,
Anon thow Thynkeste þat god ys vnkynde--
and whoo ys then in the fawte bin hee.
Thus prudens, Councell, & Reason--all three-- [f. 160b]
lyke A man in A fury, thow doste Caste in þi mynde;
And onlye with Murmvr thow settyste þi-selfe Afyre.

Second Version

yet yf ony thynge happe to thy mynde, [f. 157b]
hoþerwyse then thow woldyste. hyt shulde be,
Anon þou thynkyste þat god ys vnkynde--
and whoo ys in the fawte thow supposyste he.
Thus prudens, Councell, & Reason--all three--
lyke A man in A fury, þou doste Caste in the myre;
And only with mormor Thow settyste þi-selfe A-fyre.

---

[1]/43. þi mynde] scribal error for þe (or the) myre [!].

First Version

And then, god thow forgetyste & settis Asyde,
Trustynge & leuynge to thy Carnall provysyon--
not Callynge to hym to helpe & provyde,
but lytyll or nothynge, as hyt were, in decision.
wherefor take þerfor A Conclusyon:
yf þu forgete god & hym not Retayne,
then shortlye wyll he forgete the Agayne.

Second Version

And god þou forgetyste & settyste all A-syde,
trustynge

And god þou forgetyste & settyste all A-syde

---

[2]/50. this line repeated below; written in an extremely bold and awkward fashion, but in the same hand.
51-92. missing in this version.

First Version

Therfor beware, & presume not to longe.
repente & do penaunce whylys þou haste space;
for yf thow be ponysshyde, Thow haste no wronge.
be Rulyde by prudens & Call for grace,
& folowe good Councell in every Case.
And ever Inclyne & obbey to Reason:
Then shalte thow do all thynge in quietnes & season.

for as saythe Scrypture, "there god ys, ys Charyte."
& with prudens, by the whyche, yf thow Take hede,
whoo ys þat in Charyte dothe byde or dwell,
dwellythe in god, & god with hym be wyll.
and whoo þat Charyte forsakythe dothe not well,
but May be comparyde to the devyll of hell--
whyche in no wyse of Charyte May here,
but ever full of Malys, as hys workis do Apere.

ffor he wyll the meve good workis to begyn--
as to faste, to pray, and Relygyon to take--
but when thow arte entryde A lytell then,
he wyll the Tempte then to breke & forsake.
And yet, more-over, he wyll the make
for on Mannis pleasure to hate Another,
by the whyche he wyll Clayme the to be hys brother.

---

[1]/56-92. peculiar to this version. 66. ys] should be deleted; if deleted before or.

Therfor Beware, & presume not to longe.
Refrayne & do penaunce whyle thow haste space;
ffor yff þou be ponysshede, thow haste no wronge.
bee Rulyde by prudens, & call for grace,
& folow good Councesell in everey place,
& ever inclyne & obbey to Reason:
Then shalte þou do all thynge in convenient season.

Consydyr þi yowth & consyder thyne Age; [f. 161a]
Consydyr þi pouerte & þi Rychys Also;
Consydyr thyne awtoryte, & thynke all shall swage;
Consyder thyne ende, & consydyr whereþer þou shalte goe;
Consydyr substancially whate þou shalte truste To;
Consydyr the worlde ys all full of Care,
& consyder þat dethe wyll no man spare!

---

[1]/83. Councesell] scribal error for counc-, Counsell. 89. Consyder] expanded from abbreviation; -yr? 92. consyder] expanded from abbreviation; -yr?

57. A compleint on-to dame fortune, Capitulo xxviij° [f. 159b]

Camb. Univ. Lib. MS Ff. 1. 6

o þou fortune, why art þou so inconstaunt?
To make þis lande so to meeve,
Thou hast a dominatioun traversaunt.
Wyth-owte numbre deyst þou greeue;
Vnstedefast art þou for to be-leue!
He þat yn þe settyth hys confidence,
He holdyth ryght naught of clene conscienncе.

Radix omnium malorum est cupiditas. [f. 160a]

I whoot weel what causyth oure necligeunce:
fful fewe now þer be content of sufficisaunce.
Wherfore þe coveytous doth greet offennce,
heygh to surmounte þe worldis bobaunce.
wordely men often-tymes hem a-vaunce
Be fortune, and þat ys here confidennce.
he heldyth ryght nawt of clene conscienncе.

Qui cupiunt diuites, fieri incidunt in laqueos diaboli.

Many men byn brought from poverte
On-to rychesse, and þat yn dyvers wyse.
Whanne þey haue y-nough, þey cannot se.

---

1. space left for illuminated capital. 8. necligeunce] scribal error for necligaunce? 9. sufficisaunce] scribal error for suffisaunce. 13. ys deleted before þat.

Poverte þanne donn þey dyspyse;
Resonn with hem may not a-ryse.
He þat yn fortune settyth his confidence,
He kepyth ryght naught of clene conscience.

Multis mortem generauerunt diuicie.

Mysure ys tresour, as men doon seye.
Therto euery man scholde take heede,
And yn alle his warkes to god obeye--
hym ful hertely loue and dreede.
And ellys fortune so hym may leede,
puttynge in here al his confidence,
A-doun to falle in here presence.

Si diuicie vobis affluant, nolite cor apponere.

ffor whanne rychesse doth a-bounde
In greet mesure, þat ys ful casual.
fful often-tymes yt ys weel founde
þat ful lyghtely he getyth a fal;
hys wynnynge at þe last may be smal.
In fortune was set hys confidence;
He kepte ryght nawȝt of clene conscience.

---

28. below Latin which follows this line, in right margin: propheta. 29. bund deleted before bounde. 35. kepyth deleted before kepte.

Manhood in þys reame hath regnyd lange,
But now perfayleth ordynaunce.
Coueytyse and meede ben had in hande--
Sustrys þey be of oon a-lyaunce:
Euery day to-gedere þey do daunce.
3yf men wolde sette in god here confidence,
ffare weel, þanne, large conscience.

Coveytyse spredyth now ful wyde,
wherfore worschepe ys set be-hynde.
Dyscrecioun faylyth now in many a syde.
Cawsynge ryche men to be blynde.
Nyghtes reste can þey noon fynde:
In wordely muk ys al here confidence.
Therfor absentyth ys clene conscience.

ffalseheed ys suster vn-to meede;
Euere þey ben os oon a-cordaunce.
Manye to hem taken good heede-- [f. 161a]
Al þat cawsyth a greet variaunce.
large conscience makyth a dysturbelaunce:
In wordely muk ys here conscidence,
ffor þey sette at nawt clene conscienncе.

---

38. had in hande] scribal error for hand in hande? 49. absentyth] scribal error for absentyd. 51. os] scribal error for of. 55. conscidence] scribal error for confidence.

That ynfortunat false covetyse,
Of golde and syluer falsely gote!
wher-þrough many men doon a-ryse,
And kepyn golde in coferys stoke.
day, houre, and tyme þey ne wote
How longe schal endure here confidence.
ffor þey sette at nawȝt clene conscience.

fful often-tymes yt ys y-seye
That vntrowthe supportyth tresoun;
wher-þrought a man may lyghtely deye,
ffor falseheed and tresoun ben þe enchesoun.
In thys land þys mateyr ys not gesoun:
In worldely muk ys his confidence,
And al þat causyth large conscience.

Holy doctouris thus doon þey seye,
That worldely good, gotyn wyth wronge,
To resoun þei moste nedys a-beye.
In helle pette ellys schall þey honge,
But restitucioun be mayd a-monge-- [f. 161b]
And trewe repentaunce here defennce,
ffor þat wele charyte & clene conscience.

---

59. may deleted before many. 63. navt deleted before nawȝt. 66. dye deleted before deye. 76. trewe] e interlined.

Duplex est restitutio: scilicet, attualis et mentalis.

Restitucion ys weel to vndyrstande
In two wyses, as thenkyth me:
On ys, þe good þat he hath in hande
To ȝeelde yt a-geyn to hys powste.
That other ys, þe good spendyd on vanyte,
Good wyl to ȝeelde yt with-owte vyolence.
ffor þat wele charyte and conscience.

Coveytyse dooth often ful greet schame
Vnto manhoode, and þat ys greet pyte.
ffalseheed þer of beryth þe name,
And þat ys for lak of charyte.
Thus many men faren of euery degre:
In worldely muk lyeth here confidence,
And al þis causyth large conscience.

Nemo potest duobus dominis seruire contrarijs.

He þat ys servaunt vn-to greet rychesse,
And wyl not governe yt to goddys intent--
That may lette hym from goddys presence,
And so par-aventure he may be schent.

---

93. c deleted before intent. 95. poem ends here, perhaps incomplete; the next folio is blank.

58. [Gnomic Advice]

Trin. Coll. Camb. MS 1450

Salamon seyth there is none Accorde [f.70a]
Ther euery man wulde be A lorde.
Wher euery man is plesyd with his degre,
Ther is both pece and vnyte.
Whos consciens is combred and is not clene,
Of other men dedis the wursse wull deme.
Deme not my dedys, thowgh thyne be nowght.
deme what þou wult; þou knowist not my thowghte.
Demynge and mvsynge over ferre:
Meny mennys wyttys it settisse yn erre.
Power, possessyon, and rychesse
No man may sette yn sykernesse.
The ende of lust is sorow and schame,
Travell and parell and lost of name.
loue to Amende and feyne to please;
lothe to defende: sufferaunce doth ease.
In euery place wher y gan fare,
lack of for-wytte is cause of care.
Thow hast noo charter of thy lyfe:
Cause þou neuer bate nother stryfe.
Be neuer thrall vn-to synne,
And thynke on þe ende or þou be-gynne.

---

10. <u>seit</u> deleted before <u>settisse</u>. 14. lost] scribal error for <u>los</u> or <u>loss</u>?

Ouere thy hed loke þou neuer hew:
Pouerte hath but frendys few
Who-so of welth takith no hede,
he schall fynde fawte yn tyme of nede.
Thys worlde is mvtabyll (so seyth sage);
Therefor gedyr yn tyme, or thow fall yn Age.
Grace passyth golde and precyous stone:
God schall be god when golde is gone.

59[1,2]. [Beware of False Friends]

Parallel Texts

First Version: MS Rawlinson D. 82

Wo hath þat conynge, / by wysdam or prudence [f. 34a]
to know whether his frende / be feynt or stable?
Ther ys no creature, I trow, / þat hath þat science--
To know his ffrende. / þe world ys so mutable, marke this well
And ffrenship ys double / and varry
disseyvable.
The mowthe seyth one; / þe hert þinketh anoþer.
Allas to say, / hit ys full lamentable!
vnneth A man now / may truste his owne broþer!

Second Version: MS Rawlinson D. 82

Whoe hath the cvnnyg, by wisdom or prvdence [f. 34a]
to know whether his frend be faynt or stable?
Ther is no creature, I trow, hath the science
To knowe his frend. the world is so mvtable,
And frenship is dowble & very diceyveable.
The mowthe sayeth one; the hart thinketh another.
Alas to saye, yt is fvll lamentable!
deceayt is so great, men trust ther brother! /

---

[1]/4. sidenote in hand (2); see Descriptions of Manuscripts.

[2]. occurs immediately below 59[1]. 1. cvnnyg] scribal error for cvnnyng. 8. may not (or something similar) omitted before trust; following this version, in hand (4): Whoe hath the cvnnyg [sic] b Wisdom.

60. [A Father's Advice to His Son]

Brit. Mus. Addit. MS 25006

I sale þe teche, son--tak hede-- [f. 11b]
And siche maner to þe declare,
Be whylke þou sal com to manhede.
(Now, gud sir, teche me wylk thay Are.)

what mAn þou serus, hym loue & dred,
And his gud As þine awne þou spare.
late neuer þi will þi wit ouer lede;
spek gud of ich mannys willfare.

lok euer þou dred schame!

lat euere mAn say his wit or þou,
And ich mAnnys tAle lok þou alow.
To þi better euer þou bow:

þer sall begyn þi gud fame.

If þou sal bourd, bourd with þi pere,
And leue to play when þe best lyst.
sufere a gret worde fore maner,
ffore better is oftym bow þan berste.

Of euere mAnnys tale lok at þou lere:
schet it as tresore in þi khist.
Tele neuer þe mor if þou myche here:
In word, be-ware of "had-I-wist."

4. sir] expanded from abbreviation; ser? cf. serus, v. 5, 6. þine] i interlined. 14. pere] expanded from abbreviation; per? cf. maner, v. 16 below.

lok þou be not tal-wise!

be not to mery, ne not to sade;
Noght te elinge, ne not to glade.
kepe euer A men And euer adrade.

In berynge be not to nise!

with brothelles ne boyis lok þou not iplay;
what þou hym tellis, þou sal here eft.
And if þou ourwhar wastour sey,
his company I wald þou left.

Mach not with mysrewle, if þou may:
ffro maner he hath clen hym heft.
for I haue sen it, in gud fay:
ffro fell folk he hath manhod refte.

Of entermetyng be-ware,

Saue whare þou most nedis mel þe.
off hand & tonge þat þou be fre,
and euer aschow harlotre.
leynge, bost, gret othis þou fle.

And thus sal þou wyn wilfare.

lo, son, þis is my scole!

---

24. te] scribal error for to? 39. leynge] e interlined.

61. [Investigate Before You Marry]

MS Digby 196

Know or thow knytte; [f. 20a]
prove or thow preyse yt.
ȝyf þou know or þou knyt,
þan mayst þou abate.
& ȝyf þou knyt er þou knowe,
Than yt ys to late.
ther-fore avyse þe or þou þe knot knytte;
ffor "had-y-wyst" commeth to late for to lowse yt.

62[1,2]. [Parental Advice]

Parallel Texts

First Version: Trin. Coll. Camb. MS 652

Dere sone, let not ydelnes yowe enslombre, [f. 171a]
Ne wydenes of clothes you encombre; ffader
Ne let not youre louers presens putte you to flyghte,
leste myschyeffe rewarde yowe, as it is ryghte.

Dere doghterne, and yhe wyll be vertuus, Moder
Hathe no tonge sharpe ne mowthe lykerus;
ne lat not youre yenn be nettys of your care,
ffor aftyr ryot sone commythe evyll fare.

Second Version: MS Ashmole 52

Sone, leet not ydelnesse ȝou enslombre, [f. 65b]
Nor wydnesse of clothys ȝou encombre;
N[or] your louers pre[s]ons put ȝou to flygth,
l[es]t myschef rewarde ȝoue, as it is Rygth.

---

[2]/1-4. MS faded; half of folio torn off. 4. ȝoue] e interlined.

63. [Excesses in Women's Dress]

MS Ashmole 59

Þou þat werrede þe crowne of thornes, [f. 73a]
ffell dovne þe pryde / of wommens hornes;
And suffre hem lenger / with longe tayles,
Ne none oþer vicyous entayles, /
Of noþer of males ne femayles /--
Ne hodes, ne tyres lyche Carrake sayle: /
Lorde, for þy peyneful passyounn,
To save oure soule frome dampnacioun!

---

3. no apparently omitted before lenger. 8. dampnacioun] double-function nasal bar.

64. [Advice for a Prince]

Trin. Coll. Camb. MS 599

tRONOS celorum Continens, [f. 1a]
Whos byrthe thys day Reiterate,
Bothe god and man in exystens,
Borne of a mayde Immaculate--
Preserue your digne and hygh estate,
Syth ye preserve thys most hygh feste,
In quo Redemptor natus est.

Senek the sage, that kyng ys of desert,
Regent and rewler of all wyldernesse,
Sendeth gretyng with all entiere hert
Vnto yow, hys brother, kyng of Crystmas--
lettynge yow wete with hertly tendyrnes
What longeth now vnto youre astate royall.
That be now to se, sodenly call.

Hyt ys perteynynge to euery prynce and kyng
That pepyll shall haue vnder gouernaunce,
That he haue prudent and wyse counselyng,
And to here counseyll geue attendaunce.
And that your reame shall nat fall perchaunce

---

1. tRONOS] space left for addition of illuminated capital; the t would then have been erased. 15. perteynynge] expanded from abbreviation; parteynynge? 19. perchaunce] expanded from abbreviation; parchaunce?

Vnto Rewen, for defaute of good counsell,
Take hede herto: hit may oft avayle.

ffor oute of olde feldes, as men sayth,
Commetn all these new cornes from yere to yere.
So oute of olde, expert men, in feyth,
Commeth all these good rules, as ye shall here.
And by theire age, they haue in thys matere
The good rewle of verrey experience.
Wherfore he sendeth hem to your presence.

ATTEMPT nothyng surmountyng your myght, Primus
Ne that to finissh that passeth your power.
ffor than ye stand foule in your owne lyght;
And whoso doth, hymsylf shall foule adere
With shame, and therfore thys wysdom ye lere:
That hys ys foly a man suche to begyn,
Whyche to performe hys wyttis be to thyn.

When that tyme ys of grete and large expence, Secundus
Beware of waste and spende ay by mesure.
Who at suche tyme can fynde no dyfference,
Hys goodis may nat with hym long endure.
The olde ys that mesure ys tresure;
ffor in short tyme the good may slyp away
That was gotyn in many a sondry day.

---

29. ATTEMPT] space left for illuminated capital; cf. v. 1.

Of elther men ye shall your myrrour make. Tertius
Conforme yow to that /, that may most yow auayle--
What ye shall do and what shall forsake.
A bettyr thyng ne may ye nat contryue
Than to other mennys dedys to releue;
To all that perteyneth yow eny-thyng,
Make other men rule of youre leuynge.

Take good hede to youre owne estate, Quartus
To rule your body with a good diete.
loke with tyme ye be nat at debate,
Though thurgh youre owne mysrule and surfete
Sekenes or sorow haue yeuyn yow an hete.
The tyme ys good, and no disseuable there ys,
But men hit make--for they do amys.

To preue youre-sylf, take deliberacioun Quintus
Be lycly coniectour what may betyde.
Aduertyse and here thys informacion:
How soone owre lord can set Astate asyde.
ffolow hym, therfore, and let hym be your gyde,
That all thyng hath in hys regement,
ffuture and past and your estate present.

In-to a gret age when ye be crept, Sextus
Hauyng gret Ryches and Habundaunce,

---

48. perteyneth] expanded from abbreviation; parteyneth?
57. deliberacioun] double-function nasal bar.

Be lyberall of the good that ye haue kept;
Thynke that ye haue y-nough and suffisaunce.
let nat youre goode of yow haue gouernaunce,
But gouerne hit and part hit with your frende.
When ye go hens, hit may nat with yow wende.

Who that lakketh rest, may nat long endure; Septimus
Therfore among take your ease and dysport.
Delyte you neuer in besynes ne cure,
But that other whyle ye may eft resort
To play, recreacion, and comfort.
Ye may the better labour at the long,
When ye haue myrthe your besynes Amonge.

lo, noble prince, ye here the counseyll Nuncius
Of all the .vij. phylosophyrs sage--
Whyche to aduertyse, hit may hap to avayle
To let these wysdoms grow vp in your age.
And in youre presence, afore her passage
They purpos all afore yow forto synge,
Yef to your hyghnes hit myght be plesyng.

Explicit

---

83. synge] expanded from abbreviation; synng?

65. [A Debate Between Philomena and Clericus]

MS Rawl. poet. 34

[Philomena]

And a woman off hauntynge moode, [f. 5a]
blythly sche wyll be swyuyd;
Butt in a lytyll whyle
hur wyll wyll a-way wende--
As thow I-ware off gyle,
Ever at the last ende.
ffor whan a woman wepyt most
And sorowyth all her fyl,
Than myght þou be soryst a-gast,
laste þat sche be-gyle the.

Clericus

doe wey, fole, thi blamynge,
And ffle a-way owt of þis lond!
ffor a woman ys a wel fayre thynge
And trew for to fond--
Bryght & schene, myld of mode,
Off dedys good & hend.
Nyȝtyngale, I telle the my fode,
That þou darst women a-schend!

Philomena

Be styl, clerk, & hold thi mowth,
And let gabbynge a throwe!

This lesynge ys wel wyde cowde--
That may al folk know.
Clerk, be a appyl þou myght se:
sownd withowtte and grene,
And in the core rotyd be.
so faryth a woman, I wene:
þou seythes þei be all hend & good--
To doe al mannis wyll!
An þer-for, clerke, be styl.

Clericus

Whan þou wylt al master be,
And thy wyl al-wey haue,
O. thynge I be-seche þe--
As I schall be thy knaue,
And as þou art hend and ffre,
And Comyn off good blode:
How schall I, tell thow me,
To know the trew and the good?

Philomena

Clerk, ylk trew woman hath vpon,
With-owt any lesyng,
A. robbe of grey marbyl ston,
And of gret cumpasynge.
Ylk-a woman þat ys good

May doe gret merveyle:
A-reche þe sky with hur fote,
With-owtyn any fayle.
And ȝyt sche do þe lady good:
With her rokkis gore
sche may spred all ynglonde,
Schyp, sayle, & eke ore!
They schul be god wan god ys dede,
And afterward maad all new.
Now take, clerk, thi best rede,
ffor woman schul neuer be trewe.

Clericus

Alas, nyȝtyngale, alas!
Me rewyth þat ilke stownde!
Thow hast I-broght me on a cas--
I wene I fal to grownde.
My hert wyll to-berst!
Alas, my lyf ys to longe!
The to smyte I ame prest,
hens but þat thow be goynge.
Ne blame þou women ne more,
ffor-soth I rede the;
Thow schalt a-by yt fful dere,
hennys but þat thow ffle.

Philomena

Nay, clerk, for thi curtesy,

Mys-doe thow me ryght noght.
I wold theym preyse by & by.
y wyle chaunge my thoght:
I preyse women þat be good,
what afterward be-fall.
They be full of curtesy & mood,
In bowre & eke in hall.
haue good day, clerk ffre,
ffro the wyll y wende.
Take hede what þat I haue seyd þe, [f. 5b]
ffro the by-gynnynge to the ende.
loue wher thy ert may be happe,
What-so-euer sche be--
And sche schal make a glasyn cappe
And to skorn lawth the!
ffare-wel, clerk, & haue goodday;
No more wyl I spute.
now wyl I fare in my way--
I rede þou to my wordys take hede!

Explicit disputacio
inter Clericum et
Philomenam, et cetera

NOTE ON THE DESCRIPTIONS OF MANUSCRIPTS

The dates of most of the manuscripts have been obtained from the files of the Middle English Dictionary, University of Michigan. They are naturally only approximate in most cases, but they are based upon the research of the Dictionary staff and upon their correspondence with officials of the libraries concerned. They represent, therefore, the most recent datings; in addition, they correct some inaccuracies which have been perpetuated since the issuance of catalogues in the last century.

DESCRIPTIONS OF MANUSCRIPTS

Bodleian Library

MS Laud Misc. 108 (Bodleian Summary Catalogue Number 1486)

DESCRIPTION OF MS: Parchment and paper; small folio; ff. 238.
DATE OF MS: Material from last half of XIII century to beginning of XV century (Brown, Register, I, 10, states that on f. 238^{b} occur verses in a XV century hand; he does not describe or date Number 17, which occurs on the other side of the folio.)
SOURCE OF TRANSCRIPT: Microfilm, British Manuscripts Project, Reel 197(2).
PRINCIPAL CONTENTS: Saints' legends (from the South English Legendary); Sayings of St. Bernard; Vision of St. Paul; "Man's Three Enemies"; "The Debate of the Body and Soul"; Havelok; King Horn; another series of saints' legends; "Riddles from Scripture" (Number 17); an excerpt from Lydgate's Fall of Princes; an excerpt from a longer poem on courtesy.
SELECTION FROM MS: Number 17, "Riddles from Scripture," f. 238^{a}.
TEXTUAL NOTES: Number 17 is carelessly written, but is without significant scribal peculiarities.

Bodleian Library

MS Digby 88 (Bodleian Summary Catalogue Number 1689)

DESCRIPTION OF MS: Parchment, 4to, ff. 98.

DATE OF MS: c. 1500 (MED).

SOURCE OF TRANSCRIPT: Microfilm, British Manuscripts Project, Reel 184(4).

PRINCIPAL CONTENTS: Notæ theologicæ on the Seven Sacraments, celebration of the Mass, etc.; Latin treatises on weather, diet, astronomy; "The Four Humours: Physiology and Psychology" (Number 31[1]; The dominacions of the xii. signes; treatises on astronomy, thunder, weights and measures, physiognomy, palmistry (all in Latin); "Lunar Prognostics" (Number 25); a version of the Storia Lune (prognostics); instructions for plowing land; "The Twelve Signs of the Zodiac" (Number 26); Latin verses on unfavorable days in the year; excerpt from Marbodus' Lapidary; Latin verses on religious subjects; a note dated 1457; Latin verses on the calendar; twelve lines of English verse on the months of the year and their distinctive occupations; another Latin verse on the calendar.

SELECTIONS FROM MS: Number 25, "Lunar Prognostics," f. 62a; Number 26, "The Twelve Signs of the Zodiac," f. 89a; Number 31[1], "The Four Humours: Physiology and Psychology," f. 29a.

Bodleian Library

[MS Digby 88, continued]

TEXTUAL NOTES: Numbers 25, 26, and 31[1] are written in similar hands. Both 25 and 26 make unusually extensive use of the virgule, but this mark has no consistent rhetorical significance.

Bodleian Library

MS Digby 196 (Bodleian Summary Catalogue Number 1797)

DESCRIPTION OF MS: Paper, folio, ff. 197.

DATE OF MS: a. 1500 (MED).

SOURCE OF TRANSCRIPT: Microfilm, British Manuscripts Project, Reel 188(6).

PRINCIPAL CONTENTS: An incomplete table of contents in a hand of the late XVI century; Latin prose: a description of Rome; on precious stones (excerpts from Vitruvius, Avicenna, Isidore); prophecy of Merlin concerning kings of England up to Henry IV; Latin verses against marriage (beginning Daniel propheta nec est sed pseudopropheta,/ Sermone blando decepit me maritando); "Investigate Before You Marry" (Number 61); Jack Straw (Latin and English verse); Latin prophecies; a note: 'Summa of ȝeres by þe wrytyng of this boke fro þe incarnacyon 1396'; excerpts from Higden's Polychronicon and Geoffrey of Monmouth's Historia Regum Brittaniæ; a brief Latin chronicle up to 1377; another up to 1436; a series of historical notes on English affairs 1315-1382; a notice of a large whale captured anno 24 Hen. VI (1445-6); miscellaneous Latin treatises on geography, names of winds, etc.

SELECTION FROM MS: Number 61, "Investigate Before You Marry," f. 20^{a}.

Bodleian Library

[MS Digby 196, continued]

TEXTUAL NOTES: Number 61 is written in two columns: vv. 1-5 in col. 1; vv. 6-8 in col. 2; vv. 3-4 written as one line.

Bodleian Library

MS Bodley 649 (Bodleian Summary Catalogue Number 2293)

DESCRIPTION OF MS: Parchment, 4to, ff. ii plus 220.

DATE OF MS: a 1425 (MED).

SOURCE OF TRANSCRIPT: Microfilm, British Manuscripts Project, Reel 213(7).

PRINCIPAL CONTENTS: Sermons in Latin, with English verse interspersed; the second group consists of twenty-four sermones ad populum, in colloquial style, the first of which begins Ascendens Ihesus in Nauiculum; this group contains "The Five Qualities of Christ (Number 14).

SELECTION FROM MS: Number 14, "The Five Qualities of Christ," f. 183^{b}.

Bodleian Library

MS Bodley 549 (Bodleian Summary Catalogue Number 2298)

DESCRIPTION OF MS: Parchment, 9 7/8 x 7 3/8 in., made up of two MSS, ff. ii plus 200.

DATE OF MS: First part (A): late XIV century; second part (B): early XV century (Brown, Register, I, 24).

SOURCE OF TRANSCRIPT: Microfilm, British Manuscripts Project, Reel 161(2).

PRINCIPAL CONTENTS: (A) A version of the De arte moriendi, actually a somewhat altered form of the second book of the Horologium sapientiæ, by Henricus Suso (?).

(B) Theological treatises, most of which are connected with the Carthusian order; between two chapters of the third of these treatises occur the following, after which the text continues: "The vij. Peticiouns to the ffader" (Number 5); "The Ten Commaundementys" (Number 8); "The vij. sacramentys to the sone" (Number 9); "The vij. ȝeftys to the holy Gost" (Number 12).

SELECTIONS FROM MS: Number 5, "The vij. Peticiouns to the ffader, " f. 78^{a}; Number 8, "The Ten Commaundementys," f. 78^{b}; Number 9, "The vij. sacramentys to the sone"; Number 12, "The vij. ȝeftys to the holy Gost," f. 78^{b}.

TEXTUAL NOTES: Numbers 5, 8, 9, and 12 are written in the same hand. A different hand has added the Latin in the margins of Numbers 5 and 9.

Bodleian Library

MS Bodley 789 (Bodleian Summary Catalogue Number 2643)

DESCRIPTION OF MS: Parchment, 9 x 6 1/2 in., ff. ii plus 164.

DATE OF MS: a. 1450 (MED).

SOURCE OF TRANSCRIPT: Microfilm, British Manuscripts Project, Reel 200(8).

PRINCIPAL CONTENTS: Religious treatises in English prose, including: "A techynge & oon ensaumple bi what meditation a man or woman may be stired to trewe deuocion"; part of Wiclif's Speculum vitæ christianiæ; the Speculum peccatoris; the Formula S. Bernardi; "an orisoun to þe holi trinite" (English verse); "The Five Wounds as Payment for the Seven Deadly Sins" (Number 10); "A Corpse Speaks" (Number 41); "an a. b. c. of þe passion of oure lord" (English verse).

SELECTIONS FROM MS: Number 10, "The Five Wounds as Payment for the Seven Deadly Sins," f. 148^{a}; Number 41, "A Corpse Speaks," f. 149^{a}.

TEXTUAL NOTES: Numbers 10 and 41 are written in the same hand. The scribe confuses y and þ, but consistently dots the former. Both poems are written as prose; each stanza is preceded by a paragraph sign.

Bodleian Library

MS Selden supra 53 (Bodleian Summary Catalogue Number 3441)

DESCRIPTION MS: Parchment, 10 3/8 x 8 in., ff. iv plus 161.

DATE OF MS: a. 1450 (MED); Number 40: c. 1475 (MED).

SOURCE OF TRANSCRIPT: Microfilm, British Manuscripts Project, Reel 218(5).

PRINCIPAL CONTENTS: English poems by Hoccleve and Lydgate, including Hoccleve's De regimine principum, Complaint, Dialogus cum amico, The Tale of the Emperor Gerelaus, and the Tale of Jonathas; Lydgate's Daunce of Macabree; "Death and the Empress" (Number 40); a version of Erthe upon Erthe ("B" version).

SELECTION FROM MS: Number 40, "Death and the Empress," f. 158^{b}.

TEXTUAL NOTES: Number 40 is written at the bottom of f. 158^{b} in a later hand than that of Lydgate's Daunce of Macabree. Paragraph signs precede vv. 1 and 9, separating the eight-line stanzas and the speech of Death from the Empress's answer.

Bodleian Library

MS Hatton 12 (Bodleian Summary Catalogue Number 4127)

DESCRIPTION OF MS: Parchment, 14 1/8 x 9 1/2 in., ff. 213.

DATE OF MS: a. 1400 (MED).

SOURCE OF TRANSCRIPT: Microfilm, British Manuscripts Project, Reel 166(1).

PRINCIPAL CONTENTS: A contemporary chronological note dated A. D. 1386 the English commentary of Richard Rolle on the psalms; Rolle's commentary on the Old Testament Canticles and Magnificat, with the Latin texts as lemmata; Rolle's commentary on the Ten Commandments (in an expanded form); religious poems in English, including: "The Seven Deadly Sins" (Number 6); "þe bodily werkis of mercy" (Number 13); "þe gostly werkis of mercy" (Number 4; Latin religious treatise, Augustinus in laudibus psalmorum.

SELECTIONS FROM MS: Number 4, "þe gostly werkis of mercy," f. 212^{a}; col. 2; Number 6, "The Seven Deadly Sins," f. 212^{a}, col. 1; Number 13, "þe bodily werkis of mercy," f. 212^{a}, col. 1.

TEXTUAL NOTES: Numbers 4, 6, and 13 are written in the same hand. The scribe confuses y and þ.

Bodleian Library

MS Ashmole 189 (Bodleian Summary Catalogue Number 6777)

DESCRIPTION OF MS: Paper, 8 1/2 x 5 7/8 in., ff. 219, containing four MSS.

DATE OF MS: a. 1500 (MED).

SOURCE OF TRANSCRIPT: Microfilm, British Manuscripts Project, Reel 165(5).

PRINCIPAL CONTENTS: Part I. The Boke of Astronomy and of phylosophy; Part II. The Table of Pythagoras; astronomical treatises; treatise on thunder in a later hand (of Richard Coscumb, or Robert Coscob, prior in 1534 of Muchelney Abbey, Somerset, who owned the MS); Part III. A German MS, in Latin and German, containing astrological and medical pieces, including the Thesaurus Pauperum; Part IV. On ff. 201-2, of very old and thick paper, occur horoscopes which mention the following dates: 26 February 1427; 14 March 1427; 30 April 1432; 19 April 1432; treatises on the calendar and the astrolabe (Latin); proper terms for beasts when encountered in groups (Latin); on the ages and complexions of man kind; on the seasons; English prose: 'To knowe by phisnomye the condicioun of dyuers people': introduced by a narrative concerning 'Ypocras' and Philemon; toward the end are some riming couplets, written as prose, including "The Optimum in Physiognomy" (Number 34); a version of the Storia lune (prognostics in English verse).

Bodleian Library

[MS Ashmole 189, continued]

SELECTION FROM MS: Number 34, "The Optimum in Physiognomy," f. 213^{a}; the Index of Middle English Verse mistakenly says f. 217^{a}.

TEXTUAL NOTES: Number 34 is written as prose, in the same hand as that of the Storia lune, which immediately follows it.

Bodleian Library

MS Ashmole 391 (Bodleian Summary Catalogue Number 6873)

DESCRIPTION OF MS: A folio volume, containing six books of different sizes; Book II written on parchment, ff. 17.

DATE OF MS: a. 1500 (MED).

SOURCE OF TRANSCRIPT: Microfilm, British Manuscripts Project, Reel 161(7).

PRINCIPAL CONTENTS: Book II. Astronomical and ecclesiastical calendars and tables; English verse on the areas of the human body which are ruled by signs of the zodiac; "The Four Humours and the Zodiac" (Number 29[1]; English verse on blood-letting; tables for determining leap-year and moveable feasts (dated from 1440 to 1527); astronomical tables; lunar computations; treatise on the eclipses of the sun and moon.

SELECTION FROM MS: Number 28[1], "The Four Humours and the Zodiac," f. 4^{b}.

TEXTUAL NOTES: Number 28[1] is written as prose. The first line of each stanza is preceded by a paragraph sign. The sidenotes are in a different shade of ink.

Bodleian Library

MS Ashmole 52 (Bodleian Summary Catalogue Number 6936)

DESCRIPTION OF MS: Parchment, 8vo, ff. 65.

DATE OF MS: Latter part of XIV century; Number 62[2]: XV century (Brown, Register, I, 88).

SOURCE OF TRANSCRIPT: Microfilm, British Manuscripts Project, Reel 203(6).

PRINCIPAL CONTENTS: The Pricke of Conscience; on the back of the last leaf occurs Number 62[2], "Parental Advice," f. 65^{b}.

TEXTUAL NOTES: Half the folio upon which Number 62[2] occurs has been torn off; the poem is faded and has been defaced by practice lettering.

Bodleian Library

MS Ashmole 59 (Bodleian Summary Catalogue Number 6943)

DESCRIPTION OF MS: Paper, folio, ff. ii plus 134.

DATE OF MS: a. 1456 (MED).

SOURCE OF TRANSCRIPT: Photostat.

PRINCIPAL CONTENTS: On the back of the first fly-leaf occurs the following inscription, written in large, flourished letters:

[drawing of crown]

* ma. ioye. M. Shirley *

[The MS is known to have belonged to John Shirley (1366?-1456), the translator and transcriber.]; below this there are eight Latin lines beginning: Non homo mireris si copia tu fluateris (four of these lines also occur on f. 43a); at the top of the next page occurs a reference to 1486; a table of contents, in the same hand as the rest of the volume, but extremely inaccurate (perhaps intended for another of Shirley's volumes); Shirley's prose translation of the Secreta Secretorum; Lydgate's þe tragedye of Rome; Gower's Balade of gode counseyle; a series of short verses attributed to Lydgate, including Horns Away; a series of Chaucer attributions; "The Four Humours: Physiology and Psychology" (Number 31[5]); a series of religious verses in English; "Excesses in Women's Dress" (Number 63); Latin prose: Augustine on the Day of Doom; verses by Lydgate; tracts attributed to St. Jerome; medical receipts, form

Bodleian Library

[MS Ashmole 59, continued]

for confession, etc.

SELECTIONS FROM MS: Number 31[5], "The Four Humours: Physiology and Psychology," f. 71^{b}; Number 63, "Excesses in Women's Dress," f. 73^{a}.

TEXTUAL NOTES: Numbers 31[5] and 63 are written in the same hand.

Bodleian Library

MS Ashmole 759 (Bodleian Summary Catalogue Number 6954)

DESCRIPTION OF MS: Parchment, small quarto, ff. ii plus 151 (ff. 87-102 are paper).

DATE OF MS: a. 1500 (MED).

SOURCE OF TRANSCRIPT: Microfilm, British Manuscripts Project, Reel 224(3).

PRINCIPAL CONTENTS: Prose treatise on alchemy (Latin); alchemical verses (Latin); treatises on alchemical equipment (Latin); "sentences" of various masters of alchemy, partly in Latin and English verse, including "The Manufacture of Gold" (Number 29); more prose alchemical tracts (English and Latin); alchemical poem on the red and white stone; alchemical tracts by George Ripley (died 1490?); Pearce the Black Monk (?) on the elixir; sayings of various philosophers "Wherof Hermes was the first..."; Latin prose tract, Secreta philosophie; various alchemical receipts and directions (English and Latin).

SELECTION FROM MS: Number 29, "The Manufacture of Gold," f. 78a.

TEXTUAL NOTES: Number 29 is written in the same hand as that of the bulk of the MS.

Bodleian Library

MS Ashmole 1393 (Bodleian Summary Catalogue Number 7589)

DESCRIPTION OF MS: Parchment and paper, 12mo or small 8vo, ff. 70 (consisting of five separate MSS written in different hands).

DATE OF MS: a. 1500 (MED).

SOURCE OF TRANSCRIPT: (Part I) Alchemical, magical, and medical formulas, including instructions to make 'coninges' come out of their holes; to make a white star on a black horse's head, etc.; "The Four Humours and the Zodiac" (Number 28[2]; (Part II) Recipes for dyeing and alchemical formulas; (Part III) A religious tract What thynges dispos-ethe a man rightly to life; (Part IV) Latin devotional verses; (Part V) Medical treatises; astronomical notes; the song "Loue wolle I withoute eny variance"; a Latin cantilena, Ecce quod natura; two carols.

SELECTION FROM MS: Number 28[2], "The Four Humours and the Zodiac," f. 55a.

TEXTUAL NOTES: Number 28[2] is written on a folio which has been torn off at the top. The hand is extremely careless.

Bodleian Library

MS Tanner 201 (Bodleian Summary Catalogue Number 10027)

DESCRIPTION OF MS: Parchment, 4to, ff. 112.

DATE OF MS: XV century (Brown, Register, I, 55).

SOURCE OF TRANSCRIPT: Microfilm, British Manuscripts Project, Reel 780(3).

PRINCIPAL CONTENTS: The Memoriale credentium, in English, with the rubric: "Here begynnyth the knowledge of the vij dedly synnes and wherof they sprynge"; this treatise is preceded by "Truth is a-slepe" (Number 55).

SELECTION FROM MS: Number 55, "Truth is a-slepe," p. 1.

TEXTUAL NOTES: Number 55 is written as prose.

Bodleian Library

MS Tanner 407 (Bodleian Summary Catalogue Number 10234)

DESCRIPTION OF MS: Paper, 4to, ff. 64.

DATE OF MS: c. 1500 (MED).

SOURCE OF TRANSCRIPT: Microfilm, British Manuscripts Project, Reel 171(6).

PRINCIPAL CONTENTS: The commonplace book of Robert Reynys (born c. 1445-1450 [Iris G. Calderhead, "Morality Fragments from Norfolk," MP, XIV (1916-17), 21), a warden of the parish church of Acle, Norfolk: a large variety of English religious verse, including "A Miniature Saint's Life: St. Anne" (Number 21); and "Christ Admonishes Man" (Number 47[2]); on f. 48^a occurs a series of obituary notices; the earliest is dated 1362; the latest, two obituaries from 1459, including that of Sir John Fastolf.

SELECTIONS FROM MS: Number 21, "A Miniature Saint's Life, St. Anne," f. 20^a; Number 47[2], "Christ Admonishes Man," f. 52^b.

TEXTUAL NOTES: Numbers 21 and 47[2] are in different hands. Number 21 is written as couplets with internal rime; it is mistakenly described in the Index as monoriming quatrains.

Bodleian Library

MS Rawlinson D. 82 (Bodleian Summary Catalogue Number 12900)

DESCRIPTION OF MS: Paper, folio, ff. 34.

DATE OF MS: c. 1450 (MED); not finally established.

SOURCE OF TRANSCRIPT: Microfilm, British Manuscripts Project, Reel 230(9).

PRINCIPAL CONTENTS: An extract from The Siege of Thebes (English prose); an extract from The Siege of Troy (English prose); a part of the eighth book of Gower's Confessio Amantis; on the last folio occur both versions of "Beware of False Friends" (Numbers 59[1] and 59[2]).

SELECTIONS FROM MS: Numbers 59[1] and 59[2], "Beware of False Friends," f. 34^a.

TEXTUAL NOTES: Four distinct hands are distinguishable in these two versions of Number 59: (1) the hand of 59[1]; (2) the hand of the sidenotes to 59[1]; (3) the hand of 59[2]; (4) a much later hand which has transcribed the first line of the poem, as if for practice, below 59[2]. Number 59[1] is mistakenly described in the Index as two stanzas rime royal.

Bodleian Library

MS Rawlinson poet. 34 (Bodleian Summary Catalogue Number 14528)

DESCRIPTION OF MS: Paper, 11 3/4 x 8 1/2 in., ff. iii plus 23.

DATE OF MS: a. 1500 (MED).

SOURCE OF TRANSCRIPT: Microfilm, British Manuscripts Project, Reel 170(9).

PRINCIPAL CONTENTS: English verse, including Vita sancte Margarete virginis; "A Debate between Philomena and Clericus" (Number 65); Passio Sancti Erasmi; Passio sancte Katerine virginis; a poem on the nine virtues; Sir Degare; a poem to the BVM.

SELECTION FROM MS: Number 65, "A Debate between Philomena and Clericus," f. 5a.

TEXTUAL NOTES: The MS is written in three distinct hands; Number 65 is in hand "B", the same hand as that of Sir Degare.

Bodleian Library

MS Rawlinson C. 506 (Bodleian Summary Catalogue Number 15353)

DESCRIPTION OF MS: Paper, 12mo, ff. 356 (thirty leaves of the original volume are missing; ff. 1-5 and 304 are smaller leaves from a XIII century service book).

DATE OF MS: a. 1450

SOURCE OF TRANSCRIPT: Microfilm, British Manuscripts Project, Reel 187(4).

PRINCIPAL CONTENTS: A medical treatise by Peter of Salerno; miscellaneous charms, which occur throughout the MS, including "A Charm Against the Nightmare" (Number 33); verses on blood-letting (English); a table of dates for Easter; a carol; a lunar calendar; a treatise of urines; a gynecological Practica ascribed to Trotula; the Surgery of Rogerus Venetius; a medical lexicon; a translation (into English) of Lanfranc's Antidotarium; a lexicon of herbs; directions for choosing horses, for fishing, for hawking, for dyeing; explanation of the symbols used for weights in prescriptions.

SELECTION FROM MS: Number 33, "A Charm Against the Nightmare," f. 297a.

TEXTUAL NOTES: Number 33 is written as prose, in the same hand as that of most of the MS.

Bodleian Library

MS Douce 322 (Bodleian Summary Catalogue Number 21896)

DESCRIPTION OF MS: Parchment, 11 1/2 x 7 5/8 in., ff. i plus 102.

DATE OF MS: c. 1450 (MED); not finally established.

SOURCE OF TRANSCRIPT: Microfilm, British Manuscripts Project, Reel 208(4).

PRINCIPAL CONTENTS: Short poems by John Lydgate, in a hand different from that of the rest of the volume; poems by Richard Rolle; "Six Steps to Salvation" (Number 51[1]); "Balades owte of the book of John Lucas" (actually part of a longer poem by Lydgate; on f. 78^{a} occurs a XV century inscription which states that the book was the gift of Wylliam Baron, who prescribed that it should remain at the nunnery at "Detforde" (Dartford in Kent); "A descripcion of feythe, hope, & cheryte"; verses ascribed to Rolle.

SELECTION FROM MS: Number 51[1], "Six Steps to Salvation," f. 18^{a}, col. 2.

TEXTUAL NOTES: Most of the lines in Number 51[1] are preceded by a paragraph sign. Horizontal lines have been drawn, following most of the lines, out to the margin of the MS. On f. 19^{a}, col. 1 (vv. 56 ff.), the poem is written as prose.

Bodleian Library

Addit. MS A. 106 (Bodleian Summary Catalogue Number 29003)

DESCRIPTION OF MS: Paper, 8 1/2 x 6 1/2 in., ff. 295 (six hands: A-F).

DATE OF MS: a. 1500 (MED).

SOURCE OF TRANSCRIPT: Microfilm, British Manuscripts Project, Reel 182(4).

PRINCIPAL CONTENTS: [Hand A] A translation of the smaller treatise of the pestilence by John of Burgundy; English poems: The Quatrefoil of Love and a lullaby; Cato's Distichs; Vertues of Herbes (English prose); a lapidary (English prose); medical receipts; "Lucky and Unlucky Days" (Number 27); a prose version of the foregoing poem, complete through September and part of October; [Hands B-F] herbals and medical receipts.

SELECTION FROM MS: Number 27, "Lucky and Unlucky Days," f. 192b.

TEXTUAL NOTES: Number 27 is in the same hand as that of most of the MS. The scribe does not distinguish between þ and y.

Bodleian Library

Addit. MS B. 60 (Bodleian Summary Catalogue Number 29179)

DESCRIPTION OF MS: Parchment, 7 7/8 x 6 1/8 in., ff. iv plus 131.

DATE OF MS: XV century (Brown, Register, I, 120).

SOURCE OF TRANSCRIPT: Microfilm, British Manuscripts Project, Reel 180(1).

PRINCIPAL CONTENTS: Medical pieces, including four treatises on medicines, in English; The manere of wrytyng of bylles for receytes, which lists the symbols for weights used in prescriptions; three Latin medical treatises: De apostematibus, De tumore et plagis, and De emplastris & unguentis, followed by more English receipts; a version of Lydgate's Dietary; and English poem on patience; "Man's Three Enemies" (Number 46); more medical receipts.

SELECTIONS FROM MS: Number 46, "Man's Three Enemies," f. 125^{b}.

TEXTUAL NOTES: In Number 46, the "bob" lines in these "wheel and bob" stanzas are written opposite the three preceding lines, in each case, and are connected with the latter by means of a series of flourishes.

Corpus Christi College, Oxford

Corpus Christi College MS 237

DESCRIPTION OF MS: Paper, 4to, ff. 237 (the end-leaves, including that upon which Number 53 is written, are of parchment).

DATE OF MS: a. 1500 (MED).

SOURCE OF TRANSCRIPT: Photostat.

PRINCIPAL CONTENTS: Prose life of St. Katharine (English), translated from the Latin life ascribed to Athanasius; the life of St. Margaret (English verse: from the South English Legendary); prose translation of De Guileville's Pelèrinage de l'Ame; English religious verses, including a complaint of a sinner; complaint of a damned soul; the Daunce of Powlys; a life of the BVM (English verse); a table of shires, towns, knights' fees, etc.; a version of Erthe upon Erthe; The days and manner of offering in the cyte of London (English prose); medicines for sciatica and bone-ache; seven things which 'euery man and woman owith to know that is disposyd to receyue this pardon of synne' (English prose); "This Transitory Life" (Number 53); a last will and testament (English verse); English verses on the state of England.

SELECTION FROM MS: Number 53, "This Transitory Life," f. 242^{b}.

Corpus Christi College, Oxford

[Corpus Christi College MS 237, continued]

TEXTUAL NOTES: The Index mistakenly describes the last four lines of Number 53 as a quatrain. Since the folio number assigned to this poem is 242^{b}, and there are but 237 folios, it is apparent that some of the leaves are missing from the original volumes.

Merton College, Oxford

Merton College MS 248

DESCRIPTION OF MS: Parchment, folio, ff. 225.

DATE OF MS: a. 1400 (MED).

SOURCE OF TRANSCRIPT: Photostat

PRINCIPAL CONTENTS: A collection of writings made by John de Sheppey, bishop of Rochester (died 1360), including: Aduersaria de regimine principum, from Augustine, Aulus Gellius, etc.; a table of "sentences" for quotation in sermons; how an abbot or prior of the Augustinian order should conduct himself; a table of the fables of "Romulus"; a table of the "flowers" quoted from various ancient authors; fables from Aesop, which were translated from Latin by a certain "Romulus" [actually derived in abridged form from Odo of Cheriton]; "flowers" from Pythagoras, Empedocles, Socrates, Aristotle; another series of similar quotations from Galen, Boethius, Virgil, Statius, Horace, Ovid, etc.; Sermones breues, vel notata, ex scriptoribus diversis with English verses interspersed, including "Terrors of Doomsday" (Number 44); "The Tortures of the Damned" (Number 39); "The Debate of the Heart and Eye"; paraphrases of the hymns Crux fidelis and Ave maria maris stella.

SELECTIONS FROM MS: Number 39, "The Tortures of the Damned," f. 166b, col. 2; Number 44, "Terrors of Doomsday," f. 66a.

Merton College, Oxford

[Merton College MS 248, continued]

TEXTUAL NOTES: Numbers 39 and 44 are written in similar if not identical hands. Number 44 is written as prose.

British Museum

MS Egerton 2810

DESCRIPTION OF MS: Parchment, 9 x 6 1/4 in., ff. 188.
DATE OF MS: a. 1400 (MED); ff. 180 (on which Number 32 occurs) and 181 are inserted leaves in a XV century hand (Brown, Register, I, 302).
SOURCE OF TRANSCRIPT: Microfilm, British Manuscripts Project, Reel 271(2).
PRINCIPAL CONTENTS: Lives of the saints in English verse, from the South English Legendary; on f. 99^a a prose legend of St. Wilfrid is inserted in a charter-hand of the XV century; on f. 99^b is a legend of the Blessed Virgin in verse, in another hand of the same period; on ff. 180^b-181^b occurs "How to Detect Usury" (Number 32) in the same hand as that which occurs on f. 99^b.
SELECTION FROM MS: Number 32, "How to Detect Usury," f. 180^b.
TEXTUAL NOTES: The folios upon which Number 32 occurs are dim and faded; most of the conjectures, however, are supported by partially legible letters. The scribe does not distinguish between y and þ.

British Museum

MS Harley 1706

DESCRIPTION OF MS: Paper, folio, ff. 216; once the property of Elizabeth Beaumont, wife of William Viscount Beaumont, and later wife of John de Vere, Earl of Oxford; she died in 1537; her signature appears on ff. 3^a, 93^b, 95^a, and 214^b.

DATE OF MS: a. 1500 (MED).

SOURCE OF TRANSCRIPT: Microfilm, British Manuscripts Project, Reel 240(4).

PRINCIPAL CONTENTS: Medical receipts; several of Lydgate's minor poems; Pety Job, with the refrain Parce michi domine; another English poem with the same refrain; "Six Steps to Salvation" (Number 51[2]); a description of Faith, Hope, and Charity (English verse); lines attributed to John Lucas (actually vv. 29-56 of Lydgate's Death's Warning); English prose tracts, including an extract from the Horologium Sapientiæ; "The Seven Virtues versus the Seven Deadly Sins" (Number 1[1]); "The Five Spiritual Senses" (Number 7[2]); "The Three Theological Virtues" (Number 3); "The Four Cardinal Virtues" (Number 2); English prose tracts attributed to Isidore and St. Augustine.

SELECTIONS FROM MS: Number 1[1], "The Seven Virtues versus the Seven Deadly Sins," f. 206^a; Number 2, "The Four Cardinal Virtues," f. 208^a; Number 3, "The Three Theological Virtues,"

British Museum

[MS Harley 1706, continued]

f. 208[a]; Number 7[2], "The Five Spiritual Senses," f. 207[b]; Number 51[2], "Six Steps to Salvation," f. 18[b], col. 2.

TEXTUAL NOTES: Numbers 1[1], 2, 3, and 7[2] are in the same hand. Number 51[2] is in the same hand as the description of Faith, Hope, and Charity, which immediately follows.

British Museum

MS Harley 2251

DESCRIPTION OF MS: Paper, 11 5/8 x 8 1/4 in., ff. 293; formerly believed to have been the work of John Shirley (1366?-1456), the translator and transcriber; however, according to E. P. Hammond, "Two British Museum MSS," Anglia, XXVIII (1905), 10, it is "written in two hands, of the later XV century, neither the hand of Shirley"; Manly and Rickert, I, 241-244, describe these hands thus: "two cursive professional hands: 1) the first, ff. 1-143; 2) the second, ff. 144-end." The MS belonged to John Stow (1525?-1605), the antiquary.

DATE OF MS: c. 1475 (MED).

SOURCE OF TRANSCRIPT: Photostat.

PRINCIPAL CONTENTS: Lydgate's "Dietary," "Verbum caro factum est," "Rammeshorn," "Midsomer Rose"; The Birds' Matins; Lydgate's "Testament" (eighteen stanzas only); Chaucer's "Balade of Fortune," "Gentilesse"; the ABC hymn to the Blessed Virgin; Lydgate's "Legend of Dan Joos"; Chaucer's "Prioresses Tale"; three stanzas of a poem on the four humours, ascribed to Lydgate; "The Four Humours: Physiology and Psychology" (Number 31[4]); seven stanzas, apparently for a mumming; a long section from Lydgate's Fall of Princes; "Stans puer ad mensam" (first stanza omitted); seven stanzas

British Museum

[MS Harley 2251, continued]

of Benedict Burgh's Parvus Cato; Lydgate's "Interpretatio misse"; Scogan's "Moral Ballad"; Lydgate and Burgh's Secrees of old Philisoffres; several of Lydgate's minor religious poems; Lydgate's Fables; The Court of Sapience (ends imperfectly).

SELECTION FROM MS: Number 31[4], "The Four Humours: Physiology and Psychology," f. 80^{a}.

TEXTUAL NOTES: The first line of each stanza of Number 31[4] is preceded by a paragraph sign; the Latin side-notes are preceded by the same mark. These marks are made in the darker ink which is also used for the interlineations. Each hemistich is marked by a point or dot, without regard for sense.

British Museum

MS Harley 2252

DESCRIPTION OF MS: Paper, small folio, ff. 166. A collection made by John Colyn, a mercer of London, who flourished during the reign of Henry VIII (?), and lived in the parish of St. Mary Wolnoth.

DATE OF MS: ? c. 1525; ? a. 1500 (MED); not finally established.

SOURCE OF TRANSCRIPT: Microfilm, British Manuscripts Project, Reel 241(5).

PRINCIPAL CONTENTS: Lydgate's Dietary; verses against harboring friars; "A Father's Instructions to His Son"; "De Profundis as a Guide of Life" (Number 48); Lydgate's The Cok hathe Lowe Shoone; prognostics, in English verse, attributed to "Ezechyel the prophete"; "Pleas god surely and pe worlde also" (Number 56[2]); a longer version of the foregoing poem (Number 56[1]); prognostics, in English verse, calculated according to the day of the week upon which Prime falls.

SELECTIONS FROM MS: Number 48, "De Profundis as a Guide of Life," f. 23^{a}; Numbers 56[1,2], "Pleas god surely and pe worlde also," ff. 160^{a} and 157^{a}.

British Museum

[MS Harley 2252, continued]

TEXTUAL NOTES: Numbers 48, 56[1], and 56[2] are written in the same hand, which is also the hand of the bulk of the MS. Final flourishes occur in great profusion, even after terminal f and s; these flourishes are without significance.

British Museum

MS Harley 5401

DESCRIPTION OF MS: Paper and parchment, 6 1/2 x 8 3/4 in., ff. 207.

DATE OF MS: XV-XVI century (Brown, Register, I, 351).

SOURCE OF TRANSCRIPT: Microfilm, British Manuscripts Project, Reel 292(5).

PRINCIPAL CONTENTS: John of Arderne's Chirurgica & Medica; medical receipts in English, with a citation in Latin preceding; extract from "Sidrac" on the effects of the sun on the different signs of the zodiac; "A Husbandman's Guide" (Number 30); another group of medical receipts in English; a treatise on urines; Thomas Awkbarow's treatise on cookery and "confectionary"; Lydgate's Dietary.

SELECTION FROM MS: Number 30, "A Husbandman's Guide, " f. 81a.

TEXTUAL NOTES: Number 30 is in the same hand as that of the bulk of the MS, including the medical receipts which follow it.

British Museum

MS Sloane 1313

DESCRIPTION OF MS: Paper, 5 3/4 x 8 3/4 in., ff. 148.

DATE OF MS: XVI century; Number 42: XV century (Brown, Register, I, 374).

SOURCE OF TRANSCRIPT: Microfilm, British Manuscripts Project, Reel 638(8).

PRINCIPAL CONTENTS: Latin prose treatises, including De terminis physicalibus; Thesaurus pauperum (medical treatise); De vrinis; a medical treatise in English; De phisonomia quam scripsit Aristotiles Alexandro regi magno; Virtutes rose marine; The meruelous & sothefull connyng of Astrologie, English prose; English verses on the Creed; "De bate Between Death and a Dying Man" (Number 42); Virtutes balsami.

SELECTION FROM MS: Number 42, "Debate Between Death and a Dying Man," f. 134a.

TEXTUAL NOTES: The entire MS appears to be in the same hand.

British Museum

Addit. MS 25006

DESCRIPTION OF MS: Parchment, small folio, ff. 11.

DATE OF MS: XV century (Brown, Register, I, 404).

SOURCE OF TRANSCRIPT: Photostat.

PRINCIPAL CONTENTS: Summary of the articles of the Christian faith (Lay Folks Catechism); Tabula super omelias; "A Father's Advice to His Son" (Number 60).

SELECTION FROM MS: Number 60, "A Father's Advice to His Son," f. 11^b.

TEXTUAL NOTES: Number 60 is in a hand different from those of either of the other two articles in the MS. There is no stanzaic division in the MS. The following marks occur, however: alternate rhyming lines are joined by brackets (vv. 1 and 3, 2 and 4, etc.); stanzas are joined in the same manner; vv. 9 and 13, 22 and 26, 35 and 40 are also joined by brackets.

British Museum

Addit. MS 29729

DESCRIPTION OF MS: Paper, quarto, ff. 288. A collection of transcripts made by John Stow (1525?-1605); on the last folio occurs: "This boke perteynythe John Stow and was by hym wryten in þe yere of owr lord MDLVIII."
DATE OF MS: 1558 (MED); most of the material dates from the XV century.
SOURCE OF TRANSCRIPTS: Microfilm, British Manuscripts Project, Reel 398(4).
PRINCIPAL CONTENTS: "þe battayll of þe psalms" (Number 22); "Youth and the Pitfalls of Contemporary Life" (Number 36[2]); Lydgate's "How the plage was sesyd in rome"; "A leson to kepe well þe tonge"; "Remembre Man thow art but wormes mete" (Number 43); Lydgate's "Rammeshorn"; "The XV Oes"; Court of Sapience; several short religious verses attributed to Lydgate; the following longer Lydgate poems: Saying of the Nightingale; an extract from the Fall of Princes; the Life of St. Margaret; the Testament; Reson and Sensuallyte; a stanza of Benedict Burgh's Cato.
SELECTIONS FROM MS: Number 22, "þe battayll of þe psalms," f. 2a; Number 36[2], "Youth and the Pitfalls of Contemporary Life," f. 3a; Number 43, "Remembre Man thow art but wormes mete," f. 7a.

British Museum

[Addit. MS 29729, continued]

TEXTUAL NOTES: Numbers 22, 36[2], and 43 are of course written in the same hand (Stow's). Stow's modernization of orthography is discussed by Ernst Sieper in his edition of Lydgate's Reson and Sensuallyte (EETS e. s. lxxxiv; London, 1901), pp. xiii-xviii.

British Museum

Addit. MS 37049

DESCRIPTION OF MS: Paper (except for ff. 1-2), 10 3/4 x 8 in., ff. ii plus 96.

DATE OF MS: a. 1450 (MED).

SOURCE OF TRANSCRIPT: Microfilm, British Manuscripts Project, Reel 263(3).

PRINCIPAL CONTENTS: English verse, illustrated by drawings, including "Doomsday" (Number 52); dialogue between a soul, Death, the Devil, an Angel and the Blessed Virgin, Christ, and God; allegory of a man pursued by a unicorn; "Christ Admonishes Man" (Number 47[3]); "Of þe relefyng of saules in purgatory" (Number 23); "A Description of Christ's Beauty" (Number 24); "Quia Amore Langueo"; "Ave Maris Stella"; "Christ Like a Falconer" (Number 49); "A Vision of Hell" (Number 18); "A Vision of Heaven" (Number 50); "The Necessity of Death" (Number 38); moral distichs; dialogue between an emperor and his dead father; verses on the Confession, the Ten Commandments, etc.

SELECTIONS FROM MS: Number 18, "A Vision of Hell," f. 74^{a}, col. 1; Number 23, "Of þe relevyng of saules in purgatory," f. 24^{b}; Number 24, "A Description of Christ's Beauty," f. 25^{a}; Number 38, "The Necessity of Death," f. 84^{b}; Number 47[3], "Christ Like a Falconer," f. 28^{a}; Number 50, "A Vision of Heaven," f. 80^{b}; Number 52, "Doomsday," f. 80^{b}.

British Museum

[Addit. MS 37049, continued]

TEXTUAL NOTES: All the selections from this MS are in similar, apparently contemporary hands. Three of these may be distinguished: (A) that of Numbers 23, 24, 38, 47[3], 49 and 50; (B) that of Number 18; (C) that of Number 52.

Cambridge University Library

MS Dd. 1. 1 (also numbered simply 1 in Catalogue)

DESCRIPTION OF MS: Parchment, long, narrow folio, formerly of 552 pages.

DATE OF MS: a. 1450 (MED).

SOURCE OF TRANSCRIPT: Microfilm, British Manuscripts Project, Reel 633(6).

PRINCIPAL CONTENTS: Part of the Northern Passion; the Northern Homily Collection; Maydestone's paraphrase of the fifty-first psalm; the Passio Sancti Erasmi; a homily on shrift from the South English Legendary; "Moderation in Christian Life" (Number 45); "Corruption in the Courts of Law" (Number 35).

SELECTIONS FROM MS: Number 35, "Corruption in the Courts of Law," f. 300^{b}; Number 45, "Moderation in Christian Life," f. 298^{b}.

TEXTUAL NOTES: Numbers 35 and 45 are in the same hand, which is that of the bulk of the MS. The scribe consistently interlines e after -þ, not only in þe, but in such words as wraþþe and boþe.

Cambridge University Library

MS Dd. 10. 50 (also numbered 608 in Catalogue)

DESCRIPTION OF MS: Paper, octavo, ff. 158.

DATE OF MS: XV century.

SOURCE OF TRANSCRIPT: Microfilm, British Manuscripts Project, Reel 510(3).

PRINCIPAL CONTENTS: Sermons, in English, for the Sundays and holidays of the year; in a short preface, the author explains that he has composed these sermons for "othre that be in the same degre, that haue taken charge of sawles"; English verse interspersed here and there, including "Abel and Eli" (Number 20); MS imperfect at end, concluding with a sermon for the feat of SS. Simon and Jude.

SELECTION FROM MS: Number 20, "Abel and Eli," f. 35^{b}.

TEXTUAL NOTES: The hand in which Number 20 is written is different (apparently later) than that found in the rest of the MS. The poem occurs on the bottom left-hand corners of both folios; there is no stanzaic division, except that five lines occur on each folio.

Cambridge University Library

MS Ee. 4. 35

DESCRIPTION OF MS: Folio, made up of two distinct MSS: Part I: paper, ff. 24; Part II is a version of the Pricke of Conscience.

DATE OF MS: Part I: a. 1525; Part II: a. 1400 (MED). In correspondence directed to the MED, dated March 3, 1948, B. F. C. Atkinson, Under-Librarian at University Library, dates this MS a. 1525 and adds, "It is certainly after 1500." In the unpublished Catalogue at University Library, M. R. James dates it "xvj [century] early."

SOURCE OF TRANSCRIPT: Microfilm, British Manuscripts Project, Reel 552(4).

PRINCIPAL CONTENTS: "The Adulterous Falmouth Squire"; a Miracle described in verse; "The Lady Who Buried the Host"; "The Seven Virtues versus the Seven Deadly Sins" (Number 1[2]); verse on the Ten Commandments; "The Cheylde and hes Stepdame"; a description, in prose, of "The Expences of flesche at the mariage of my ladey Margaret pat she had owt off Eynglonde" (most probably the marriage of Lady Margaret Tudor, eldest daughter of Henry VII, who married James IV of Scotland on August 8, 1503. The celebration mentioned in the MS could have taken place as early as January 24, 1502, when the marriage treaty was agreed upon at Richmond, and as late as March, 1504, when Margaret

Cambridge University Library

[MS Ee. 4. 35, continued]

was crowned in Parliament Hall); another series of metrical tales, including "Robin Hood and the Potter" and "The King and the Barker"; The boke of Cortesy.

SELECTION FROM MS: Number 1[2], "The Seven Virtues versus the Seven Deadly Sins," f. 5^b.

TEXTUAL NOTES: Number 1[2] is in the same hand as that of the religious verses which follow it in the MS.

Cambridge University Library

MS Ff. 1. 6 (also numbered 1139 in Catalogue)

DESCRIPTION OF MS: Paper, quarto, ff. 159 (many leaves have been removed and replaced in the modern binding).
DATE OF MS: a. 1500 (MED). In correspondence directed to the MED, dated March 3, 1948, B. F. C. Atkinson, Under-Librarian at University Library, says, "a. 1500 is by no means too late. I should be inclined to say c. 1500." H. L. Pink, paleographer at University Library, dates it c. 1475. In the unpublished Catalogue at the University Library, M. R. James says, "XV [century]."
SOURCE OF TRANSCRIPT: Microfilm, British Manuscripts Project, Reel 617(3).
PRINCIPAL CONTENTS: Primarily English verse, including: two carols; Chaucer's "Complaint unto Pity," Parlement of Foules, "Complaint to His Purse," Anelida and Arcite, "Complaint of Venus," and "Truth"; several tales from Gower's Confessio Amantis; Sir Thomas Clanvowe's [?] Cuckoo and the Nightingale; Syr Degrevaunt; Burgh's Cato Major; How myschaunce regnyth in Ingleland; "A compleint on-to dame fortune" (Number 57); "The Four Humours: Physiology and Psychology" (Number 31[2]); Lydgate's "A tretise for Lavandres"; "Chronicle of the Saints and Kings of England."

Cambridge University Library

[MS Ff. 1. 6, continued]

SELECTIONS FROM MS: Number 31[2], "The Four Humours: Physiology and Psychology," f. 162^{b}; Number 57, "A compleint on to dame fortune," f. 159^{b}.

TEXTUAL NOTES: Numbers 31[2] and 57 are in different hands; moreover, these hands cannot be identified with any of the others in the MS. In addition to Clanvowe, others who have signed their work (as scribes ?) are: lewestoun, nicholaus plenus amoris, and W. Caluerly.

Cambridge University Library

MS Ff. 2. 38 (also numbered 1205 in Catalogue)

DESCRIPTION OF MS: Paper, folio, ff. 247 (some folios missing).

DATE OF MS: a. 1500 (MED). In correspondence directed to the MED, dated March 3, 1948, B. F. C. Atkinson, Under-Librarian at University Library, dates this MS a. 1500. In the unpublished Catalogue at University Library, M. R. James says XV[century]."

SOURCE OF TRANSCRIPT: Microfilm, British Manuscripts Project, Reel 556(3).

PRINCIPAL CONTENTS: Religious verse, including "The Five Spiritual Senses" (Number 7[1]); religious prose; the Mirror of Mankind; The Complaint of God, by William Lychfield (died 1447) [described by Gascoigne as one of the most famous preachers of his time; author of 3,083 sermons]; Pety Ioob; Pe Prouerbis Salamon; a series of verses on religious matters; How the goode man taght hys sone; The Adulterous Falmouth Squire; The Earl of Toulouse; Eglamour; Tryamour; Octavian; Bevis; The Seven Sages; Guy of Warwick; Robert of Sicily; Sir Degare. Fifteen of the items in this MS are duplicated, although in different order, in Magdalene College, Cambridge, Pepys MS 1584, q. v.

SELECTION FROM MS: Number 7[1], "The Five Spiritual Senses," f. 32^{b}, col. 1.

Cambridge University Library

[MS Ff. 2. 38, continued]

TEXTUAL NOTES: Number 7[1] is written in the same hand as the religious poems which precede and follow it.

Cambridge University Library

MS Hh. 4. 12 (also numbered 1668 in the Catalogue).

DESCRIPTION OF MS: Paper (with a few parchment leaves), quarto, ff. 99.

DATE OF MS: a. 1475 (MED). In correspondence directed to the MED, dated November, 1948, B. F. C. Atkinson, Under-Librarian at University Library, dates this MS a. 1475.

SOURCE OF TRANSCRIPT: Microfilm, British Manuscripts Project, Reel 537(4).

PRINCIPAL CONTENTS: English verse, including Burgh's Liber Catonis and Liber Parui Catonis; Lydgate's Stans puer ad mensam; a verse on tithes; "Aetas prima"; "Quia amore langueo"; Lydgate's "Horse, Goose, and Sheep"; "Story of the Two Merchants"; "Chorle and the Byrde"; "Horns Away"; "In cruce sum pro te"; "Midsummer Rose"; "The world so wyde, the ayer so remoueable"; a lament, each stanza ending "All women may be ware by me"; the speaker is the Duchess of Gloucester, Eleanor Cobham, who was accused of witchcraft and treason in 1441; poem dated 1447; "Youth and the Pitfalls of Contemporary Life" (Number 36[1]); Chaucer's Parlement of Foules; on an otherwise blank leaf occurs: "This boke howthe John Peter þe menstrell"; and lower down, in the same hand: "In the name of God, Amen, the xxii year of the rayne of Kyng Harre þe eight. . ." (1530-1); this inscription apparently added after the composition of the MS.

Cambridge University Library

[MS Hh. 4. 12, continued]

SELECTION FROM MS: Number 36[1], "Youth and the Pitfalls of Contemporary Life," f. 91[a].

TEXTUAL NOTES: The first 143 lines of Number 36[1] are in the same hand as that of the lament of the Duchess of Gloucester, which immediately precedes it in the MS. On f. 93[b], v. 144, the hand changes. The latter cannot be identified with the others in the MS; the scribe distinguishes between W and w.

Cambridge University Library

MS Ii. 4. 9 (also numbered 1006 in the Catalogue)

DESCRIPTION OF MS: Paper, quarto, ff. 197.

DATE OF MS: c. 1450 (MED). In correspondence directed to the MED, dated March 3, 1948, B. F. C. Atkinson, Under-Librarian at University Library, dates this MS c. 1450 and adds, "a. 1500 is too late." In the unpublished Catalogue M. R. James says "XV[century]."

SOURCE OF TRANSCRIPT: Microfilm, British Manuscripts Project, Reel 545(1).

PRINCIPAL CONTENTS: English verse, including: the Northern Passion; The Charter of Christ, "B" version; the Lamentation of the Virgin; The Mawndy of Cure Lorde; excerpts from the Lay Folks' Mass Book; the Ten Commandments, the Creed, etc., including "The Five Bodily Senses" (Number 11); De tribulatione secundum vi doctores; a version of Erthe upon Erthe; Wherfore in this vale of myserye; The Abbey of the Holy Ghost; Robert of Sicily; Ethelred; Narratio de Sancto Edwardo; Handlyng Synne (without prologue); the Form of Living, attributed to Rolle.

SELECTION FROM MS: Number 11, "The Five Bodily Senses," f. 163^{b}.

TEXTUAL NOTES: Number 11 is written in the same hand as the version of the Lay Folks' Mass Book which precedes it, and the same as the entire group of religious poems from which it is selected. The Index mistakenly states that

Cambridge University Library

[MS Ii. 4. 9, continued]

Number 11 occurs in MS Ii. 4. 8 instead of Ii. 4. 9.

Magdalene College, Cambridge

Pepys Library MS 1584

DESCRIPTION OF MS: Paper (and parchment), 8 1/10 x 5 1/2 in., ff. iii plus 111 (first three leaves parchment).
DATE OF MS: XV century (Brown, Register, I, 217).
SOURCE OF TRANSCRIPT: Photostat.
PRINCIPAL CONTENTS: The Complaint of God, by William Lychfield; Pety Ioob; The Prouerbis of Salamon; a series of verses on religious matters, including "The Five Spiritual Senses" (Number 7[3]); "The Seven Deadly Sins"; "The Seven Virtues Contrary to the Seven Deadly Sins," etc. The contents of this MS is duplicated, although the items appear in different order, by Camb. Univ. Lib. MS Ff. 2. 38.
SELECTION FROM MS: Number 7[3], "The Five Spiritual Senses," Article 13 (no folio number).
TEXTUAL NOTES: Lines 3, 5, 7, and 9 of Number 7[3] are preceded by a paragraph sign. The scribe employs two devices which are most uncommon: an abbreviated e after d which occurs internally; an indiscriminate use of the nasal bar (e. g., over the u in "Haue", v. 1; over the ug in "wrought", v. 3), which is without significance.

Queens' College, Cambridge

Queens' College MS 13

DESCRIPTION OF MS: Parchment, 11 5/8 x 8 in., ff. 63 (some folios missing, as the numbering shows).

DATE OF MS: a. 1475 (MED).

SOURCE OF TRANSCRIPT: Microfilm, British Manuscripts Project, Reel 491(1).

PRINCIPAL CONTENTS: The Fasciculus Morum; Augustine's Soliloquies; two English verses: "The Vanity of Human Desires" (Number 37) and a version of the Signs of Death.

SELECTION FROM MS: Number 37, "The Vanity of Human Desires," f. 65a.

TEXTUAL NOTES: Number 37 is in a different hand from the rest of the MS, but appears to be contemporary.

Trinity College, Cambridge

Trin. Coll. Camb. MS 323 (also numbered B. 14. 39 in Catalogue)

DESCRIPTION OF MS: Parchment, 7 1/8 x 5 3/8 in., ff. 87.; bound with MS 324.

DATE OF MS: Part I (MS 323): c. 1250 (MED). In correspondence directed to the MED, dated November 24, 1948, H. M. Adams, Librarian of Trinity College, dates this MS c. 1250.

SOURCE OF TRANSCRIPT: Microfilm, British Manuscripts Project, Reel 1831(5).

PRINCIPAL CONTENTS: De ordine creaturarum; miscellaneous Latin verse, mostly religious; Latin prayers and notes; a sermon on the popular song "Bele alis matyn se leua" (a religious allegorization of this dance-song); French poetry, including the legend of St. Nicholas and tales from the Gospels; Proverbs of Alfred; a life of St. Margaret; a carol; the ballad "Judas"; "Wolle ye iheren of Twelte Day"; "Debate Between the Body and the Soul"; a series of Latin prayers and verses, with equivalents in English verse, including "The Worthies of the Old Testament" (Number 16).

SELECTION FROM MS: Number 16, "The Worthies of the Old Testament," f. 84^{a}.

TEXTUAL NOTES: Number 16 is in the same hand as that of the series of Latin verses, with English equivalents, from which it is selected.

Trinity College, Cambridge

Trin. Coll. Camb. MS 599 (also numbered R. 3. 19 in Catalogue)

DESCRIPTION OF MS: Paper, 10 5/8 x 8 in., ff. 255. Once the property of John Stow (1525?-1605), the antiquarian. Skeat (Chaucer, I, 56) calls it "the source of most of Stowe's additions to Chaucer." Manly and Rickert, I, 532, say, "The possibility that the MS was made in Shirley's shop, though long after his death, is supported by the late ownership of John Stow, in whose library were MSS written by Shirley."

DATE OF MS: c. 1500 (MED).

SOURCE OF TRANSCRIPT: Microfilm, British Manuscripts Project, Reel 183½(1).

PRINCIPAL CONTENTS: "Advice for a Prince" (Number 64); the following Lydgate poems: extracts from the Fall of Princes; the Chorle and the byrde; four Fables; an extract from Lydgate and Burgh's Secrees of old Philisoffres; "The Four Humours: Physiology and Psychology" (Number 51[3]); Lydgate's Testament (Sections II, III, and IV); another extract from the Fall of Princes; Four Things that Make a Man a Fool; proverbs; How the Good Wife Taught Her Daughter.

SELECTIONS FROM MS: Number 51[3], "The Four Humours: Physiology and Psychology," f. 52^{b}; Number 64, "Advice for a Prince," f. 1^{a}.

Trinity College, Cambridge

[Trin. Coll. Camb. MS 599, continued]

TEXTUAL NOTES: Number 31[3] is in a hand which is contemporary with that of the Secrees, which immediately precedes it. Number 64 is in still another hand: the same as that of the first group of Lydgate poems.

Trinity College, Cambridge

Trin. Coll. Camb. MS 652 (also numbered R. 3. 20 in Catalogue)

DESCRIPTION OF MS: Parchment, 10 1/8 x 7 1/4 in., ff. 172.

DATE OF MS: Parts I and III: a. 1450; Part II: a. 1600; Part IV: a. 1500 (MED).

SOURCE OF TRANSCRIPT: Microfilm, British Manuscripts Project, Reel 1835(3).

PRINCIPAL CONTENTS: Part I. Mandeville's Travels; Part II. English love-letter; Part III. Lydgate's Siege of Thebes; Part IV. English poems, including two carols; a love song to the BVM; "Parental Advice" (Number 62[1]); three stanzas from Troilus and Criseyde (III, 302-322); a verse fragment beginning "Hayll mary".

SELECTION FROM MS: Number 62[1], "Parental Advice," f. 171a.

TEXTUAL NOTES: Number 62[1] is in the same hand as the rest of the English poems in Part IV. The folio upon which it occurs (f. 171a) is defaced with black smears.

Trinity College, Cambridge

Trin. Coll. Camb. 1144 (also numbered O. 2. 40 in Catalogue)

DESCRIPTION OF MS: Paper, 8 3/8 x 5 3/4 in., ff. 163; once the property of William Wymyndham, Canon of Kyrkeby Bellers.

DATE OF MS: a. 1500 (MED).

SOURCE OF TRANSCRIPT: Microfilm, British Manuscripts Project, Reel 455(2).

PRINCIPAL CONTENTS: Prognostics, beginning imperfectly (Latin prose); Latin treatise on rain, thunder, etc.; Secreta philosophorum; macaronic verse on the friars; tables for each of the twelve signs; astrological tables, containing the dates 1430, 1474, and 1497; a series of English verses, including: "Augustine on Venial Sins" (Number 19); and "Ten Remedies Against Venial Sins" (Number 15); Latin notes on the moon, divisions of time, latitudes of English towns, etc.; English verses on astronomy; diagram of the four humours; on f. 154^{b}: Anno christi m. cccc. lxxxij (1482); medical notes.

SELECTIONS FROM MS: Number 15, "Ten Remedies Against Venial Sins," f. 104^{a}; Number 19, "Augustine on Venial Sins," f. 103^{a}.

TEXTUAL NOTES: Numbers 15 and 19 are in the same hand, which is also that of the bulk of the MS.

Trinity College, Cambridge

Trin. Coll. Camb. MS 1157 (also numbered O. 2. 53 in Catalogue).

DESCRIPTION OF MS: Paper, 8 1/4 x 5 3/4 in., ff. 74; a commonplace book.

DATE OF MS: ?c. 1500 (MED); not finally established.

SOURCE OF TRANSCRIPT: Microfilm, British Manuscripts Project, Reel 455(6).

PRINCIPAL CONTENTS: An English carol; miscellaneous Latin verses; medical receipts; short English religious and political verses; record of the birth of "robard ramston," 17 Hen. VIII (1525-6); a moralized version of "Come over the bourn, Bessy"; religious extracts in English and Latin, including "Christ Admonishes Man" (Number 47[1]); instructions for tuning a harp by J. Stowell.

SELECTION FROM MS: Number 47[1], "Christ Admonishes Man," f. 69a.

TEXTUAL NOTES: Number 47[1] is in a hand which is different from, but contemporary with, that of the other religious pieces in the MS.

Trinity College, Cambridge

Trin. Coll. Camb. MS 1450 (also numbered O. 9. 38 in Catalogue)

DESCRIPTION OF MS: Paper, 11 7/8 x 4 3/8 in., ff. 90; a commonplace-book written at Glastonbury Abbey.
DATE OF MS: a. 1500 (MED) for items not dated XVI century by Catalogue. In correspondence directed to the MED, dated November 24, 1948, H. M. Adams, Librarian of Trinity College, quotes N. R. Kerr of Oxford, who dates this MS thus: "All items probably a. 1500."
SOURCE OF TRANSCRIPT: Microfilm, British Manuscripts Project, Reel 1840(4).
PRINCIPAL CONTENTS: "Apocalypsis Goliæ"; "Golias de coniuge"; "De virtute clauium"; "De prato gregorii"; "Contentio inter aquam et vinum"; a triumph of Henry VI described in English; English poems on gardening and on hawking; English didactic poems: "Reuertere" (11 of 15 stanzas); "Who sayth soth he schall be schent"; "Parce michi domine" (the bird with four feathers); another series of Latin poems, including "Estas et hiemis"; "De ingratitudine" ("editus a fratre Stephano Deuerell, monacho Glaston."); two Latin parodies of hymns, both of which deal with Piers Gaveston; Historia Tancredi; "Gnomic Advice" (Number 58); carols in English; copies of letters, one from Nicholas, Abbot of Glastonbury,

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[Trin. Coll. Camb. MS 1450, continued]

concerning a council of 1433; a list of the sovereigns of England, ending with Elizabeth.

SELECTION FROM MS: Number 58, "Gnomic Advice," f. 70^{a}.

TEXTUAL NOTES: Number 58 is in the same hand as that of the bulk of the MS. The couplets are not separated, but each is preceded by a paragraph sign.

Henry E. Huntington Library

HM 183 (*olim* Hawkins)

DESCRIPTION OF MS: A scrapbook which was at one time in the library of Joseph Haslewood (1769-1833), one of the founders of the Roxburghe Club. Haslewood said that it had been "obtained from the Hawkins Library at Nash Court." It was later in the Phillipps collection (8923) and the Hoe Library.

DATE OF MS: Last quarter of XV century (personal correspondence with H. C. Schulz, Curator of Manuscripts, Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, dated January 22, 1951; Mr. Schulz bases this suggested date on the evidence of a watermark appearing on the first four folios, which "closely resembles *Briquet* 3691 and 3692, Genoa, 1469-1476.")

SOURCE OF TRANSCRIPT: Photostat.

PRINCIPAL CONTENTS: 'how schal a mann best in pes abide": two versions (54[1], the original version, and 54[2], Haslewood's (?) transcript); "licence to lyue in Ese"; Lydgate's *Dietary*.

SELECTIONS FROM MS: Numbers 54[1,2], "how schal a mann best in pes abide", f. 4^{a}, cols. 1 and 2.

TEXTUAL NOTES: Number 54[1] is in a hand of the XV century. Someone (the scribe ?) has underlined the letters in several words, but for no apparent reason. Number 54[2] is in Haslewood's hand (?), the same as that of Number 54[3] in

[HM 183 (*olim* Hawkins), continued]

Brit. Mus. Addit. MS 11307. The modern transcriber has glossed certain words in the right margin and has provided line-numbers for every five lines. He transcribes þ as *th* and *ff* as *F*.

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NOTE ON THE GLOSSARY

All the definitions in this glossary have been compared with those in the Oxford English Dictionary (OED). Entries marked with an asterisk either 1) are not in the OED; 2) postdate the OED entry (according to the dating of the MSS; or 3) antedate the OED entry.

Words to be glossed have been selected on the following basis: 1) words whose meaning is the same in Modern English are excluded; 2) words common in the vocabulary of Chaucer have also been excluded. In short, the glossary consists of words whose spelling or meaning is uncommon in Middle English.

GLOSSARY

-A-

* ABOWTE prep. 29.13: on account of, because; OED About B. 7. b: 1st ex., 1597

* ABSTOND v. [imper. s.] 48.129: withstand, resist (?); cf. OED Atstand 4; also OED Abscond, hide away: 1st ex., 1612

ABY v. [inf.] 65.64: atone for, pay for

ABYDYNGE vbl. sb. 38.22; 48.55: time spent in this life. 54.45: patient waiting

ACCOMPLEYSH v. [inf.] 31[1].19; COMPLICE 31[4].19: comprehend

ADERE v. [inf.] 64.32: injure, hurt (oneself)

ADUERTYSE v. [inf.] 64.80. [imper. s.] ADUERTYSE 64.89: take not of, attend to, observe

AFFIAUNCE sb. 35.67: faith, trust

AFTER prep. used ellipt. 26.34, 89: after the nature of, according to the nature of

AGEYNWARDE adv. 36[1].19: conversely

AGHTED a. with ellipsis of sb. 32.83: eighth

AKNOW v. [pp.] 35.80; aknowen 35.105: acquainted, apprized, informed

* ALLE adv. as intensive 24.5. ALLE 15.25: all together. with "if" 32.119; 35.112; 45.104 (inverted order: "if al"): although, even though; OED All, adv., 10: latest ex. of "if al", c. 1375

ALONLY adv. 51.62: only, utterly, completely

ALOW v. [inf.] 32.62, 157, etc. [pres. s. subj.] ALOW 32.110: allow, recognize (a sum of money as part payment of a debt). ALOW [inf.] 60.11: receive with approval or approbation

* ALTERYD v. [pp.] 43.9: changed; constr. "away": no ex. in OED

* AMEND, -E sb. 35.198; 53.21: amendment, improvement (of one's character); OED Amends 4: no ex. of singular in this sense

AMONG adv. (OED: the prep. used elliptically) 11.59; 48.11, 24, etc.; 46.72: now and then, from time to time. in phr. "euer among", "ay among, ymange" 12.5; 18.29: all the while

ANGUR sb. 19.22: trouble, affliction

ANHONGE v. [pp.] 42.16: hanged

APAYRED v. [pp.] 32.130; PAYREDE 32.127: damaged

APERTLY adv. 50.1: openly, directly

ARECHE v. [inf.] 65.44: reach; stretch (one's hand or foot) and touch. 36.165: reach, stretch, extend

* ARESNED pp. 32.81: questioned, examined, called to account; cf. OED Areason, by-form of Arraign, v.; this sp. not recorded

* ARYFF a. 21.7: widely known, famous, renowned; OED Rife 3: no ex. of "aryff, arife"; the a is perh. scribal error for "are"

ARYSE v. [inf.] 57.59: rise (in social station, wealth)

ASCHOW: see ESTCHEWE

ASEEþ sb. (see also SETHE), in phr. "make asseþ" 35.93, 104: expiate (sin), make atonement

ATTENDAUNCE sb. 36.97: assiduous effort.

in phr. "attendaunce make", "geue attendaunce" 48.25: pay attention, be attentive

AVENTURE sb. 36.89: risk, jeopardy, peril

AYWHARE adv. 18.21: everywhere

-B-

BALIS sb. [pl.] 54.26: sorrow, misfortunes

BANNE v. [inf.] 19.40: curse, address with maledictory language. [2 pres. s.] BANNYS 19.39

BARGAYNE sb. 32.175: bargain, agreement, with bad consequences

BATE sb. 58.20: quarrel, strife

BEDE v. [inf.] 13.5: offer

BEDENE adv. 24.5: straightway, at once

* BEHOLD v. [imper. s.] 54.49: hold by, act in accordance with; cf. OED Behold 1: no ex. of this precise meaning

BEHYNDE adv., in phr. "set be-hynde" 57.44: neglected

* BEKYNGIS sb. [pl.] 39.3: fires (?); cf. OED Beek, v., "suffuse with genial warmth"; no ex. of meaning "fiery heat"; perhaps a scribal error for betyngis: see note.

* BELONGINGE pres. p. 43.33: rightfully demanding, needing; cf. OED Belong 1: no ex. of this precise meaning; OED Belonging, ppl. a., proper, appropriate: 1st ex., 1648

BELYUE adv. 11.2; by lyue 11.11: immediately, at once

BEME sb. 52.30: trumpet

BETAKIN v. [pp.] 35.64: entrusted; constr. "to"

* BEWAVYD v. [pp.] (see also WAVID) 36[1].65: blown about; OED Bewave: only ex., 1501 and 1513

BEYENG vbl. sb. 45.143: buying; the act of purchasing something

* BIWEUED v. [pp.] 10.20: woven, entwined; OED Biweve, v.[1], 2: 1st ex., c. 1300; only other ex., c. 1400; no precise ex. of this sense

BLYN v. [inf.] 7.1: cease, leave off

BOBAUNCE sb. 57.11: boast, presumption

* BODIE adv. 20.9 (error for "bodile" ?): in or with the body; in the flesh; in person; OED Bodily, adv., 2: 1st ex., c. 1440; no ex. of this precise sense

BODY sb. 29.4, 6, 7: body (in the alchemical sense): one of the seven bodies: gold, silver, iron, quicksilver, lead, tin, and copper

* BOLSTERS sb. [pl.] 38.31: padding in a garment used to fill up or round out some part; OED Bolster 2. d: 1st ex. 1600; no ex. of bolster used on the back

* BOND sb. 9.7: covenant, agreement; OED Bond 7. b: 1st ex. of "bond[s] of wedlock, matrimony", 1552. [pl.] BONDIS 45.114: bandages

BOSTOS: see BOYSTOUS

BOTE sb. 54.44: relief, remedy

BOUEÞ v. [3 pres. s.] 44.12: behooves

BOURD v. [imper. s.] 60.14: joke, jest

BOUSUMNESSE sb. 16.2: buxumness; submissiveness, obedience

BOYSTOUS a. 35.148: rough, loud, or violent in sound. BOSTOS 24.22: coarse in texture. BOYSTYRS 36[1].157: of language, unpolished, rude

BOYT *a.* 1[2].2: both

BRETH *sb.* 35.148: utterance; judgment or will expressed in words

BRIM *a.* 35.3: fierce, raging, furious; stern, wroth

BY AND BY *adv.* 43.45: one after another. 65.68: in succession, order; in turn

-C-

CALANGE v. [inf.] 44.8: accuse

CALCYN v. [imper.] 29.1: reduce to quicklime, or an analogous substance, by burning; believed by alchemists to reduce a mineral or metal to its most refined residuum by driving off the more volatile substances

CAN v.[1] [pres. pl.] 4.5: know. [pp.] COTHE 32.178; COWDE 65.21.

CAN v.[2] (variant of GAN) [pres. pl.] 24.4: as auxil. of past tense; equals MnE "did"

CAPPE sb., in phr. "glasyn cappe" 65.80: a useless defence; also a suggestion of discomforture

CARNALL a. 56[1].51: bodily, corporeal

CARRAKE sb. as attrib. 63.6: barge, ship

* CARY v. as absol. [inf.] 25.15: transport, convey; OED Carry 1; 1st ex., c. 1631

CAS sb., in phr. "on a cas" 65.56: into an unpleasant condition, state

CASUAL a. 57.30: accidental, fortuitous

CERTYFYE v. [inf.] 48.56: assure, inform certainly

* CHARGANDE ppl. a. (cf. CHARGEN, v.) 32.37: worthy of notice, attention; not in OED

CHARGEN v. [pres. pl.] 32.68: regard, give importance to

CHEUYSAUNCE sb., in phr. "wip good cheuysaunce": to good avail

CHREWE: see SCHROWE

* CIUILISTRE, CIVILIAN sb. 36.37: student of civil law; OED Civilian 1; no ex. of "civilister, -re", although "civilist" occurs

CIUILLE sb. 36.44: civil law

COFERYS sb. [pl.] 57.60: coffers, chests (of money)

COMFORTURE sb. 53.20: comforter; OED Comforter 1; also an ironic suggestion of OED Comforter 1.b: a title of the Holy Spirit

COMPLICE: see ACCOMPLYSH

CONDISIOUN sb. 45.175: conduct, habit

CONGRUE a. 36[1].26: fitting, proper

* CONSCIENSLY adv. 51[1].7: according to the dictates of conscience; OED Consciencely: only ex., 1476

CONVENIENT a. 56[1].85: suitable, appropriate

CONVENIENTLY, -E adv. 56.18: according to what is fitting, appropriate

CORN, -E sb. 26.64; 30.3, etc.: grain. 20.1; 64.23; 32.91 crop, crops. [pl.] 15.22: (single) grains, kernels

COSTAGE sb. 32.145, 157: expense

COUENAND sb. 32.5, 136, etc.; COUAND, -E 32.143, 169: covenant, agreement

COUNTERPLETE v. [3 pres. s.] 43.48: argues against; constr. "to"

COVENALE a. 34.8: of becoming appearance

COVER v. [inf.] 26.61: heal (a wound)

CREATURE sb. 53.19: Creator, God

CURE sb. 64.73: duty, office, function

-D-

DALIANCE, DALIUNCE sb. 36.39, 151: conversation, talk

DASWEYN v. [pres. pl.]: dazzle, become obscured (said of eyes)

DAWBE v. [inf.] 36[2].92, [1].118: plaster, cover laths or wattle in order to form walls

* DAY, -E sb. in phr. "on þe day", "now on daye" 19.51; 35.175: at the present time, today; cf. OED The B. 2. c: no ex. of "on the day" in sense of "at the present time"

DELE sb., in phr. "ilke-a dele" 32.62: completely, wholly

DELE v. [inf.] 19.15: have sexual intercourse with

DELICE sb. [pl.] 36.35: pleasures, gratifications

DEMURE, DEMUERE a. 31.7: sober, grave, serious

DESCENDE v. [imper.] 29.2: distil by descent; OED Descend 10; s.v. Descent, OED quotes Chambers Cycl. s.v. Distillation: "Distillation by descent is where the fire is applied on the top and all around the vessell, whose orifice is at the bottom...the vapour... is forced to precipitate." [inf.] DISCENDE 29.9: descend, come down

* DESOLATE a. 36[1].157: barren, unadorned; OED lists no ex. of this sense, applied to language

DESTRES: see DISTRES

DET v. [pp.] (see also DYGHT) 23.33: owed, due

DETTE sb. [pl.] 32.19, 110: debts

DICEYVEABLE: see DISSEYVABLE

DIGNE a. 64.5: worthy, honorable

DISCENDE: see DESCENDE

DISGYSES v. [pres. pl.] 38.27: decorate, adorn

DISSEYVABLE, -VEABLE a. 59.5; DICEYVEABLE 64.56: deceitful, capable of deceit

* DISTRES sb. 48.107; DESTRES 4.6: distress, difficulty, trouble; in phr. "do destres": do harm to: no ex. in OED

* DO, -E v., in phr. "don eny cost" 35.103: spend anything. "sche do pe lady good" 65.46: she pretends to be the (a) good lady; OED 11.d: 1st ex., 1599. "do thy vyage" 25.2: make a voyage; sail; OED Do 12: 1st ex., c. 1511. "doe way" 65.11: cease

DOGHTERNE: see DOWTYR

DOLUYN pp. 55.9: buried

DOMESMAN sb. 44.3: the Judge; Christ. [pl.] domesmen 35.131, etc.: judges

* DOWNE adv. 27.8: prostrate with sickness; ill; OED Down 6: 1st ex., 1710

* DOWTYR sb. 21.10, 29: daughter. [pl.] dowterys 21.6, 14; doghterne 62[1].5; OED lists no ex. of -e in pl., but "dohteren, -ren; doghtren" occur

DOYNG vbl. sb. 35.161: action, activity

DRY v. [inf.] 48.9: suffer, suffer from

* DULGENCE sb. 53.4: indulgence; remission of purgatorial punishment due for sins: OED lists no such form

DURE v. [inf.] 48.4: endure

* DWELLUS v. [pres. pl.] 19.44: continue in existence; last, persist; remain after others are taken or removed; OED Dwell 6: latest ex., 1401

* DWERE sb. 36.119; doubt, dread; OED: latest ex., c. 1460

DYCKE v. [inf.] 36.92, 118: make ditches

DYFFERENCE sb., in phr. "fynde no dyfference" 64.38: make no distinction (?)

* DYGHT v. [pp.] 18.11: made ready, adorned.

[pres. subj.] DET 45.113: deck, adorn; this sp. not in OED

* DYSTURBELAUNCE sb. 57.54: disturbance; OED Disturblance: latest ex., c. 1450

-E-

* EDMODNESSE sb. 16.5: humility, gentleness, meekness; OED: latest ex., a. 1225

EFFECTUALLY adv. 36.1: in (its) effect

ELINGE a. 60.24: wretched, miserable

ENCHESOUN sb. 57.67: occasion, cause

ENCRESE v. [inf.] 26.79: advance in wealth, fortune, power

ENDE sb. 35.125, etc1; HEND, -E 27.67; 39.7; ȝYNDE 54.34; end. in phr. "make an hend" 27.22: accomplish something. "at pe last end" 35.11, 172: at the very end; at the last

* ENSLOMBRE v. [inf.] 62.1: put to sleep; no ex. in OED

ENSUE v. [pres. subj.] 56[2].38: follow, act in accordance with (advice, etc.)

ENTAYLES sb. [pl.] 63.4: decorations, fashions

ENTEND v. [pres. pl.] 37.6: pay attention to; strive for

ENTERMETYNG vbl. sb. 60.35: meddling, interfering

ERT sb. 65.78: heart

ESTCHEWE v. [inf.] 56[2].36: eschew, avoid. [imper. s.] ASCHOW 60.38

EUENCRISTEN sb. 45.84, 95: fellow-Christian

EUENHED sb. 45.145: justice, just action

EUEYN adv. 27.86: in exact agreement

* EXALTE v. [imper. s.] 48.77: be elated with pride, joy; OED Exalt 2. b.: 1st ex., 1533

* EXAUDICYON sb. 48.121: hearing; OED: only ex., 1617

* EXISTENCE, -TENS sb., in phr. "in existence" 31.11: in reality; OED Existence 1: latest ex., 1430

EXPRIENCE sb., in phr. "by exprience" 43.47: in actual fact

-F-

FAGE v. [inf.] 38.7: flatter

FAL sb., in phr. "getyth a fal" 57.32: descends from high estate

FAST adv. 35.36: stoutly, vigorously

FASTID v. [pt. s.] 45.133: fasted on, ate nothing but; with dir. obj.

FELL a.[1] 60.34: many

FELL, -E a.[2] 25.7; 27.46; 48.101: fierce, cruel, unfavorable; in 25.7, merely a rhyme tag

FERDFUL a. 24.29: terrible, awful; inspiring fear

FERE sb., in phr. "in fere" 21.62; 27.30: in company, together, in common

* FERS a. 27.30: unfavorable; angry, violent (of natural forces); OED has no ex. of this precise meaning

FEUER3ERE sb. 27.29: February

FEYNE v. [imper. s.] 58.15: be delighted or glad; rejoice

FEYNT, FAYNT a. 59.2: feigned, pretended, simulated

FIRSTE sb. 32.22, 60: loan, credit; OED Frist, sb., 2: no ex. of this precise meaning

FIXE v. [imper. pl.] 29.2: fasten a volatile spirit or essence by combination with a tangible solid or fluid (in alchemy); also, to render (mercury) solid by combination with some other substance

* FLEE v. [pres. pl.] 1[2].15: put to flight; OED Flee lists no such transitive sense

* FLIE v. [inf.] 36[2].73: fly to, fly up to: OED lists no such meaning

FLIXE sb. 29.7: a flux, flowing

FLOWRES sb. [pl.] 37.6: goals, aims of supreme excellence

* FLY, -E a. 36.13: free, unrestricted, unpredictable; not in OED

FOLOW v. [inf.] 24.4: (said of hair) hand, fall; not in OED. [2 pres. s.] FOLOWES 19.27: act in conformity with something; constr. "after"

FOND v. [inf.] 65.14: test, try. [imper. s.] FOND 45.101: try, endeavor

FORFETID v. [pp.] 35.100: sinned, transgressed

* FORGYD a. 24.24: forked; this sp. not in OED

FORLETE v. [inf.] 42.9: abandon, yeild up

FORSAKE v. [imper. s.] 27. 51: decline, refuse (to do something). [pt. s.] FORSOKE 36.117

* FORWARD prep. 35.47: toward, up to; OED: no ex. of this precise sense

FOUL a., in phr. "foul or fayre" 45.90: in fair weather and foul; i. e., continually, always

FORWYTTE sb. 58.18: foresight

* FOYLITH v. [3 pres. s.] 55.4: foils, baffles, defeats (?); OED Foil 4: 1st ex., 1548; however, cf. OED Foil 6: foul, defile, pollute

FREEL a. 51[2].40: frail

FRESCHELY adv. 24.17: distinctly

FRESNES sb. 40.11: freshness, personal beauty

FUN v. [pp.] 24.18: found, detected, discovered

FYNE sb.[1] 48.79: end

FYNE sb.[2], in phr. "make a fyne" 35.100: pay a fine, penalty

FYRST v. [inf.] 32.161, 166: lend or give (a thing) on credit. [3 pres. s.] FYRSTYS 32.3, 59

FYRSTYNGE, vbl. sb. 32.4, 15: loan, act of lending money

* FYSTE sb., in phr. "bende thi thombe yn thi fyste" 54.11: control thy temper; not in OED

FYTE sb. 32.123: severe attack, fit

-G-

GABBYNGE vbl. sb. 65.20: lying, telling of lies

GAS v. [3 pres. s.], in phr. "also þe corne þen gas" 32.98: as the (price of) corn then stands; OED Go 15; 1st ex., 1545

GAYLE sb. 36[1].100: jail

GAYT sb. [as attrib.] 38.32: goat

* GEDYR v. [imper. s.] 58.28: accumulate wealth; OED Gather 3. b.: latest ex., 1377

* GENERALL a., in phr. "in generall" 28[1].12; GENERALLIS 26.75: generally, universally; OED lists no form in "-is"

* GESOUN v. [pp.] 57.68: imagined, supposed; not in OED

* GO v. [inf.] 32.22: forego (?); not in OED

* GOO v. [imper. s.], in phr. "goo noo pilgremage" 25.11: make no pilgremage. [pt. s.] WENT 35.50; OED Go 2. d: 1st ex., 1526

GORE sb. 65.47: wool (?); cf. OED Gare, sb.^{3}: 1st ex., 1542; it is possible, however, that "rokkis," 65.47, is the gen. s. of "rok" (rock), an allusion to the stone robe in 65.40; if so, "gore" may be interpreted as OED Gore, sb.^{2}, 2: "a skirt, petticoat, gown"

GRENE a. 24.3: full of vitality; not withered or worn out

GRES v. [pres. pl.] 27.34 (error for "gers" ?): make, cause (someone to do something); cf. OED Gar 2. b: no ex. of this sp.

GRET a. 60.16: proud, arrogant

GROGE, GRUGE sb. 56.28: discontent, grudge

* GROW v. [inf.] 36.81: develop, flourish; constr. "up";
OED: no ex. of this precise sense

GROWNDLY adv. 36[1].26: firmly, basically

* GROWYNGE vbl. sb. 33(prose preceding v. 1): growth, faculty of growth; a stone with a hole "of hys owen growynge": a hole produced by nature, not by man; cf. OED Growing: no ex. from inorganic nature

GRYLL a. 27.56: severe, terrible, dreadful

GYFTEN v. [pp.] 15.12: given

* GYILE sb. 54.29: lass, wench; this sp. not in OED

GYNNES sb. [pl.] 11.23: cunning strategems, tricks

GYT: see YIT

-H-

* HALFE sb., in phr. "to halfe": in the amount of one half;
OED Half 7: 1st ex., 1547

HALOWS sb. [pl.] 52.4: saints

HALS v. [inf.] 49.13: embrace

HALY adv. 38.44: wholly

* HANDE sb., in phr. "had in hande" 57.38: were allies;
cf. OED 29.c: no example of this precise sense

HARNYS sb. 22.6: armor

HATE a.: see HOTE

* HAUE v. [inf. as absol.] 14.4: have (reward or punishment);
OED Have 1. b: no ex. of this precise sense

* HAUNTYNGE ppl. a. 65.1: unruly, wanton, restive (?); cf.
OED Haunty, a.: 1st ex., 1671

HAWNT v. [inf.] 36[1].76: frequent, resort to, habituate

HAYRE sb. 45.89: hair-shirt

HEDE v. [pt. s.] 16.7: had

* HEFT v. [pp.] 60.32: established (himself); cf. OED
Haft 1. b: 1st ex., 1725

HEND sb.: see ENDE

HENNYS adv. 65.65: hence

HERTLY a. 64.12: heartfelt

HETE sb. 64.54: fit of rage

HETHEN adv. 32.56: hence

* HETYNGE vbl. sb. 32.16: contempt, mockery, scorn; all sp. in OED are -d- and -th-

HIDOWES a. 48.101: hideous

* HIT pron. [refl.] 32.2: itself; OED It, refl., 11: 1st ex., 1595

HOLTE v. [3 pres. s.] 26.74: possess, have (from the superior from whom the title to an office is derived); constr. "of"

HOLY adv. 32.156: wholly

HOMLY a. 36[1].157: rude, simple. HONLY 27.53 (scribal error ?): kind, benevolent in influence

HOTE, HOOTE a. 26.1, 17, etc.; HATE 18.18; WHOOT 28[2] (preceding vv. 1, 9): hot

HYM pron. [refl.] 19.4; 22.17; 27.52, 65, 69, etc.: himself

-I-

IANGLYNGE vbl. sb. 19.33: idle talk

IAUEL sb. 35.20: base fellow

IGETE v. [pp.] 42.11: gotten, acquired

* IGRAD v. [pp.] 42.17: summoned; OED Grede 2: no ex. of this precise sense

* IMAGYN, YMAGYNE v. [imper. s.] 7.9, 10: suppose, presume (to have); not in OED with constr. "to"

INCONVENIENTIS sb. [pl.] 56[2].35: those things which are not fitting, proper

INDYFFERENTLYE, -LE adv. 56.9: impartially, neutrally

* INFAIN sb. 21.38: youth of noble or gentle birth; OED Infant; no ex. of this sp.

INFECCIOUN sb. 46.59: depravity, moral corruption

INLY adv. 36[1].108: very extremely. [superl.] INNEMOST 45.64

INTELLIGENCE sb., in phr. "take intelligence" 48.78: endeavor to understand

INUENONS sb. [pl.] 31[3,4].17: that which envenoms; poisons; OED Envenom, sb.; only ex., 1377

INVENCION sb., in phr. "made invencion" 48.93: found

IPLAY v. [inf.] 60.27: sport or play amorously; OED Play 10. c: no ex. of this sp. or form

IWARE a. 65.5: afraid

-K-

KEN v. [inf.] 27.85: know; 45.157: teach. [imper. pl.] KENNES 4.5. [pp.] KYDE 32.25: known, renowned, famous

KEPE sb., in phr. "take kepe" 41.30: take heed, notice

KHIST sb. 60.19: chest, casket (to hold treasure)

KUNNYNGE sb. 12.3: knowledge

* KYRKE sb. 19.33: church. [as attrib.] KIRK 23.21: OED Church, sb. as attrib.: 1st ex., 1579

-L-

LAK sb. 45.98: fault

LANGOWR sb. 48.6: languishing, sickness

LARGE a. 31.1: liberal, generous. 57.42: prodigal, undisciplined

LAT v. [inf.] 27.52, etc.; LETE 30.8: let, permit. [2 pres. s.] LETE 42.5: quit, abaondon, leave. [3 pres. s.] LATTIS 27.65: lets (blood); LETIS 32.151: rents. [imper. s.] LAT, -E 1[1].8; 54.10; LET, -E, LEET 1[2].8; 35.119, etc. [pres. p.] LETTYNGE 64.12. [pp.] LETTYD 32.150: rented

* LAUFYNGE vbl. sb. 29.6: laving, washing; OED lists no sp. in"lau-"

LAUSE sb. [pl.] 35.154: laws

LAWTH v. [inf.] 65.81: laugh at, ridicule

LAYDE v. [pp.] 32.116, 125: put as a pledge (for a loan)

LAYFE, -FEE sb. 36.5: laity

LEFULY adv. 32.147: lawfully

LEKINGE: see LYKYNGE

LERYS sb. [pl.] 34.6: cheeks

LETTER sb., in phr. "be letter"; implicitly, to the fullest extent; OED: no ex. of this constr. with "by"

LETTYN v. [pp.] 24.34: formed (?); cf. OED Let, v.[1], 15

LEUYD v. [pt. pl.] 21.5: believed. [pres. p.] LEUYNGE 56[1].51: trusting

LEWTE sb. 55.7: loyalty

* LIGHT a. 31.11: active, nimble. LYTHE 27.25: joyous, cheerful; OED: no ex. of this sp.

LIGHTLI adv. 35.70, etc.; LYGHTELY 57.32; LY3TLY 19.37: easily, readily

LOKYRD v. [pp.] 24.8: curled

* LONG a. [quasi-sb.], in phr. "at the long" 64.76: in the end; OED: no ex. of use with "the"

LONGETH v. [3 pres. s.] 64.13: is appropriate to, befits

LOOSET v. [pp.] 16.1: praised, renowned

LORDSCHIPE sb. 35.21: dominion, sovereignty

LOUEDAYS sb. [pl.] 35.1, etc.: days appointed for settling disputes

LOWSE v. [inf.] 61.8: loosen, untie

LOYD sb. 15.23: load

LYMITE v. [inf.] 36[2].61: set off (an area for the purpose of gaining the right to beg therein)

-M-

MACH v. [imper. s.] 60.1: meet in combat, fight

MARIAGE sb., in phr. "make a mariage" 29.4: combine (chemically)

MAYNTENE v. [inf.] 35.4, etc.: support. [3 pres. s.] MAYNTEINP 35.34. [pres. pl.] MAYNTENE 35.181. [inf.] MAYNTEN 27.20: continue, persevere (in an undertaking)

MEDLEDE v. [pp.] (see also MEYNT) 31[1].3; MEDELD 31[5].3: mixed

MEL v. [inf.] 60.36: concern or busy (oneself)

MEN sb., in phr. "kepe euer a men" 60.25: maintain moderate behavior, act moderately

MENT v. [pt. s.] 36.7: thought, believed

MESURE, MYSURE sb. 1.9; 2.5, etc.; 57.22: moderation

MEVE v. [inf.] 56[1].72: prompt, actuate (to do something); MEEVE 57.2: disturb. [pt. s.] MEVYD 21.33: moved (said of a person)

MEYNT, MEYND v. [pp.] (see also MEDLED) 31[2,3,4].3: mixed

MODY a. 44.3: angry

* MODYRD pp. 24.16: mothered, provided with a mother; OED: 1st ex., 1669

MONE sb.[1] 29.10: the moon; used figuratively for silver, one of the seven "bodies" in alchemy

MONE sb.[2] 27.23, etc.; MOONE 25.1, 27: month

MONE sb.[3] 36.131; 46.3: moan, lament

MONE sb.[4] 32.14, 50: money

MON, -E v. [3 pres. s.] 32.65, 132: must

* MONSTRATE a. 48. 85: manifest, demonstrated; OED: no such adjective; sv. v. Monstrate, v.: 1st ex., 1647

MORE a. [as sb.] 21.54: the elder

MOSTE a. [as sb.] 22.4; 30.15: the greatest person

MOSTE v. [2 pres. s.] 48.2: must. [pres. pl.] MOSTE 48.81

M[t] a. 45.151: thousand (abbreviated)

MUK sb. 57.48: wealth, riches

* MULTIPLYED v. [pp.] 24.20: be abundantly supplied with; OED Multiply 2. c: 1st ex., a. 1553

MVSYNGE vbl. sb. 58.9: speculation, suspicion

MYNISTER, MYNESTER v. [inf.] 56.14: furnish, supply. [imper. s.] MYNESTER 56.16

MYNNE a., in phr. "both more and mynne" 36.141: both great and small, both more and less

MYS sb. 49.14: error, misdoing

MYSCHAP sb. 38.33: mis-shapen appearance

MYSDOE v. [imper. s.] 65.67: do harm to. [pp.] MYSDON 11.61: done amiss; sinned

MYSPAY v. [3 pres. s.] 15.19: displease, anger, irritate

MYSREWLE sb. 60.31; MYSRULE 64.53: disorderly conduct or living

MYSTER a. 19.2, 32: needful, necessary

MYSTERIRS sb. [pl.] 45.188 (scribal error for "-is"):
crafts, vocations

MYSURE: see MESURE

MYSWROUT v. [pp.] 11.64: worked, acted amiss

-N-

NAKYN a. 27.75: no kind; none whatsoever

NAMELY adv. 15.10; NAMLY 27.54; NOMLY 32.69: namely.

NAMELY 15.6; NAMLI 35.35: especially, above all.

NOMLY 32.118: carefully, precisely

NEGHED a. 32.101: ninth

NESSESSARYS sb. [pl.] 56.7: necessities

NEUEN v. [inf.] 52.3: name, call by a certain name

NEWLY adv. 51.24: anew

NEY, NAY adv. 26.89; 40.14: nearly, almost

NOGHT adv. 65.67: in no way at all

NOLDOS: see NYLL

NOMLY: see NAMELY

NOYANCE, -AUNCE sb. 36.148: harm, injury

NYLL v. (NE plus WYLL) [pres. pl.] 53.25; NULLEþ 42.6: will not. [pt. s.] NOLDOS 14/8

NYSE a. 60/26: fastidious. 54[1].29: wanton

NYST v. (NE plus WYST) [pt. s.] 36[1].66: knew not

-O-

OFFENNCE sb., in phr. "doth greet offennce" 57.10: does great harm

OFTYM, -E adv. 24.33; 60.17: oftentimes

OKERRYNGE sb. 32.28: the practice of usury

* OKUR, -E sb. 32.1, 11, etc.; OKYR, -E 32.6, 7, 8; OKER 32.141: usury. OKURE 32.45, 100: money at usurious rates; not in OED

OKURRÊR, -E sb. 32.42, 112: usurer. [pl.] OKERRERE 32.1, 53

* OLDE sb. 64.40: old saw, old saying (?); not in OED, but cf. Old, sb., 4: "old time, the olden time"

ONDE sb. 42.22: envy

ONLY adv. 26.10: specially

* ORDRE sb. 9.6: grade or rank; OED Order 6.d: only ex. of use with "matrimony," "wedlok," c. 1386. [pl.] ORDERS 22.25: religious orders

ORDYNAUNCE sb. 57.37: authoritative direction how to proceed or act; established rule or body of principles

OTHER a. 32.11: second

* OUER prep. with "up" 24.10: upon; OED: no ex. with "up"

OUERFELE adv. 11.46: overmuch, excessively

* OUERLEDE v. [inf.] 60.7: domineer, tyrannize over; OED Overlead 1: latest ex., c. 1440

OUGHT: see OWITH

* OURWHAR adv. 60.29: anywhere; OED Ourwhere: latest ex., c. 1460

OWITH *v.* [3 pres. s.] 53.3: is obliged to. [pres. pl.] OWE 32.171: owe (a debt of money). [pt. s.] OWGHTYSTE 56.18: was obliged to (with ellipsis of inf.); OUGHT 45.37: was obliged to

OYTH *sb.* 19.38: oath

-P-

* PACKE v. [inf.] 22.17: go away, depart; OED Pack 10: 1st ex., 1508

PALES sb. 48.91: palace

PARELL sb.: see PERELL

* PARELL, -ILL v. [inf.] 36.125: compare oneself; elevate oneself to a superior social level (?); OED lists no such verb, but cf. Parile, a., "equal, like": 1st ex., 1650; cf. also Parel, Parail, v., 2: "clothe, dress," only in transitive

PAS sb., in phr. "passyd the pas": lived; married (?); see note

PASSAGE sb. 64. 82: departure

* PAY sb. 32.60, 89, etc.: payment; OED Pay 2: 1st ex., c. 1440

PAYRE, -DE: see APAYRE

PERCHE v. [inf.] 49.25: pierce

PERELL sb.[1] 32.144: PARELL 58.14: peril, danger

PERELL sb.[2] 29.15: pearl

* PERFAYLETH v. [3 pres. s.] 57.37: fails utterly, completely; not in OED

PERLIOUS a. 45.176: parlous, dangerous

PERRE sb. 40.9: jewelry, precious stones

* PERVSED v. [pp.] 43.24: used up; worn out by use; OED Peruse 1: 1st ex., a. 1483

PERVERCION sb. 48.95: defection; being led astray

PETTE: see PYTT

PETY: see PYTE

PLAYNE a. and adv. 24.4, 14: smooth[ly]

PLESAUNCE sb. 24.30: that which is kindly or amiable. 36.146: will, desire. PLESAUNC, -ANS 37.4; 40.4: pleasure, delight

* PLESYNG, -E vbl. sb., in phr. "a-gayn [one's] plesyng; to[one's] pleasyng": contrary to, according to (one's) desires; OED Pleasing, vbl. sb., 2: no ex. of "contrary to..."

POO sb. 36[1].166: peacock

PORTE sb., in phr. "hy porte" 40.12: proud, haughty bearing

POSE sb. 22.29: a cold in the head

POSSESSIONER sb. 36[1].74: a member of an endowed religious order. [pl.] POSSESSIONERS 36[2].74

POWSTE sb. 52.14: power

* PRAYES v. [pres. pl.] 23.3: pray for (in behalf of); constr. "of"; OED Pray 1. c: no precise ex. of this constr.

* PRESERVE v. [2 pres. s.] 64.6: keep (a holiday); no ex. of this sense in OED

PREST v. [pp.] 65.60: constrained, forced

* PROCELLOWS a. 36[1].65; PROCELLUS 36[2].66: stormy, violent; OED Procellous: 1st ex., 1650

PROCESSE sb. 36[1].82: argument, discourse

PROCTOUR, -OR sb. 36.50: proctor; one whose profession is to manage the causes of others in a court administering civil or canon law

PROCURE v. [inf.] 43.32: cause; effect, bring about

PROUANDE sb. 32.39: food, provender

PROW sb. 41.11: delight, benefit

PROWES sb. 26.24: moral goodness

* PURPURAT a. 36[1].164: lavishly decorated, embellished; OED lists only literal sense: "purple-colored, purple"

PUT sb.: see PYTT

PUTREFIE v. [imper.] 29.1: decompose chemically (e. g., oxidize)

PYGHTE v. [pp.] 48.47: pricked, pierced

PYKED v. [pp.] 38.33: decorated, adorned

PYTE sb. 12.2, etc.; PETY, -E 27.71; 48. 20: pity, mercy. 57.86: a cause for pity

PYTT sb. 48.103; PETTE 57.74; PUT 44.4: pit; the pit of Hell. [gen. s.] PYTTIS 48.65

-Q-

QU-, QW-: see also WH-

QUARTE sb. 1[1].7: sound health

QUESTIS sb. [pl.] 35.127: juries, inquests

QUESTMEN sb [pl.] 35.37, etc.: jurymen

QUYTE v. [inf.] 35.62: repay, requite. WHYTE 23.19: pay, pay up (a debt)

-R-

RARE v. [inf.] 18.3: roar

RAY sb. 54.28: dress, clothing

REAME sb. 57.36: realm

RECOUERE v. [inf.] 26.22: get, obtain; get hold of

* RECURE sb. 36.91: recovery of something lost or taken away; OED Recovery 5: 1st ex., 1538

REDUCE v. [inf.] 49.10: lead back (from error)

REFREYT sb. 36[1].167: refrain, burden

REFUSE v. [inf.] 54.40: abandon, desert (a person)

* REGALL sb. 48.112: a prince, ruler; OED Regal, sb., 2: marked "rare"; only ex., c. 1385, c. 1395

* REGARDE v. [pres. subj.] 56.6: show great respect or dread of (a person); OED Regard 5. b: no precise ex. of this sense

REGENCY sb. 36.42: period of (usually) compulsory teaching at a university

RELES sb. 48.102: release, deliverance

* RELEUE v. [inf.] 64.47: return to a previous state; OED Relieve 7. c: only one ex. (marked "rare"), a. 1550

RELIGIOUN, RELYGYON sb. 36.4: a religious order

* REPONG v. [1 pres. s.] 46.11: fight, strive; OED Repugn 2. b: no ex. of this sp.

REPREFE sb. 24.18: reproach, disgrace

* REPROBATE pp. 46.60: rejected, deprived; OED Reprobate 2: 1st ex., 1526

RESORT v. [inf.] 64.74: turn, direct one's attention to a subject

* RESS-, RESPECTYNGE pres. p. 56.12: paying attention to; observing carefully; OED Respect 2. b.: 1st ex., 1560

REUNESSE sb. 16.7: pity, compassion

* REWARDE v. [pres. subj.] 32.99: pay (something in addition to original price); not in OED; but cf. Reward, sb.[1], 4. c.: remuneration, regular or extra. 62.4: chastize, punish

REWLE, RULE sb. 7.11: array; marshalled order or line. in phr. "out of rule" 45.138: in disorder

REWMOS, -OUS sb. [pl.] 31[1,2].17: rheum

RIALTE sb. 30.16: magnificence, splendor

RIGGEBOON sb. 41.17: spinal column

RIGHTWISNES sb. 35.4; 52.45; RIGHTUYSNES 55.9; RITWISNESSE 16.6: righteousness, justice

ROBBE sb. 65.40: robe; a "robbe of grey marbyl stone" is an intentional absurdity which the nightingale devises to illustrate the rarity of faithful women; in addition the figure may suggest a tomb: hence, all faithful women are dead. [pl.] ROBYS 36[1].155: adornment

* RODE sb. [pl.] 33.8: rods (land measure); OED: 1st ex., 1477

ROKKIS sb. [gen. s.] (see also GORE) 65.47: distaff's; rock's (?)

ROSET sb. 36[1].156: russet, coarse cloth

ROTE v. [pp.] 48.64: (morally) rotten

RULE: see REWLE

RUSTE sb. 48.64: moral corrosion; OED Rust 2

RUSTY a. 36[1].156: rude, coarse

RYCHES, -E sb. 26.22; 30.16, etc.; RICHESSE 41.3; 57.29; RYTCHES 23.22; RYCHYS 56[1].87: wealth, opulence (as singular sb.)

-S-

SAFE v. [pres. subj.] 32.154: safeguard

SAW sb. 14.2: decree, command

SCHAME sb. 57.85: injury

* SCHEDDYNG v. [pres. p.] 24.10: dividing, falling; OED Shed 2 lists only one intransitive ex. 13..

SCHENSCHEPE sb. 18.4: something that is a cause of disgrace, ignominy

SCHORE v. [pp.] 11.53: shriven

SCHULDE v. [imper. s.] 10.23: shield, guard, protect

SEKYTH v. [3 pres. pl.] 21.56: approach or draw near to (God) in prayer, etc. [pp.] SOGHTE 32.67: examined, scrutinized

SELCOUTH a. 27.4: rare, strange, wonderful

* SER, -E a. 15.1,15; 27.1, etc.: separate, distinct; OED Sere, a.^{2}, 1: latest ex., 1340

SERE sb. 11.69: sir, lord

* SEROFF v. [inf.] 30.6: set food before, feed (animals); OED Serve, v.^{1}, 34: 1st ex. 1523. [2 pres. s.] SERUS 60.5: serve. [3 pres. s.] SERUYTH 11.24: contributes to, leads to

SETE v. [pres. subj.] 32.109: add

SETHE, SEETHE sb. (see also ASEEþ) 32.32; 53.2: atonement

SEþþE: see SYTHEN

SEWE v. [inf.] 44.11, 12: show (?); see note. SEWETH, v. [3 pres. s.] 51.61: follows. [pres. p.] SEWING 51.51

* SHORTLY adv. 19.5 abruptly, curtly, sharply (?); OED Shortly 1. c: 1st ex., c. 1815

SHROWE sb. 36[2].126; CHREWE 36[1].126: shrewish woman, a scold

SITH adv. 29.10: next in succession, order

SKYLE, SKIL sb., in phr. "be skyle" 2.3; 35.5: by reason; according to that which is reasonable. in predicative use 30.13; 32.148: reasonable, right

SLEGHT sb. 31.10: artifice, cunning, trickery

SLEY v. [inf.] 46.69: slay (oneself), figuratively, by committing mortal sin

SLOKYND v. [pp.] 18.17: extinguished, quenched

SLYDE v. [pp.] 46.52: backslid; became remiss in moral duty; constr. off

* SMAYLLE a. 24.22: fine, as opposed to coarse; OED Small 10. b.: no ex. of use with beard or hair

* SNOGE sb. 50[1].27: miser; mean, avaricious person; OED Snudge: 1st ex., 1545; no ex. of this sp.

SOBER a. 27.46: quiet, gentle, peaceful (of natural forces)

SONNE sb. 29.10: the sun; used figuratively for gold, one of the seven "bodies" in alchemy

SOROW adv. 27.18: sorrowfully

SOTELTE sb. 38.37: specious argument. [pl.] SOTELTESE 56[2].13

SOTHFAST a. 50.22: true, actual

SOWLE sb. 29.4: spirit (in alchemy); one of the four alchemical "spirits": quicksilver, orpiment, sal ammoniac, and brimstone

SPARE v. [pres. subj.] 23.27: abstain, refrain from using

SPENT v. [pp.] 11.8: employed, used

SPRADE v. [pt. s.] 46.48: opened (a book)

SPRITE sb. 29.4: spirit (in alchemy); in 29.4 it is redundant; see SOWLE

SPUTE v. [inf.] 65.83: dispute, argue

* STADE v. [inf.] 46.49: beset; OED Stead: no ex. of this sp. except in preterite and past participle; no ex. of this sense

STERE sb. 36.109: helm, rudder

STERRIS sb., in phr. "sterris seuene": the constellation Ursa Major

* STERT v. [pt. pl.] 22.31: started, sprang (said of the eyes); OED Start 3. v.: 1st ex., 1526

STEY v. [inf.] 36[1].73: climb. [pt. s.] STYȝE 17.4: arose, ascended

STOND v. [inf.] 32.144: submit oneself, be bound by; endure (a loss). [pt. s.] STODE 22.21: made common cause; constr. with

* STOPE v. [inf.] 32.19, 129: reduce, decrease (the amount of a debt); no ex. in OED

* STOWT a. 27.56: fierce, furious; of unpropitious influence; OED Stout 2: no ex. of use with natural forces

STRANGE a. (see also STRONG, a.) 40.5; STRAWNGE 36.124: haughty, unfriendly

* STROKYS sb. [pl.], in phr. "haue grete strokys" 54.21: have great influence; OED: 1st ex., 1531

STRONG, -E a. 36[1].73; 44.11: difficult, arduous. STRANGE 18.35: grievous, severe

SUBLYME v. [imper.] 29.2: subject (a substance) to the action of heat so as to convert it into a vapor, which is carried off and on cooling is deposited in solid form

SUBSTANCIALLY adv. 56[1].90: in substance; according to the substancial nature (of a thing)

SUFFRAGYS, -ES sb. [pl.] 51.78: intercessory prayers

STUDEUESTNESSE sb. 16.3: steadfastness, constancy

SUPPOSE v. [pres. pl.] 35.187: agree, be in concord (with)

SUTE sb. 54.30: retinue

SWAGE v. [inf.] 56[1].88: decrease, abate

SWELLE v. [pres. subj.] 11.27: swallow, taste

SWELLYNGE vbl. sb. 11.26; SWELWYNGE 11.30: the sense of tase

SWYUYD v. [pp.] 65.2: copulated, lain with

SYTHEN adv. 6.1; SITH 29.10: next in succession, order

SYTHEN, SITHEN conj. 43.18, 41; SITH, -E 14.8; 36[1].84, etc.; SEÞÞE 35.113: since, seeing that

-T-

TAL-WISE a. 60.22: addicted to gossip; loquacious

* TARY v. [inf.] 32.72: wait for, await; OED Tarry 5: 1st ex., 1432-50

TAS, -E v. [3 pres. s.] 32.18, 40, 74, etc.: takes [pres. pl.] TAKEN 57.52; TAS 32.6

TELLE v. [1 pres. s.] 65.17: reckon, consider

TEND v. [inf.], in phr. "tend...in stede" 45.40: hold in good stead; benefit, profit

* TENDER a. 27.44, 57: kind, gentle; benevolent in influence; OED lists no ex. of this sense

TENE v. [inf.] 50.35: suffer

* TENTATES sb. [pl.?] 48.100: temptations (?); not in OED

TERESHATYNG vbl. sb. 39.1: tear-shedding

TERMYNED v. [pp.] 28[1].5: declared, stated

THA: see THO

THER- AȝEYN adv. 7.8; ÞER-AGEYN 11.21: in opposition, in contrast to that

ÞER, -E dem. a. 27.51, 87: these

ÞER-OF adv. 32.41: (paid) for it

ÞIR pron. 6.5: these

THO, -O adv. 36.46; ÞA 50.16: then, at that time

ÞO dem. a. 32.19, 91, 110; 35.93: those. [as pron.] 7.6; 53.12

THOLE v. [inf.] 14.9: endure

ÞOLEMODNESSE sb. 16.8: patience

THRANGE sb. 18.31: oppression; trouble, affliction

THROWE sb. 65.20: a while; short space of time

THYNGE sb., in phr. "alle thynge" 3.5; 25.19; 46.66; 48.80, etc.: (with singular force) everything.

ÞINGE 32.3: affair, business

* TO conj., in phr. "to that" 23.28: to the time that; until; OED To, conj., 1. b.: 1st ex., c. 1460

* TRACE sb. 46.45: trace; strap by which a horse is harnessed; used figuratively for control; OED: 1st ex., c. 1518

* TRACE v. [inf.] 31.20: recognize, distinguish; OED Trace, v.[1]: no ex. of this precise sense

TRAVERSAUNT a. 57.3: thwarting; unfavorable, inauspicious

* TRECHERER sb. 31[1].26: traitor; OED Treacherer: 1st ex., 1571

TRETE v. [inf.] 43.41: bargain, negotiate

* TRETTY sb. 24.30: act of entreaty or persuasion; OED: 1st ex., c. 1450

* TURBANCE sb. 48.3: disturbance; affliction (?); not in OED

TYME sb., in phr. "tyme lenger or sone" 51.80: sooner or later

TYMEROUS a. 48.30: dreadful, terrible

* TYMYNGE sb. 25.30: opportunity; favorable moment for doing something; OED Timing 1: 1st ex., c. 1400; no ex. of this precise sense

* TYNYNGE vbl. sb. 32.142: trouble, grief; OED Teening (s. v. Teen, v.): latest ex., a. 1300

-U-

UEX: see WEXE

-V-

V-: see also W-

* VERE, VERY, VARRY adv. 24.31; 59.5: very, extremely; OED Very, adv., 2: 1st ex., c. 1470

VERREY a. 64.27: true, actual

* VGGYD v. [pt. s.], in phr. "vggyd...myn erys" 36.130: demanded my attention (?); not in OED, s. v. Hug or Ug

VNDIR-FONGE v. [inf.] 12.2: receive willingly, accept

* VNGILTLES a. 36[1].100: free from guilt, innocent; not in OED

VNKENDELY adv. 40.6: curiously, artfully

VNTO prep. 35.125: until. 56.21: in exchange for. [as conj.] VNTO 35.65; 45.117: until

* VNWARLY adv. 36[1].53: without knowing it; in ignorance, innocently; OED Unwarely, adv.: no such meaning; but cf. Unware, quasi-adv., 2. b

VORDINES sb. 40.15: worthiness

-W-

WANTYNGE vbl. sb. 39.5: absence, lack

* WARLY adv. 38.1: wearily, dispiritedly; OED, s. v. Weary, a.: no sp. in "war-"

WARY v. [inf.] 36.53: curse, condemn

WAT rel. pron. 54.41: that which

WED, -E, WEDDE sb. 24.36; 32.116, 120, etc.: garment, piece of clothing; pledge (?); see note to 32.116

WELDE v. [inf.] 48.76: direct, control

WELNER adv. 38.20: well nigh, almost

WERREDE v. [pt. s.] 63.1: wore

* WERES sb. [pl.] 1[2].8: states of doubt or uncertainty; OED Were, sb.^{3}, 5: all ex. in plural, a. 1395

WHOOT: see also HOTE

WHOOT v. [1 pres. s.] 57.8: wot, know

WHYTE v.: see QUYTE

* WILFULLI adv. 45.103: knowingly, deliberately. WIL-, WILLFULLI 35.18, 184: perversely, recklessly; OED Wilfully 5: 1st ex., a. 1586

* WIIS v. [imper. s.] 11.31: know (?); not in OED

WIT sb. 60.10: opinion, judgment

WODER adv. 44.10: whither

WORLD, -E sb. 32.124; 54.20; 56[1].23, etc.; WORD, -E 32.66; 53.1: world, worldly life. [gen. s.] WORLDIS 57.11

WORLD-, WORLDELY a. 36.86; 45.63, etc.; WARLDLY 23.32; WORD-, WORDELY 37.2; 57.12; WORLLYE 56[1].3: worldly, mundane

WORTHE v. [3 pres. s.], in phr. "woo worthe" 48.68: may it be ill with respect to; woe be to

WRECHE sb. 45.85: vengeance

WREIE v. [inf.] 44.7: betray

WRENCHIS sb. [pl.] 46.40: deceits, deceitful devices

WRONGWISLI adv. 35.22: in a wrongful, unjust manner

WYLLE v. [3 pres. s.] 32.147: requires, demands. [pt. s.] WOLD 32.165

* WYNDGALE sb. 24.10: gale (?); not in OED, s. v. Gale or Wind

WYNNE sb. 45.68: contention, strife

* WYNNE, WYN v. [inf.] 7.2: get, gain (something immaterial and undesirable); OED Win, v.[1], 6: only ex. of this sense, a. 1300. [pres. pl.] WYN 23.30: gain release, get away

WYSDOM sb. 64.33: wise discourse or teaching. [pl.] WYSDOMS 64.81

WYTTE a. 19.49: skillful, expert, capable

-Y, ȝ-

ȝARDE sb. 42.7: rod, stick

ȝARE adv. 21.4: long since, long ago; of old

ȝELDE, ȝEELDE, ȝYLDE v. [inf.] 32.9, 122; 57.81, 83: give back, restore. [pres. subj.] ȝELDE 42.13. [3 pres. s.] ȝELDYS 32.27: bestows

ȝETE: see YIT

ȝEUON, YEUYN v. [pp.] 14.1; 64.54: given

YEVYTH v. [3 pres. s.], in phr. "yevyth intencion": gives attention

ȝIS adv. 35.178: yes

YIT, YET, -T, ȝYT, ȝETE conj. and adv. 18.25; 19.36, 46; 25.14; 32.17, etc.; GYT 38.21: yet

YMANGE: see AMONG

YNFORTUNAT a. 57.57: imparting bad luck, disastrous

YNWITTIS sb. [pl.] 7[1].11: (spiritual) senses

ȝOU, ȝOW pron. [refl.] 35.4, 7: yourselves

YSE v. [inf.] 42.15: see. [pp.] YSEYE 57.64

ȝYNDE: see ENDE

INDEX OF PROPER NAMES

AARON 21.11: father of Elizabeth, who was mother of John the Baptist

ABEL 16.1; 25.6, 9; ABELL 20.1: Abel

ABQUYN, SEYNT THOMAS 35.30: St. Thomas Aquinas

ABRAHAM 26(Latin preceding v. 17); 48.41; HABRAHAM 16.2: Abraham

ADAM 25.1; 26(Latin preceding v. 33): Adam

ALPHE 21.33: Alpheus, allegedly father of the Apostle James

ANNA, ANNE 21.7, 9, etc.: the traditional name of the mother of the Blessed Virgin

AUSTYN, -E 19.43; 23.4; 35.29, 91, 99: St. Augustine. AUGUSTINI [gen. s.] 19(Latin preceding v. 1)

BEDE 27.73: the Venerable Bede

BETHLEEM 26(Latin preceding v. 25): Bethlehem

BLOMFELD 22(title): apparently the owner of the MS from which Stow obtained Number 22

CAYM 25.3, 9: Cain. KAMES [gen. s.] 43.16

CLEOPHAS 21.26, 41: Cleopas, allegedly St. Anne's second husband

CRIST: see IHESU

CUSTAUNCE 36.149: Constance, of Chaucer's "Tale of the Man of Lawe"

DANYEL, -LL 25.8; 26(Latin preceding v. 49); 36[1].101; 48.17: Daniel

DAUID, -YD 16.7; 26(Latin preceding v. 81); 52.39: David the King

DAVY 22.16: a fanciful name, devised to rhyme with the Latin <u>speraui</u>

EGYPT 48.40: Egypt

ELI 20.6: Elijah; cf. 2 Kings ii, 11

ELYZABETH 21.13, 15, 19: mother of John the Baptist and allegedly the cousin of the Blessed Virgin

EMER, EMERIA 21.7, 11, 58: allegedly the sister of St. Anne and mother of Elizabeth

ESAU 26(Latin preceding v. 88): Esau

EVA, EVE 26.2; 26(Latin preceding v. 33): Eve

GOLIA 26(Latin preceding v. 81): Goliath

GRISILD, GRISILLE 36.149: the patient Grisilde of Chaucer's "Clerkes Tale"

HABRAHAM: see ABRAHAM

IACOB 16.4; 26(Latin preceding v. 25): Jacob

IAMYS[1] 21.38: the Apostle, son of Alpheus

IAMYS[2] 21.54, 56: the Apostle, called the Greater; son of Zebedee

IEORGE, IORGE 31.1, 9: St. George

IEROME 52.22: St. Jerome

IEWIS [pl.] 35.155; IUDEIS 26(Latin preceding v. 65): Jews

IHESU, IHESU CRIST 9.1; 10.1, etc.; 21.18; 35.144; 46.3; 48.93; 49.7; 51.96: Jesus Christ.

[gen. s.] CRISTES, -IS 35.145; 48.10, etc.; CRESTIS 48.118

IOACHYM 21.9, 25: traditional name of the father of the Blessed Virgin

IOB 16.8; 26(Latin preceding v. 41): Job

IOHUN 21.54: John the Evangelist

IOHUN BAPTIST 21.20, 23; 26(Latin preceding v. 1): John the Baptist

IONAS 26(Latin preceding v. 9); 48.15: Jonah

IORDANIS 26(Latin preceding v. 1): the River Jordan

IOSEPH[1] 16.5; 21.17: St. Joseph, husband of the Blessed Virgin

IOSEPH[2] 21.38, 40: son of Alpheus

IOSEPH, -E[3] 36[1].101; 48.18: Joseph, of the Old Testament

ISAAC, YSAAC 16.3; 26(Latin preceding v. 17): Isaac

ISAYE 17.1, 2: the Old Testament Book of Isaiah vii, 14; ix, 6

ISRAEL, YSRAELL 26(Latin preceding v. 73); 48.42: Israel

IUDAS, IUDAS SCARIOTH 26(Latin preceding v. 65); 35.20: Judas

IUDE 21.37: son of Alpheus, probably to be identified with Judas Jacobi, brother of James; cf. Luke vi, 16; Acts i, 13

KAMES: see CAYM

LUCIFERE 43.4: Lucifer

MAHOUN 35.62: Mahomet

MARI, MARY[1] 21.30, 34: allegedly the daughter of St. Anne and her second husband, Cleopas

MARY[2] 21.47: allegedly the daughter of St. Anne and her third husband, Salomas

MARIA, MARY, -E[3] 11.66; 21.15, 17, 24; 26(Latin preceding v. 58); 50.26: the Blessed Virgin

MOYSES 16.6; 48.40: Moses

NASABATH 21.3: wife of "ysakar" and mother of St. Anne; apparently no Scriptural or (extant) Apocryphal basis for the name; see note

NAZARETH 24.13: Nazareth

OLIUEET 10.11: the Mount of Olivet

OSEE 17.3: the Old Testament Book of Hosea xiii, 14

PHILIPEN 17.4: the New Testament Epistle to the Philippians ii, 7-9

PILAT, -E, SIRE POUNCE 35.142, 147, etc.: Pontius Pilate

POWLE 36.147: St. Paul

SAKARY 21.19: Zacharias, or Zachary, husband of Elizabeth and father of John the Baptist

SALAMON 36.9; 58.1: King Solomon

SALOMON 21.43: Salomas, or Salome, allegedly the third husband of St. Anne

SAMWELL 48.44: Samuel; for Samuel's prayer when the Israelites demanded a king, see 1 Sam. viii, 5-9

SATHAN 46.39, 53: Satan

SENEK 64.8: Seneca

SEWZAN, SUSANNE 36.137: Susanna, in the Apocrypha (and in Dan. xiii of the Vulgate)

SYMON 21.37: Simon, son of Alpheus

YNGLONDE 65/48: England

YSAKAR 21.2: Ysachar, father of St. Anne, according to the apocryphal Gospel of the Pseudo-Matthew ("A"-Codex)

ZEBEDE 21.49: Zebedee, father of John the Evangelist

Number 1[1,2]. "The Seven Virtues *versus* the Seven Deadly Sins" (Number 469 in the *Index of Middle English Verse*, ed. Carleton Brown and R. H. Robbins [New York, 1943]). The two versions are not directly related in textual transmission, but are derived from a common source. At any rate, such a relationship best explains the corruption which is evident in the second version. The manuscript in which Number 1[1] occurs is dated *ante* 1500; that in which 1[2] occurs, *ante* 1525. Both these MSS include didactic verse on the Creed, the Ten Commandments, and the like: those elements of the Christian faith which may be readily versified and cast into the framework of numerical formula.

The opposition of the Seven Deadly Sins and their corresponding Virtues is of course a medieval commonplace. It may be traced perhaps to Hugo of St. Victor (d. 1141) or to his fellow-Franciscan St. Bonaventura (d. 1274); cf. Edmund Moore, *Studies in Dante; Second Series: Miscellaneous Essays* (Oxford, 1899), pp. 190-194.

There seems to be no tradition of brief, rhymed exposition of the Virtues *versus* the Sins, designed to instruct and edify the reader or listener. Since both versions of Number 1 occur in collections of verse which may be traced to Abp. Peckham's *Constitutions* through the *Lay Folks Catechism* (see notes to Numbers 2-9, 11, 13),

(Number 1, continued)

it is probable that Number 1 was modeled on similar treatments of the Sins alone; cf. the notes to Number 6.

[1].2. Aȝens] syncopated spelling, but appears to have full disyllabic pronunciation.

8. auaryce: weres] the reading in [2] was perhaps influenced by the formula which seems to have appeared frequently in Middle English devotional verse, e. g. in the Lay Folks Mass Book, ed. T. F. Simmons (EETS 71; 1879), v. 583: ". . . þou vs kepe fro alkyns were."

[1].15. slene] scribal -e, apparently not pronounced.

[1].16. leden] -en apparently not pronounced.

Number 2. "The Four Cardinal Virtues" (Number 475 in the Index of Middle English Verse). The four Cardinal Virtues may be traced to the Platonic fourfold system of Wisdom, Temperance, Courage, and Justice (Republic, IV, 427-434; Laws, I, 631). In the Summa, I-II, qu. lxii, St. Thomas incorporates these into the Christian tradition, along with the Theological Virtues, as Prudentia, Justitia, Fortitudo, and Temperantia. In Abp. Peckham's Constitutions of 1281 (Concilia Magnæ Britanniæ et Hiberniæ, ed. David Wilkins [London, 1737], II, 54-7) the order is Prudentia, Temperantia, Justicia, and Fortitudo. The Lay Folks Catechism (ed. T. F. Simmons and H. E. Nolloth [EETS 118; 1901], vv. 380-446) arranges them thus: Justicia, Prudentia, Fortitudo, and Temperantia; this order follows Abp. Thoresby's Latin. None of these corresponds to the order in Number 2.

The order of the four Cardinal Virtues is clearly of little importance. It seems justifiable then to ignore it in demonstrating the dependence of Number 2 upon the Lay Folks Catechism. The latter treats the Virtues at greater length, but the following verbal correspondences between Number 2 and the two versions of the Catechism (that commissioned by Abp. Thoresby and the so-called Wycliffite version) suggest a close relationship:

1. Be ryȝtwys] Thoresby: rightwisnes; Wycliffite: Ryȝtwysnesse

(Number 2, continued)

3. Be prudent and ware] Thoresby: sleȝh or sleghness; Wycliffite: warnesse and sleyȝte

5. Kepe mesure] Thoresby: methe or methefulnesse; Wycliffite: Mesure

7. by stronge] Thoresby: strength or stalworthnesse; Wycliffite: Strengthe

It will be seen from this series of correspondences that Number 2 owes much to the Lay Folks Catechism--especially to the "Wycliffite" version--and its tradition. There is not enough evidence to prove direct dependence, but the close correspondences suggest that the "Wycliffite" version was the link between the English verses commissioned by Abp. Thoresby and Number 2.

Number 3. "The Three Theological Virtues" (Number 505 in the Index of Middle English Verse). St. Thomas says that these are called "theological" virtues because "Deum habent pro objecto," Summa, I-II, qu. lxii, art. 1. They are derived of course from Cor. xiii, 1.

1-2. Byleue in god, etc.] cf. the Creed, in William Maskell, Ancient Liturgy of the Church of England (3d ed.; Oxford, 1882), pp. 72-76: "Credo in unum Deum. Patrem omnipotentem. Factorem coeli et terræ"; and the English verse in the Lay Folks Mass Book, ed. T. F. Simmons (EETS 71; 1879), vv. 205-208:

> I beleue in god, ful of myȝhte,
> þat al has wroghte,
> Heun [sic] and erthe,
> and al of noghte. (Text E: XV century)

Cf. the echo, in different surroundings, in Number 46.65-66: "I fownde hit full oft/ How god þat all thyng wroght...."

Number 4. "þe gostly werkis of mercy" (Number 660 in the Index of Middle English Verse). Although the Corporal Works of Mercy are mentioned specifically in Scripture (Matt. xxv, 41), the Biblical source of the Spiritual Works is not clear. They seem to be a product of post-canonical times and were not officially and universally included in the Catechism until the approval of the Catechismus Romanus at the end of the Council of Trent (1566); cf. the note to Number 13.

Although the Spiritual Works do not appear in Abp. Peckham's Constitutions, the English verse catechism commissioned by Abp. Thoresby is obviously the inspiration, if not the source, of Number 4; cf. Lay Folks Catechism, vv. 366-373:

> Ane is to consaile and wisse tham that er will.
> A nothir is to withdrawe tham that will wirk ill.
> The third is to solace tham that er sorrowfull.
> The ferthe is to pray for tham that er sinful.
> The fifte is to be tholemode when men misdos us.
> The sext gladly to forgyf when men has greued us.
> The seuent when men asked us for to her tham, if we can mare than thai for to lere tham.

The order of the Works in Abp. Thoresby's Latin and in the English verse of the "Wycliffite" version of the Catechism differs from this version and from that in Number 4.

The MS in which Number 4 occurs (along with Numbers 6 and 13) is dated a. 1400; these verses must have been

(Number 4, continued)

shortly after the appearance of Abp. Thoresby's version, which is dated 1357. Numbers 4, 6, and 13 are a link, therefore, in the tradition of vernacular verse instruction which begins with the Lay Folks Catechism and continues through the fifteenth century.

Number 5. "The vij. Peticions to the ffader" (Number 784 in the Index of Middle English Verse). The Scriptural source is Matt. vi, 9-13. The Lord's Prayer was undoubtedly one of the first elements of the Christian faith to be translated into English, since it was usually required that the humblest parishioner know the prayer before he could be granted the sacrament of confession. The English version of the Lord's Prayer which occurs in the Lay Folks Catechism, pp. 7-8, explains each "askynge" (v. 68), which corresponds to the "peticion" of Number 5, in about fifteen lines of rude verse, most of which is unrhymed. The prayer itself occurs in the Lay Folks Mass Book, ed. T. F. Simmons (EETS 71; 1879), pp. 46-47:

> When þis is done, saye priuely...
> pater-noster first in laten,
> and sithen in englishe als here is wryten.
> Fader oure, þat is in heuen,
> blessid be þi name to neuen.
> Come to vs þi kyngdome,
> oure mysdedes forgyue vs ay,
> als we do hom þat trespas us,
> right so haue merci vp-on vs.
> and lede vs in no foundynge,
> bot shild vs fro al wicked þinge. Amen
> (Text B: Brit. Mus. Royal 17. B. XVII; XV century)

Compared with this rough "verse," the rhyme royal stanza of Number 5 is a relatively sophisticated form.

(Number 5, continued)

The concept of the Lord's Prayer as a series of "peticions" seems to have been common, at least in the fifteenth century; for example, cf. this passage from an unpublished sermon on the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, etc. (in Camb. Univ. Lib. MS Dd. 1. 1, f. 251[a]): "Pater noster. In þis orison ben seuene biddynges to putten out of a mennes soule þe seuen dedly Synnes...."; cf. also "The Pater Noster Translated," Minor Poems of John Lydgate, ed. H. N. MacCracken (EETS cvii; 1911), v. 3: "Graunt vs these petycions seven."

4. 6 debito nostris] this side-note is inexplicable, since "dettys" is not the sixth "peticion," nor is the note in the proper place.

5. cite caritas] perhaps indicates that this verse was intended for oral presentation, as a guide to a preacher delivering an exposition of the prayer; after reading v. 5, it would be natural to pause in order to mention the virtue of charity.

7. thought, word, & dede] from the General Confession, said near the beginning of the Mass, as in Maskell, Ancient Liturgy of the Church of England (3d ed.; Oxford, 1882), p. 14 [Sarum use]; cf. the Lay Folks Mass Book, vv. 71-73: "In thoght, in speche, & in delite/ In worde, & werk I am to wite/ and worth to blame" (Text B). The phrase, in its several variations, occurs frequently

(Number 5, continued)

in Middle English verse; cf. F. A. Patterson, Middle English Penitential Lyric (New York, 1911), No. 3, v. 10; No. 1, vv. 7-8. In this study, see Number 19.53. The Doxology, which today follows "deliver us from evil," is not in the Vulgate or the Catechism, and was not introduced into the Anglican Book of Common Prayer until 1661 (Lay Folks Catechism, pp. 105-106).

Number 6. "The Seven Deadly Sins" (Number 802 in the Index of Middle English Verse). The Seven Deadly Sins, as they occur in the Middle Ages, are extra-canonical in origin. The earliest reference is probably that which is to be found in Cassian (d. 448); cf. Edmund Moore, Studies in Dante; Second Series: Miscellaneous Essays (Oxford, 1899), pp. 184-185. In the Lay Folks Catechism, vv. 447-560, the English verse on the Seven Deadly Sins does not correspond exactly to Number 5. The most common order (e. g., in Abp. Thoresby's Latin; Chaucer's "Persones Tale"; Wiclif's Trialogus; and in Dante) is pride, envy, wrath, sloth, avarice, gluttony, and lechery; but in Abp. Peckham's Constitutions and in the Lay Folks Catechism, sloth and gluttony are interchanged. Throughout the Middle Ages, however, there was never any established order, or even any agreement concerning the names of the Sins. See Moore, op. cit., pp. 190-195.

The order of the Sins was clearly unimportant to the versifier responsible for Number 6. His simple little rhyme has no purpose other than that of teaching their names. If, as seems probable (cf. note to Number 4), this verse is a link in the tradition of religious instruction in verse, one may suppose that the author abbreviated and rearranged his material in order that it might be adapted to mnemonic rather than to exegetical purposes.

Number 7[1,2,3]. "The Five Spiritual Senses." (Number 1126 in the Index of Middle English Verse). None of the three versions (the MSS in which the first two occur are dated a. 1500; that in which the third occurs, XV century) exhibits important variations from the others. The differences in orthography are purely scribal; the omissions in [2].9 and [3].12 can be explained by assuming written, not oral transmission: it is unthinkable that a scribe could omit a rhyme-word or an entire line--including the rhyme word--if he depended upon his memory to reproduce the verse. If one can assume an audience that memorized verses such as Number 7, it seems clear that members of the same audience did not record such material. This task was reserved, at least in this case, for the "teacher."

The Spiritual Senses which occur in Number 7 are exactly paralleled, although not in order of presentation, in the Lay Folks Catechism which lists the "fyue Inwyttis" as "Wyl./ Resoun./ Mynd./ ymaginacioun./ and thogth." (Wycliffite version: vv. 349-350).

6. Cf. an expanded treatment of the same theme in Number 56.15-21.

[2].9. scribe apparently misled into omitting this line because both vv. 9 and 10 began with "Ymagyne" in his copy-text.

[3].12. omission of "blis" perhaps caused by scribe's failure to understand "heuyn" as a genitive.

Number 8. "The .x. Commaundementys" (Number 1393 in the Index of Middle English Verse). The Index erroneously describes this verse as two stanzas rhyme royal. After the two final unrhymed lines, however, there begins a verse on the five senses.

The primary sources of the Ten Commandments are Exod. xx and Deut. v. Number 8 follows the order and method of division found in the former, as does the Lay Folks Catechism (the version commissioned by Abp. Thoresby, vv. 174-255; the Wycliffite version follows the order of Deuteronomy).

The bewildering shifts in grammatical construction in this verse indicate that its purpose is merely to present the Commandments in rhymed form, in as brief compass as possible, in order that they might be memorized with ease.

8. housband] a natural interpolation to correspond to the vxorem of Exodus; it was thus fitted equally well to both male and female parishioners.

Number 9. "The vij. sacramentys to the sone" (Number 1658 in the Index of Middle English Verse). The doctrine of the Seven Sacraments was not formulated until the twelfth century; Hugo of St. Victor (d. 1141) still enumerated no fewer than thirty sacraments (Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, ed. James Hastings [Edinburgh, 1920], X, 905). St. Thomas enumerates the Seven Sacraments as they occur in Number 9 (Summa, III, qu. lxv, art. 2), which is also the same as that in the Lay Folks Catechism, vv. 269-347. Although Number 9 is cast into the form of a prayer, its mechanical exposition of the Seven Sacraments shows that it was intended merely to teach their names (see note to vv. 6-7 below).

4. the to receyue] a similar reluctance to employ the term "Eucharist," a word perhaps unfamiliar to the laity, occurs in the Lay Folks Catechism, v. 316, which designates this Sacrament "the sacrament of the auter."

6-7. Ordre. . . in Chirche] Holy Orders of course had no personal significance for the laity; its inclusion betrays the purpose of the verse: to teach the names of the Sacraments.

Number 10. "The Five Wounds as Payment for the Seven Deadly Sins" (Number 1707 in the Index of Middle English Verse). The Five Wounds were (and are) not a part of the catechism. "Corresponding to the Mass 'Humiliavit' in the Roman Missal, there was in medieval Missals a special Mass said in honor of Christ's wounds. . . . It was indulgenced by Innocent VI (1362) or John XXII (1334). It was popularly held that if anyone should say or hear it on five consecutive days, he should never suffer the pains of Hell fire." (Catholic Encyclopedia, XV, 714). Émile Mâle, L'Art religieux de la fin du moyen âge en France (Paris, 1908), p. 100, suggests that the devotion to the Five Wounds--"Cette forme nouvelle de la piété remonte peut-être jusqu'à saint Bernard, s'il est vrai qu'il soit l'auteur de l'hymne qu'on lui attribue. C'est une suite d'apostrophes pathétiques qui s'adressent à toutes les parties du corps de Jesus-Christ qui souffrirent pour les hommes." The hymn attributed to St. Bernard occurs in H. A. Daniel, Thesaurus hymnologicus (Leipzig, 1855-1856), IV, 224.

The usual number of wounds is five; Number 10 adds two to these (the first two) in order that they may correspond to the Seven Deadly Sins. In the fifteenth century, by a series of computations based upon St. Anselm, the

(Number 10, continued)

number of wounds reached the prodigious figure of 5, 475--and even 547, 500; cf. Religious Lyrics of the XVth Century, ed. Carleton Brown (Oxford, 1939), pp. 322-323.

The mechanical parallelism and resulting tedium of Number 10 suggests that its primary purpose was to provide the layman with a memorable formula; a secondary purpose was undoubtedly monitory: to appeal to one's sense of pathos in order that the Sins might be avoided. Number 10 thus provides a link with the general category of didactic verse which has been designated "monitory." Only the use of the numerical formula connects Number 10 with the tradition of didactic verse which received its impetus from Abp. Peckham's Constitutions. For the order in which the Sins and Virtues occur, see the notes to Number 6.

Number 11. "The Five Bodily Senses" (Number 2314 in the Index of Middle English Verse). The arrangement of the Five Senses in Number 11 follows that which occurs in the Lay Folks Catechism, but differs from others, e. g., that in Chaucer's "Persones Tale," v. 958: "sighte, herynge, smellynge, tastynge, or savourynge, and feelynge." St. Thomas puts sight first because it is least material (Summa, I, qu. lxxxiv, art. 2).

Number 11 occurs in a MS which includes other religious material which is easily reducible to a numerical formula. Although the Bodily Senses have no precedent in the Constitutions, of Abp. Peckham, the development of their exposition in English verse is a natural outgrowth of the tradition which made such extensive use of numerical formulas as mnemonic devices.

4. quan þu xalt þe schryue] elliptical for "when thou confessist, acknowledge that thou hast sinned in. . ."
6. syȝt seynge] "seynge" is pleonastic.
29. thowth] a subjunctive form?
31. mayth] apparently an analogical -th inflection on a preteritive present verb; see also v. 51.
48. frende or fon] both plural.
49. Or towchynge þin owyn synne] the implication is perhaps similar to that contained in the Lay Folks Catechism,

(Number 11, continued)

version commissioned by Abp. Thoresby, v. 334: "handlyng or towchyng of membris."

52. towch] a subjunctive form?

65-80. The inconsistent use of pronouns suggests that the true purpose of the verses--the exposition of the Five Senses--had already been fulfilled, and that the versifier grew more careless than usual in composing this conclusion.

Number 12. "The vij. ȝeftys to the holy Gost" (Number 2569 in the Index of Middle English Verse). The source of the Gifts is Isaiah xi, 2-3: "Et requiescet super eum spiritus Domini: spiritus sapientiæ, et pietatis. Et replebit eum spiritus timoris Domini..." Number 12 disregards this arrangement completely, but it is observed more consistently in other examples of Middle English verse (cf., for example, F. A. Patterson, Middle English Penitential Lyric [New York, 1911], Number 3, vv. 71-77: "understandynge...wysdome...counseyle...science...strength... pyte...drede"). It will be observed that some of the Gifts are identical with the Seven Virtues (see Number 1); St. Thomas, Summa, II-II, qu. viii, ix, xxiv, xlv, etc., attempts to account for these correspondences, not always with complete consistency.

Like Numbers 9 and 10, this verse is put into the form of a prayer, but its purpose--emphasized by the underlining in the MS--is obviously to teach the names of the Gifts. Although similar verses do not occur in the tradition of the Lay Folks Catechism, it is probable that Number 12 is a natural extension of the habit of teaching religious matters by means of rhyme and numerical formula.

Number 13. "þe bodily werkis of mercy" (Number 3486 in the Index of Middle English Verse). The source of the first six Bodily Works is Matt. xxv, 34-46; the seventh (burial of the dead) occurs in Tobias i. The Lay Folks Catechism, vv. 349-363, follows the Scriptural order: 1) to feed the hungry; 2) to give drink to the thirsty; 3) to clothe those without clothing; 4) to harbor the harborless; 5) to comfort those in prison; 6) to visit the sick; 7) to bury the dead. The versifier responsible for Number 13 has evidently rearranged the order so that he might improve his rhymes. In order to make the verses easier to memorize, he has also compressed the fourteen lines of the Lay Folks Catechism to seven.

Number 14. "The Five Qualities of Christ" (Number 3729 in the Index of Middle English Verse). There is no single Scriptural source for the Five Qualities of Christ. They seem to have been derived from disparate sources (e. g., Ps. lxxxix [xc in the Vulgate] which makes mention of misericordia, veritas, potencia, and justicia; for the fifth Quality, sapiencia, cf. 1 Cor. i, 24: "Ipsis autem uocatis, Iudæis atque Græcis, Christum Dei uirtutem, et Dei sapientiam"; or Col. ii, 3: "In quo [sc. Christ] sunt omnes thesauri sapientiæ et scientiæ absconditi"). Although there is nothing which corresponds to Number 14 in the Lay Folks Catechism, it is probable that the former was modeled upon the latter's tradition of religious teaching by means of rhyme and numerical formula. It is almost certain that the verses were used for the purpose of instructing the laity, since they occur in a collection of sermones ad populum.

1. ȝeuon] the o apparently represents the schwa in this unaccented syllable, as in leuon, v. 8.

5(Latin preceding). rescribit] "to write again"; in this rubric, and in that preceding v. 7, perhaps to be translated "replies"; the purpose of the rubric is obscure.

9-10. This couplet represents a fairly effective and dramatic negation of the grim hopelessness expressed in vv. 1-8.

Number 15. "Ten Remedies Against Venial Sins" (Number 3866 in the Index of Middle English Verse). The source of these lines is the Fricke of Conscience, ed. Richard Morris (The Philological Society's Early English Volume; London, 1865), vv. 3398-3423, which reveals only minor variants. Number 15 represents an example, in expanded form, of the tradition which employed rhyme and numerical formulas to promote religious knowledge. It is an elaboration of the method of the Lay Folks Catechism, which was ultimately derived from Abp. Peckham's Constitutions.

The Ten Remedies represent varieties of penance; no patristic source has been found, but St. Thomas, Summa, III, qu. lxxiv, art. 2, states that the acts of the penitent are the proximate matter of the Sacrament of Penance.

Number 19, which precedes Number 15 in the MS, contains a reference to St. Augustine; but it seems that there is no treatment of ten remedies for venial sins in his authentic works. He mentions the efficacy of baptism, of almsgiving, and of daily prayer in the De Civitate Dei, ed. J. E. C. Weldon (London, 1924), II, 570-578. There is a similar discussion in the Sermones post Maurinos reperti (of doubtful authenticity), ed. D. G. Morini, Miscellanea Agostiniana (Rome, 1930), I, 442-450.

2. for-doys] -s in pres. pl. is a characteristic of the Northern dialect; individual occurrences are not noted.
3. I now rede] suggests that the verses were intended to be read aloud.

(Number 15, continued)

12. gyften] formed perhaps on analogy with gyft, sb.

21. þe poyt] not identified; in view of the proverbial nature of the following quotation, it is possible that "the poet" is merely a conventional attribution.

22. De minimis granis, etc.] listed by W. W. Skeat, Early English Proverbs (Oxford, 1901), pp. 124-125, along with vernacular versions which, however, normally take the form of that found in Chaucer's "Persones Tale," v. 362: "The proverbe seith: - that many smale maken a greet."

Number 16. "The Worthies of the Old Testament" (Number 109 in the Index of Middle English Verse). Number 16 is a paraphrase of the following Latin passage, which immediately precedes it in the MS:

> Iam innocenciam abel audiui. obedenciam habrahe. constanciam ysaac. tolleranciam Iacob. Saltimoniam [error for Sanctimoniam] Ioseph. Iussticiam moysi. miserricordiam dauid. paciencian Iob.

The transcript of Number 16 has been compared with another, made from a photostat, by L. C. Sherman, formerly of the staff of the Middle English Dictionary, University of Michigan. Mr. Sherman was uncertain of hede, v. 6, but it is clear enough in the microfilm copy (see Description of Manuscripts).

Number 16 is the earliest example selected for use in the present study (MS dated c. 1250). The mono-rhyme stanza is the crudest variety of mnemonic device, but it was doubtless sufficient for its purpose: to enable the listener to memorize the names of the "worthies" and their several qualities. Such knowledge would in turn recall a large portion of Old Testament narrative.

6. 7] the symbol for and; unique occurrence in this study.

Number 17. "Riddles from Scripture" (Number 496 in the Index of Middle English Verse). It is impossible to be certain of the date of Number 17, which occurs in a MS of varied contents and date. From the evidence of the hand, the date may be estimated as the end of the fourteenth or beginning of the fifteenth century. As. G. R. Owst points out, Preaching in Medieval England (Cambridge, 1926), p. 328, "The more practised orators of the pulpit were never slow to make whatever 'play' they could out of carefully chosen words, forced etymologies, and the like." Although the author of Number 17 may not have been "practised," his purpose is clear: to stimulate his listeners' curiosity and thereby to impart religious knowledge to them.

1. Cf. Isaiah vii, 14.
2. Isaiah ix, 6. There is a close parallel to the English verse in a lyric by Friar William Herebert (d. 1333), Number 16 in Religious Lyrics of the XIVth Century, ed. Carleton Brown (Oxford, 1924):

> Gret wonder þys was
> Þat on wommon was moder
> To uader and hyre broder....
> Þou my suster and moder
> And þy sone my broder. (vv. 3-5, 7-8)

3. Hosea xiii, 14.
4. Phil. ii, 7-9.

Number 18. "A Vision of Hell" (Number 637 in the Index of Middle English Verse).. The apparent source of much of Number 18 is the Pricke of Conscience, ed. Richard Morris (The Philological Society's Early English Volume; London, 1865); parallel passages are noted individually below. Number 18 is not merely a memorial reconstruction of parts of the longer poem; it is rather a conscious re-working which involved considerable condensation. The result is a series of verses which are not without vigor, and which might easily be memorized.

The tone and purpose of Number 18 should be compared with that of Number 39. The former is intended primarily to enumerate the pains of hell; the latter contains a warning to the listener or reader. For the ultimate source of the pains of hell, see the notes to Number 39.

Preceding Number 18 in the MS is a description in prose of "a vysion of saules þat war dampned & put to helle after þe jugement / & how þai are deformed & myschapyn," each according to the mortal sin which he had committed. At the bottom of f. 74^{a}, upon which Number 18 occurs, there is a crude drawing of these seven sinners, each deformed in his peculiar way, being led into Hell-Mouth. The scribe thus employs three mediums to inculcate his lesson: prose, verse, and a graphic representation. The drawing of course had to be seen in order to be effective; Number 18, however, could have been read aloud and memorized.

(Number 18, continued)

1. The speaker is Satan.

16. as clerkis wate] a formulized appeal to authority, used merely as a rhyme-tag.

17-24. Pricke of Conscience, vv. 6603-6634.

25-28. Ibid., vv. 6637-6644.

29. Ibid., 6681-6684.

30. Ibid., 6796-6797.

31. Ibid., 6699-6702 and 6733-6734.

32. Ibid., 6841-6844.

33. Ibid., 7058-7060.

34. Ibid., 7097-7099.

Number 19. "Augustine on Venial Sins" (Number 806 in the Index of Middle English Verse). The source of the rubric is Prov. xxiv, 16 (Prov. x-xxv are called Parabolæ Salominis in the Vulgate): "Septies enim cadet justus, et resurget; impij autem corruent in malum." The ultimate source of the material in Number 19 is the Summa casuum poenitentiæ of Raymund of Pennaforte (fl. 1238); this work also served as the basis for a portion of Chaucer's "Persones Tale," vv. 371-381, as is demonstrated by Kate Petersen, Sources of the Parson's Tale (Radcliffe College Monographs, No. 12; Boston, 1901), p. 34; and as the basis for a portion of the Pricke of Conscience, ed. Richard Morris (The Philological Society's Early English Volume; London, 1865), vv. 3446-3499. Number 19 closely parallels the last of these documents, exhibiting only unimportant variants; it is possible that the former is a work of memorial reconstruction, although a common source-text will explain its relationship to the Pricke of Conscience equally well.

Miss Petersen, op. cit., p. 34, note, was unable to determine the exact source of Raymund of Pennaforte's work in St. Augustine. An examination of St. Augustine's works has produced only scattered references to venial sin, and there is apparently no enumeration similiar to that which occurs in Number 19. Cf. St. Augustine, De spiritu et littera, Cap. xxviii, sec. 48, ed. William Bright (Oxford, 1914), p. 73; De symbolo: sermo ad catachumenos,

(Number 19, continued)

Cap. vii, sec. 15; Cap. viii, sec. 16 (Migne, Pat. lat., XL, cols. 635-636); De fide et symbolo, Cap. x, sec. 22 (Migne, Pat. lat., XL, col. 193).

2. then myster wore] "than were necessary."

4. holdes hym stylle] the confusing shift in person does not occur in the Pricke of Conscience, v. 3449: "haldes þe stylle."

32. See note to v. 2 above.

44. synnys] a variant of synnerys? Cf. Number 7[3].2. dwellus] -s in pres. pl. is a feature of Northern dialect.

51. Paraphrases the Latin rubric preceding v. 1.

53. thowt or ded or speche] from the General Confession; cf. the note to Number 5.7.

Number 20. "Abel and Eli" (Number 1266 in the Index of Middle English Verse). It is probable (see note to v. 4) that this poem was employed by a speaker, probably a preacher, for the purpose of instruction. It could have been used either to illustrate the virtue of continence or as a simple explanation or expansion in verse of a sermon text.

1. This unrhymed line perhaps serves as a sort of sub-title or introductory statement; there is no mention of the "double corn" (crop) in the Scriptural source: Gen. iv, 3-4.

4. as I shall deuyse] although a ubiquitous formula, this direct address may indicate that the verse was intended to be read aloud.

6. This unrhymed line seems to serve the same function as v. 1; the Scriptural source is 2 Kings ii, 11 (4 Regum ii, 11, in the Vulgate)

9. Bodie, & after] if the first word is an error for "bodile," the phrase means "bodily, and afterward."

Number 21. "A Miniature Saint's Life: St. Anne" (Number 1560 in the Index of Middle English Verse). The special appeal of any saint's life is of course its human quality. The author of Number 21 does not present the emotional appeal of St. Anne's life in a very skilful manner; nevertheless, the essential elements are present: the ultimate realities of human life--birth, marriage, and death. The poem is so elliptical that one suspects that it served merely as a kind of ourline which could be filled in by the audience. Many of the most appealing details of St. Anne's life are omitted: e. g., her miraculous conception in old age.

The ultimate source of most of this "Life" is the Gospel of the Pseudo-Matthew, Cap. i (B-Codex), Evangelia Apocrypha, ed. Christian Tischendorf (Leipzig, 1853), p. 54, note. Details and arrangement correspond almost exactly; exceptions are noted below. S. Baring-Gould, Lives of the Saints (London, 1882), VIII [July], 567, states that "Possibly the first to assert this triple marriage [of St. Anne] was Eugisippus, in the 11th century, quoted by Leo Allatius." The traditional triple marriage continued until at least 1579, but its authenticity is today repudiated; cf. the Acta Sanctorum, ed. J. B. Sollerio, et al. (Paris and Rome, 1868), XXXIII [Julii tomus sextus], 228, 235.

The proximate source of Number 21 was perhaps some version of the Cursor Mundi, ed. Richard Morris (EETS 59, 62; 1875-6); parallels are noted below.

The Acta Sanctorum, XXXIII, 238, quotes the

(Number 21, continued)

following Latin verses, which are attributed to Jean Gerson (1363-1429), Chancellor of the University of Paris:

> Anna tribus nupsit, Joachim, Cleophæ, Salomæque;
> Ex quibus ipsa viris peperit tres Anna Marias,
> Quas duxere Joseph, Alphæus, Zebedæusque.
> Prima Jesum, Jacobum Joseph cum Simone Judam
> Altera dat, Jacobum dat tertia datque Joannem.

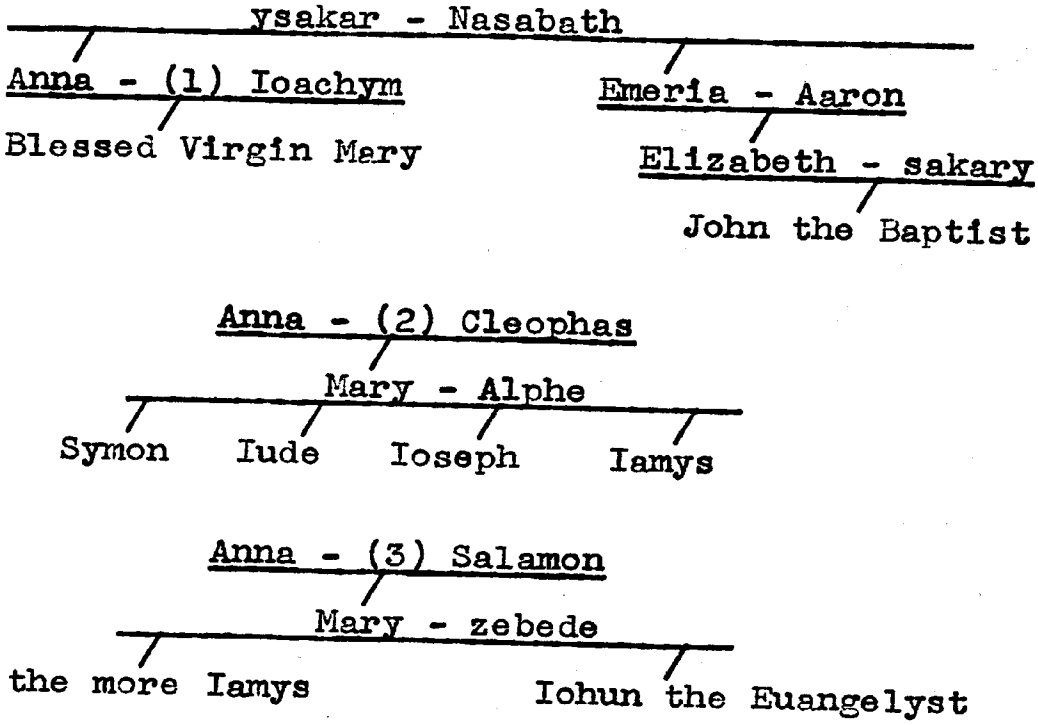
These elliptical lines suggest that the tradition of brief verses, intended solely to instruct, was not confined to England or to the English language.

It may be noted that the influential preacher and writer of the fifteenth century, John Mirk, follows the same tradition as that found in Number 21 (with one exception, noted below) in his "De Solempnitate Sancte Anne, Matris Marie, Breuis Sermo," Festial, ed. Theodor Erbe (EETS xcvi; 1905), pp. 213-216.

Number 21 is preceded in the MS by a Latin prose life of St. Anne and followed by another life in 460 lines of English verse (Middle English Stanzaic Version of the Life of St. Anne, ed. R. E. Parker [EETS 174; 1928], pp. 110-126). Both the latter follow the A-Codex of the pseudo-Matthew; passages which differ from Number 21 are noted below.

To clarify the relationships described in Number 21, the following diagram has been devised:

(Number 21, continued)



2. ysakar] Ysachar in the A-Codex of the Pseudo-Matthew, Cap. ii; but in the B-Codex and in the Evangelium de Nativitate Mariæ (Evangelia Apocrypha, p. 107) Isaschar is the "pontifex" who forces Joachim to leave the temple. The Cursor Mundi does not mention St. Anne's forebears; "ysacar," f. 10233, is the "patriarck."

3. Nasabath] not in the Pseudo-Matthew; the only Middle English parallel discovered is in the stanzaic "Life" which follows Number 21 in the MS: "Nazaphat," v. 60. This suggests that the two "Lives" have a common source. The usual names of St. Anne's parents were Stollanus and Emerentia (Acta Sanctorum, XXXIII, 235, 247).

(Number 21, continued)

7. Emeria] thus in the Pseudo-Matthew; the Acta Sanctorum, XXXIII, 236, has "Ismeria"; Cursor Mundi, v. 10148, "Ismaria."

21-24. Not in the Pseudo-Matthew; cf. Cursor Mundi, vv. 11028-11030 (version from MS Cott. Vesp. A. III): "Hir [Elizabeth's] child in wamb be gladd, / and for ioi it sett vp-right / For to wirship þat lauerd dright."

32. The line is unintelligible; the scribe has apparently copied (or recalled) the following, in an entirely different context, from the Cursor Mundi (MS Cott. Vesp. A. III), vv. 10967-10970: an angel tells Zachariah, Elizabeth's husband, that he will soon have a son named John; Zachariah answers: "Do wai, sir....I and mi wijf on ald tas, / Of barns er we passed þe pas." The version in MS Fairfax 14 clarifies the meaning: "I and my wyf of pure eld / Are past tyme child to weld." The OED, s. v. Pace, sb., cites the former, but fails to explain it adequately.

38. Symon...Iude] not in the Cursor Mundi; the four are mentioned together as sons of Joseph in the A-Codex of the Pseudo-Matthew, Cap. xxxxii [sic]; Mirk and the Acta Sanctorum agree with Number 21. The interlineations in the MS reveal the confusion in the author's (or corrector's) mind.

(Number 21, continued)

43. Salomon] "Salome" in the Pseudo-Matthew; "salomas" in the Cursor Mundi, v. 12694; the rhyme with "Cleophas" in v. 41 of Number 21 indicates that the scribe undoubtedly had "Salomas" in his copy-text.

48. Both this stock phrase and that in v. 52 were probably adopted from the secular love-lyric.

Number 22. "þe battayll of þe psalms" (Number 3269 in the Index of Middle English Verse). It was necessary that every conscientious parish priest and every boy in a chantry school should know his Psalter; Number 22 was evidently devised to aid in fulfilling this duty. Time--or perhaps John Stow, who transcribed the verses--has happily spared us a "battayll" in which one hundred two (see v. 10) or even all 149 Psalms take arms against one another. G. R. Owst, Literature and the Pulpit in Medieval England (Cambridge, 1933), pp. 114-125, has demonstrated how Biblical material was assimilated into the contemporary social fabric. What could be more natural, however tedious, than a battle of the Psalms in the tempestuous fifteenth century?

A series of verses identical in purpose with Number 22 has been printed in Reliquiæ Antiquæ, ed. Thomas Wright and J. O. Halliwell-Phillipps (London, 1841), I, 43. Forty poor men are sent to the plowman; first comes pater, then noster, and so on. Thus the plowman learns his pater-noster.

The identity of the "master blomfeld," from whose book Stow transcribed Number 22, is uncertain. He is perhaps to be identified with Miles Blomfield (1525-1574?), of whom the DNB, V, 228, says: "Blomefield was an adept in alchemy, a collector of old and curious books, and [an] author." It must be admitted, however, that there is no basis for the identification other than the name, dates, and his suitable avocation.

(Number 22, continued)

3. beatus vir] first words of Ps. i and cxii (cxi in the Vulgate); but the first is obviously intended here.

8. dominus illuminacio] Ps. xxvii, 1 (xxvi in the Vulgate); the reason for this psalm's occurrence here is obscure.

10. an .C. and ij.] significance of number obscure.

11. Quare frementum] error for Ps. ii, 1: "Quare fremuerunt...."

dominus quid] error for Ps. iii, 1: "Domine quid multiplicati sunt qui tribulant me?"

12. cum invorarem exaudiuit] error for Ps. iv, 1: "Cum invocarem...."

13. verba mea, etc.] error for Ps. v, 1: "Verba mea auribus percipe Domine...."

14. domine ne in furore] Ps. vi, 1; this is by no means the shortest of the psalms, but it is only ten verses in length (eleven in the Vulgate).

15. domine deus meus, etc.] Ps. vii, 1.

16. syr davy] this is perhaps an inaccurate recollection of some expression like that used by Langland when he says that priests and parsons "dyngen vpon dauid" (Piers Plowman, B-Text, III, 310). Skeat explains the phrase as "to practice the Psalms repeatedly," Notes and Glossary (EETS 81; 1885), p. 73. The identical rhyme occurs, however, in the contemporary poem

(Number 22, continued)

"Sarcastic Verses on the Death of the Duke of Suffolk, 1450," ed. Sir Frederick Madden, Archæologia, XXIX (1842), 319-324:

> Maister Water [sic] Liard shal syng Ne quando
> The abbot of Westmynstre, Domine, Deus meus,
> in te speraui;
> Requiem eternam graunte them alle to come to,
> Perto a Pater noster, saip the bisshop of Synt
> Dauy.

17. domine] probably refers to Ps. vii, 1, although others begin with this word.

19. dixit incipiens] error for Ps. lii, 1: "Dixit insipiens in corde suo...." Insipiens (fool) and incipiens (beginning) were perhaps pronounced similarly. The reason for the jump from Ps. viii to Ps. lii is not clear.

20. domine quis habitavit] Ps. xv, 1 (xiv in the Vulgate).

21. confirma me] error for Ps. xvi, 1 (xv in the Vulgate): "Conserua me, Domine...."

22. exaudi domine] Ps. xvii, 1 (xvi in the Vulgate).

23. diligate] error for Ps. xviii, 1 (xvii in the Vulgate): "Diligam te, Domine...." It is called longe because it contains fifty verses (fifty-one in the Vulgate).

24. cum sancto sanctleris] error for Ps. xviii, 25 (xvii, 26, in the Vulgate): "Cum sancto sanctus eris." The scribe mistook the terminal symbol for -us [sanct] for the letter l. This quotation marks the half-way

(Number 22, continued)

point in "longe <u>diligate</u>" (v. 23).

26. Celi ennarant] Ps. xix, 1 (xviii in the Vulgate).

28. exaudiat] Ps. xx, 1 (xix in the Vulgate).

30. domine ne in virtute] Ps. xxi, 1 (xx in the Vulgate).

Number 23. "Of þe relefyng of saules in purgatory" (Number 3476 in the Index of Middle English Verse). An explanation of the various ways in which purgatorial pains might be alleviated would have been useful to the ecclesiastic in medieval England. Chaucer's Parson refused to "seken hym a chaunterie for soules" (Prol. v. 510); in real life others made a good living by performing the various acts which are enumerated in Number 23. For example, see the Paston Letters, ed. James Gairdner (London, 1904), Nos. 340 and 1013 (dated 1456 and 1487).

The ultimate source of Number 23 is probably St. Augustine's Enchiridion (see note to vv. 5-6 below); the immediate source, however, is the Pricke of Conscience, ed. Richard Morris (The Philological Society's Early English Volume; London, 1865); the parallels which are cited below correspond with only minor variations.

1-4. Pricke of Conscience, vv. 3566-3569.

1. wendes] -s in pres. pl. characteristic of Northern dialect; other examples not cited in this poem.

5-6. Non est negandum, etc.] St. Augustine, Enchiridion... sive De fide, spe, et charitate, Cap. cx (Migne, Pat. lat., XL, col. 283): "Neque negandum est defunctorum animas pietate suorum viventium relevari, cum pro illis sacrificium Mediatoris offertur, vel eleemosynæ in Ecclesia fiunt."

7-10. Pricke of Conscience, vv. 3586-3589.

17-32. Pricke of Conscience, vv. 3918-3935.

Number 24. "A Description of Christ's Beauty" (Number *38 in the Index of Middle English Verse). Although Number 24 is apparently acephalous, vv. 2-45 are a complete unit. There is no Scriptural basis for Christ's appearance; the author of Number 24 must have been unaware, indeed, that St. Paul explicitly condemns men with long hair (1 Cor. xi, 14-15). Many of the details in these verses, however, may be traced to medieval notions of the optimum in physiognomy; see the notes to Number 34.

An exposition of Christ's appearance would have been useful to the medieval teacher: through such details he could make a direct appeal to his audience's desire for a feeling of community with the God-Man. It is equally obvious, however, that this function could be performed much better by means of the graphic arts--as indeed it was. It may be suggested that Number 24, or its source, is a description of a painting or statue. Such an allegation contradicts the opinion of G. R. Owst, Literature and the Pulpit in Medieval England (Cambridge, 1933), pp. 52-53:

> Among all the sermon-collections of English preachers which [Owst had studied],... of Christian iconography, strange to say, we find not a word, where we should most expect it. The symbolic art of the Churches excites no comment from our homilist, even by way of contrast.

The direct source of Number 24 is to be found in the Cursor Mundi, ed. Richard Morris (EETS 66, 68;

(Number 24, continued)

1877-92), vv. 18818-18862. Somewhere in the textual transmission, memorial reconstruction has modified the original, as the parallels cited below will demonstrate. Haenisch, who wrote the section on the sources of the Cursor (EETS 101; 1893), p. 41*, was unable to find any parallel for the lines in question.

In the twelfth century, graphic representations of Christ changed from a beardless, Hellenic hero to a figure with beard and long hair. For this change, see Walter Lowrie, Art in the Early Church (New York, 1947), p. 31; Émile Mâle, L'Art religieux du XII^e siècle en France (Paris, 1922), pp. 46, 79, and 377-426. The persistent recurrence of this typological portrait throughout the later Middle Ages lends further support to the theory that Number 24 is ultimately derived from graphic art.

1-2. Cursor Mundi (version in MS Cott. Vesp. A. III), vv. 18833-18834: "His hare like to þe nute brun, / Quen it for ripnes fals dun."

8-9. Cursor Mundi, vv. 18835-18836: "Apon his sculdres ligand wele, / Bi his eres skailand sumdele."

10-13. Cursor Mundi, vv. 18837-18838: "In hefd he had a clift [Trin. Coll. Camb. MS R. 3. 8: "sheed"] beforn,/ Als nazarens has þat þar er born."

14. Cursor Mundi, v. 18839: "His for-hed [fair], wemless

(Number 24, continued)

to sight."

15-17. Cursor Mundi, vv. 18850-18851: "His eien clere, and sumdel grai; / Clerli spak he þat he wald."

16. Cf. Cursor Mundi, v. 18857: "O suilk a moder, wel slik a child."

18-25. Cursor Mundi, vv. 18842-18844: "On nese and muth was noght at mend, / Forked fair þe chin he bare / And tender berd wit mikel hare."

28-29. Cursor Mundi, v. 18853: "In his snaiping auful was he."

30-33. Cursor Mundi, vv. 18854-18856: "In talking moght nan sa fer be. / Þat thris he wep we find i-nogh, / Bot we find neuer quar he logh."

34-37. Perhaps paralleled in Cursor Mundi, vv. 18827-18830: "Of heght he was a meteli man, / Efter þat þe men war þan; / Noþer to gret, ne right to smal, / And wonder semli was wit-al."

38-41. Cursor Mundi, vv. 18831-18832: "His chere was dredful on to loke, / And lufsum als-swa, sais þe boke."

Number 25. "Lunar Prognostics" (Number 956 in the Index of Middle English Verse). Medieval prognostics are based on the day of the month (as in Number 26), on prime, or on Christmas day. Some are attributed to "Esdra" or "Ezra"; as Hardin Craig demonstrates in his introduction to the Works of John Metham (EETS 132; 1916), p. xxxiii, the earliest version of this prophecy occurs in a Greek MS of the fourth book of Esdras. At the close of the Middle Ages, and as recently as 1760, there were numerous printed editions (ibid., p. xxxvi).

Number 25 is much briefer than many lunar prognostics. As its sub-title indicates, indeed, it is merely a series of notes or extracts. It seems probable that it is a condensation of the Middle English Storia lune (inedited) which exists in numerous MSS and usually runs to about 400 lines. In this monotonous work, there are six kinds of information for each day of the month: 1) undertakings; 2)sickness and phlebotomy; 3) dreams; 4)births; 5)journeys; 6) Biblical information. The author of Number 25 has chosen one of these categories for each day, thus rendering his verses somewhat less tedious and at the same time easier to memorize. The unusually large number of meaningless rhyme-tags perhaps aided the listener's memory. For the reliability of the information, see the notes to Number 27.

10. doo] note loss of -n; cf. v. 28.

17. stryve] apparently a substantive; the final consonant

(Number 25, continued)

was probably unvoiced, rendering the rhyme imperfect, but the author is hardly fastidious in this matter. Cf. vv. 5-6.

18. Cyteis .v.] the "Cities of the Plain," Gen. xviii-xix; needless to say, the relationship to the seventeenth day of the month is purely arbitrary. See also Number 43.45.

Number 26. "The Twelve Signs of the Zodiac" (Number 1253 in the Index of Middle English Verse). The relationship of this poem to Number 25 is simple: the author of Number 26 has merely cast the same varieties of information (see the notes to Number 25) into an astrological pattern. This exposition of the Signs follows the customary medieval system; any variations have been compared below with three representative treatments. For a possible source, see the notes to Number 28.

No source has been found for the Latin rubrics. It has not been though necessary to translate them except where uncertain readings occur.

10. Obscure.

17. Et a] perhaps indicates that the scribe was translating his English verse from a Latin original, not from the prose rubrics.

19. Traditionally Aries "rules" in the head only.

27. Herte & throte] Leo traditionally "rules" the heart; cf. the note to v. 51. There is no general agreement about Taurus: David Riesman, Story of Medicine in the Middle Ages (New York, 1935), p. 101, states that it ruled in neck and shoulders; according to an unpublished table in MS Digby 88 (the MS in which Number 26 also occurs), f. 29^{b}, Taurus rules in "þe necke & þe throte"; in "A Pageant of Knowledge," Minor Poems of John Lydgate, Part II, ed. H. N. MacCracken (EETS 192; 1934),

(Number 26, continued)

pp. 729-730, it rules in throat alone.

35. shulder & Armys] cf. note to v. 27; Riesman: arms and hands; MS Digby 88: "shuldres armys & handys"; Lydgate: arms.

51. stomake, backe, & side] cf. note to v. 27; Riesman: heart and mouth of stomach; MS Digby 88: "þe herte & þe stomake"; Lydgate: heart.

60. bowellis & lyver] "lyver" occurs only in MS Digby 88.

67. It is impossible to supply a conjectural reading for the blank in the MS. Cf. Riesman: kidneys; MS Digby 88: "þe lyndes and þe vesise" (loins and abdomen); Lydgate: merely "lower downe" than the area ruled by Virgo.

74. waters] apparently a genitive, probably singular.
holte] from "holdeth," by syncopation and assimilation; the -e probably not pronounced.

75. in generallis] traditionally, the genitals.

88(Latin preceding). The word following matris is perhaps an error for consilio. Rebecca's counsel was often alluded to; cf. Albertanus of Brescia, Liber consolationis et consilii, ed. Thor Sundby (Chaucer Society, No. 8; London, 1873), p. 73. From Albertanus are derived similar references in Chaucer, "MarchantesTale," vv. 1362-1365; and Peter Idley's Instructions to His Son, ed. Charlotte D'Evelyn (MLA Monograph No. VI; Boston, 1935), I, 505.

Number 27. "Lucky and Unlucky Days" (Number 2131 in the Index of Middle English Verse). The tradition of prognostics based on lucky and unlucky days is at least as old as Bede (d. 735). The following passage from his De minutione sanguinis sive de phlebotomia (Complete Works of the Venerable Bede, ed. J. A. Giles [London, 1843], VI, 350) is the ultimate source of at least part of Number 27:

> Plures sunt dies Aegyptiaci, in quibus nullo modo nec per ullam necessitatem licet homini vel pecori sanguinem minuere, nec potionem impendere, sed ex his tribus maxime observandi, octavo Idus April: illo die lunis, intrante Augusto: illo die lunis, exeunte Decembre: illo die lunis, cum multa diligentia observandum est, quia omnes venæ tunc plenæ sunt. Qui in istis diebus hominem aut pecus inciderit, aut statim aut in ipso die vel in tertio morietur, aut ad septimum diem non perveniet: et se potionem quis acceperit, quindecimo die morietur: et si masculus sive mulier in his diebus nati fuerint, mala morte morientur: et si quis de auca in ipsis diebus manducaverit, quindecimo die morietur.

Following this passage on pp. 350-351 is a list of days which "a phlebotomo et purgatione, vel a qualibet incisione abstinendum est," but it does not correspond exactly to Number 27.

R. T. Hampson, Medii ævi kalendarium (London, 1841), II, 107-108, discusses "Egyptian days," and prints an Old English translation of Bede. Hampson also quotes from an unidentified edition of Bede which differs slightly from that quoted above; when Hampson's quotation is closer to Number 27, this has been noted below.

(Number 27, continued)

2. Numbers] -s in pres. pl. indicates Northern dialect; in this text there is almost complete confusion of singular and plural verb forms with plural and singular subjects; they have not been noted individually.

4. twynty] sp. marked "north. dial." in OED.

selcouth] perhaps an "eye-rhyme" with twylmonth, v. 3; the two minims in u and n are of course identical.

9-10. wys: ryse] indicates that -e not pronounced.

25-26. lythe: fyft] rhyme suggests the presence of the voiceless palatal fricative in lythe, despite spelling.

62. fortty] cf. the edition of Bede quoted by Hampson: "intra XV vel XL dies morietur."

87-90. The meaning apparently is: "Whatever man or woman is born on any of these three days, so says the prophecy, shall die before the new year (or before a year has passed)."

Number 28[1,2]. "The Four Humours and the Zodiac" (Number 688 in the Index of Middle English Verse). The corrupt nature of Number 28[2] suggests that memorial reconstruction played a part in the textual transmission. Both versions are from MSS dated a. 1500. The brevity and condensation of the lines indicate that the author consciously arranged the information in such a way that it might easily be memorized.

The ultimate source of Number 28 was probably some version of the Secreta secretorum. Although not demonstrable, it is likely that the immediate source (also perhaps of Number 26) was one of the many English translations from the Secreta. Cf. for example this extract from "The Governaunce of Prynces," dated 1422 and translated by James Yonge in Three Prose Versions of the Secreta Secretorum, ed. Robert Steele (EETS lxxiv; 1898), p. 219:

> Compleccions bene iiij^{e} for a man is sangyne, or flevmatike, or colerike, or malyncoly. And ryth vp thes foure complexcions of foure Humours of the body, whyche answaryth to the foure Elementes, and to the foure tymes of the yeere. The bloode Is hotte and moysti aftyr the lyckenesse of the heiere; ffleme is colde and moysti aftyr the kynde of watyr; Colre hoote and drye aftyr kynde of fyre; Malancoly colde and dry aftyr kynde of erthe.

Number 29. "The Manufacture of Gold" (Number 801 in the Index of Middle English Verse). According to Dorothy W. Singer, Catalogue of Latin and Vernacular Alchemical Manuscripts in Great Britain and Ireland (Brussels, 1931), I, 9-10, the source of Number 29 is to be found in the alchemical writings attributed to the Pseudo-Democritus, printed by Lazarus Zetzner, Theatrum chemicum (Strasburg, 1659-61), V, 78-83, as Distinctiones XVI-XXVI. The work of the Pseudo-Democritus is entitled Secretum super corpus, spiritus, et animam, and begins: "Scito fili quod qui albificaverit animam et exaltaverit eam et rubificaverit curpos rubeum expellando ab eo caliginem...." Similar verses to Number 29 have been printed by Elias Ashmole, Theatrum chemicum (London, 1652), p. 433. They are ascribed to George Ripley, who is alleged to have composed them in 1471.

The popularity of alchemy in the Middle Ages hardly needs documentation. Number 29 is testimony of its vulgarization, still couched, however, in the cabalistic terminology which is derived from its Latin source.

8. The two words omitted appear to be bȝ and imbi, or vȝ and imvi; it seems probable that they are abbreviations for measures of time.

Number 30. "A Husbandman's Guide" (Number 1275 in the Index of Middle English Verse). The Latin rubric preceding v. 1 may be translated "a description of a [certain] tapestry which portrays the months of the year" (cf. C. Du F. Du Cange, Glossarium mediæ et infimæ latinitatis [Paris, 1840-50], V, 62, s. v. "Pannus"). It is apparent then that Number 30 describes a tapestry which represented, by means of human figures, the months of May through December. These verses may be added to the canon of the minor literary tradition of painting- or tapestry-verse. Most of this kind of poetry, as Miss Eleanor Hammond points out in English Verse Between Chaucer and Surrey (Durham, N. C., 1927), p. 126, deals with death and "alludes to the Dance of Paul's or to some similar picture." Lydgate's "Daunce of Macabree," ed. Hammond, op. cit., pp. 131-142, is the best known poem of this type. Lydgate was also the author of "Bycorne and Chichevache," Minor Poems of John Lydgate, Part II, ed. H. N. MacCracken (EETS 192; 1934), pp. 433-438, which describes a tapestry.

Number 30 is hardly equal even to Lydgate's style; nevertheless, it is notable that some versifier thought the description worthy of being recorded. Miss Hammond has suggested in "Two Tapestry Poems by Lydgate," Englische Studien, XLIII (1910-11), 21-22, that verses like Number 30 were presented orally, as occasional pieces, perhaps

(Number 30, continued)

at unveilings. This theory must be rejected in the case of these lines on the months of the year: the rubrics and side-notes would be superfluous at such an occasion.

A complete series of almost identical representations of the months of the year occurs in MS Royal 2. B. XII, now known as Queen Mary's Psalter. This volume, dating from the fourteenth century, contains a series of miniatures, in full color, which illustrate a calendar, reproduced in monochrome in Queen Mary's Psalter: Miniatures and Drawings by an English Artist of the 14th Century. . . , introduction by Sir George Warner (London, 1912), Plates 123-146. Five of the miniatures occur in G. M. Trevelyan, Illustrated English Social History (London, 1949), I, Plates 5, 7, 27, 28, and 30. The tapestry described in Number 30 and the miniatures in Queen Mary's Psalter represent the same tradition in different media.

It may be objected that these verses give the husbandman no information but that which he already must have had. Much Middle English didactic verse, however, is filled with commonplaces; for example, see Numbers 25 and 34. The devices of personification and rhyme perhaps helped to exalt, or at least to lend dignity to, tasks which otherwise were sheer drudgery.

1(side-note). ollam] no satisfactory definition in Du Cange,

(Number 30, continued)

IV, 709, s. v. "Olla." Perhaps the word is a variant of aulam; if so, the note may be translated "she is seated in a chair before the courtyard (hall, palace?)."

2(side-note). homo seminans] in Queen Mary's Psalter, the miniature which illustrates October portrays two youths who are sowing grain.

2(rubric following). Mulier, etc.] Queen Mary's Psalter, for April: five maidens picking flowers.

3-4. Queen Mary's Psalter, for July: three men weeding, and a woman with a sheaf on her head.

4(rubric following). vrinalia] no meaning in Du Cange except the obvious one; it must mean, however, "vessels used for sprinkling arable land."

5-6. Queen Mary's Psalter, for June: three men mowing grass.

5(side-note). ffalce] "scythe, sickle."

6(rubric following). cum vanga, etc.] "with a spade [or a hoe; cf. Du Cange, VI, 732], a knife, and a plant."

7-8. Queen Mary's Psalter, for August: three men reaping grain, and a bailiff directing them.

9-10. No threshing scene in Queen Mary's Psalter.

9(side-note). torcurando] an error for or variant of torculando (Du Cange, VI, 609): "crushing grapes." Queen Mary's Psalter, for September: two men crushing grapes with their feet in a large vat.

(Number 30, continued)

11-12. Queen Mary's Psalter, for November: two men with clubs, beating oak-trees, while swine feed on the acorns.

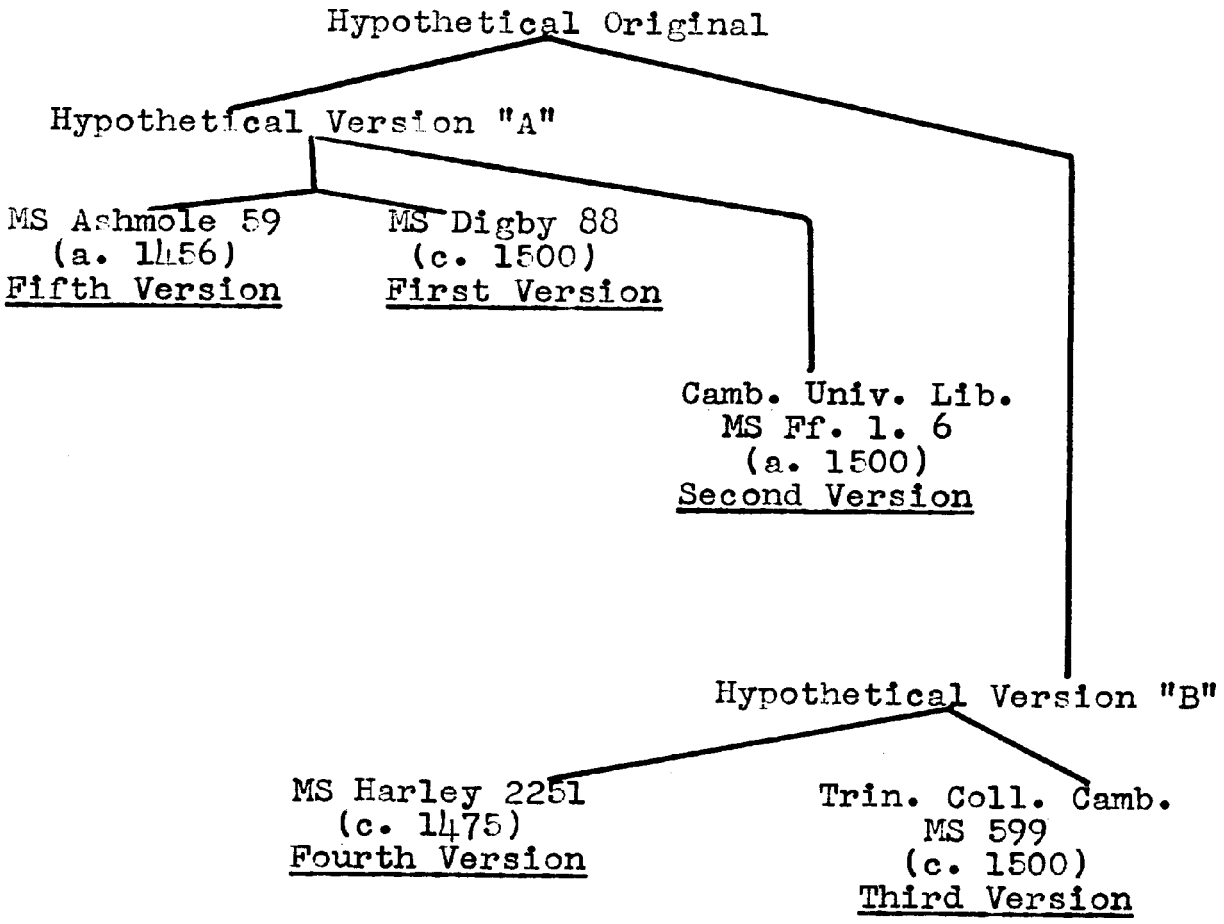
11(side-note). baculo] "flail."

13-14. Queen Mary's Psalter, for December: a man killing a pig with the back of an axe, and another butchering a pig which is suspended head downwards.

13(side-note). securo] "axe."

15(side-note). Rex sedens, etc.] "king sitting with feasters and drinkers"; Queen Mary's Psalter, for January: king, queen, and elderly man seated at table, while a cup-bearer and a harper attend them.

Number 31[1,2,3,4,5]. "The Four Humours: Physiology and Psychology" (Number 2624 in the Index of Middle English Verse). All five versions are corrupt in one line or another. The version from MS Digby 88 has been designated as the first version because of its relative textual excellence, not because of its date. The textual relationship of the five versions may be represented thus:



The MSS in which the third and fifth version occur also contain Latin passages, some version of which was the ultimate source of all five English poems; the Latin (or a portion of it) is printed in Songs, Carols, &c., from

(Number 31, continued)

Richard Hill's Balliol MS, ed. Roman Dyboski (EETS ci; 1907), pp. 139-140. All these lines are excerpts from the Latin verse of the Regimen sanitatis Salernitanum, which was composed at the very end of the eleventh century, perhaps by John of Toledo, for Robert, Duke of Normandy; cf. the sixteenth-century verse translation of the Regimen by Sir John Harington, entitled The School of Salernum, ed. F. R. Packard and F.H. Garrison (New York, 1920). It is the opinion of these editors that the Secreta secretorum "was in all likelihood the prose model of the poem," p. 61. The excerpts from the Regimen which occur along with the third and fifth versions of Number 31 are imperfect in one way or another; therefore the lines which served as the source of the English verses are quoted from the edition cited above (pp. 174-175):

[Sanguineus]

Natura pingues isti sunt atque jocantes.
Semper rumores cupiunt audire frequentes.
Hos Venus et Bacchus delectant, fercula, risus,
Et facit hos hilares, et dulcia verba loquentes.
Omnibus hi studiis habiles sunt, et magis apti.
Qualibet ex causa nec hos leviter movet ira.
Largus, amans, hilaris, ridens, rubeique coloris,
Cantans, carnosus, satis audax, atque benignus.

[Colericus]

Est et humor cholere, qui competit impetuosis
Hoc genus est hominum cupiens prœcellere cunctos.
Hi leviter discunt, multum comedunt, cito crescunt.

(Number 31, continued)

Inde magnanimi sunt, largi, summa petentes.
Hirsutus [Fifth Version: Hascucus], fallax, irascens,
prodigus, audax,
Astutus, gracilis, siccus, croceique coloris.

[Flematicus]

Phlegma vires modicas tribuit, latosque, brevesque.
Flegma facit pingues, sanguis reddit mediocres.
Otia non studio tradunt, sed corpora somno.
Sensus hebes, tardus motus, pigritia, somnus.
Hic somnolentus, piger, in sputamine multus.
Est huic sensus hebes, pinguis, facie color albus.
[this entire stanza omitted in Fifth Version]

[Malencolius]

Restat adhuc tristis choleræ substantia nigræ,
Quæ reddit pravos, pertristes, pauca loquentes.
Hi vigilant studiis, nec mens est dedita somno,
Servant propositum, sibi nil reputant fore tutum.
Invidus, et tristis, cupidus, dextræque tenacis.
Non expers frandis [error for fraudis], timidus,
luteique coloris.

None of the texts of the Secreta secretorum in Scriptores physiognomonici græci et latini, ed. Richard Foerster (Leipzig, 1893), contains material which could have served as the direct source of these lines. Number 31 is paralleled almost exactly, however, by the prose translation (1422) by James Yonge entitled "The Governaunce of Prynces," Three Prose Versions of the Secreta Secretorum, ed. Robert Steele (EETS lxxiv; 1898), pp. 219-220. The striking verbal similarities, noted below, demonstrate that Yonge's translation and Number 31 are derived from a common source.

(Number 31, continued)

Another close parallel to Number 31 is found in a section of Lydgate's "Pageant of Knowledge," Minor Poems of John Lydgate, Part II, ed. H. N. MacCracken (EETS 192; 1934), pp. 731-732. Lydgate illogically divides the material into three stanzas instead of four, treating the sanguine and phlegmatic together. Both Yonge and Lydgate, however, follow the order of the Latin, while Number 31 transposes the phlegmatic and choleric.

1. gyftys large] Lydgate: "large of dyspence," v. 197.
   love, etc.] Lydgate: "louyng," v. 197; Yonge: "sholde lowe Ioye."
3. rody color] Yonge: "ruddy of coloure."
4. Chaunter] Yonge: "sholde lowe. . .syngynge."
5. Hardy I-now] Lydgate: "of blood haþe hardynes," v. 196; Yonge: "hardy y-now."
7. demure] Yonge: "of good will and wythout malice."
8. dysseyte] Lydgate: "dysseuable," v.204.
9. Irus] Lydgate: "Wroþe sodenly," v. 206; Yonge: "lyght to wrethe."
11. Sklender & small] Lydgate: "Sclender, lene," v. 205; Yonge: "lene of body." Note that "high," the variant in 31[2], probably arises from aural error.
12. Cf. Lydgate: "Dry," v. 208; Yonge: "hote and drye."
14. Cytryne] Lydgate: "cytryne of hys colour," v. 205; Yonge: "yalowe coloure Sumwhate medelit with rede [!]";

(Number 31, continued)

cf. v. 3 above.

15. slowe] Lydgate: "slow," v. 198; Yonge: "slowe."

18. dulle conceyte] Lydgate: "oppressyd with dulnes," v. 198.

[2].19. accomplisse] the omission of "to" preceding this word probably arises from aural error; cf. "to complice," [4].19: both were influenced by the preceding "-t" in "art."

20. ffat] Yonge: "grete and fatte."

21. The omission (?) in 31[1] apparently arises from a confusion concerning this feature; the "correct" reading must be "whytnes": cf. the Regimen: albus.
Lydgate: "Whyte of vysage," v. 199; Yonge: "whyte and Pale."

[2].22. me] if not an error, perhaps the impersonal pronoun.

23. thowthfull] Yonge: "pensyfe"

[4].24. Replennysshith] aural error?

26. Trecherer ys] aural error, later justified? Cf. Glossary.
fraude] Lydgate: "Dysposyd of kynde for to be fraudulent," v. 213.

28. pale & wanne] Yonge: "blake and pale."

Number 32. "How to Detect Usury" (Number 2671 in the Index of Middle English Verse). The precepts in Number 32 echo the general tenor of medieval canon law, but they are clearly intended to inform the layman. The attitude of the medieval Church toward usury shifted in a bewildering fashion; at best, its spokesmen were decidedly loose in their definitions. St. Thomas, for example, declared that a man who lends money may, without committing a sin, arrange to receive recompense for a loss (Summa, II-II, qu. lxxviii, art. 2). The normal arrangement seems to have been, however, that "against an usurious clerk or Christian layman the royal power has no action, while he is yet alive, but he is reserved to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction to be condemned according to his rank; though, upon his death, if he had not worthily repented--i.e., directed by will that restitution should be made to those from whom he had obtained his unjust gains--his chattels were forfeited to the king." (Sir William Ashley, An Introduction to English Economic History and Theory [London, 1911], vol. I, pt. 1, p. 195, quoting and paraphrasing Dialogus, II, Ch. 10, in Select Charters, p. 229).

There was a clear need for definitions of usurious practices in medieval England. Robert Mannyng recognized this need (Handlyng Synne, ed. F. J. Furnivall [EETS 119 and 123; 1901-1903], vv. 2591-2594):

(Number 32, continued)

Okerers men oght to weyue,
ȝeue hem noght, ne of hem receyue,--
ȝyf þou wete what þey are,--
yn no manere of chaffare.

Number 31 is indeed a kind of complement to or continuation of Mannyng; it contains, moreover, a striking verbal parallel to the earlier work (noted below).

1-2. Cf. Mannyng: "Okeryngys on many manere / Mo þan y kan telle now here," vv. 2465-2466.

12. The meaning apparently is: "that is like the first kind of usury, but is less sinful."

22. Obscure; perhaps "forego [any] other interest and take nothing for it."

35. Ande if he do] surely an error for "But if" or "do not."

40. þat] modifies "mon," not "prouande."

45. okure] perhaps to be translated "by (or as) usury."

57-60. The principle attacked is closely paralleled in a prose form for excommunication in Myrc's Instructions for Parish Priests, ed. Edward Peacock (EETS 31; 1868), p. 22, which includes "okereres & vsureres that by cause of wynnyng lene her catall to her eine cristen tyl a certen day for a mor pris þen hit miȝt haue be sold in tyme of lone."

61-26. May be paraphrased "He should deduct his profit in reckoning the debt."

(Number 32, continued)

77. fore þat] "if" perhaps omitted between these words; its addition would mend both metre and sense.

84-90. The principle involved is buying grain at a low price before it is ready to be reaped.

116. wede] cf. also vv. 120, 125, 130; in his apprenticeship, Langland's Avarice learned to "legge a wedde and lese it" (Vision of William Concerning Piers Plowman, ed. W. W. Skeat [EETS 38; 1869], B-Text, V, 244); Skeat glosses wedde as "pledge," but it may be simply "garment" in Number 31; cf. note to v. 126.

126. Were] "wear".

171-172. owe: law] a curious rhyme in any dialect; it may be ascribed to the author's lack of skill.

Number 33. "A Charm Against the Nightmare" (Number 2903 in the Index of Middle English Verse). Despite the Church's repeated injunctions against the practice of magic, it continued to flourish. The charm in Number 33, with only minor variations, has persisted until the present day. To be sure, the rationalist has often scoffed at the existence of the Mare. An example of skepticism, almost contemporary with Number 33, occurs in the Breuiary by Andrew Boorde (1490-1549), in Andrew Boorde's Introduction and Dyetary, ed. F. J. Furnivall (EETS x; 1870). Boorde's opinion was "that this Ephialtes, otherwise named the Mare, the whiche doth come to man or woman when they be sleping, doth come of some euyll humour" (p. 79).

Alongside this sensible opinion, there is an unbroken chain of evidence that Number 31 was regarded as a useful document. Following the MS (dated a. 1450) in which the Middle English version occurs, the first link in the chain occurs in Thomas Blundevill's Fower Chiefest Offices belonging to Horsemanship, quoted in Notes and Queries, 6th Ser., IX (1880), 54. Blundevill's work (dated 1571 by G. L. Kittredge, Witchcraft in Old and New England [Cambridge, Mass., 1929], p. 220) repeats Number 33 almost word for word (variants noted below).

With only minor variations, the charm occurs again (1584) in Reginald Scot's Discouerie of Witchcraft, Bk. IV,

(Number 33, continued)

ch. xi, ed. Montague Summers (London, 1930), p. 49. Scot provides the link between the tradition which associated the Nightmare with horses, and that which conceived of it as a spirit (the incubus or succubus) which visited sleepers. His directions for use, after the charm has been repeated, are: "Item, hang a stone over the afflicted persons bed, which stone hath naturallie such a hole in it as wherein a string may be put through it, and so be hanged over the diseased or bewitched partie; be it man, woman, or horsse."

The rhyme in King Lear, III, iv, 125-129, substitutes St.Withold (perhaps a corruption of St. Vitalis) for St. George, but it is at least a close variant of the charm found in Number 31.

As the next link in the chain, the rhyme occurs again in drama: Fletcher's Monsieur Thomas (c. 1620), IV, vi, Dramatic Works of Ben Jonson and Beaumont and Fletcher, ed. George Coleman (London, 1811), p. 102.

Sir Thomas Browne attacks belief in the Nightmare in Pseudodoxica epidemica (c. 1630), V, xxiii, 9, Works, ed. Charles Sayle (London, 1904), II, 282, when he asks, ". . .what natural effects can reasonably be expected, when to prevent the Ephialtes or night-Mare we hang up an hollow stone in our stables. . . ?" This is evidence, at least, of the continuing existence of the belief, if not the charm.

(Number 33, continued)

John Aubrey (1626-1697), Miscellanies Upon Various Subjects (London, 1784), pp. 196-197, provides similar evidence. To protect themselves and their horses from the nightmare, he says, people "hang in a string a flint with a hole in it (naturally) by the manger [or] about their necks...."

John Brand, Observations on the Popular Antiquities of Great Britain (rev. ed.; London, 1885), III, 279-281, comments that the belief was still common "in the north of England" in his day.

The charm apparently survived throughout these years, however. It is quoted as current in the Shetland Islands, in the Encyclopedia of Superstitions, Folklore, and the Occult Sciences, ed. C. L. Daniels and C. M. Stevens (Chicago, 1903), I, 222:

> St. George, St. George, our lady's knight,
> He walked by day and he walked by night
> Until such time as he she found;
> He she beat and he she bound
> Until her troth she to him plight,
> She would not come to him that night.

The origin of the Nightmare is apparently hidden in the past. Sir James G. Frazer notes in the Golden Bough (3d ed.; New York, 1935), II, 334, that witches are thought to be particularly active on St. George's Eve.

(Number 33, continued)

1(prose preceding). growynge] Blundevill: "of hys owne kynde."

3. Omitted in Blundevill.

6. Cf. Blundevill: "Till truely hir trouth she him plyght."

6. by nyȝthe] Blundevill: "within the night."

8. Omitted in Blundevill.

Number 34. "The Optimum in Physiognomy" (Number 3285 in the Index of Middle English Verse). A knowledge of the principles of physiognomy served a very practical function in the Middle Ages. In the introduction to his compendium of physiognomy (MS dated 1448-9), John Metham, Works, ed. Hardin Craig (EETS 132; 1916), p. 120, instructs apprentices in the "science" thus:

> If ther come a persone to you, be yt man be yt woman, to speke with you for ony cause, thus schal ye knowe qwydyr thei loue off hert and drede you, or yff thei hate owgth yow and dyspyse yow in her conseyte.

Close parallels to Number 34 are found in all the Three English Prose Translations from the Secreta Secretorum, ed. Robert Steele (EETS lxxiv; 1898), pp. 39, 117, and 235-236; and in Lydgate and Burgh's Secrees of Old Philisoffres (EETS lvi; 1894), vv. 2693-2704. Pertinent variants are quoted below from these documents as Eng. prose Secreta and Secrees.

The ultimate source of Number 34, as well as of these parallels, is one of the Latin translations of the Pseudo-Aristotelian Secreta [first recension], Scriptores physiognomonici græci et latini, ed. Richard Foerster (Leipzig, 1893), II, 195-6. The brevity of the Latin suggests, however, that the immediate source was one of the more extended English redactions. The Latin is quoted below, where pertinent, as Secreta.

(Number 34, continued)

3. mediokre stature] Secreta: "mediocritas staturæ"; Secrees: "meene stature."

5. softe...fleissh] Secrees: "fleshe soffte of disposicioun."

6-7. whyte...rody...brown] Secreta: "albedo vero commixta rubedini"; Secrees: "Twen whyte and Reed in Colour"; Eng. prose Secreta: "whijt, reed, and browne."

7. black herys] Secreta: "nigredo capillorum et oculorum"; Eng. prose Secreta: "eyen and the heere blak."

8. covenale shuldrys] Secrees: "shuldrys bowe a litel mesurably"; Eng. prose Secreta: "sholdren bowe a lytill."

9. kneys] Secrees: "In leggis nor kneeys be not moche fflesshy"; Eng. prose Secreta: "with-oute greet flesh-nes yn þe knees."

10. clere of voyce] Secreta: "mediocritas in sonoritate vocis"; Secrees: "Cleer of voys"; Eng. prose Secreta: "a cleer voys."

Number 35. "Corruption in the Courts of Law" (Number 312 in the Index of Middle English Verse). This poem immediately follows Number 45 in the MS. Legal corruption of various kinds was perhaps the most persistent of the "evils of the time" in the late Middle Ages, and particularly in the fifteenth century. John Paston the Younger writes (June 15, 1465) to his father, for example, that he has been negotiating with members of a jury, in Paston Letters, ed. James Gairdner (London, 1904), IV, 150 [No. 586]:

> ...they sayd the last tyme they wer at London iche of ther costys stood hem on x s., and they wold no more come at London bot if they knew who schod pay ther costys; but me thowt by Alyngtonys man that they wold have had a brybe of yow be syd the paying for ther costys for to have bedyn at home, for they have non othyr levyng but brybys.

A society which condones professional bribe-takers as jurymen must indeed be accustomed to this evil!

Number 35 is a complaint against such practices. Like most complaints, it lists its grievances and then warns offenders. Thus it forms a link between didactic verse which merely informs the reader, and that which admonishes him.

1(rubric preceding). Acu tin ali merida] a transliteration of Ἄκουε τὴν ἄλλα μερίδα, translated by the Latin which follows.

(Number 35, continued)

1. louedays] J. W. Spargo, "Chaucer's Love-Days," Speculum XV (1940), 36-49, derives this term, upon what he admits is tenuous evidence, from ON lof (permission). His further argument (pp. 49-56) is undoubtedly correct: that they were days on which permission was granted to settle a suit out of court, although the court itself did not abandon its claim to fees. The arbiter on love-days must have received a fee, but Spargo assumes that the costs of such an action were lower than those of a regular court. A close parallel to this first line is found in a sermon printed by G. R. Owst, Literature and the Pulpit in Medieval England (Cambridge, 1933), p. 156. There is no direct connection between the passages: Number 35 is merely echoing homiletic language. For love-days, and the injustices attending them, cf. Piers Plowman, B-Text, III, 157-159, and V, 427-428; Canterbury Tales, Prol., 258.

2. bope partyes] probably a common complaint; cf. the letter (1459) to John Paston from Friar Bruckley, Paston Letters, ed. James Gairdner (London, 1904), III, 195 [No. 345]: ". . . Lord Skalys hathe made a lofeday with the prior. . . . And the seyd pryor spake maysterly to the jurrorys, &c., and told hem and they had dred God and hurt of here sowlys, they wold haf some instruccyon of the one party as wele as of the other."

25(Latin preceding). No source found; however, the entire prose passage echoes Scriptural phrases (e. g., Ps. lviii,

(Number 35, continued)

1 [Ps. lvii in Vulgate]: "Si uere utique iustitiam loquimini recta iudicate, filii hominum."

25-28. St. Augustine, Epistola ad Macedonium [Epist. CLIII], Cap. xiv, qu. 6 (Migne, Pat. lat., XXXIII, col. 662; also quoted in Piers Plowman, B-Text, V, 279. Cf. vv. 91-2, 100; Number 51/5-8; Number 57/72.

29-36. Apparently from St. Thomas, Summa, II-II, qu. xcviii, art. 1; the source of St. Thomas' quotation is Peter Lombard, Sententiarum libri quatuor, Lib. III, dist. xxxix, 1 (Migne, Pat. lat., CXCII, cols. 835-837): "Perjuriam est mendacium juramento firmatum.... 5. Si autem quæritur quis magis teneatur, an qui per Deum, an qui per Evangelium, vel per creaturas jurat, dicimus, qui per Deum...."

56. euene or od] merely a rhyme-tag.

88. Proverbial; cf. Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs, ed. W. G. Smith (2d. ed., rev. by Sir Paul Harvey; Oxford, 1948), p. 718, which also quotes Plautus, Mercator, iv. 7. 40; Chaucer, Troylus iii, 329.

91-92. Translates part of the quotation from St. Augustine cited above in the note to vv. 25-28.

102. forȝouen] analogy with fourth class strong verbs.

107. sey] uninflected infinitive; suggests that the -n in forms which occur earlier in the poem (vv. 26, 87, etc.) is scribal.

105. aknowen] scribal -n? Cf. v. 80.

(Number 35, continued)

131(Latin preceding). Not identified.

131-134. A parallel in Robert of Brunne's Handlyng Synne, ed. F. J. Furnivall (EETS 119; 1901), vv. 1335-1338: "what shul we sey of þys dytours,/ þys fals men, þat beyn sysours, / þat for hate, a trewman wyl endyte, / And a þefe of syluer quyte?" In addition, the portions of Number 35 which deal strictly with false witness are similar in content to Handlyng Synne, vv. 2635-2698; both passages probably reflect the influence of the language of the pulpit.

134. itte] -e is scribal.

154. lause] syncopation of pl. inflection.

178. supposen] scribal -n? Cf. v. 187.

185-186. sur...cause] neither is certain, but half-legible letters suggest these words.

Number 36[1,2]. "Youth and the Pitfalls of Contemporary Life" (Number 655 in the Index of Middle English Verse). The textual relationship of the two versions is simple. Stow, or the scribe who composed the text from which he worked, has made profound, and wholly unsatisfactory, changes in the second version. The following table will illustrate the order of stanzas as they occur in the two versions:

Order of lines in MSS

First Version		Second Version
vv. 1-24	correspond to	vv. 1-24
25-32		(omitted)
33-48	"	25-40
49-56	"	50-57
57-64	"	41-49
65-72	"	66-73
73-80	"	58-65
81-96	"	74-89
97-104		(omitted)
105-112	"	98-105
113-120	"	90-97
121-152	"	106-137
153-168		(omitted)

Evidence of memorial reconstruction, which accounts for many of the variants in the second version, has been noted below.

(Number 36, continued)

The medieval youth,--even if he were lucky enough to aspire to the professions or to business--was assailed by a peculiar set of uncertainties, some of which are enumerated in Number 36. The author not only lists the "evils" of his time; he also complains against them. Thus Number 36, like Number 35, forms a link between didactic verse which merely offers information, and that which also admonishes its audience.

The author of Number 36 was influenced, it would seem, by the style of John Lydgate. Like his renowned predecessor, he delights in aureate diction and employs the eight-line ("Monkes Tale") stanza, with a proverbial refrain (cf. the series of such verses in Minor Poems of John Lydgate, Part II, ed. H. N. MacCracken [EETS 192; 1934], pp. 701-746). He was also conversant with the terminology, if not the actual experience, of university life.

1. COnsiderynng] the subject is apparently I, v. 7.

9-14. Prov. xxx, 18-19, which concludes: "...et viam viri in adolescentia." The Authorized Version has "...and the way of a man with a maid."

25-32. The omission of this stanza in the second version perhaps caused by presence of yit, yet in vv. 25 and 33;

(Number 36, continued)

if so, this suggests that the second version depends to some degree upon memorial reconstruction.

26. gramer] a foundation in grammar was of course part of the training for a B. A. ar Oxford, and elsewhere; in 1409, the course included Donatus and the Barbarismus (Hastings Rashdall, Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages, ed. F. M. Powicke and A. B. Emden [Oxford, 1936], III, 153-154).

[2].34. the] this substitution, for thy, [1].34, is the first of a series of inconsistent shifts in syntax and person; they can best be explained by assuming memorial reconstruction.

35. vii science] Cf. Rashdall, op. cit., III, 155; L. J. Paetow, "Arts Course at Medieval Universities. . .," University of Illinois Studies, vol. III (Urbana, 1910), p. 61. The complete "seven sciences" were "heard" after the B. A. was received, and after the student had "determined" and had taken part in certain disputations.

37. Ciuilistre] Cf. Rashdall, op. cit., III, 156-157. It was possible to begin the study of Civil Law before the M. A.; cf. v. 41 below.

38. One of the requirements for the Licence ad volumina in Civil Law was that the student possess and lecture on the libri apparitati (Rashdall, loc. cit.).

(Number 36, continued)

41-42. Upon inception as magister artium, the student was "required to complete a period of 'necessary regency,' i. e. to lecture for two years" (Rashdall, op. cit., I, 409); Rashdall is speaking of Paris, which he says was "exactly the same" in its system of teaching as Oxford (III, 163).

44. ffysyk] "No examination was required for an M. A. to become an M. D. Such was the belief in the healing by Aristotle." (Rashdall, op. cit., III, 156). The course nevertheless lasted four years.

Ciuille] If the study of Civil Law was begun after the M. A., the course was shortened by two years (Rashdall, loc. cit.)

49. spirituall lawe] For the lowest degree in Canon Law (Bachelor of Decrees), the student had to have studied Civil Law for five years, as a preliminary requirement; but a degree in Canon Law was not necessary for the positions mentioned in v. 50 (Rashdall, op. cit., I, 110-111, 313, 417).

50. The official and advocate were officers in the ecclesiastical court; the term proctor "was commonly used of any legal agent or attorney, but especially of a financial agent"; the notary was an official skilled in the ars dictaminis: the composition of state papers and manifestoes (Rashdall, loc cit.; cf. Paetow, op. cit., p. 91).

(Number 36, continued)

51. thens] syncopation; perhaps accounts for them in [2].51, by some quirk of the scribe's memory.

[2].54. toward and froward] a recollection of v. 21 above.

57. Canon] apparently distinct from "spiritual lawe," v. 49: "Canon" implies a degree in Canon Law; cf. note to v. 49 above.

theologie] MA candidates were required to spend a total of nine years' study in order to qualify for a doctorate in theology.

[2].58. forther to precede] a recollection, probably not a mistaken re-copying, of v. 43 above.

61. clymme] loss of final element in -mb cluster; cf. clymbe, v. 125.

[2].66. poynt of stablenes] the scribe's memory retained the initial sounds of both words, but his phrase fails to continue the metaphor begun in the preceding line.

68. prest] Rashdall points out that there was a "gradual increase--at least in the English universities--of fellowships which required holy orders..." (op. cit, III, 395).

69. This charge was admitted at the Council of Constance (1414-1418): "Men may thus take the vows when they shrink from hard work, 'wishing to live quietly and comfortably and without care; or they may have greater honours and wealth than in the world.'" (G. G. Coulton, Five Centuries of Religion [Cambridge, 1923-50], IV, 54,

(Number 36, continued)

quoting H. Finke, Acta Concilii Constanciensis [Münster i. W., 1896], IV, 671 ff.).

[2].74. menicanamite] this coinage, to rhyme with lymite, [2].76, points to memorial reconstruction.

75-77. Cf. Chaucer, Canterbury Tales, Prol., vv. 252-252^{b}, Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer, ed. F. N. Robinson (Cambridge, Mass., 1933).

[2].79. wille] a mistaken repetition of will, [2].78?

84. clerk] "The fact is that clericality in the Middle Ages, though it did not necessarily imply even the lowest grade of minor orders, did imply a great deal. The adoption of the clerical tonsure and dress conferred, so long as the wearer remained celibate, the immunities and privileges of the clerical order." (Rashdall, op. cit., III, 393).

91. piratys] "Open piracy was all too frequently practiced [in the fifteenth century], and such harbours as Fowey in Cornwall provided secure bases for the operations of these early gentlemen adventurers." (Esme Wingfield-Stratford, History of British Civilization [New York, 1938], p. 283); cf. also Charles Oman, History of England from ...1377-1485 (Political History of England, ed. W. Hunt and R. L. Poole, vol. IV; London, 1906), p. 455.

(Number 36, continued)

[2].92. dyke or dawbe] surely the scribe's memory accounts for this confusion and for that in [2].118 below.

105. lawe temporall] common law. Sir John Fortescue (1394?-1476?) points out that degrees in "English" law were granted at the Inns of Court, not at the universities, in the De laudibus legum Anglie, ed. S. B. Chrimes (Cambridge Studies in English Legal History; Cambridge, 1942), pp. 114-117.

106. chauncery] for the duties of the minor officials in both Chancery and the Exchecquer, see the Dialogus de Scaccario, translated by E. F. Henderson, Select Historical Documents of the Middle Ages (London, 1896), pp. 45-51, 60-66. Cf.also T. F. Tout, "Literature and Learning in the English Civil Service in the Fourteenth Century," Speculum, IV (1929), 365-389. Tout says, p. 369, that the Chancery was the most learned of the government offices throughout the later Middle Ages.

107. sargeaunt] for the dignity of the office of Sergeant of Law, cf. Fortescue, op. cit., pp. 120-127.

[2].107. marchaunt] a stupid error, recalling v. 89 above; clear evidence of faulty memory.

[2].110. worldly] recollection of vv. 82 or 86 above.

[2].118 delve or dyke] cf. note to v. 92 above.

121-128. A close parallel to this passage is printed, with other example of antifeminism, by G. R. Owst from

(Number 36, continued)

Bromyard's Summa predicantium, s. v. "Matrimonium", in Literature and the Pulpit in Medieval England (Cambridge, 1933, p. 379. The poet is echoing homiletic language.

137. susanne] Dan. xiii (Vulgate); also in the apocryphal Book of Susannah. Cf. Chaucer, "Persones Tale," v. 797; "Tale of the Man of Lawe," vv. 639-640; F. N. Patterson, Medieval Penitential Lyric (New York, 1911), No. 22, vv. 111-112. The popularity of this example may perhaps be attributed to its occurrence in the Litany for the Dying; cf. the version in the Manuale et processionale ad usum insignis ecclesiæ Eboracensis (Surtees Soc., No. lxiii; Leeds, 1875), p. 56.

[2].138. dupas] it is not improbable that the scribe made this error because he conceived of it as a proper name.

153-168. There is a distinct change of style in these lines; the last two stanzas are modeled upon the envois of Lydgate. Since the hand changes at v. 144, it may be that the last two stanzas, at least, are by a different author and occurred in a copy different from that used by the scribe of the second version.

Number 37. "The Vanity of Human Desires" (Number 699 in the Index of Middle English Verse). These verses, like most medieval complaints against the contemporary ills of society, outline the evils in various social groups. The poem differs from Numbers 35 and 36, therefore, both in breadth and in the profundity of its expression.

Indeed, although Number 37 is purely expository, it comes close to being monitory didactic verse. Like Numbers 33 and 36, it is a link between verse which is intended merely to inform, and that which is intended to admonish.

Number 37 is, moreover, a transitional step (cf. v. 7) between complaints against the evils of the times and Numbers 38-44, which are concerned with death.

Number 38. "The Necessity of Death" (Number 149 in the Index of Middle English Verse). In antithesis to Numbers 35-37, which are concerned primarily with the evils of this life, Numbers 38-44 deal with an aspect of the next life. The persistent theme of decay seems to have reached a kind of hysterical climax late in the Middle Ages; cf. B. P. Kurtz, Gifer the Worm: an Essay Toward the History of an Idea (University of California Publications in English, vol. II; Berkeley, 1929), pp. 235-261. One need not look further for the source, however, than in the Book of Job (e. g., xvii, 17; xviii, 12-14; xix, 26). The idea that man's body is a sperma fetidum, saccus stercorum, cibus vermium (attributed to St. Bernard) was a further refinement upon Scripture. It represents the kind of realism which was added by the Fathers, beginning in the twelfth century (or perhaps earlier: cf. Kurtz, op. cit., p. 257).

In keeping with tradition, Number 38 derives its refrain from the locus classicus, the Book of Job (xxx, 31): "Versa est in luctum cithara mea, et organum meum in vocem flentium." About half the lines, however, look backward from the grave to the present life. It thus reverses the ratio which occurs in Number 37 (cf. note to that poem).

In the margins of the folio upon which Number 38 occurs, there are two crude drawings: in upper left corner, a man seated, playing a harp; in right margin, Death (as a skeleton) with a bow and arrow.

(Number 38, continued)

6. rotynge] if an error for ryotynge, this word is pleonastic. No meaning from rot or rote (to play the rote) is conceivable.

8. Obscure.

13-14. For possible source, see note to Number 52.11; see also Number 48.55-56.

20. welner] modifies euere.

attendes] -s in pres. pl. suggests Northern dialect; other occurrences not noted.

31-34. See notes to Number 63 below. Furnivall remarks, in the Introduction to Queene Elizabethes Achademy, etc. (EETS viii; 1869), p. xiv, that the Statutes of 3 Edw. IV, Cap. 5, 1463, forbid any yeoman or person under that degree to wear bolsters, which were regarded as fashions reserved for the nobility and gentry.

Number 39. "The Tortures of the Damned" (Number 797 in the Index of Middle English Verse). These verses are an attempt to portray the eleven pains of hell (if "tere-shatyng," v. 1, and "weping," v. 2, are the same pain), a subject which obsessed men's minds throughout the Middle Ages. The various treatments of the "pains" can usually be traced to the Visio Sancti Pauli, ed. Theodore Silverstein (Studies and Documents, ed. K. and S. Lake; London, 1935). Silverstein distinguishes a "Long Latin" version and seven redactions; of these, Redaction V (p. 197; from MS Rawl. C. 108; XV century) provides the closest parallel to Number 39 and to the Latin passage which the verses translate.

> [Redaction V of the Visio] Sanctus Paulus uidet in inferno inferiori septem penas quas habent cotidie anime que dampnate sunt: prima pena est fames, secunda est sitis, tercia frigus, quarta calor, quinta uermis, sexta fetor, septima fumus ita magnus quod nullus potest uidere alium.
>
> [Latin preceding Number 39 in MS] Ignis & algor; stridor & horor; lacrima; vermis vallens & fetor; spes perdita; vincula fames. Esse carere deo tenebris; nox mors, dum morte.

Although the passages do not correspond, it may be supposed that the latter is a natural outgrowth of the former.

Much closer parallels are to be found in English in the Pricke of Conscience, ed. Richard Morris (The Philological Society's Early English Volume; London, 1865), vv. 6557-6582, which lists fourteen pains; and in Chaucer, "Persones Tale," vv. 208-210 and 863. The latter, the source of which is noted neither by Skeat nor by Robinson,

(Number 39, continued)

is strikingly similar to Number 39:

> [Lechers] shul han the fyr and the wormes that evere shul lasten, and wepynge and wailynge, sharp hunger and thurst, and grymnesse of develes, that shullen al totrede hem withouten respit and withouten ende.

The three versions of the "XI Pains of Hell," printed in An Old English Miscellany, ed. Richard Morris (EETS 49; 1872), pp. 147-155, 210-222, and 223-232, are based upon the longer recensions of the Visio.

3. bekyngis] cf. Pricke of Conscience, v. 6576: "þe neghend [ninth pain] es dyngyng of devels hand"; "bekyngis" appears to be an error for "betyngis."

7. nyth dede] "dead night"; cf. Latin which precedes Number 39: "nox mors."

Number 40. "Death and the Empress" (Number 1867 in the Index of Middle English Verse). The Dance of Death tradition, of which the most famous exemplars are the Danse macabre and Lydgate's "Daunce of Macabree," may be traced back to a series of Latin distichs which appeared in the thirteenth century; cf. W. F. Storck, "Das Vado Mori," Zeits. f. d. Phil., XLII (1910), 423. A Stammbaum of its development appears in Wilhelm Stammler, Die Totentänze des Mittelalters (Munich, 1922), p. 25. The poems which take the form of distichs or stanzas spoken alternately by Death and by a representative of a social class are simply attempts to dramatize the remorselessness of the grim dancing-partner.

Number 40 follows Lydgate's "Daunce of Macabree" in the MS; it is possible that it was once one of a series of stanzas in a longer poem which, like Lydgate's, was derived from Latin or French sources. This theory is supported by the evidence of Latin verses from the Palatine codex, printed by Wilhelm Fehse, "Das Totentanzproblem," Zeits. f. d. Phil. XLII (1910), 261-286. Following stanzas spoken by a papa and a cesar, the Latin includes lines by a cæsarissa.

Number 40 is distinguished by its peculiarities of orthography, particularly the alternation of v, u, and w.

4, 9. freche atyres...riches or perre] possibly an echo of Lydgate's "Horns Away," Minor Poems of John Lydgate, Part II, ed. H. N. MacCracken (EETS 192; 1934), v. 9:

(Number 40, continued)

"Ryche attyres of stonys and perre."

10, 12. hiblode, hy] note loss of voiceless alveolar fricative.

Number 41. "A Corpse Speaks" (Number 2255 in the Index of Middle English Verse). These quatrains speak for themselves; they reach to the last possible extremeties of grisly realism, especially in vv. 11-12, 19, and 24. The poem's combination of exposition and admonition, with a great preponderance of the former, serves as a link between didactic verse which informs and that which is monitory as well.

11-12. Cf. note to Number 43.

Number 42. "Debate Between Death and a Dying Man" (Number 2307 in the Index of Middle English Verse). These stanzas are an outgrowth of the tradition of the debate of the body and soul which, in English, flourished even in pre-Conquest times. The author exploits the dramatic quality of the situation. The side-notes which indicate when the spirit is to howl and when the greedy man is to approach Death could serve as stage-directions. There is no evidence of course that such alternate stanzas ever were read aloud by two or three speakers, but these might be adapted to such presentation. The final stanza, with its confident hope of redemption, provides a link between the gloom of Numbers 38-44 and the exhortations to salvation in Numbers 49-53.

No source has been found for the Latin verses, which are alternately couplets and leonine lines. The English stanzas closely paraphrase them.

7-8. Proverbial; cf. W. W. Skeat, Early English Proverbs (Oxford, 1910), p. 63.

9(Latin preceding). Quia...rapui] for the same sin, cf. note to Number 35.25-28.

9-16. These stanzas, along with vv. 17-24, suggest that in some prior version the entire poem was arranged in a framework of the Seven Deadly Sins, these lines being devoted to Avarice.

17(Latin preceding). Superbus] evidently misplaced; it should occur alongside the next Latin couplet.

(Number 42, continued)

17-24. See note to vv. 9-16 above. These lines were perhaps originally devoted to Envy and Pride.

Number 43. "Remember, man, thow art but wormes mette" (Number 2523 in the Index of Middle English Verse). Number 43 is a workman-like combination of several themes: 1) in a framework of the Seven Deadly Sins, the author unites 2) an exposition of the pains of hell and 3) a condemnation of worldliness. He employs his pattern with considerable skill, taking pains to maintain the parallelism from stanza to stanza. The first six lines of each stanza are, moreover, consistently cast into the most general terms, in distinct contrast to the realism of the refrain. The note of hope in the last stanza may be compared with that in the last stanza of Number 42.

For the order in which the Seven Deadly Sins are treated, see the notes to Number 6.

The source of the refrain is probably to be found among the writings attributed to St. Bernard; cf. his "Rhythmus de contemptu mundi" (also known as "Cur mundus militat"), Migne, Pat. lat., CLXXXIV, cols. 1313-1316:

> Quando moriturus est, omnis homo nescit:
> Hic qui vivit hodie, cras forte putrescet.
> (vv. 7-8)
>
> O esca vermium! o massa pulveris! (v. 45)

See also the "cibus vermium" in the Meditationes piissimæ cognitione humanæ conditionis [attributed to St. Bernard], Lib. I, Cap. iii, Migne, Pat. lat., CLXXXIV, col. 485, quoted in note to Number 38. The refrain became proverbial in Middle English: cf. G. L. Apperson, English Proverbs

(Number 43, continued)

and Proverbial Phrases (London, 1929), p. 712. Other examples of its occurrence, often as a refrain, may be added. For example, see Carl Brunner, "Mittelenglische Todesgedichte," Archiv, CLXVII (1935), 27-28, 30-35; F. A. Patterson, Middle English Penitential Lyric (New York, 1911), No. 6.

It is of greater interest, however, to note that the phrase occurs in a prose section of the Lay Folks Catechism [Wycliffite version], ed. T. F. Simmons and H. E. Nolloth (EETS 118; 1901), p. 51:

> To kepe þe fro lecchery haue mynde how foul þy body schal be; whan that schal be wormys mete. and how gret peynys of helle þou schalt suffre. but yf þou amende þe.

From this evidence it appears that the phrase was a commonplace in didactic prose and verse.

45. cities have sonke] the reference is to the "Cities of the Plain," Gen. xviii-xix; cf. Number 25.18.

48. counterplete] syncopation of 3 pres. s. inflection.

Number 44. "Terrors of Doomsday" (Number 3218 in the Index of Middle English Verse). Preoccupation with the terrors of the Judgment naturally arose along with the medieval obsession with death. Numbers 39 and 44, which occur in the same MS, merely represent two aspects of the same theme.

The metrical structure of Number 44 is worthy of comment. Although the lines vary greatly in length, each is divided by a caesura into two hemistichs; each hemistich, in turn, contains two heavy stresses. It is possible that the metre (not the rhyme of course) of this poem is an echo of that found in the poems of the so-called alliterative revival. For similar metrical structure, see Numbers 55 and 59.

The ultimate source of Number 44 is probably to be found in St. Anselm, Meditatio II (Migne, Pat. lat., CLVIII, col. 724):

> O angustiae: hinc erunt accusantia peccata, inde terrens justitia; subtus patens horridum chaos inferni, desuper iratus judex; intus urens conscientia, foris ardens mundus. Justus vix salvabitur; peccator sic dephrehens in quam partem se premet? Constrictus ubi latebo? quomodo parebo? Latere erit impossibile, apparere intolerabile.

An even closer parallel may be found in Guilielmus Peraldus, Summa virtutum et vitiorum, I, 4 (De donis), iv, 4, quoted in Kate O. Petersen, Sources of the Parson's Tale (Radcliffe College Monographs, No. 12; Boston, 1901), p.

(Number 44, continued)

13, note, from which it is probable that Chaucer derived vv. 169-172 of the "Persones Tale." Peraldus is also the probable source of vv. 5402-5421 of the Pricke of Conscience, ed. Richard Morris (The Philological Society's Early English Volume; London, 1865).

It is possible that the immediate source of Number 44 was the passage from the "Persones Tale," parallels from which are cited below. It is more likely, however, that both are derived from a common source.

1. ParsT, 169: "Ful greet angwyssh shul the synful folk have at that time."
3. ParsT, 170: "ther shal the stierne and wrothe juge sitte above."
4. ParsT, loc. cit.: "under hym the horrible pit of helle."
5. ParsT, 172: "withinne the hertes of folk shal be the bitynge conscience."
6. ParsT, loc. cit.: "withoute forthe shal be the world al brennynge."
8. ParsT, 171: "in the left syde mo develes than herte may bithynke, for to harye and drawe the synful soules to the peyne of helle."

9-11. ParsT, 172: "Whider shal thanne the wrecched synful man flee to hiden hym? Certes, he may nat hyden hym; he moste come forth and shewen hym."

Number 45. "Moderation in Christian Life" (Number 212 in the Index of Middle English Verse). Number 45 is a rhymed sermon which exhorts its audience not only to moderation but to the concomitant virtue of charity. The significance of the date 1345 (v. 4) is obscure. It may have been introduced merely to lend verisimilitude to the lesson delivered by Christ to the "good trewe man." In view of the emphasis on moderation, however, the date cannot be merely arbitrary. In the first half of the fourteenth century the Church was appalled to note the rise of a masochistic fanaticism which culminated in 1349 in the foundation of the Brotherhood of Flagellants, which G. G. Coulton calls "that epidemic of mystical madness," Five Centuries of Religion (Cambridge, 1923-50), IV, 452. Number 45, it may be suggested, is a manifestation of the Church's reaction to such excesses in asceticism.

The poem illustrates, moreover, the shifting line of demarcation which separates religious and secular advice. Although most of the poem advocates action which may be termed strictly religious, since it had doctrinal sanction (alms-giving, humility, and so on), some of the lines are devoted to advice which is essentially secular (e. g., vv. 143 and 165).

The "ix vertewis" (v. 207) are alms-giving; contrition (or humility); meekness; avoidance of sin, both mortal and venial; avoidance of slander; pity; truthfulness; avoidance of the judgment of others; and steadfastness.

(Number 45, continued)

It will be observed that this list has no formal correspondence with any of those which occur in Numbers 1, 2, or 3; these nine virtues are, however, natural developments of the traditional lists.

The significant difference between Number 45 and Numbers 1-24 is that while the former is monitory in purpose, the latter are primarily expository.

19-20. These lines are a kind of refrain; cf. vv. 57-58, 71-72, etc.

45-46. seys: days] note syncopation of noun and verb inflections.

70. sone] apparently refers to Christ; a violation of verisimilitude, since Christ himself is supposed to be speaking.

90. foul or fayre] in foul weather or fair; i. e., at all times.

95-100. Cf. Matt. vii, 1.

157-178. Cf. the identical theme in Number 58.7-10.

187-192. Expanded from 1 Cor. xiii, 1-3.

Number 46. "Man's Three Enemies" (Number 478 in the Index of Middle English Verse). The World, the Flesh, and the Devil occur together in various litanies; for example, see William Maskell, Monumenta ritualia ecclesiæ anglicanæ (London, 1882), I, 126. In the "early printed primers," according to F. A. Patterson, Middle English Penitential Lyric (New York, 1911), p. 170, the number of man's enemies is increased to four in the following rhyme:

> A chylde that is in to this worlde comyng
> Is hardely beset with many a fo:
> Whiche euer is redy to his vn-doyng,
> The worlde, the fleshe, the deuyll and
> dethe also.

Although the author of Number 46 employs his complex stanza, a variant of the "wheel and bob," with fair skill, his expression is narrowly restricted by his form and by the formula of the three enemies. His lyrical impulse, if any existed, has been subordinated to the true purpose of the verses: to warn others (as is evident in his first stanza) that they too must combat the Three Foes.

1-2. These lines serve as a refrain; cf. vv. 19-20, 37-38, etc.

50. The pronoun I perhaps omitted before do; its addition would do no violence to this rough metre.

66. god þat all thyng wroght] an echo of the Creed; cf. note to Number 3.1-2.

Number 47[1,2,3]. "Christ Admonishes Man" (Number 2507 in the Index of Middle English Verse). The third version of this simple stanza, although it occurs in a MS earlier in date that the MSS in which the first and second versions occur, is a variant text (cf. v. 1) which misses the point of the parallelism in vv. 1 and 5.

Number 47 has been included in this study because it is wholly typical of the short fragments which occur so frequently in the collections and commonplace books of the later Middle Ages. Its pathos, although crude, was evidently thought sufficient to remind the Christian that he owed a debt to his Redeemer.

It may be suggested that in their original form these lines accompanied a drawing of Christ's heart, as do the second and third versions. If this was the case, Number 47 may be called a kind of "emblem" verse, not unlike that which flourished in the seventeenth century. For the combination or association of verse and graphic art, cf. Numbers 24 and 30.

With Number 47 may be compared the verse in Carleton Brown, Religious Verse of the XIVth Century (Oxford, 1924), p. 2, which begins: "Man, þu haue þine þout one me." Brown suggests (p. 243) that the original of this appeal of Christ, which is identical to that in Number 47, "may perhaps be recognized in the well-known passage in a sermon by Cæsarius of Arles, De iudicio extremo, Migne, Pat. lat., XXXIX, col. 2207.

(Number 47, continued)

The third version of Number 47 is printed by Miss Frances M. M. Comper, Life of Richard Rolle (London, 1928), p. 318, along with other selections from Brit. Mus. Addit. MS 37049 which, according to Miss Comper, is "full of abridgments and imitations of Rolle's writings," p. 315.

Number 48. "De Profundis as a Guide of Life" (Number 2522 in the Index of Middle English Verse). Psalm cxxx (cxxix in the Vulgate) was most familiar to the medieval Englishman. It was one of the Seven Penitential Psalms; it occurs in the Exsequiæ defunctorum, in the Manuale et processionale ad usum insignis ecclesiæ Eboracensis, ed. W. G. Henderson (Surtees Soc., No. lxiii; Leeds, 1875), p. 62; and in three "York Bidding Prayers," Lay Folks Mass Book, ed. T. F. Simmons (EETS 71; 1879), pp. 67, 72, and 80.

All the rubrics but the last two are passages taken from Ps. cxxx; the English lines elaborate upon or paraphrase these excerpts. The paraphrase in vv. 109-120 recalls some of the Kyries, which were used in various occasional services; it is closest perhaps to Kyrie Number XIV printed in the Manuale...Eboracensis, p. 247. The final rubric "Oremus: Inclina" suggests either Ps. xvii, 6; lxxi, 2; or lxxxviii, 2, but more probably the adaptation as it occurs in the Inhumatio defuncti, printed by William Maskell, Monumenta ritualia ecclesiæ anglicanæ (London, 1882), I, 146: "Oremus. Inclina, Domine, aurem tuam ad preces nostras...."

Paraphrases of the Psalms may be found elsewhere in Middle English; cf. Carleton Brown, Religious Lyrics of the XIVth Century (Oxford, 1924), Numbers 44 and 45, and Lydgate's own paraphrase of the De profundis in Minor Poems of John Lydgate, Part I, ed. H. N. MacCracken (EETS cvii; 1911), pp. 77-84. All three of these paraphrases make use of rubrics selected from the Psalms.

(Number 48, continued)

This device doubtless derives from the practice of citing fragments of Scripture in breviaries as guides to the priest who was conducting the service.

The familiarity, the moving language, and the breadth of application of Ps. cxxx made it an admirable vehicle for verses which purport to be a guide to Christian behavior. It may be objected, however, that the author of Number 48 had more piety than metrical skill.

11. This line obviously omitted; cf. the corresponding passages, vv. 23, 35, etc.

15. Jonah i-ii.

17. Daniel vi.

18. Gen. xxxvii, 23-28.

19-21; Refers to Ps. cxxx in its function as one of the Seven Penitential Psalms.

40. Exod. vii-xi.

41. Gen. xv.

43-45. 1 Sam. viii.

55-56. Cf. Number 38.13-14 and Number 52.11-12, note.

129. Abstond] the meaning must be "absolve" or "forgive," but cf. Glossary.

Number 49. "Christ Like a Falconer" (Number 269 in the Index of Middle English Verse). Number 49 is an expansion of a similitudine, a rhetorical device with which the English sermones ad populum abounded (Cf. G. R. Owst, Preaching in Medieval England [Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, ed. G. G. Coulton; Cambridge, 1926], p. 256). It is evident from v. 1 that these verses were intended for inclusion in some longer composition. From the nature of the poem's content, it may be deduced that the longer work was a sermon--perhaps in verse itself. At any rate, Number 49 would lend itself well to homiletic purposes.

As this selection demonstrates, the line of demarcation between verses which deal primarily with the life a Christian must lead in this world, and those verses which emphasize salvation, can never be drawn with final certainty. The former type of didactic verse leads inevitably, by its very nature, to the latter. The difference between the two categories is simply one of emphasis.

Although the origin of likening Christ to a falconer is obscure, it apparently did not originate with the author of Number 49. In the poem entitled "Revertere" (from Lambeth MS 853, dated c. 1430), printed by F. J. Furnivall, Hymns to the Virgin and Christ (EETS 24; 1867), pp. 91-94, almost the same similitudine occurs. Man's heart is compared with a hawk which should return to God,

(Number 49, continued)

but which chases the "feisaunt hen" of Pleasure (v. 57). It is probable that the two poems are wholly independent, and that the comparison was a natural assimilation of religious material into contemporary life (cf. the quotation from G. R. Owst in the note to Number 22 above).

For a discussion of the Five Wounds of Christ, see the notes to Number 10. The variation upon this theme with which Number 49 concludes is a dramatic adaptation, especially suited, it may be asserted, to pulpit presentation.

2. lykend] syncopation of -ed inflection; cf. the same phenomenon in schews, v. 4, and the other 3 pres. s. verbs which follow.

10. brynge] pleonastic.

13. It is easy to imagine this line accompanied by a gesture from the pulpit, perhaps pointing to the crucifix, perhaps imitating the position at the Passion.

26. smert] adjective; cf. Number 47.3.

29. here] i. e., in this life as contrasted with the next.

Number 50. "A Vision of Heaven" (Number 493 in the Index of Middle English Verse). This may be regarded as a companion-piece to Number 18, which precedes it in the MS. The difference between the two is significant. The purpose of Number 18 is to inform; that of Number 50 is both to inform and to admonish.

The source of a portion of the poem is to be found in the Pricke of Conscience, ed. Richard Morris (The Philological Society's Early English Volume; London, 1865); parallels are noted below.

17-24. With minor differences from Pricke of Conscience, vv. 8651-8658.

25-28. Pricke of Conscience, vv. 8681-8684.

29-30. syttes:wytts] note loss of pronunciation of -e.

29-32. Pricke of Conscience, vv. 8689-8692.

Number 51 [1,2]. "Six Steps to Salvation" (Number 741 in the Index of Middle English Verse). Although the MSS in which the two versions occur are of different date (first version: c. 1450; second version: a. 1500), the hand in which the two are written appears to be that of the same scribe. With the exception of orthographical differences and two omissions in the Harley MS text, the two versions are almost identical. From this evidence, it may be concluded 1) that the scribe has made two distinct copies from a common source; 2) that the second version is derived directly from the first. Either theory will account for the differences in the two texts.

The numerical formula which serves as the framework for these verses reveals their close alliance to Numbers 1-15. The six steps to salvation naturally include three of the Sacraments (one of which, Penance, is divided into its three modes).

4-8. For the doctrine of restitution, which may be traced throught St. Augustine, perhaps, to the parable of Dives and Lazarus (Luke xvi, 19-31), cf. Number 35.25-28, 91, 99 and Number 57.72.

6. Goten] formed on analogy with 4th class str. verbs.

15. testament] cf. notes to Number 32, esp. the quotation from Ashley, for the Church's interest in the testaments of the faithful.

(Number 51, continued)

17-30. The Sacrament of Penance in its three modes: Confession, Contrition, Satisfaction.

31-50. The Sacrament of Extreme Unction.

50. the worlde, the fende, thy flesshe] cf. notes to Number 46 for the origin of these three enemies of mankind.

51-60. The Sacrament of the Eucharist.

57-60. deuocion...hope...charyte] the three Theological Virtues; cf. Number 3.

87-88. In manus tuas, etc.] Luke xxiii, 46.

Number 52. "Doomsday" (Number 4030 in the Index of Middle English Verse). These lines, clearly monitory in purpose, should be compared with Number 44, which simply lists the terrors of doomsday. The primary purpose of Number 52 is to fill the listener, or reader, with dread of the uncertainty of the Judgment. The pervasiveness of this theme may be noted, for it occurs even in verses which are otherwise secular in nature ("How a Wyse Man Taught Hys Sone," Queene Elizabethes Achademy, etc., ed. F. J. Furnivall [EETS viii; 1869], vv. 95-96).

The source of Number 52 is the Pricke of Conscience, ed. Richard Morris (The Philological Society's Early English Volume; London, 1865); parallels are noted below.

2-33. With minor variations from Pricke of Conscience, vv. 4649-4680.

10-12. Non est vestrium nosce, etc.] Not from the Apocalypse, but from Acts i, 7: "Dixit autem eis: Non vestrum nosse. . . ."

25-27. Siue comedam, etc.] This passage is also translated in Chaucer, "Persones Tale," 159-161, Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer, ed. F. N. Robinson (Cambridge, Mass., 1933). Robinson's note states that in Pennaforte (probably Chaucer's source) a marginal gloss refers to Jerome, ad cap. 7, Oseæ. This reference cannot be

(Number 52, continued)

traced. Robinson and Skeat refer to the Regula monachorum, (Monks' Rule), falsely attributed to St. Jerome, which, Robinson says, occurs in Migne, Pat. lat., XXX, 319 ff. This reference is apparently an error for Pat. lat., XXX, col. 375: "Igitur, sive leges, sive dormies, sive scribes, sive vigilabis, Amos tibi semper buccina in auribus sonet," which is not the same as the quotation in Chaucer. But cf. the Regula monacharum, (Anchoresses' Rule), also attributed to St. Jerome, in Migne, Pat. lat., XXX, col. 417: "...exspectabis magnum et terribilem diem judicii, diem videlicet iræ .... Semper tuba illa terribilis vestris perstrepat auribus: Surgite mortui, venite ad judicium." It must be concluded that the ultimate source of the quotation in Number 52 and of the "Persones Tale" is not yet determined.

38-46. Closely paralleled in Pricke of Conscience, vv. 6336-6345.

40. Misericordia, etc.] Ps. xxxiii, 5.

Number 53. "This Transitory Life" (Number 4125 in the Index of Middle English Verse). The De contemptu mundi theme is closely related to the Judgment, (e.g., in Number 52) for on the Last Day, there shall be little hope of Salvation for him whose mind is forever on "his golde, his ffare, & his greete A-Raye" (Number 53, v. 18). Number 53 also exhibits a close affinity with predominantly secular verses (cf. vv. 16-22 and Numbers 54, 58, and 60).

13. The metre, which is fairly regular elsewhere in the poem, demands two more syllables in this line: perhaps the omitted before good; forgith trisyllabic (normal, of course, if the spelling did not indicate syncopation).

20. comforture] cf. Glossary; perhaps an ironic allusion to the Comforter (the Paraclete) in John xiv, 16, 26; xv, 26; xvi, 7.

Number 54 [1,2,3]. "How schal a mann best in pes abide?" (Number 1261 in the Index of Middle English Verse). The relationship of the three texts is simple: the first version (dated first quarter of fifteenth century) is the source of the two transcripts; the second version is the source of the third (as the repetition and multiplication of errors indicate).

Like many other "instruction" poems (e.g., Numbers 58 and 60 in this study), Number 54 is not a true unit, but merely a collection of precepts which deal with man's action in society. The author (Hichecoke, who has not been identified) attempts, from time to time, to provide a transition between his distichs, but without much success.

The authors of verses of advice directed toward a secular audience had no scruples about plagiarizing from other collections of gnomic verse or of using material which was current in oral tradition. Parallels and echoes could be multiplied almost ad infinitum; a few are cited below.

2. by hart] apparently a standard type of pride; cf. Langland's Superbia, Vision of William concerning Piers the Plowman, B-Text, ed. W. W. Skeat, (EETS 38; 1868), V, 68.

(Number 54, continued)

4. Cf. Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs, ed. W. G. Smith (2d ed., rev. by Sir Paul Harvey; Oxford, 1948), p. 376; also Minor Poems of John Lydgate, Part II, ed. H. N. MacCracken (EETS 192; 1934), pp. 795-799, where it occurs as refrain.

5-6. Cf. Oxf. Dict. of Engl. Prov., p. 404; "Proverbs of Good Counsel," Manners and Meals in Olden Times, ed. F. J. Furnivall (EETS 32; 1868), v. 76; Andrew Henderson, Scottish Proverbs (Glasgow, 1881), p. 41; "Sir Peter Idle's Directions to His Son," Queene Elizabethe's Achademy, etc., ed. F. J. Furnivall (EETS viii; 1869), v. 6.

9. Cf. Oxf. Dict. Engl. Prov., p. 227.

11-12. Cf. Oxf. Dict. Engl. Prov., p. 270; M. P. Tilley, Elizabethan Proverb Lore...(University of Michigan Publications in Language and Literature, vol. II; New York, 1926), p. 77; "had-y-wist" is one of the most widely disseminated of proverbs of the late Middle Ages. Cf. Number 60.21, Number 61.8.

13. Cf. Number 58.22; W. W. Skeat, Early English Proverbs (Oxford, 1910), p. 20; G. L. Apperson, English Proverbs and Proverbial Phrases (London, 1929), p. 626.

20. Used as a refrain in Hymns to the Virgin and Christ, ed. F. J. Furnivall (EETS 24; 1867), pp. 83-85.

(Number 54, continued)

21-22. Cf. Julius Zupitza, "The Proverbis of Wysdom," Archiv, XC (1893), vv. 107-108.

23-24. Cf. Zupitza, op. cit., vv. 117-118.

25-26. Cf. Oxf. Dict. Engl. Prov., p. 525; possible source, Catonis Disticha, ed. Joseph Nève (Liége, 1926), II, 20.

29-30. Cf. Oxf. Dict. Engl. Prov., p. 451; "Proverbs of Good Counsel" (EETS 32), v. 33: "A nyse wyfe & A backe dore,/Makyth oftyn tymus A ryche man pore."

33. The meaning seems to be "for a year or two wrong [doing] will succeed."

36. Cf. Skeat, op. cit., p. 99.

39-40. Cf. Oxf. Dict. Engl. Prov., p. 740; Songs, Carols, &c., from Richard Hill's Balliol MS, ed. Roman Dyboski (EETS ci; 1907), p. 140.

41-42. Cf. Zupitza, op. cit., vv. 97-98; Zupitza cites a parallel from the Proverbs of Alfred (p. 260).

44. Cf. Oxf. Dict. Engl. Prov., p. 21, which includes a citation from the Owl and the Nightingale (a. 1250); Zupitza, op. cit., vv. 13-14.

49. Cf. Number 58.3-4.

Number 55. "Truth is a-slepe" (Number 2500 in the Index of Middle English Verse). These lines illustrate how indefinite the line must be which divides secular and religious didactic verse. The framework and metrical structure may be compared with those of Number 44, which are very similar. The authors of both poems were working in a tradition which was apparently influenced by the four-beat rhythm of the so-called alliterative revival (see also Number 59). Number 55 retains clearer traces of alliteration itself than does Number 44.

The poem's didactic purpose is extremely broad; the preponderance of the advice, however, is concerned with action in society. Therefore it has been included among the verses of general secular advice.

2. It seems likely that behinde is omitted before the in this line; such a reading would complete the formula which the author uses as a framework, but it is not appropriate.

Number 56 [1,2]. "Pleas god surely and þe worlde also" (Number 2521 in the Index of Middle English Verse). The first version is so designated because it is complete, not because of its textual relationship to the second version. Indeed, it seems probable that the second version is an incomplete attempt to emend and correct the first (cf. the transposed lines, vv. 18-19, 32-33, and the omitted stanza, vv. 36-42). The occasional corruptions in the first version, moreover, indicate that it is not the author's autograph, but a transcript of a lost original.

The title of Number 56 is selected from [2].23; it admirably expresses the twofold purpose (like that of Number 57) of the verses. The lines which are designed for a secular audience constitute the greater portion of the poem. The admonitions directed to the merchant and craftsman, who deal justly with his customers (vv. 8-4); and to the householder (vv. 15-21) may be compared with the briefer verses in Numbers 54, 58, and 60.

Both versions are marked by the occurrence of scribal -e (not abbreviated); e. g., in ayenste, v. 32; rulyde, v. 60.

[2].14. An (unsuccessful) attempt to mend the metre.

[2].21. the] pron., not def. art.

[2].27-28. dogge: gruge] merely an "eye-rhyme"; apparently the scribe did not understand the uncommon snoge in [1].27.

(Number 56, continued)

[2].31. the Armyde, þe] this reading necessary both to metre and sense.

33. prudens, Counsell, & Reason] three of the Gifts of the Holy Spirit; cf. Number 12.

[2].36-42. In this stanza the metre limps even more awkwardly than in the rest of the poem; one is tempted to interpret the smudge in the MS as the scribe's attempt to cancel the lines. Cf. v. 65 below for a somewhat more successful version of v. 36.

[2].46. Another unsuccessful attempt to mend the metre.

[1].48. þi mynde] a mistaken echo of v. 43 above.

59. Obscure.

64. Probably from 1 John 16: "...Deus charitas est: & qui manet in charitate, in Deo manet, & Deus in eo." The Authorized Version substitutes "love" for "charitas".

Number 57. "A compleint on-to dame fortune" (Number 2568 in the Index of Middle English Verse). Although described in the Index as imperfect at the conclusion, Number 57 concludes satisfactorily with the last quatrain, which may have been intentionally introduced in this position by the author. The reference to "Capitulo xxviij°" in the title is obscure; it does not necessarily indicate that the poem is an excerpt from a longer composition.

Number 57 is (like Number 56) a combination of "religious" and "secular" advice, i. e., advice which was produced by and intended either for the ecclesiastic or for the worldly layman. As G. R. Owst demonstrates (Literature and the Pulpit in Medieval England [Cambridge, 1933], p. 239), the Wheel of Fortune "illustrated with a peculiar vividness the preacher's own favourite view of life...the varying temporal fortunes of the world that offered him no abiding security."

8(rubric preceding). Radix omnium malorum, etc.] 1 Tim. vi, 10.

10. þe coveytous] sc. "man."

15(rubric preceding). Qui cupiunt diuites, etc.] 1 Tim. vi, 9: "Nam qui uolunt diuites fieri, incidunt in tentationem et in laqueum diaboli...."

22(rubric preceding). Multis mortem, etc.] Not identified.

(Number 57, continued)

22. Mysure ys tresour] Cf. Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs, ed. W. G. Smith (2d ed., rev. by Sir Paul Harvey; Oxford, 1948), p. 415. Also occurs in Number 64.40. Owst, op. cit., p. 185, traces it back to "the great twin doctrine in Greek ethics of μηδὲν ἄγαν," which later finds a prominent place in John Bromyard's Summa predicantium (c. 1390), s. v. "Ascensio," etc., and in Lydgate (e. g., Minor Poems of John Lydgate, Part II, ed. H. N. MacCracken [EETS 192; 1934], pp. 776-780).

29(rubric preceding). Si diuicie, etc.] Ps. lxii, 10 (lxi, 11-12, in Vulgate): "Nolite sperare in iniquitate, et rapinas nolite concupiscere: diuitiæ si affluant, nolite cor apponere."

37. The meaning apparently is "But now established rule fails completely," but cf. Glossary.

67-68. enchesoun: gesoun] the latter is a false formation for the sake of "eye-rhyme"; cf. Glossary.

71-77. The source for this doctrine is probably St. Augustine, Epistola ad Macedonium, Cap. vi (Migne, Pat. lat., XXXIII, col. 662. The passage is quoted in St. Thomas, Summa, II-II, qu. lxii, art. 2, but the reference is erroneously given as col. 602. Cf. Number 35.25-28 and Number 31.4-8 for the general doctrine.

(Number 57, continued)

78(rubric preceding). Duplex est restitutio, etc.] Perhaps from St. Thomas, Summa, II-II, qu. lxii ["De Restitutione"], art. 7:

> Respondeo. Dicendum quod, sicut dictum est, ad restitutionem tenetur aliquis non solum ratione rei alienæ quam accipit, sed etiam ratione iniuriosae acceptionis. Et ideo quicumque est causa iniustae acceptionis tenetur ad restitutionem. Quod quidem contingit dupliciter, directe scilicet et indirecte.

92(rubric preceding). Nemo potest, etc.] Matt. vi, 24.

Number 58. "Gnomic Advice" (Number 3170 in the Index of Middle English Verse). Like Numbers 54 and 60, this poem is not a unit, but only a collection of precepts which, for the most part, are directed to a secular audience. The scribe recognizes the nature of his work in the MS by placing a paragraph sign before the first line of each couplet. Number 58 differs from 54 and 60, however, in the generality of its advice and in its close relationship with the essentially religious poems in this collection (cf. vv. 5-6, 13-14, 21-22, and 29-30).

1-2. Cf. Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs, ed. W. G. Smith (2d ed., rev. by Sir Paul Harvey; Oxford, 1948), p. 2, where the earliest example is from Heywood's collections (1546); there is apparently no parallel in the Biblical Book of Proverbs, despite the attribution to Solomon.

3-4. Cf. Number 54. 49.

5-6. Cf. Oxf. Dict. Prov., p. 107.

7-10. For the same theme, cf. Number 45. 157-178 and Number 54. 38.

11-12. If proof of this collection's disunity is needed, cf. this couplet with vv. 23-28 below.

16. sufferaunce doth ease] Cf. Oxf. Dict. Prov., p. 629.

20. For the same theme, cf. Number 60. 31-35.

21. Ultimately from John viii, 34: ". . . quia omnis, qui facit peccatum, seruus est peccati."

(Number 58, continued)

22. Cf. Number 54.13, where the clauses are reversed.

23. As it appears in this line, the proverb is incomplete: the concluding portion cautions that chips will fall in the hewer's eye; cf. Oxf. Dict. Prov., pp. 293-294; W. W. Skeat, Early English Proverbs (Oxford, 1910), p. 55; M. P. Tilley, Elizabethan Proverb Lore in Lyly's Euphues and Pettie's Petite Pallace (University of Michigan Publications in Language and Literature, vol. II; New York, 1926), p. 212.

24. Cf. similar proverbs in Oxf. Dict. Engl. Prov., p. 514.

25-28. Both appear in Carols, Songs, &c., from Richard Hill's Balliol MS, ed. Roman Dyboski (EETS ci, 1907), p. 139. For vv. 27-28, cf. Oxf. Dict. Prov., p. 731.

29-30. Occurs in an unpublished religious poem in Camb. Univ. Lib. MS Dd. 6. 1, f. 142^{b}: "Grace passeth gollde. Ande precyous stoon. And god schalbe god. When goolde ys goon." It occurs as "God schal be god, wan gold nys none" in G. R. Owst, Literature and the Pulpit in Medieval England (Cambridge, 1933), p. 315, note, from a sermon, otherwise in Latin, in MS Royal 18. B. xxiii, f. 124^{b}; Owst dates the MS early fifteenth century (p. 244, note).

Number 59. "Beware of False Friends" (Number 4092 in the Index of Middle English Verse). Since both versions of this poem occur on the same folio, their relationship is obvious; the second version, copied from the first, is evidence of the arbitrary orthographic changes made by a scribe who had his copy-text before him. It would be a mistake to read some kind of sophisticated irony into the change introduced into v. 8 of the second version.

The use of the virgule in the first version is worthy of note; with it the scribe divides each line into hemistichs, each of which contains two heavy stresses (cf. Numbers 44 and 55 for similar structure).

Number 59 is closely allied to Numbers 54 and 58; it may be regarded as an expansion of some of the precepts which appear elsewhere in couplet form.

Number 60. "A Father's Advice to His Son" (Number 1361 in the Index of Middle English Verse). Unlike Numbers 54-59, which were written for a general lay audience, Number 60 (and the other poems in group II. B. 2.) is consciously restricted in scope.

The device of the father's advice to his son is ubiquitous in Middle English verse and prose; cf. J. E. Wells, Manual of Writings in Middle English, 1050-1400 (New Haven, 1916), pp. 378-380. It was sometimes used for specialized purposes, such as a framework for a rhymed treatise on hunting, listed in H. S. Bennett, "Science and Information in English Writings of the Fifteenth Century," MLR, XXIX (1944), 2; but it usually took the form that is found in Number 60.

Number 60 may be regarded as a variant of Peter Idley's Instructions to His Son, ed. Charlotte D'Evelyn (MLA Monograph No. VI; Boston, 1935), or of the abridgements (?) of this work: "Sir Peter Idle's Directions to His Son," Queene Elizabethes Achademy, etc., ed. F. J. Furnivall (EETS viii; 1869), pp. 109-110; and "Of the Manners to Bring One to Honour and Welfare," Early English Meals and Manners, ed. F. J. Furnivall (EETS 32; 1868), pp. 34-35. Parallels from these last two poems are noted below.

1-12. Cf. "Of the Manners...," vv. 1-12.

5-8. Cf. "Sir Peter Idle...," vv. 15-18; Peter Idley, I, 64-67.

(Number 60, continued)

7. Cf. the similar proverb in Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs, ed. W. G. Smith (2d ed., rev. by Sir Paul Harvey; Oxford, 1948), p. 720.

14-17. Cf. "Sir Peter Idle...," vv. 36-39; Peter Idley, vv. 85-88.

14-25. Cf. "Of the Manners...," vv. 13-24.

17. Cf. Oxf. Dict. Prov., p. 39; "The Abce of Aristotill," (in Queene Elizabethes Achademy) v. 12.

21. Cf. Oxf. Dict. Prov., p. 270; Peter Idley, v. 84; see note to Number 54.17.

27-34. Cf. "Of the Manners...," vv. 25-32.

35. Cf. Oxf. Dict. Prov., p. 373, where the first example is from 1641.

Number 61. "Investigate Before You Marry" (Number 1829 in the Index of Middle English Verse). The guarded and cynical antifeminism in Number 61 obviously brands it as a poem written for a restricted social group. The identical theme is preserved in the form of brief precepts in Julius Zupitza, "Proverbis of Wysdom," Archiv, XC (1893), 241-268 (vv. 55-56): "Know well ore þou knytt: / Then wyll men prayse thy wytt"; and in Carols, Songs, &c., from Richard Hill's Balliol MS, ed. Roman Dyboski (EETS ci; 1907), p. 139 (vv. 11-12): "Know or þou knyte, & then þou mayst slake, / Yff þou knyte or þou know, than yt ys to late." Number 61 is perhaps improved, at least metrically, in these shorter forms; they demonstrate the currence of the theme, probably in oral tradition.

Number 62 [1,2]. "Parental Advice" (Number 3196 in the Index of Middle English Verse). The dates of the MSS in which the two versions occur are: first version: a. 1500; second version: fifteenth century. In view of the indefiniteness of the latter date and because of the mutilated condition in which the second version is found, it is impossible to establish the relationship of the two texts.

The inclusion of both son and daughters in a single poem seems to be unique in Middle English. For the framework of a father's advice, cf. the notes to Number 60.

In personal correspondence, dated April 27, 1950, Mr. Burwell Rogers of Bucknell University states that he has included the first version of Number 62 in his unpublished dissertation, an edition of "A Father's Instructions to His Son," from MS Cott. Vesp. D. XIII. The second version occurs, with some unaccountable errors in transcription, in W. H. Black, Catalogue of Manuscripts Bequeathed unto the University of Oxford by Elias Ashmole, Esq. (Oxford, 1845), col. 91:

> Son lett not ydelnes ȝou enslombre
> Nor wydnesse of clothys ȝou encombre
> . . . . ȝour loue p'cious put ȝour reflygth
> . . . . . reward ȝou as it is rygte

(Number 62, continued)

1. sone] perhaps an error for the plural; cf. doghterne, v. 5, and the use of you throughout; thou would, of course be the normal pronoun with which a father would have addressed his son. See Number 60.

Number 63. "Excesses in Women's Dress" (Number 3698 in the Index of Middle English Verse). These verses, a fusion of religious and secular themes, would have been appropriate if addressed either to lay or to clerical audiences. As G. R. Owst points out in Literature and the Pulpit in Medieval England (Cambridge, 1933), p. 390:

> It is woman par excellence as a lover of finery, the mirror of fashion, the decked and painted idol of May-Tide, that calls down the full fury of the English preachers in satire and complaint.

Number 63--a complaint, perhaps, certainly not a satire--is cast into the form of a prayer; nevertheless, its purpose is to shame extravagantly-dressed parishioners, or to persuade clerics to admonish such laymen. The attack on finery, which is found everywhere in the later Middle Ages, is obviously related to the de contemptu mundi theme; the inclusion of both men and women is not unusual (cf. Owst, op. cit., p. 404).

Of the many contemporary parallels--Number 63 occurs in a MS dated a. 1456--some of the liveliest are to be found in Thomas Gascoigne's Loci e Libro veritatum: Passages Selected from Gascoigne's Theological Dictionary... 1403-1458, Introduction by J. E. T. Rogers (Oxford, 1881). Gascoigne voices the Church's objection to the finery and indecent dress of both males and females, which "plura

(Number 63, continued)

mala causavit, in superbiendo, et fornicando, et in adulterando, et in Sodomia, ut notum est pluribus" (p. 144, s. v. "Ornatus"). Trains were the particular object of ecclesiastical wrath; Gascoigne explains in a note to the section directed "Contra caudas dominarum" that "Ista caudo quæ Anglice 'trayn' vocatur quia trahitur, et ad malum trahit" (p. 11).

The Knight of the Tour-Landry blames the Deluge itself upon women's love of finery (Book of the Knight of the Tour-Landry, ed. Thomas Wright [EETS 33; 1868], p. 62). He also attacks the fashion of wearing "horns," and includes extravagant male attire in his condemnation (pp. 63, 67-70).

Chaucer's denunciation of prideful dress in the "Persones Tale," 416-430, which of course antedates the writing of Number 63, is nevertheless one of the most colorful and vigorous of all the attacks written in the Middle Ages.

6. sayle] in Robert Mannyng's Handlyng Synne, ed. F. J. Furnivall (EETS 119; 1901), v. 8883, women's "kercheues" are described as "þe deuylys sayle"; but cf. "Horns Away," Minor Poems of John Lydgate, Part II, ed. H. N. MacCracken (EETS 192; 1934), v. 56, in which the Blessed Virgin is held up as an example, since she never wore "horns," but only a "kouercheef."

Number 64. "Advice for a Prince" (Number 3807 in the Index of Middle English Verse). Miss E. P. Hammond has printed the fourth and the last stanzas of Number 64 in "Two Tapestry Poems by Lydgate: the Life of St. George and the Falls of Seven Princes," Englische Studien, XLIII (1910-11), 11, note. Miss Hammond asserts that "this Christmas mumming was probably suggested by Ausonius' Ludus Septem Sapientum." Ausonius' Ludus (Works, ed. and tr. H. G. E. White [Loeb Classical Library; London, 1919], I, 310-329) resembles Number 64 only in its framework and purpose. It was written in 379 to Drepanius, the Proconsul; seven philosophers (not including Seneca) appear to recite phrases from their works. As White says (p. xxiv), however, the Ludus was probably not for presentation: "Action of any sort there is none (for the characters appear singly), and the 'dramatic' form is therefore a mere screen to allow Ausonius to turn the wisdom of the Sages into verse." The same is obviously true of Number 64; it would be idle to speculate about its actual performance, perhaps before Henry VII.

Number 64 appears in a MS along with many poems attributed to Lydgate; it is a close imitation of his style and particularly of his diction. Its advice is restricted in scope, like Numbers 60-63 and 65, and it is of course a product of the de regimine principum

(Number 64, continued)

tradition. The author also attempts to fuse Christian themes and perhaps echoes from classical literature into a "mumming" framework, but without notable success. The metre, modeled on that of Lydgate, is fairly regular and smooth.

9. wyldernesse] refers, perhaps, to Seneca's exile in Corsica; a pun based on the two meanings of desert, v. 8, may be intended.

14. That] "Those who...."

29-35. For the identical theme, in couplet form, cf. Number 58.23.

38. Obscure; cf. Glossary. Perhaps elliptical for "He who can make no distinction between waste and moderate spending...."

40. mesure ys tresure] proverbial; cf. note to Number 57.22.

47. "...than to turn back to the past [for guidance]."

55-56. "Time [or the times] is good...unless men make it otherwise...."

78-84. Although this stanza seems to point to an actual performance, the evidence is probably to be discounted, for a similar passage occurs at the end of Ausonius' Ludus: "Sed ego me ad partes iam recipio. plaudite / meditando et vestram rem curetis publicam" (vv. 229-230).

Number 65. "A Debate Between Philomena and Clericus" (Number *5 in the Index of Middle English Verse). It is impossible to determine how much is missing from the beginning of Number 65. From the generality of the argument, which later grows progressively more pointed, it may be guessed that most of the poem has been preserved.

A shorter poem, identical in theme and framework, is printed by J. O. Halliwell [-Phillipps] from Camb. Univ. Lib. MS Ff. 5. 48, f. 57a, with the title "The Misogynic Nightingale," Nugae Poeticæ (London, 1844), pp. 37-39. Compared with Number 65 it is colorless and crude, bearing a pungent smell of the clerical lamp.

Number 65 employs the débat technique, couched in colloquial language, with considerable skill. The nightingale's ultimate victory is evidence of its secular nature.

23-26. Probably adapted from a proverb; cf. W. W. Skeat, Early English Proverbs (Oxford, 1910), p. 121.

38-45. The nightingale employs intentional absurdities, of course, in order to demonstrate that no women are true.

47. Obscure; cf. Glossary.

50. "They shall be good when God is dead (?)"

80. glasyn cappe] cf. the obscure parallels in Chaucer, "Monkes Tale," v. 2372; Troilus and Criseyde, II, 867-868; V, 469 (Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer, ed.

(Number 65, continued)

F. N. Robinson [Cambridge, Mass., 1933]) and Robinson's note to the passage first cited. Number 65 supports the view of T. A. Jenkins, Mélanges de Linguistique et de Littérature offerts à M. Alfred Jeanroy (Paris, 1928), pp. 140 ff., who suggests that Chaucer's vitremyte is a headress with two horns. There may also be a suggestion of vulnerability; cf. the Italian proverbs, most of which mention a glass head, in Ida von Düringsfeld and Otto, Freiherr von Reinsberg-Düringsfeld, Sprichwörter der germanischen und romanischen Sprachen (Leipzig, 1872-75), I, 310-311 (No. 600). The proverb in Skeat op. cit., p. 69-70 (from Piers Plowman, B-Text, XX, 168-171) is used as an example of a useless defence, which the author of Number 65 may also have intended.