Speculum Gy de Warewyke.

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1898.
Speculum Gy de Warewyke

An English Poem

WITH INTRODUCTION, NOTES, AND GLOSSARY

HERE FOR THE FIRST TIME PRINTED
AND FIRST EDITED FROM THE MANUSCRIPTS

BY

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1898.
To the Memory of

Professor Julius Zupitza

and to

Professor Eugen Kolbing

gratefully dedicated
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## SPECULUM GY DE WAREWYKE

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PREFATORY NOTE

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

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

It is recognized, that in some decisions there is ground for other opinions than those adopted in these pages. I am aware that there are three readings of no great importance, that might contradict the pedigree of the manuscripts as it stands at present. The question is
open to the friendly opinion of the public. The peculiarly individual development of each of the texts has rendered the arrangement of the genealogical tables one of marked delicacy. Some points could have been discussed more briefly than I have judged advisable. Others could have been treated with greater fulness. The enumeration of the Biblical sources of the various passages is not complete, but has received additional references in the explanatory notes. The chapter on inflection could have been enriched by other appropriate illustrations, the phonology with more complete comparison with other M.E. texts, and the analysis of the relationship of the various Guy of Warwick manuscripts could have been more exhaustive, but additional expansion was believed to be beyond the scope of the volume. The present edition seems to set forth the main peculiarities of the poem.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Georgiana Lea Morrill.


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

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

³ In Englische Studien, vol. vii, p. 183.
[The editor begs to state, that a single text of the six employed in the *Speculum Gy de Warewylce* appeared in Horstmann's *Yorkshire Writers*, Vol. II, after the preparation of this edition had been completed, and after the present text had been printed. She believes it to be unnecessary to add, that, on the authority of the most eminent critics, the print of one manuscript alone without reference to the oldest and best transcript is of comparatively small value. Owing to circumstances for which neither editor nor publisher is responsible, interruption of nearly two years occurred in work upon the *Speculum*, after the edition was at press. The volume has been otherwise retarded by the author's absence in America during the printing of the book.]
INTRODUCTION TO THE SPECULUM

"sothe stories ben stoken vp and straught out of mynde and swolowet into swym by swiftenes of yeres.
... olde stories of stithe, pat astate helde,
may be solas to sum ...
... pat suet after,
to ken all the crafte, how pe case felle,
by lokying of letturs, pat lefte were of olde." 1

Part I.

CHAPTER I.

THE GUY OF WARWICK SAGA AS ADAPTED TO THE SPECULUM.

§ 1. The Argument of the Main Guy Legend.

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

1 From the Destruction of Troy, verses 11, 12, and 21 ff.
2 The most exquisite of parchment folios preserve the history of Guy. Incrusted with gorgeous illumination, the Guy documents are in themselves a priceless treasure, as is assured by those of the Royal Library alone.
3 "On a ryuere syde hys hows he hadde
(A full holy lyff he there ladde)
Besydes Warwyke, pat was hys,
And Gybbe clty clepyd ys."—Auch. 22, v. 10,527 ff.
Chapter I.—The Argument of the Main Guy Legend.

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

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

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

1 Cf. Mr. Jacobs's interpretation in the introduction to Old French Romances.
2 The history was "reprinted at the Renaissance, read under Elizabeth," and plays taken from it "supplied matter for popular Chap Books, written for the love of the people of merry England."—Jusserand, A Literary History of the English People.
Chapter I.—The Motif of the Speculum.

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

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

§ 2. The Motif of the Speculum.

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

The Speculum presents its hero to the reader at the very point at which the attractiveness of his history culminates. Here Guy's character, a beacon shining at the opening of a national literature, would embody all that is lofty in generous purity and patriotism. In this attitude alone is he designated in the Speculum. All dull experiences and all tedious accessories\(^1\) are banished; the Speculum exists only as exponent of romantic and chivalric charm. A few words summon its bright picture.

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

\(^1\) See ten Brink, Eng. Lit., vol. i., pp. 246, 247.
to warfare. He did not cease to seek a chance to win a royal accolade. And when the hour of battle came, the sword was drawn in brave fight, and the foe was brought to naught in manful battle. God that guideth all kept Guy in safety, and granted him victory.

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

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

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

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

1 The length of the period in number of days varies in different accounts.
2 The transition to the present tense occurs in these paragraphs through the deliberate purpose of the editor.
Chapter I.—The Motif of the Speculum.

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

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

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

Guy may be depicted as again going steadfastly forward, continuing his pilgrimage. At last age creeps over the knight, and an old man\(^1\) he drags his way to England. The giant Colbrand worsted, England freed, the weary pilgrim wandered to home, but not to

\(^1\) Cf. The Vision of Sir Launfal, II. 2, 3 ff.
friends. Alone in solitary cave in pious meditation he lived till death came, and he and Felice were again together. Their faithful spirits were united in peaceful rest.

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

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

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

———

CHAPTER II.

TITLE AND LITERARY NOTICES OF THE POEM.

§ 1. Study of the Title of the Poem.

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

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

1 See particularly the Speculum, verses 215—220.
2 The mediaeval poet brings to mind incidents where the soul is surprised at the judgment, as depicted in Robert Browning's Easter Day, sections xvi and xx. Compare v. 551 with 31—32 of the Speculum:

"There stood I
Choosing the world . . . . . . . . "

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

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

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

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

¹ The significance of the bracket (1) uniting *Warewyke* and *heremite* seems to be purely connective, and not indicative of complete formation; cf. Chap. III. 6.
² Mediæval genitive equivalent to *heremite*.
³ *Hamlet*, III. ii. 20.
⁷ Pico della Mirandola was likewise Phenix to his age among his contemporaries.
⁸ See *Temple of Glas* 974, with note to 294, p. 92, and Chaucer *Against Women Unconstaunt*, v. 8: *Right as a mirour nothing may expressse.*
Chapter II.—Study of the Title of the Poem.

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

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

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

Alcuini, obliterate the claims of an English poem to the title Epistola: Bodl. MS. E Musaeo 214, formerly numbered 68, fol. 51 b—fol. 68 b; Bodl. 3558.5, Catalogus Bernardi of the Bodleian Library; Cotton Vesp. A. XIV.; Epistola Alcuini Lecitae, i.e. Diaconi, qui illie in quibusdam epistolis munepataur Albinus cum versibus in fine; Bibl. Reg. 5. E. IV. and Bibl. Reg. 6. A. XI. (cf. Book Index); and the Epistola ad Eudalianum, etc. Apart from primary grounds for discarding Epistola Alcuini, the co-existence of numerous distinct works having legitimate claim upon that title, the form itself is not exact. It could be employed only at the cost of the testimony of the poem concerning its contemporary history. Morley's title correctly applied should read Epistola Alquyni or Alquyn. Historically and on basis of the MS. Alquyn is the orthography demanded by a work of the period of the Speculum; cf. ten Br., Ch. § 103; Sievers, § 208; Sweet, N.E. Gr. § 779. The name of the Deaun is in O.E. Alwine, Eadwine; Latin period Alcuinus; M.E. Alquin or Alquyn. The poet writes of the author Alquin, Alquyn in MSS. A₂D₁H₁₁R₂: Alquin was his righte name, v. 39. Even Latin MSS. of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries do not hesitate to adopt the orthography Alquin, Alquyn (the distinction i, y having no philological weight; cf. ten Br. § 9 and § 22; Morsh. § 112) in transcripts of the works of Alcuinus Albinus Flaccus; cf. Epistola Alquinii, MS. Bibl. Reg. 5. E. iv.; MS. Bibl. Reg. 6. A. xi.; and Lambeth MS. 378, where in libros alquinii, Pro alquino, etc. occur.

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

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

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

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

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

2 Also description of The Index to the Arundel and Burney MSS. in the British Museum.
3 This distinction applicable to the generic Speculum is irrespective of the subject-matter of the individual text.
4 The Mirror of Chastitie, MSS. Harl. 2322, 2325.
5 For MSS. Specula compare MSS. Harl. 113, 116, 953, 1255, 1706, 1713, 2339, 2858, 6581, etc.; Addl. MSS. 17, 539, 22, 283, 25, 089, 29, 951; Royal MSS. 16 E v.; 8 F X.; 5 B IX., etc.
Chapter II.—Study of the Title of the Poem. xxiii

...
Chapter II.—Literary History of the MSS.

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

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

§ 2. Literary History of the Manuscripts.

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

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

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


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

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

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

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

7 A *Penny worth of Witte: Florice and Blancheflower; and other Pieces of Ancient English Poetry*, “Selected from The Auchinleck Manuscript. Printed at Edinburgh, For the Abbotsford Club.” 1857. Laing’s edition is also with
duction without attributing it to its direct source. Notice of this poem in its Auch. MS. stands on p. xiv., numbered 11, and called "A Moralization upon certain Latin texts," thus retaining Scott's title, and failing to correct his defective enumeration as preserved in Sir Tristrem. For recognition of later date the Speculum is indebted to Eugen Kölbing, in his exhaustive study of the Romance selections preserved in the Auchinleek MS., Englische Studien, vol. vii., pp. 178 ff. Here, p. 183, designated "Epistola Alcuini," occurs the only entirely reliable account of the Speculum. Kölbing prints the first ten verses of the poem and the remaining portions of the twenty-five imperfect lines, ll. 1007—1031. The Auchinleek text received casual notice by Warton and by Morley. In Warton's History of English Poetry, edited by Hazlitt, vol. ii., p. 29, the Speculum is classified as "Guy and Alcuine" in a list that, War'ton claims, includes the "principal pieces" of the Auchinleek MS. Morley gives a table of the contents of the folio, naming the Speculum "Epistola Alcuini," in English Writers, vol. iii., p. 281.

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

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

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

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

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

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

³ Scott, see Lockhart, II., p. 63.
Chapter II.—Literary History of the MSS.

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

Of the various MSS. of the Speculum the Harley MS. 525 has represented its text to the general public. This MS. has received the weight of attention in print, and apparently from Harley 525 interest has developed in other transcripts of the same text. The striking feature of the title, the introduction of the name Guy of Warwick, and, indeed, the fact of the existence of a title\(^1\) in connection with what is apparently a complete poem,\(^2\) having introduction, conclusion, and colophon, in a well preserved and beautifully written parchment, explain the popularity of MS. Harley 525. Interest in the Auchinleck MS. was awakened through its association with important Romance texts of the same MS. volume. MSS. Harley 1731 and Arund. 140 have received scanty notice, and no printed mention of MSS. Dd 11, 89, and MS. Reg. 17 B. xvii., has been discovered outside of MSS. Catalogues. There is likewise no account to be found of Worseley 67 of this group of texts.

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

\(^{1}\) Other MSS. have no marked individuality in MS. relationship, and could be mistaken in each instance for a continuation of a preceding text, except in case of MS. D.

\(^{2}\) The most conspicuous MSS. are not otherwise complete.

\(^{3}\) This list is by no means complete.

\(^{4}\) The correspondence between Scott and Ellis began March 27, 1801, but
Chapter III.—Description of the MSS. MS. A1. xxvii

nowthorn\(^1\) to rout on," was scouring the Highlands for ancient lays, and searching for "auld Thomas o' Twizzelhope," seeking for the information, that would culminate later in the interchange of enthusiastic letters between the bard of the Border Minstrelsy and George Ellis over the identity of Thomas of Erceldoune. Possibly to that year (1792) might be ascribed Scott's earliest study of the Auchinleck texts.

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

CHAPTER III.

DESCRIPTION OF THE MANUSCRIPTS.

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

Auchinleck.

1. A1. MS. Auchinleck, Advocates' Library, Edinburgh. A parchment folio of the early fourteenth century; c. 1327—1340. Concerning the contents of this valuable romance\(^2\) MS. Kölbing

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

\(^1\) Cf. Shortreed through Lockhart, I. 230.

\(^2\) Romance in application to contents. The Auchinleck MS., it will be recalled, is a repository for a vast treasure of M.E. romance. It contains the first English version of the Guy of Warwick legend (Sir Gij of Warwicke, Auch., Nos. 22, 23, ed. Zupitza), as well as transcripts of Sir Beues (ed. Kölbing), Sir Tristrem (ed. Scott and Kölbing), Florice and Blancheflour (ed. Hausknecht, Floris and Blancheflur; cf. also Flórs Saga ok Blankiflær, Icelandic version edited by Kölbing), King Horn (ed. Wissmann), Arthur and Merlin (ed. Kölbing), Amis and Amiloun (ed. Kölbing), The Legend of Gregory, named one of the "pearls of M.E. literature" (cf. Schulz, Die englische Gregorlegende nach dem Auchinleck MS.; Holtermann, Uber Sprache... der... Gregoriuslegende; and Neussell, Über... mittelengl. Bearbeitung der Saga von Gregory), and thirty-six other selections, chiefly romance poems, whose popularity in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries is undisputed. They are the "romances of prys" named in Chaucer's often quoted lines, Sir Thopas (ed. Skeat), 2087—2089, etc., and a portion of them denounced by Ascham a century later in the
has treated in detail in *Englische Studien*, vol. vii., pp. 178 ff., with reference to the tenth selection, p. 183. The handwriting, distinct and beautiful, is larger than that of other scribes represented in the Auchinleck transcripts and is not to be found elsewhere in the folio; cf. also Scott, *Sir Tristrem*, p. cxiii. The present text is written in carefully outlined double columns, so cramped in space that sometimes the last word, syllable, or letter of the poetical verse is placed above or below the metrical line: lines 66, 113, 267, 277, etc. In its original condition the poem occupied fol. 39a—fol. 48b. There is no title. Folio headings and fol. 48b with concluding lines, ll. 1032—1034, are lost through mutilation of the MS. for illuminations. On fol. 48a parts of twenty-five lines, ll. 1007—1031, have been cut unevenly from the parchment. Subdivision into chapter or section is not indicated. Capitals are used, but they occur without uniformity. Lines 1, 137, 161, and 277 are marked off by large brilliantly coloured introductory letters. Latin quotations are in red ink. The letter beginning each line is ornamented with red. On the margin to the left, recurring frequently at unequal intervals and without reference to subject-matter, is the character 'q' in red: lines 9, 17, 23, 27, etc. Each leaf contains at the top the lower portion of a Roman numeral, 'xxv', in blue ink.

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

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

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

2 Cf. *Legende Catholica*, "A Lytle Boke of Seyntlie Gestes, Imprinted at Edinburgh in the Year of the Incarnation, MDCCCXL," p. vi, where the editor wishes that the "Vandal" of these "Hagiologies" had been "qualified to chant shrill treble within the choir of the Sistine chapel."
Chapter III.—Description of the MSS. MS. A1. xxix

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

MS. A1 has some peculiarities in orthography and dialect. To be noted is a redundant final -h: péih 25, 80, 104, 170, 184, etc.; novkh 348.—d in the function of ð: wid 84, 93, 181, 334, 370, 372, etc.; þervid 147; widinne 118, etc.; and wídint(u) 252, 258, 277, 278, 302, etc.—z represents voiceless s in plural forms, and at the end and in the middle of a word: veirz (plu.) 71, 79, 325, etc.; in the middle of a word: leezzoun 58, 138; murszere 284; at the end of the word: treszaz: soluz 686; voiz1 446. An abbreviated form occurs: ſunt 785, tit 807; cf. also Streinpe 305 through vocalization of O.E. g. The -ie of micknesse 85, although illustrated also in N.E. thief, is still not the usual orthography of this word in M.E.; cf. Stratmann, M.E. Dict. A1 has a predilection for the grammatical form vole, often where MS. D has sole(l): vole or volt 3, 5, 11, 16, 19, 27, 28, etc. Grammatical mannerisms peculiar to A1 are: ou 2, 816, 824, 848, etc.; bevpere 952; péih and híj are employed side by side: péih 192, 271, 272, 295, 297, 298, etc.; híj 186, 267, 277, 279, 280, 281, etc.; mait occurs in rime with cait 882. A dialectical peculiarity is the use of seide, saide in R, replacing sede of the original: lines 140, 168, 494, etc.; cf. Ipotis, seyde: (dedé) 285, 461. Various instances occur, where the copyist marked his dialect through the method of representing O.E. y, ð, umlaut of u, û: puite : luit 924; duire : ñere 252; ipuit : gilt 888; muhe : -liche 386, 672, etc. In some details the vocabulary of A1 is interesting. ac is almost uniformly translated in other MSS. of the Speculum; cf. 4, 13, 102, etc.; heinen is found 627. emeristene 9, 334, etc., pizteresse 114, 306, 731, etc., and pōtermod 574, 666, etc., are specially the individual property of A1, although existing in isolated examples in the other texts.

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

1 See ten Brink, Verskunft, § 109, Anm.
of No. 6 in the enumeration of the Auchinleck texts, forming "Appendix IV." of the "Introduction" to Sir Tristrem. No. 5 immediately precedes No. 7, and No. 6 is not accounted for in Scott's list. The original numbers follow each other in natural order without interruption.

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

Bibl. Reg. 17 B XVII.

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

Among palaeographical characteristics it will be noted, that, in addition to its customary function, o becomes often a purely graphical representative of e of other MSS. That o in this development, corresponding to a normal M.E. e, may preserve an essential integral principle of language, is suggested by the forms hom and hore, O.E. heom, heora : hom 25, 100, 106, 150, etc.; hore (poss. plu.) 103, 169, 188, 265, 298, 308, 434, etc.; hom selve 443, 485, etc. An interesting dialectical feature of MS. R is the use in unaccentuated position in the inflection of substantives and verbs of -is, -es, -id, -us, -ul.—disciplis 570, but londus (plu.) 163; beris (3. sing.) 663; favis 673; metis 549; lastis 746; wasshis 820; sittes 255; saies 567; lyes 713; wratthus 806 are found. To be added also are in the pp. or pret.: 3arkid 300; martrid 610; honnivrid 632; foulid 832; shewid 361; tholyd (-id) 590, 594, 605, etc.; dewd (3 sing. pret.) 528, 531. The inflectional syllable is not expressed: (pou) dos 103; (hit) dos 112; bes (he) 128; Gos (imp.) 448; shon : won 106, etc.; vertuz is
Chapter III.—Description of the MSS. MS. H₁. xxxi

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

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

Harleian 1731.

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

Lines 7, 8 and 641, 642 are omitted. Entirely original readings are conveyed by lines 133, 136, 205, 206, 403, 404, 412, 417, 447, 448, 479, 507, 508, 514, 591, 592, and 606; 409 is slightly changed. H₁ shows much diversity in text, and often alters the verse apparently on its own responsibility.

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

Memoranudum quod quinto die julij Anno Domini M⁰ccc⁰lxiiij Ricardus Reder de petysfeld deliberauit commissario generali diocesis Wintoniensis iij libros.

A brief description of these three books follows in the customary method of the mediæval period, viz. by quoting in each instance the
words beginning the second line of the second folio of the volume. The record for the second book is as follows: Tercij libri 2° folio, "And Also how mercifull." Turning to the second folio of Harleian MS. 1731, the second line stands: "And al so how mercifull god ys at al assay," confirming the characterization of H1 as the third of the three books delivered to the Commissary-General of the Diocese of Winchester. Richard Ryder was suspected of Lollardism; cf. Catalogue of MSS. in the Harleian Collection.

Arundel 140.

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

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

Although MS. A2 does not record title, the poem2 is described as Gy Earl of Warwyke and Dekne Alquyne in Index to Arundel and Burney MSS. and Catalogue of the Arundel MSS. in the British Museum, vol. i., 1834. It is preceded by The Pricke of Conscience. A2 is much worn. The leaves are ragged and uneven. The ink is often faded. In some instances individual words are almost illegible. Sometimes a correction in very black ink distinguishes letter or mono-

1 Difference of opinion exists regarding the period of A2. Some authorities place the text 1450—1480.
2 A2 is further classified as "a religious tale in verse."
Chapter III.—Description of the MSS. MS. D. xxxiii

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

Dd 11. 89.

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

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

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

Noteworthy graphically is the service of the same character,
appearsly p not only for p and y, but for 3 of other MSS. Varn-
hagen, Anglia, vol. iv., p. 182, footnote, mentions a similar usage in
the Cambridge University MS. Gg. I. 1. Dialectical peculiarities of D
are interesting. In orthography, the tendency to drop or to add an
initial h is characteristic of D. A redundant h is prefixed: Habra-
ham (also in H2) 347; habylde 676; hey (O.E. éage) 827; herpe
(eorpe in A1) 296, 375; halmisdede 934.—h is omitted1: is (for his)
227.—wh is employed for h: where for were 59.—w for wh: wyche
80, 140, 287.—D uses f for v (v in A1): lofe 697; lefep 733.—g rep-
resents ch of A1: caye 903; knoulage 599; knouvaging 725.—An
inorganic 3 is added in the curious form mayt; 1020, 1021, possibly

1 See also Skeat’s illustrations from Havlok, p. xxxvii.

SPEC. WAR.
through analogy with mayst 863, 864. Compare also mayt (mait) 344, 881, 882.—wole of $A_1$ is replaced by salt (salt) 27, 28, 77, 79, 101, 119, 167, 283, 285, 324, 328 (sul 265), etc. $D$ introduces forms like gud (O.E. god) 29, 40, 57, etc.; gede (O.E. god, but cf. ged dede, Anc. Lit., 96) 494; dude 895; pute : lute 924; god hyd 379; boys (i. e. bush) 359, 363, 368. Conspicuous grammatical properties are illustrated in MS. D: kyd 178; es 3, 4, 146, 193, etc.; chastyn (inf.) 181; wemmyd (pp.) 366; be tokens (3. sing.) 363; bedes (1. plur.) 504; Mit for Milite 291. $D$ retains sufframd 587, 597. The vocabulary of $D$ often paraphrases reading of other texts, (1) with words of the same general significance: cheyse (shed $A_1$) 217; creatures (shaftes $A_1$) 781; pole pi mode (polemod $A_1$) 574. (2) Through words of different significance: vnnepe (anried $A_1$) 124; bodly (mannes $A_1$) 388; melenesse (sophes $A_1$) 664. Study of the dialectical peculiarities of this transcript results in the conclusion that MS. $D$ was written by a northern scribe, possibly by a Scotchman.

Harleian 525.

6. $H_2$. MS. Harleian 525, Library of the British Museum. See Kölbing, Germania, vol. xxi., pp. 366, 367. Parchment; quarto of the latter years$^1$ of the first half of the fifteenth century, c. 1440—1450. $H_2$ is written in single columns. The handwriting, uniformly clear and exact, recalls the Auchinleck transcript. Near the conclusion it varies in size, but there is no indication of a second copyist. Beginning fol. 44a and ending fol. 53a is the poem of the present issue. Fol. 44a is without title. Written in two lines on fol. 53a is the colophon: Explicit Speculum Gy (not the expected Gydonis) de Warewyke (the final -e very faint and almost illegible) heremite secundum (expanded by Ritson to read per; by Kölbing, et) Alquinum, see A. E. M. Romancees, i. xcii., and Germania, xxi. 367. heremite is written immediately below Warewyke. The two words are united by a bracket ([]). Every verse begins with a capital letter. Instead of the customary introductory illuminated majuscule, large four-cornered blank spaces were left at lines 1, 161, and 283, apparently for illuminations. In the space line 1 a small capital has been inserted, and a small minuscule in each of the other spaces, probably for the instruction of the illuminator. Latin texts are in black.

$^1$ 1480—1500 is the limit ascribed to $H_2$ by some authorities. The period is with difficulty exactly defined.

$^2$ It should be recalled, that Kölbing's note dates an early period in his work, 1876; Ritson's, 1892.
Chapter III.—Description of the MSS. MS. H₂. xxxv

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

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

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

Worseley 67.

7. W. Worseley 67. See Edward Bernard in Catalogi Librorum Manuscptorum Anglie et Hibernie in unum collecti, 1697. Under Librorum Manuscptorum viri nobilis quo maxime merito speramus, Henrici Worseley de Hospitio Lincolensi apud Londonum Catalogus, p. 213, is to be found what seems to be a reference to the Speculum. Number 67, also 6915, classifies an old "book." Its contents are: Alquin's Advice to Grey Earl of Warwyc, and a "treatise 1 in English verse," the Prykke of consciyence, standing first in the book. The second selection is incomplete.

This heading, Alquin's Advice to Grey, in English (M.E.), the form Alquin in this specific connection, and particularly the attendance of that Achates of the poem 2 of this volume, the faithful "Prykke of consciyence," serve tangibly to link W with MSS. of the Speculum, but the associated text has not been hitherto discovered.

The search 3 for the MSS. of the Worseley collection, as well as the actual investigation of a large number of the fifty MSS. 4 of The Pricke of Conscience, 5 has been without practical result in the discovery of the Worseley MSS. collectively, or of the "book" numbered 67. The libraries of Lincoln's Inn, of Lincoln Cathedral, 6 of Lambeth Palace, the Bodleian Library, the collections of the

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2 See §§ 3—5 of this chapter.

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


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

6 Both are suggested by the element de Hospitio Lincolensi of Bernard's description of Worseley's collection, p. 213.
Chapter III.—Description of the MSS. MS. B. xxxvii

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

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

Bodley 1731.

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

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

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

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

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


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

"Incipit disputatio inter quendam priorem et spiritum guidonis. Augustinus in libro de fide ad petrum dicit: ‘miraculam est, quicquam ardum vel insolitum super facultatem hominis.’"

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

Chapter III.—Description of the MSS. MS. B. xxxix

"Also also sunt Augustinus segeth in deme boke van deme geloren to sunt Peter: Eyn wunder is dat geheiten, dat wunderlichen schüt boven de naturliken kreftien und boven mensliche wunder," etc.

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

"and saint Austin, pe doctur dere,  
and oper maisters mare & myn,  
sais, dat men grete mode may wyn," etc.

This Guido\(^1\) leaves no doubt about himself, v. Bl. 99a: "bin ich Gowido verlost van der pine des vegeurs veir jar dan sich borde."
The tradition is followed with fidelity in English. MS. Vernon reads: "ich am pe spirit of Gy & his soule, pat nou late was ded"; MS. Tiber. E. vii.:

"pe voice answerd to him in hy  
and said: I am spirit of Gy,  
pe whilk ye vate was newly dede," etc.

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

Another theory originates in the prolific literature of the tradition.\(^2\) It is possible to explain Bodley 1731 as a composite title representing several MSS., but not belonging necessarily\(^3\) to any of them, a title without an individual text, one of that "jumble"\(^4\) described by Schick, Temple of Glas, p. cxlviii. ff., and Lockhart, II., p. 122. It might result not merely from "splitting up one work into several" (Schick, p. cli.), but from the uniting of the titles of the "split portions" of several works into a single heading without definite MS. For Ritson, the "dogmatical little word-catcher," nothing would be easier than to invent such a visionary title.

\(^1\) Guido is a "child of the time," see Arnt Buschman, p. 41: Ich bin cyn geist, ein eristommemenschen, etc.

\(^2\) See Sprachforschung. Seelman enumerates seventeen texts of the Mirakel.

\(^3\) Harl. 2379 is a Liber de Spiritu Guidonis: Narratio Legendaria de confabulatone habita inter Animam prodieti Guidonis civis de Alestey (quae distat ab Avenion 21 miliaris), and states Guido obijft 1323. Cotton Vesp. E 1, ends: explicit . . . disputacio mirabilis inter priorem . . . et inter spiritum . . . Guidonis.

\(^4\) Scott writes of Ritson's Essay on Romance and Minstrelsy, cf. Lockhart, II., p. 122, that it reminds one of "a heap of rubbish, which had either turned out unfit for the architect's purpose or beyond his skill to make use of."
Chapter IV.—Genealogical History of the Texts.

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

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

CHAPTER IV.

GENEALOGICAL HISTORY OF THE TEXTS.

I. GROUP Y.

§ 1. MSS. H₂ and D in distinction from MSS. A₁A₂H₁R.

1. Resemblances between MSS. D and H₂.

Of approximately the same age, but differing often in peculiarities of dialect, D and H₂ are undeniably connected in MS. development. Noteworthy is the conspicuous lacuna occurring simultaneously in both MSS. Lines 459—475 are wanting, the break marking practically the conclusion of MS. H₂. Of the fifty-one lines, 407—458, omitted in MS. D, twelve are also deficient in MS. H₂. Otherwise coincidences marking the relationship of D and H₂ are chiefly mutilations characterizing the individual word. In this investigation it must be recalled, that the comparison represents but 400 lines, the last reading to be ascribed to the texts in common being line 399.

Among the more conspicuous resemblances² is that to be found

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

² It will be assumed as understood, that in this discussion only the more conspicuous instances of the mutilation of the archetype are to be regarded as affording conclusive evidence, determinative of the main results of the argument. Naturally nothing else could be possible.
in line 180, where inversion of the adverbia l phrase occurs in both
D and H₂: pe better for he (pēy H₂) sull (shulde H₂) hym knewe,
in distinction from For pei schold hym pe better knawe of MSS.
A₂H₁R. Line 381 reads cler and clene, contrary to clene and cler
of the fundamental text. Line 393 describes the som as feminine,
preserving here, in harmony with the older Germanic (O.E., O.H.G.)
usage instead of his of MSS. A₁H₁R. Line 186 replaces haue with
suffri (suffyr H₂), 195 blisse with wele, and 266 turment with tourne-
ment. The texts are identical twice in modification resulting from
the dialect of the scribes, through the reproduction of his by is (ys),
line 227, and wouh by wove, line 302, in opposition to all the other
MSS. Alterations in individual words occur as follows:

on] at. 266 turment] tourment. 283 noupe] now. 302 wouh]
wowe. 318 ouer] in. It is unimportant as decisive evidence, that
lines 167 and 280 translate Ac of MS. A₁ and, and interpret here
308 as paire.

MSS. D and H₂ agree through various omissions from the funda-
mental text. Conspicuous is the loss of Nay, line 398, and of so
important a word as sinful in line 149. Other MSS. contribute the
following readings lost to MSS. D and H₂:

he was] om. 41 he] om. 149 sinful] om. 183 And] om. 308 al]

On the other hand, D and H₂ preserve at the same time mutila-
tions not familiar in other texts. Compare coincidences in D and
H₂ as follows:

v. 196 abouten] all abouten D H₂. 207 shalt] shalt man. 224
399 prueed] prouned wele. 138 introduces a redundant pe.

With these combinations must be considered all readings in
which D and H₂ harmonize with other MSS., particularly in alterna-
tions that unite also peculiarities of MS. A₂; cf. § 2. Minor instances
of agreement justify the conclusions of the preceding paragraphs,
pointing to a common source for MSS. D and H₂.

2. Differences between MSS. D and H₂.

MSS. D and H₂ preserving common errors that might be derived
from a single source, deviate in important particulars, suggesting
that neither text is dependent on the other. MS. H₂ is often corrupt to a degree not shared by MS. D.

a. That MS. D does not have its origin in MS. H₂, is evident from lines interpolated in H₂, that are not to be found in D, e. g. between 4 and 5; 138, 139; 160, 161; 322, 323; from transpositions of H₂ alone, 111, 112.; in the omissions not shared by D, lines 11, 12; 197, 198; 295—300; 309, 310; and in revised readings, lines 108, 133, 283, 323, 328, 378. In H₂ lines 829—1034 of the original text are wanting, and a false conclusion not extant in D appears in place of lines 1022—1034. D is complete in this part of the poem, preserving the true conclusion shared by A₄ and R of the opposing group. These two MSS. differ also in the following instances, where MS. D has often preserved the correct reading:


The list might be increased from numberless individual faults for which *H₃* alone bears the responsibility.

β. On the other hand, MS. *H₂* did not have its origin in MS. *D.* This is indicated by an altered verse in MS. *D,* line 376, and in the transposition of lines 167 and 168; 201, 202; 303, 304. *D* has the following readings, not shared with *H₂:*


Numerous variations notably distinct in character are sufficient to show that MSS. *D* and *H₂* are not to be ascribed either to the other for ultimate source, but that rather they both descend from a common original represented by *D H₂:*

§ 2. **MSS. A₂ (D H₂).**

Some instances occur in which *A₂* unites with *D* and *H₂* in reproducing the same antecedent text. Readings pointing to a
Chapter IV.—Genealogical History of the Texts.

common original for MSS. A₂.D.H₂, apart from the testimony of important coincidences between D and H₂, shown in the preceding section to go back to a common source, are as follows for lines 1—406, 814—828, the portion of the poem covered by the parallel texts.

v. 45: Off him] pare of A₂.D.H₂. 105 is hit] it is. 167 Ac] And. 168 erere] are (ere H₂). 820 dop] pe. Compare also line 190, where individuality in grouping is marked by divergence common to each of the MSS. of the group, suggesting defect of prototype and an attempted restoration by the individual scribes of Y. Z, on the other hand, preserves one form, e.g. miilt.

Group Y is distinguished by readings in which mutilation is represented in a slight modification of the basis of the classification through the individuality of the rendering of a single MS. Recalling the tendency of the copyist of the Speculum to leave personal impress on his MS. in emendations originating with himself, it will be recognized that the unity of the grouping Y is not necessarily interrupted by divergence on the part of a single member. Such instances are as follows, where two of the MSS. seem to be derived from the source (A₂.D.H₂), common to the three, while A₁.H₁.R (group Z), the opposing element, exists intact:


To these readings can be added all those instances, in which group Y, on one side, is united in internal relationship in opposition to group Z intact on the other, A₂.D.H₂ against A₁.H₁.R; cf. § 5. This grouping is confirmed by coincidences between single combining pairs of MSS. comprising Y, and suggestive of an archetype (A₂.D.H₂) common to the three texts. The noteworthy agreement marking D and H₂ has been studied, § 1. Coincidence less striking is to be recognized in MSS. A₂ and H₂.

§ 3. Study of MSS. A₂ and H₂.

1. Resemblances between the MSS.

Resemblance between A₂ and H₂ occurs in line 154, where H₂ and A₂ offer faire and bold instead of the correct version, and faire
bold. $A_2 H_2$ substitute *hell* for *hote*, line 282, and add *eke* 311, not found in $A_1 A_2 D H_1 R$. $A_2$ and $H_2$, line 815, read *euene* for *ene* of $A_1 H_1$. Other points of resemblance are as follows:


Other points of resemblance are as follows:


§ 4. Relationship between $A_2$ and $D$.

1. Coincidences in $A_2$ and $D$.

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

version *mynde* for *mild* (689) of $A_2. H_1$. In addition to the omission of line 679 common to both, other modifications occur as follows:


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

2. Differences between $A_2$ and $D$.

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

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

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

II. GROUP Z.

\$ 5. Two Groups of Manuscripts.

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

v. 40 \( A \) om.] \( A \) \( (A_2.D.H_2) \) \( Y \). 45 Off him] pare of \( Y \). 182 \( \hat{p}a \]
\( p \) e \( Y \). 200 And om.] And \( Y \). 222 man] he \( Y \). 240 for euere]
euer \( Y \). 299 \( \hat{p}e \] om.] 303 kointise] qweytise \( Y \). 381 clene] cler
\( Y \). From line 407 the continued omission of one MS. of group \( Y \)
must be recalled, \( Z \) being intact. Otherwise the classification remains
uninterrupted. 454 whij] om.] \( Y \). 480 out] om.] \( Y \). 624 And]
om.] \( Y \). 667 clerk] chirsch \( Y \). 675 a] om.] \( Y \). 684 hit] \( \hat{p}a \) \( Y \).
725 gon] agone \( Y \). 729 riht] ariht \( Y \). 791 sinne] foule synne \( Y \).
804 wolc] nyl \( Y \). 812 man] men \( Y \). 820 döp] \( \hat{p}e \] \( Y \). 870 and] or \( Y \). 880 many] om.] \( Y \).

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

These readings, offsetting each other, and in each instance
characteristic of a distinct grouping, seem proof that neither group
is derived directly from the other. This hypothesis is confirmed
by numerous characteristic modifications, interpolations, or omissions
distinguishing individual pairs of manuscripts. It may be assumed
that both groups are to be referred to a common source \( A_1.H_1.R \) \( A_2.DH_2 \)
\( = U \), which was perhaps the original text.
§ 6. MSS. $A_1$ ($H_1R$).

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

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

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


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

§ 7. MSS. $H_1$ and R in opposition to MSS. $A_1A_yD.H_y$.

1. Coincidentces in MSS. $H_1$ and R.

It is obvious that intimate relationship must characterize R and $H_1$ in common. Although separated by an interval of seventy-five years on general estimate, and at variance in important details, by which each MS. is characterized by mistakes introduced on its own responsibility, yet it must be admitted, that the transcripts R and $H_1$ in noteworthy instances unite in combinations not accounted for in remaining texts. The omission of lines 737—740 is shared in common
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by the MSS. Absolutely in opposition to MSS. $A_1.A_2.D.H_2.$ are coincidences in the version of entire lines often broadly different from the same lines in other texts.\(^1\) $R$ and $H_1$, for instance, omit the line 792, In word, in dede, and in þouht, and substitute in its place line 838 of the original text, Lophy (Lodely R) and fele (joule R) many oon. The line 342, omitted in MS. D, is enriched by with eghen in $H_1.R$, of which MSS. $A_1.A_2.H_2$ retain no trace; cf. as follows:

342: þat þou may alday with eghen se. (R)
whom þou maiste see eche day wiþ yeþe. (H₁)

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

488: Whil that thou may go & se. (R)
Whillest þou maiste goo & see. (H₁)
Loke, þat þu þe bise. (A₁A₂₂, om. in H₁R)

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


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

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830, 835, 849. But also belongs to \( H_\text{a} R \) shared with \( H_\text{o} \): 241, 293, 315, 347, 434.

(\( \beta \)) A word is added that is wanting entirely in the opposing MSS.: v. 394 om. \( \text{sipe } H_\text{a} R \). 452 om. \( \text{haue. 702 om.} \) childe. 553, 689 om. \( \text{tere. 678 om.} \) al. 907 om. \( \text{pen. Less important in the argument are the following instances: 106 om.} \) For. 378 om. \( \text{and. 801 om.} \) for. 830 om. \( \text{haue.} \)

(\( \gamma \)) MSS. \( A_\text{a} A_\text{p} D.H_\text{a} \) contain a word not recorded in \( H_\text{a} \) and \( R \): v. 190 \( \text{[bu sek]} \) Seek \( H_\text{a} R \). 242 his] om. 339 For men] Men (Man \( H_\text{a} \)). 394 swich] om. 410 ne] om. 524 Nu] om. 582 ne] om. 617 pi] om. 812 pat] om. 840 ne] om.

To these coincidences may be added all those variations of a trifling character, which though differing slightly, yet may represent a common source: he is replaced by \( \text{pei} \) 833, 834; \( \text{miht} \) by maist 859, 864; \( \text{Nas pat by pat was 214; noht by wil no3 } H_\text{a}, \text{wil not R 312.} \) The list is to be increased by the common readings distinguishing the three MSS. \( A_\text{a} H_\text{a} R \); see §§ 5, 6.

2. Differences between MSS. \( H_\text{a} \) and \( R \).

Incontrovertible points of coincidence between MSS. \( R \) and \( H_\text{a} \) are counterbalanced by instances of deviation, suggesting that \( R \) and \( H_\text{a} \) may be ascribed to a common source rather than to a relationship one from the other.

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

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

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

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Reading Differential</th>
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Here may be included the large number of coincidences, in which the only representative of group Y is the MS. D: 915, 916, 919—921, 924, 931—933, 938, 939, 945—948, 951, 952, 954—956, 964, 969, 970, 973, 974, 977, 980, 983, 993, 995, 999, 1000, 1001, 1004, 1005, 1011, 1024, 1031.

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


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

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

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


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

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

§ 10. Coincidences in $H_2 R$.

In addition to conditions thus indicated, MSS. $H_2, R$ give evidence of common relationship. Both $H_2$ and $R$ add to the text of the other MSS. grete, verses 246 and 380, ry3t 171, yt 208, $pe$ 229, pane

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

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


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

§ 11. The MS. D.

The MS. D united with the MS. H2 preserves traces of influence binding it to the MS. R, as the accompanying illustrations will indicate. Both D and R supply beme for the original text breme, line 383. Both introduce the reading, line 893, as for no lone no for no instead of nis for lone ne for (acord). D and R read syttes for is, line 908. Other corrupt forms justify the same theory:


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

1 The reading of 508 justified by rime and context seems to confirm the hypothesis, that $D$ and $R$ correct mutilations of MSS. $A_1, A_2, H_2, R$, by the form intended by the poet.
§ 12. The Relationship \( H_1, H_2 \).

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

v. 120 wel \( H_1, H_2 \). 204 per is. 268 *and 402 here.* 280 *pe.* 290 maner. 423 *fere* in fere.

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

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

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


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

§ 13. MSS. \( D H_1 H_2 R \).

v. 18 and] *om. D.H_1, H_2, R.* 69 *nu* *om.* 146 Nis] *Es.* 214 Nas] *was.* 327 hu] *what.* 399 ishewed] *schemewed.*

Here the common relationship \( D, H_1, H_2, R \) ends. It does not seem to be sufficiently marked to justify inference of common ancestry, through direct descent for the four MSS. that it comprises.
Chapter IV.—Genealogical History of the Texts.

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

Group $D,H_1,R$ appears line 198 (l. om. in $H_2$). 1. 198 substitutes $Ful$ for $Wel$, 293 $wol$ $3yf$ for $3yf$, and in the Latin text 554 includes the complete quotation. Other coincidences occur, chiefly omissions from $D,H_1,R$. See as follows minor coincidences:


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


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


Conclusions derived from this investigation may be briefly summarized. The two principal groups $Y$ and $Z$ are already classified. $A_1$ and $A_2$, MSS. representing each of the groups, are the purest texts, and are most nearly alike. $H_1$ and $R$ show some close relationship
setting them apart in a distinct group. \( D \) and \( H_2 \) belong in a class by themselves. A general agreement is to be marked between these two secondary groups, but they are not derived one from the other, and they do not represent directly a common source. The group \( H_1 \) \( R \) offers no difficulty. Of the group \( D \ H_2 \), \( D \) is a more exact text than \( H_2 \). \( H_2 \) is often miserably corrupt, and is the farthest removed from the original. The differences between \( D \) and \( H_2 \) are to be accounted for in various ways. Some MS. or MSS. must exist between the transcript \( D \) and the transcript \( H_2 \). The original of \( H_2 \) was undoubtedly defective, and \( H_2 \) or its antecedent text attempted to correct the errors of its prototype and to preserve a complete poem. The original not being at hand, the copyist tacked on the spurious conclusion characteristic of \( H_2 \). The fact of the break in \( D \) and \( H_2 \) at approximately the same portion of the poem suggests that \( D \) had also access to a defective copy. Both MSS. \( D \) and \( H_2 \) could be referred to a theoretical MS. \( (a) \) fulfilling these conditions. MS. \( (a) \), a member of group \( Y \), introduced mutilations transmitted in MSS. \( H_1 \) \( R \), suggesting that its copyist used also a theoretical MS. representative of \( (b) \). MS. \( D \) corrected its copy, hence \( D \) is at times more or less identical with the original English text. This conjecture seems to explain best the general condition of these MSS.

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

PRINCIPLES UNDERLYING THE EDITION.

§ 1. The Classification of the MSS.

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

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

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

§ 2. Criticism of Texts.

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

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

"Nowe be thou were, thou prounde sone,  
pat thou ne be in pryde enome." ¹

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

¹ For a later MS. may be a good copy of a MS. older than any now extant.
Chapter V.—Criticism of Texts.

"Out of heuen, þat was so bryȝte,
Into helle for pride he toke his flýȝte."¹

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

"Which shal not be to hem vncon\ld, For god shal se\ye it with his mou\de:
'Venite, benedicti patris mei.'"

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

"Where be thoo þat thynky\pe þere vpon?
I cane nott telle, be seynye John!"

But the textual merit of group Y on basis of its MS. diverging most broadly from the original does not support the introduction of readings of H₂, however well justified they may seem through sentiment. Similarly H₂ in line 323 seems to preserve the meaning of the poet in Herken now my fi\r\nde so free. A preferred reading is also that of H₁R in 1.790, Herken ô I wil telle þe, supported by MS. D, a member of the opposing group beginning Harkenþ; but the wisdom of conservatism has limited the development of these theories to the form of suggestions only.

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

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

¹ Regarding the position of this interpolation as a unit in the integral poem, the editor recognizes grounds for difference of opinion, and in the introduction of the passage is, like Lydgate, open to correction.
² The tendency of the poet to clinch his statement with a final expression in summary of his thought is to be marked in this poem.
³ The discussion of other passages on basis of the two groups of texts might seem desirable in this chapter. The alteration of pronouns by the different MSS. respectively is occasion for investigation, but here the poet himself was
Chapter V.—The Arrangement of the Edition. lxi

1. 508 satisfactory, as rime and meaning indicate. Line 1029, he as preserved by R is necessary to the full line, and line 350, as and hem make two syllables too many for regular scansion; so um in l. 69 is a syllable too much for the metre. po, line 342, and nost line 347, are necessary to the meaning.

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

The question of the legitimacy of the reading of god, MSS. A₂D, god H₁, om. H₂, lines 6 and 21, is respectfully submitted to the student of textual criticism.

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


The Speculum, as here set forth on basis of MS. A₁, seeks to correct palpable errors¹ extant in the fundamental text. Any attempt at restoration² of A₁ is governed by the readings³ of MSS. A₂, D, H₁, H₂, R, collated separately or with reference to a group-combination. Although members of the family Z preserve nearly complete versions of the original, yet in instance of variance in the MSS., preference is often given to a representative of the group Y. In general a substituted reading presents forms of A₂, the MS.

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

¹ Errors in MS. A₁ are chiefly accidental, illustrative of omission rather than of interpolation.
² Deficiency is to be recognized through verses that interfere with the scan- sion, or in instances in which the MSS. are self-contradictory or support one another in obvious error or in mutilation of the archetype.
³ Avoidable errors in the younger MSS. are notably comprehensive, particularly in MS. D. Among them all haplography and ditography are not common. MS. A₂ is probably answerable for an instance of skipping in verses 81 ff. and 140 ff. (chap. III. 4), due probably to homoeoteleuton. Interpolation and attempt at explanation of unintelligible forms must be attributed to H₂. Intentional error accredited to mala fides is to be noted. The scribe often adapts a sentence to a blunder originating with himself or tries to make sense of what he does not understand. Particularly have instances of anacoluthon taxed the grammarian; cf. verses 628—627.

second in excellence, or \( D \), a MS. affording at times a good text, and often reproducing the original. Hence MS. \( D \) supplies lines 1007—1034, imperfect in MS. \( A_1 \) through injury to the MS. and wanting in MS. \( A_2 \) through loss of leaves. \([pyld]\), line 232, has been contributed by \( A_2 \), where \( pyld \) of \( D \) is manifestly a mutilation of the first text. On the other hand, MS. \( R \) alone preserves \([he]\) added line 1029, and necessary to perfect metre on basis of the normal type A. Undoubted blunders of the copyist having been rectified and absolute deficiencies supplied, MS. \( A_1 \) has been scrupulously followed. The sources of the present text as thus constructed have been differentiated through the following symbols, by which every deviation from the immediate MS. may be recognized:

1. Customary italic type, that represents the expansion of a form contracted in the MS.: hem 25, Iesu 34, euere 44, vertuz 71, etc., all illustrative of usual methods of MS. abbreviation.

2. Brackets, embracing individual letters, syllables, words, or lines, which have been supplied from other MSS. as conjectural emendations of scribal errors; thus \( [iselfe] \), verse 10, indicates that \([e] \) has been added as the reading of at least three of the MSS., and that the inflectional and metrical value of the verse is improved by the conjecture. On the other hand, while the verse mightmetrically represent the type C (described chap. xi.), the suffix places it in the normal type A, in agreement with laws presupposed to belong to the Speculum. \([nost]\), line 347, indicates that an entire word, deficient in MS. \( A_1 \), has been inserted within the verse. On this principle the three verses lost in \( A_1 \), 1032—1034, are embraced in brackets, showing that this portion of the text is borrowed from MS. \( D \).

3. Parentheses, inclosing a word that should be omitted in text \( A_1 \), as inconsistent with meaning, grammatical or metrical form, or historical development. \( J \) Notes at the bottom of the page, strictly limited to palaeographical modifications, important generally to execution alone. So a few instances of dittography are marked in foot-notes, pp. 34, 38, and 40, etc. A foot-note indicates that \( per \), l. 33, is written over erasure in \( A_1 \), and that \( to \), verse 71, is above the line.

Two necessarily single words united in the MS. \( (i. e. A_1) \) have been separated. A hyphen identifies the elements of a single word written apart in the MS. Punctuation, paragraphing by the setting in of the line, the introduction of capital letters beginning proper names \( (Alquin 51, Iudas 129, Gregory 667) \) or opening the verse,
Chapter V.—The Arrangement of the Edition.  lxiii

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

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

The side-notes of the page contain the abstract of the subject-matter; the headlines, a briefer abstract. Alcuin’s Liber contributes chapter headings in Latin. These are written in italic type on the margin opposite to that containing the brief paraphrase.
Important in the preparation of the edition are the notes, in purpose critical as well as explanatory. Here various textual readings have been discussed and difficult passages, idioms, and usages of the period have been studied through parallel selections from Romance poems and the various homilies of the century. A list of the archaic words of the text, with meanings and verse numbers, is collected in the glossary. If the single word occur more than three times in the same meaning, the sign etc. after the third number indicates the fact.

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

Apart from reference to the well-known dictionaries\(^1\) of Murray, Bosworth-Toller, Stratmann-Bradley, Kluge, Skeat, Paul's *Grundriss*, Sievers's *Ags. Grammatik*, and the M.E. *Grammatik* of Morsbach, the *Speculum* is frequently indebted to the following works: \(^2\)


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

\(^2\) Reference in the following edition to any work of the subjoined list will hereafter often cite merely the author's surname, with number of the page quoted for illustration, but without naming specific title.
Chapter VI.—Relation of Speculum to Guy Romances. lxv


J. Zupitza,1 Alt- und mittelenglisches Übungsbuch. Wien, 1889.

Part II.
CHAPTER VI.
ON THE RELATION OF THE SPECULUM TO THE GUY OF WARWICK ROMANCES.

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

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

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


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

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

5 Intermediate in period between the Copland and Lydgate Guys must be recalled the Wynkyn de Worde edition, dated in the Museum collection, 1500; the French text printed a Paris, 1525; a later edition (in French) of 1550; and possibly the fragment printed by Sir T. Phillips, Middle Hill, 1538; cf. Museum text. The brief fragment, three leaves (Fragmenta Venusta) of the W. de Worde edition preserved in the British Museum, Add. MS. 14,408, and the fourth leaf to be found in the Douce Collection 29 of the Bodley MSS., belongs probably to the series associated with Robert the dustyll of 1510, prose stories printed by Wynkyn de Worde; cf. Jusserand, The English Novel in the Time of Shake- speare, p. 64.

SPEC. WAR.
or in Lydgate's Guy. Yet it is to be remembered that the poem of this issue is earlier than the Lydgate text\(^1\) of 1423, or Copland's print\(^2\) of 1560 by the Museum estimate. The *Speculum* supplements the main Guy legend. A chapter lost from some intact version, it is closely interwoven with the thread of the fundamental romance. The "sarmoun" blends with the tale as recorded by Lydgate, the *Lyff of Guy of Warwick;\(^3\) at the point at which Lydgate's Guy:

... "kam to an hermytage, where he fond on dwellyng in wyldirisnesse, str. 63\(^8\)

64 To hym he drouth beseychyn hym of grace."\(^4\)

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

... "speulde hym forth for love of Crist Jesu. str. 24
25 Forsook the world ouknowe to very wight, Of hih perfeccyoun to leven in penceyne, "lefft wyff and kyn and bekam goddis knyght, whom for to serve was set all his plesance, content with lytel (Crist was his suffysance)."

Central point\(^5\) of contact determining absolutely immediate time and date of the interview resulting in the discourse to Guy is not definitely chronicled. Conditions of the *Speculum* in source and working display youth\(^6\) rapt to some celestial ecstasy of renunciation. Intuitively a period of irresolution calling for the defining of purpose and determination comes to mind, marking the hour of farewell to Felice, the period of victory over earthly passion. Here belong Alquin's words of courage to the weak soul. The *Speculum* suggests

2 The Museum text employed in the arrangement of this edition having lost its first leaves is without date; but compare Copland's prints, *Syr Benvy of Hampton, Syr Degore, Syr Inambrus, The Knight of the Suraun*, etc. of 1550, Copland concludes his task with: *Finis. Luas Deo omnipotentii.* Jusserand dates Copland's print "about 1560," p. 64.
4 *Sitzungsberichte (vize supra),* p. 661, and *Uebungsbuch,* p. 111.
5 Though infinitely suggestive of the greater subject, this poem purports to attain only to the dignity of the episode. The ten thousand verses (practically 8043, Herbing, p. 12) of more perfect texts have no claim to recognition in the compact exposition of the *Speculum*. Hence comparisons here introduced are in each instance outward from the *Speculum* to associated texts, rather than inward, tracing only the main theme in the brief composition.
6 Eighteenth century authority is as follows: "You are young and meanly born."—*Chap Book*, 1796.
Chapter VI.—Relation of Speculum to Guy Romances. lxvii

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

Alquin fills the rôle of hermit 3 in another of his functions, in that he becomes Guy's spiritual physician: \textit{i shal me ben pi leche}, verse 69; \textit{hele of soule i may ou leche}, verse 2. So in Copland's Guy, a hermit serves in office of medical adviser: 4

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

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

The service of hermit as guide, adviser, and healer, is testified to in different versions of the legend. Ample occasion is offered in the early texts for the skill of the physician 5 as counsellor in virtue, but the Speculum advances a step beyond other poems in providing tangible personality for a traditional type 6 of mediaeval development. The hermit is distinctly named "Alquin."

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

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

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

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

4 Compare Three Early English Metrical Romances, vol. 1, p. xxxi: "For there were none heremites in those days, but that they had been men of worship and of prowess, and the heremites helde grete housholde, and refresshyd peple that were in distresse."

5 Thus Sir Launcelot came to a "heremyt" and besought aid: \textit{he prayed hym for Goddess sake of socour (vide ante, p. xxx.}).

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

7 It is to be noted that the Copland print is without pagination and line-numbers. Parallel passages in Zupitza's \textit{Guy of Warwick}, published in 1875 (E. E. T. S., XXV, XXVI), are often marked at the left of quotations from Copland.
"And as he rode, by the way
Besyde he saw a fayre ablay.
Thyther guy rode well, I wote,
And there he founde a noble Abbote."—Copl. p. 14.

Copland notes often a visit to a hermit, opportunity for "besechyng of sarmoun," cf. as follows:

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

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

"To an Hermite then rode he
And sayde: 'Hermite, come and go with me.'" . . .
... . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
... . . . . . . . . . . . . . .

"The Hermyte sayd: 'gladly perfay,'
To that Forrest he went with guy."—Copl. p. 14.

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

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

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

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

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

The language of the entreaty in various accounts of the interview, attests to the symmetry of the development in the various texts, if not to the uniformity of the coincidence in method of address:


"'Syr,' he sayd, 'saue þe,
I the bydd, pur charite.'"—Ff. 2, 38, v. 1225.

"'Pat þu wole, par charite.'—Auch. 10, v. 55.

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

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

v. 1420: Tel me now pur charyte.
v. 3164: For charite! she seide.
v. 4004: And cryede hym mercy pur charyte.
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In the different MSS. the motive ascribed to Guy was the same:

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

"Therfor y am purposed in thought
In goddis servyse now to goo,
To acquite some-what, that y haue mysdo."—Caius, v. 7426.

. . . "in his mynde bethoughte him anone,
That all his lif he wolde chaunghe tho,
and in goddis servyse he wolde him do."—Caius, v. 7406.

"All earthly Pleasure he for Heaven forsook."—Epitaph of Guy.

"He thoughte þere wyth all hys myȝt,
To serue hym bothe day and nyght."—Ff. 2, v. 7143.

"All thyse worlde y wyll forsafe,
And penance for my synnes take.
Wende y wyll yn goddyss servyse."—Ff. 2, 7179 ff.

"He þouȝt wip dreri mode:
... For Iesu loue, our sancour,
Neuer no dede he gode."—Auch. 22, v. 16 ff.

"To bote min sinnes ichill wende,
Barfot to mi lynes ende."—Auch. 22, v. 10 f.

Corresponding passages in the Speculum read:

. . . "on a time he stod in pouht:
Þe worldeis blisse him þouhte noht."—Auch. 10, v. 31, 32.

"(And) loueðe god and his lore,
And in his servise was euere more."—Auch. 10, v. 35, 36.

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

A later text explains Guy’s motive: At the very height of Guy’s glory, being exalted to his father’s dignities, Conscience biddeth him repent of all his former sins, so Guy resolved to travel to the Holy Land like a Pilgrim. "Ah, Phillis," said he, "I have spent much time in honouring thee and to win thy favour, but never spared one minute for my soul’s health in honouring the Lord." After exchange of rings and melting kisses, he departed like a stranger from his own habitation, taking neither money nor scrip with him, and but a small quantity of herbs and roots.—Chap Book, History of Guy, of which there seem to be at least twelve editions, one bearing the date 1753; the twelfth appeared in 1790; another was printed for "the company of walking stationers," 1796.

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


3 Weight of the argument based on this parallel is enhanced, if the relative length of the Speculum and of the other texts of these selections is to be regarded comparatively.
abnegation with its ulterior motive. Guy reveals to Felice the reproach of his stricken conscience. Copland states that Guy had:

... "bethought him tho,
how he had done many a man wo,
7135 and slayne many a man with his honde,
Brent and destroyed many a Lande.
7143 Forth his lyfe therefore guy thought, to serve Jesu Crist that him bought.
7147 'With penance amende shall I that I have sinned with my body,'"

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

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

The Speculum, shaped to the conception of English tradition, is

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

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

"An English-man I was by Birth;
In Faith of Christ a Christian."

"It was an English-man all this did do."

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

"and when Guy was on English syde,
Unto worke he gan ryde."

"En Engleterre feu ieo nc.
En une ville de Wallingford,
Qu'est pres de Oxenford."


"Great Hercules, if he had breathed on ground,
When English Guy of Warwick liv'd renowned,
There would have been a combat twixt them two."

The French version of 1525 describes Guy as of English origin: "Cy com-
like moulded skillfully to a historical groundwork of facts diametrically opposed in nature and origin. Count Guido,\(^1\) Guido Comes, knight of renown, active in war, holding at Tours positions of honour and trust,\(^2\) appeals to Alcuin, Dean\(^3\) of the order of St. Martin\(^4\) 796—804, cultured priest of the school of the palace, preceptor of one greater than Count Guido, superior to youthful neophytes, beloved teacher of the king and emperor\(^5\) Charlemagne, a humble\(^6\) servant consecrated to righteousness. Inspired with religious exaltation through purpose of chivalric glorification of God, Count Guido pleaded for a homily\(^7\) to deepen spiritual consecration under the austerity of war, Spec. 49—64 and Liber. The devoted friar responded with an exposition of virtue, the Liber popular during many ages. There is some ground for believing that the vigilant Count became successor to Alcuin,\(^8\) and to the period of his death was Abbot of the monastery of St. Martin of Tours. The tradition continues to embody with consistent fidelity historical facts of Count Guido's life, for, on authority of Lydgate:—

\(\frac{\text{nence Guy de Warwick chevalier D'agleterre, qui en son temps fit plusieurs processos et conquistes en Allemaigne,}}{\text{That England claimed the warrior chief seems evidenced in the "address" of the same edition of Rowlands. The first address is "To the Noble English Nation;" the second, "To the Honorable Ladies of England."}}\)

\(^1\) In similar guise the exploits of Charlemagne and his retinue of brave warriors are glorified in Fyrambras, or the Song of Roland in its various versions, and the victories of King Arthour in his "table round" of noble verse.


\(^3\) As presiding officer of the monastic school Alcuin delighted to be called Dean, simple deacon, Migne, vol. i. p. 531, § xxiv.: benefic Alcuinus in epistolis suis nuncupam se monachum, sed vel levitem, vol. quod illo tempore idem significat deaconum inscriptum,cf. Speculum, v. 41.

\(^4\) Speculum, verses 37—44.

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

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

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

\(^8\) Alcuin held the highest monastic benefice. As Abbot he enforced the rigorous dispensation of the Benedictine Order; cf. Ep. 43.
"the same hermyte with inne a lytel space
by deth is passed the fyn of his labour,
after whos day Guy was his successour."

Lydgate adds a conclusion suggestive of the reward of piety, interpreting the influence of the discourse, be it *Speculum* or *Liber*, and applicable equally to Count Guido\(^1\) and to Guy. For the "historie" affirms, that Guy of Warwick lived *more and more encreysing in vertu*, \(^{64}\).

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

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

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

\(^3\) Guy's achievement with the famed dragon is described as follows:

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

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

\(^4\) Herbing, "*Ueber die Hss. des Guy von W*.," p. 4.
heightened by the revelations of Warwick Castle through the display, in hall and oratory, of trophies testifying to the prowess of some scion of the house of Warwick, nominally the “mightie earle,” and through the statue itself at Guy’s cliff.

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

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

The ballad claims:

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

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

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

---

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Finis.
The assumed identity of Guy of Warwick and of Count Guido is adopted, whether inadvertently or with deliberate intent, in later Latin MSS. of the original Liber of Alcuin, absolutely irrespective of the Speculum; see MS. e Musaeo 1 214, formerly No. 68, Epistola Alcuni leui te Guidoni comiti Warrewici ad eius requisicionem, fol. 51b—fol. 68b, of the Bodleian Library, Oxford, date circa 1450. That, however, the union of Guy and Guido into a single homogeneous unit be justified as historical, independent study of the dramatis personae of the legend and of the Liber will aid to disclose. The part played by Count Guido of Tours, under the name of Guy of Warwick, will be considered in the two chapters to follow, in an attempt to interpret the history of the two warriors.

CHAPTER VII.

CONCERNING GUY, EARL OF WARWICK.

"Come! See the noble Deeds of Warwick's Knight,
Whose worth within this history is placed
Like Diamonds, when they're in Gold inchas'd?"

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

1 This Latin MS. is a small quarto described in the Catalogus Bernardi: Catalogh bibl. MSS. Anglice et Hibernae (cf. chap. III. 8): see the same Catalogue, Alb. Alcuinus Flaccus, De Virtutibus & Vitiis Epistola Ejusdem ad Guidonicm Comiten Warwikensem.

2 Selected from the Bettesworth Guy, "at the sign of the Red lion on Londonbridge," of 1706, a work dedicated to Mr. Zachariah Heywood, and containing notes from a mysterious unknown.

3 The various editions of Guy's history, popular during the 18th century, comprise large numbers of "Chap Books," in series combining numerous fascinating tales, Patient Grissel, History of the Seven Wise Masters of Rome, The Friar and the Boy, etc. The edition of 1706 contains a "Full and True Account" of Guy's "many Famous and Valiant Actions Remarkable and Brave Exploits, and Noble and Renowned Victories," the history of "his Courtship to fair Phedic— and the many difficulties and Hazards he went through to obtain her Love," "extracted from Authentick Records, and the whole Illustrated with Cuts suitable to the History." Printed by W. O, for E. B., and sold by A. Bettesworth. A fifth edition was published in 1711, a seventh in 1733, and a twelfth, London, 51 Shoe Lane, is without date. The volume is
the combat by which the pilgrim, Guy, killed the notable "Gyant of Denmark":

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

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

"Guy's courage made the haughty Colbronde yield,
And all the Danish army fly the field!"

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

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

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

1 *Sir Beues* [ed. Kölbing], MS. M of the 15th century, claims for Myles, son of *Sir Beues*, the later ownership of Colbrandy's sword; cf. verses 4169—4170, opening question of analogy with Arthurian *Excalibur*, or finding prototype in the "old mighty sword" of Beownf:

"And Myles had Colbrandy's brand, That sonne tyne had Rouland."


3 The palatable success of great Guy, "exemplary sparc of christian love," is measured by his biographers in various euphemistic encomiums. Such was his valour in "Quarrelus found out for his Recreation," "great Achievements oft performed in fight," that:

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

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

"Erl of Warwyk, named on the beste knyght
That was th'o dayes . . . . . . . .—Lydgate, l. 335.

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

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

"[Have] through Earth's Globe immortalized his Name."
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This brilliant struggle, the legendary theme, about which the romance has centered, is that described by Mannyng in the History of England, derived from Geoffrey of Monmouth's Historia Britonum, of the 12th century, and from de Langtoft's French version of this work, see p. 31:

"Anlaf sent messengers unto Athelstan
And bad him yeld the lond, or find another man
To fight with Colibrant . . . . . . .
That was Guy of Warwick, as the boke sais,
Ther he slough Colibrant with hache Danes."

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

One of the early accounts describes the event: "Finding his head crowned with silver hairs, after many years travel, he (i. e. Guy) resolved to lay his aged body in his native country, and therefore returning from the Holy Land, he came to England, where he found the nation in great distress, the Danes having invaded the land, burning cities and towns, plundering the country, killing men, women, and children, insomuch that King Athelstone was forced to take refuge in his invincible city of Winchester. The Danes drew all their forces hither, and desired that an Englishman might combat with a Dane, and that side to lose the whole, whose champion was defeated. On this, mighty Colbron singled himself from the Danes, and entering upon Morn Hill near Winchester breathing venomous words, calling the English cowardly dogs, that he would make their carcases food for the ravens. Guy hearing proud Colbron could no longer forbear, but on his knees begged the king for a combat. The king liking the courage of the pilgrim bid him go and prosper. Guy walked out the North Gate to Morn Hill, where the giant was, and fought most manfully. He was so nimble, and laid about him like a great dragon, so that he brought the giant to ground."—The History of Guy Earl of Warwick (Chap-Book, 1798), p. 21.

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

We learn that "Guy conquered and was entertained with Trumpets, Drums, and other Martial Music,"

"Te Deum aut en haut chante
Grand voie font en la cite."—Aug. 77. v. a.

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

O. N. Olaf. Cf. Bat. of B., l. 50.
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Account of the tumultuous departure of the terrified Danes is enrolled by the MS.\(^1\) Cod. Aug. 87. 4. fol. 80:

\[\ldots \ldots \text{"Hastinement hors se vont,}
\text{Passent la mer en lor dromond:}
\text{En Danemarche\(^2\) sont arivez}
\text{Mournes et matz et adoelez."}\]

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

"Fro Cristis birth the comple mnyne hundred yeer
twenty and sevene by computacion."

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

"King Athelstone\(^5\) that tyme was king,
and, when he heard of Guy's coming,
He went and met Guy for sayne.
they kist and wept for loye certayne."—Copl. p. 31.

\(^1\) MS. Cod. Aug. 87. 4 is described as *urnalt französisches Liederbuch*, Her-hing, *Über die Handschrift des Guy von Warwick auf der herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Wolfenbüttel.*

\(^2\) *ofer deep water. difelin (Dublin) sean.—Ethelstan*, 109, 110.


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

\(^5\) There is no mistaking the romancer's period for the immortal Guy: "In the sixth Year of the Reign of King Edgar the Great, this our famous Guy was
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So also the Drewry print of the early 18th century: "In the blessed time when Athelstone¹ wore the crown of the English nation, Sir Guy, Warwick's mirror... was the chief hero of the age." An old song of the Valiant Deeds of Chivalry by the Noble Knight, Sir Guy of Warwick, to the tune, "Was ever man?" permits Guy to speak for himself:

"When Athelstone wore the Crown,

I lived here upon the Earth.

Sometime I was of Warwick earl."

Collateral evidence, the Chronicle,² substantiates romance: Her ægelstan³ cyming. eorla dryhten. beorna beahgifa. his broþor

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

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

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

"Nine hundred twenty Years and odd

After our Savior Christ his Birth,

When king Athelstone wore the Crowne,

I lived here upon the Earth."

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

"These venerable ancient song-inditers

Soar'd many a pitch above our modern writers;

Their words no shuffling double meaning knew:

Their speech was homely, but their hearts were true."

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

"Aethelstan King,

Lord among Earls,

Bracelet-bestower..."

... with his brother,

Edmund Atheling,

Gaining a lifelong

Glory in battle,

Slew with the sword-edge

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

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

"translacioun . . . . . . .
out of the latyn maad by the cronycleer
callyd of old Gerard Cornybynee. str. 724
the XI. chapitle of his histroyal book." str. 733


1 Historical point of the saga is the battle by which the W. S. king Ethelstan with his brother Edmund, aided by the Mercians, defeated the Danes, combined in forces with the Scotch, at a place, probably Brunanburch, on the western coast of England, in the year 937 (?), Green, Conquest of England, p. 251; Wulker, Grundriiss, 339—342.
2 Guy's combat recalls to the editor the Battle of Malden with its Viking hero rather than the Battle of Brunanburch.
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Gualterus Excestriensis and Giraldus Cambrensis, alias Girardus Cornubiensis (Gerald de Barri?), are the same historian. Herbing ascribes the legend of Guy to Walter of Exeter (Ueber die Hss. von Guy, etc.). Tanner believes that the historian lived in the 12th century. Thus a history is supposed to have been written in the 12th century in which Guy of Warwick is represented as an actual hero, alive in 927, during the reign of Æthelstan, and active in the Battle of Brunanburh. The hero is thus placed in the 12th century, where he has the support, if not of, history,¹ again of romance.

Guy has generally been regarded as purely a hero of fiction. Gräse, Die grossen Sagenkreise des Mittelalters, traces in the legend a development of the Arthurian saga, in which Guy names Gawain. Guy is described in the Dictionary of National Biography as the product of Old English traditions, to which literary form was given by an Anglo-Norman poet; ten Brink, p. 180, agrees in ascribing the work in its first treatment to an Anglo-Norman poet; Zupitza, Guy of W., p. 1, decides that the M.E. versions of the Romances of Guy of Warwick are from the French. This is virtually the opinion of Jusserand,² The English Novel in the time of Shakespeare, pp. 38, 39, 40. Here Guy of Warwick is included in the long list of "poems translated or imitated from French romances," the "awakening" in the palace which the Norman enchanter had doomed to temporary sleep. The author of an article on "Ancient Metrical Romances," Percy’s Reliques, p. 231, also A. Tanner, p. 47, explain: "These stories were of English invention." "French originals were amplifications of the old English story." The editor, "Introduction" to Guy and Colbronde, Hales-Furnivall, Bishop Percy’s Folio MS., vol. ii. pp. 509 ff., finds the oldest literary form of the Guy history to be purely romance, in literary composition the work of a monk. Guy’s desertion of his wife, his asceticism, his remorse, that he has,

"Abbeys brenne and citises tane" (MS. Ff. 2. 38),

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

¹ George Ellis’s attempt to identify Guy and Egil is not successful; cf. Turner, Warton, Herbing, and Egil’s Skylagrimi, ed. Schlegel.
² See also A Lit. Hist. of the Engl. People, p. 224.
product of a wandering minstrel, sung in palace hall or cathedral priory, the material later disseminated as historical fact. He cites in support of this theory an incident from Warton (History of Engl. Poetry), where Prior Alexander de Herriard entertained his guest, Adam de Arleton, with the song of Danish Colebrand sung by a minstrel. Tanner's view is confirmed by the essay on the metrical romance (Percy's Reliques, p. 290): "The stories of Guy and Bevis were probably the invention of English minstrels." Ritson (A.E. M.R., vol. I. p. xciii) also quotes Warton: "cantiicum Colbrondi was sung by a juggler in 1333." Grässle (vide supra) finds it one of a cycle of heroic song.

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

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

"Merie sungen muneches binnen Ely,
Tha Cnut chyning ren ther by;
Roweth, cniltes, neer the land,
And here we thes muneches sang."

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

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

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

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

SPEC. WAR.
Chapter VII.—Concerning Guy, Earl of Warwick.

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

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

“Methinks no dragon of the fens
Flashed hunger scales against the sky,
Roused by Sir Bevis or Sir Guy....”

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

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

1 Sir Beues goes so far as to cite an exploit of Guy of Warwick, in the contemporary Auchinleck MS., v. 2697:

“& Gij of Warwick, ich vnderstonde,
Slou3 a dragoun in Norj-Homberlondie.”

2 The metrical tale assumes but a slightly different exterior in the various romances. The main features are the same throughout: a valiant knight, a relentless lady to be won, a world of fight, seas of blood, the knight applauded and rewarded. Cf. King Horn, Sir Beues, etc.
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The saga places it in the 12th century; cf. Gesta Romanorum. To transfer Guy to the battlefield of Brunanburh, there is only the voice of the romancer in authority. The four hundred years between Liber and romance are not explained in Guy's history.

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

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

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

CHAPTER VIII.

CONCERNING GUIDO, COUNT OF TOURS.

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

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

1 For lists of Guy of Warwick MSS. see Winneberger, Ueber d. Hss.-Verhältn. des Altfr. Guy de W., pp. 2, 3, A. Tanner, Die Sage, etc., pp. 49—54, and Zupitza, pp. 1, 2 of Introduction.
2 In the study see Day and Decker's play, 1618—1619, Pepys I. 522, and the Spanish romance Tirante el blanco.
3 Lines to R. J. Tennant, from the authorship of Hallam, immortalized in Tennyson's In Memoriam.
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his own epoch and his own land. Unlike other great commanders, benefactors to home and country, no glowing records illumine his achievements to modern gaze. As an educational medium Count Guido has not contributed forcefully to a later civilization among progressive nations,

"His soul well-knit and all his battles won."

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

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

These succinct passages summarize comprehensive facts\(^4\) in personal character and experience. They prepare for revelation of wonderful military prosperity. Count Guido’s chosen pursuit was war. He was esteemed as warrior. Alcuin adapted his counsel to Guido’s pursuit, occupationi, quam te in bellicis rebus habere, Liber, line 2. A lesser Cæsar, he first conquered the land he was to govern: Britanniam ingressus, totamque perlustrans, in dedicationem accepit, Mgr.\(^5\) II., col. 444. This illustrious advance of Guido into

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

\(^2\) Thèse pour le Doctoral présentée à la Faculté des Lettres.

\(^3\) Published first M.DCC.XXXVIII.

\(^4\) Cf. Vita Alcuini, Jaffé, p. 28; Ceillier, Hist., vol. xii., p. 157.

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

¹ *Opera ac Studio Andree DV Chesne.*
² That the Saracen prosclytes of a pseudo-prophet, having conquered Persian host, Grecian phalanx, and Roman cohort, and planted 'standard on the pillars of Herocles' (cf. Washington Irving, *Mahomet and his Successors*, p. 150), dreamed to the day of Alcuin (approximately 800) of the subjection of Europe against the powerful Charlemagne, is to be inferred from the historian's narrative testifying to the incursions of a Saracen foe. That, however, it was again a struggle after the rich treasure of the famed Abbey of Tours, is not probable. It will be recalled that the repulse of the Saracens, completed by Charles Martel in 732, against the accomplished Arab general Abdel Kham, was a final defeat (cf. Freeman, *General Sketch*, p. 119). The Battle of Tours repelled Moslem power with its fierce propagandism, prevented Saracen ascendancy in the extreme West, and ended the limitless incursions marked by the burning of the great library at Alexandria, and the military subjugation of the Visigoths succeeding Saracen entry into southern Gaul under El Haar in 710 (cf. also Fisher, *Outlines of General History*, p. 229).
part. Wido (Guido, p. 59)\textsuperscript{1} Comes ac Prefectus, qui in marca Britanniae presidebat, & vna cum sociis Comitibus Britanniam ingressus, totanque perlustrans, in deditioinem accepit; & Regi de Saxonia revertera arma Ducum, qui se dediderunt, inscriptionis Singulorum nominibus presentauit. Nam his se & terram & populum omnis cuinque illorum tradidit, & tota Britannorum provincia, quod nunquam antea à Francis fuerat, à Francis subiugata est.

The exact year of this glorious conquest\textsuperscript{2} is not to be stated. For a decade following its occurrence vigilant annals keep fresh its splendour. The description occurs in Annales de Gestis Caroli imperatoris, pp. 79, 250, etc.: ad quem Wido Comes, . . . Nam sociis Comes ille suis compluribus ipsam hoc anno pentitus terram iustrauera|at omnem, corda domans belli terrore ferocia. Compare also Bouquet, V., p. 214, Annales Francorum, p. 349, etc., the latter confirming the identity of the hero with the words: Wido Comes, qui marcan contra Brittones tenebat. Both historians quoted note an undated definite period, hoc anno, eodem anno. The Chronicle seems to have been completed DCCXCI. French Britain must have been in the hands of Guido so early as the date of the writing of the Liber, probably earlier. Note also Ex Hermanni Chronico, p. 365: Britannia Cismarina per Wittonem Ducem Caroli subjicitur; Ex Sigeberti Chronico, p. 378: Baleares insulae auxilio Francorum à Saracenis defensorunt per Widonem Karoli Ducem Brittones vinctur, & in deditioinem recipiuntur; Chroniques sur les Gestes de Charlem., Livre I., p. 247: Après retourna en France, . . . la chapele s'en ala pour yverner: la celebra la sollemnitü de la Nativité & de la Resurrection. Là vint . . . cuens Guis . . . qui gardes des marches de Bretagne . . . avoit cherchies toutes les contrées des Bretons . . .

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

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

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

seems to be connected with Guido. The history of the year 834 contains notice of the lamented death of a Count Guido, killed in a brave fight in defence of the Abbey. In a battle incited by counts Odo and Lambert many illustrious men were slaughtered, among them perhaps Alcuin’s Guido.  

Dv Chesne, Historiae, etc., Tom. III., p. 445, states that a priest escaping announced a cruel fight, and reported to the monks the death of their Abbot: Teutonem denique Abbatem  

S. Martini, Guidonis Comitem Cenoman . . . mortem oppetissæ.—Ex. Mirac. s. Benedicti, p. 213. Great lamentation arose among the sorely afflicted brotherhood, to be read of to this day, a thousand years after these monks on the sunny plains of the Loire sent cries to heaven in bereavement and loss: Quo numeò graviter afflictì Fratres, ad Dominum exorandum pro tanta Christiani populi cade se intentissime conferunt. The same record is repeated by Bouquet, Historiens, etc., Tom. VI., p. 241; Ex Chronico Engolismensi apud Labbeum, p. 323; Ex Chronico Brit. in Probat, Hist. Brit., p. 351, and Ex Mirac. s. Benedicti Abbatis, p. 313. Details of the painful circumstance are to be found De Rebus Gestis Ludovici Pii, Liber V., p. 384: Wido Comes Cenoman, a Ludovico Imperatore . . . mittitur ad inquirendum . . . de beneficis Ecclesiae. The announcement of Guido’s death follows: Guido Comes occiditur pugnando. Yet through the sacrifice of the valued life of the brave nobleman, the purpose of the mission was accomplished. The Chronicle completes the story: Quædam Beneficia Ecclesiae Cenomanicae restituantur. Facts relative to his life are otherwise as limited as they are definite.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Not merely in public relationship is Count Guido introduced. In private capacity he is presented as a loyal citizen. In personal character he was a man of perfect life\(^2\); he was an incorrupt judge, a trustworthy witness, a faithful ambassador: Morum vita a viro perfecto et judice incorrupto et misso fideli Widone audiri potest, qui eorum omnia scrutans agnuit, quid egissent vel quiditer vivissent, Mgn. I., col. 62; II., col. 444; judicium ac judicorum aequitatem et misericordiam sedulitatem, Mgn. II., col. 614; Wido advocatus, Ex Eutropii Presbyteri Tract., p. 298. Count Guido was reverenced by his Abbot and Dean. Alcuin appointed him umpire in settlement of a dissension between episcopum Aurelianensem et fratres Turonenses, cited in Epistola 195, Mgn. I., col. 437. More than once he served as arbitrator in matters of alteration. In testem vocatur innocentiae fratrum sancti Martini, Mgn. I., col. 163. In a vague way Guy of Warwick was also champion of the oppressed; cf. the delivery of the fifteen sons of the aged man in Guy and Amaran (Percy's Religies), and numerous instances of the adaptation of semiselfish motives to an imaginary good, in contrast to this of Guido, based on justice and consecrated zeal.

That Guido had earned the esteem of Alcuin, is evidenced in the history\(^3\) of the Liber, a laborious task of affection, undertaken in the

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1 Access to these annals has been impossible.
2 Froben writes of the man; viro perfecti, ac Judicis incorrupti, atque Missi fidelis, Fr. II., p. 5. See also Diplomata Ludovici Pii Imp., p. 834.
3 Rigid austerity is ascribed to the old age of Alcuin. He forbade his pupils to read the philosophy and poetry of ancient Greece and Rome. To replace the lost texts he multiplied trustworthy copies of religious works. The fame of the school was great for MSS. remarkable for neatness and elegance. Discouragement of secular learning was general at this period; cf. Mullinger, The Schools of Charles the Great, pp. 100, 122, and Hallam, Middle Ages, chap. ix., part 2. Hraban (d. 856) permitted "a slight tincture of the classical literature," as subsidiary to the religious discipline of the Scriptoria.
Chapter VIII.—Guido, Count of Tours.

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

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

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

2 See Hincmari Remensis Annales, p. 469: "villa quaee Vendopera diecebatur, quam plae memoriae Hludovicse impseror saneto Petro tradiderat, et Wido, quidem comes per plures annos tenuerat . . ."

3 Alcuin in letter to Charlemagne writes: "To some I administer the honey
Chapter VIII.—Guido, Count of Tours.

Like Guy of Warwick, the fame of Guido was enshrined in metrical composition. Apparent to Count Guido is the following selection from Carmina Historica, MS. Bibliothecae Petavii:

Super Guidonem.

"Insequor ipsos libros, dumque vaco studiis.
Spiritus obtinuet, quam meruit melius.
Quoniam eram Turomensis, ego de nomine Guido,
Gentis Patricia, me modo Remis habet," etc.

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

of the sacred writings; others I try to inebriate with the wine of the ancient classics. I begin the nourishment of some with the apples of grammatical subtlety: I strive to illuminate many by the arrangement of the stars, as from the painted roof of a lofty palace." This bit of poetical prose, worthy an Elizabethan in graceful selection of terms, is introduced by Craik into his History of Eng. Lit. and Lang., vol. i., p. 46. See Epistola 78, Jaffé, p. 345: "... sandarum mella scripturarum ministrare satago; alias ceterarum disciplinarum mero inebriare studio; alios grammaticae subtilitatis entrare pomis ineipiam; quosdam stellarum ordine... eae pietor, quilibet magnificare domus culmina... inluminare gestio." See Longfellow, Outre Mer (1852), p. 77.

1 See Poesia Saxonici Annaal., DCCXCI., Lib. III.; De Gestis Caroli Magni, l. 587 ff.: "Ad quem (Carolo) Wido Comes cui Brettonum regiones
Commissa fuerat, gentis tam sepe rebellis
Dedit armis Ducum, proprio quae nomine quisque
Inscripto dediit: ... ... ... ... ...
Francis servire coacti,
Nam sociis Comes ille sui compluribus ipsum
Hoc anno penitus terram lustrerat omnum,
Corda domans belli terrore feroce granudi,
Et jam perpetuo Brettones jure subacti
Pararent ... ... ... ... "
Abbay during the lifetime of Alcuin was that of patron. His death was grievously mourned with every manifestation of reverence and affection.

Corresponding details mark the life of Guy the Earl. Event corresponds with event in the history of both warriors, yet these two chivalric soldiers of an earlier generation are not the same individual. They present two types, that of the vigorous man of affairs, and that of the dreamer of an imaginary world. Guy of Warwick is not Guy of Tours. Guido, the statesman of profound religious conviction, valiant warrior, honoured citizen, has not been identified with Guy the visionary, Guy the ascetic, the misanthrope, the unpractical knight of tradition. Alcuin is not represented in that high priest of romance, the hermit. It is impossible to explain the intervening years that, according to best reports, exist between the deeds ascribed to the two warriors. The desired unit, a missing link, is not to be discovered in any descendant or friend\(^1\) of Guido the Count, nor is there a trace of reason in carrying Guy back through the century and placing him in the age of Count Guido. Unless some magician with Divine gift grant to Count Guido the roseate glamour of the romancer, and to Guy of Warwick the plain and simple atmosphere of earnest unselfish patriotism and good citizenship, the poet has placed Guido of Tours in a family to which he has no claims of relationship, and Guy of Warwick in a country not his by inheritance.

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

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

\(^1\) Alcuin's Guido cannot be brought into connection with any of the numerous Guidos of his generation. A relationship cannot be traced to Guido, Bishop of Spoletto, to the four hereditary dukes of France, Guidos living at that time, nor to Guido of Soissons, of Rouen, of Auxerre, of Modena; nor is he represented in the fifteen Guidos, dukes, bishops and archbishops distinguished in the 10th century. Gui de Burgaghe, celebrating in chanson the expeditions of Charlemagne, seems not to have known Guido of Tours. In none of the distinguished lines of bishops, archbishops, artists, poets, warriors, bearing the family name Guido, has been discovered trace of heredity, direct or indirect, for Guido of Warwick and of Tours. See Wattenbach, *Geschichte des Mittelalters,* and Förstemann, *Namenbuch.*
should environ kinsman to Guy the knight. No beautiful Felice, no sovereign lady, guides the voluntary self-abnegation of the Count. What Guizot says of organized feudalism may be applied to Guy of Warwick. He lived in a Utopia without a date, a drama for which we find in the past neither theatre nor actors. To the true dignity of a lordly Guy, there exists but a tiny germ warmed into activity in the tale of Alexius. Guido the Count typifies, to the contrary, the man who dares to be just, as well as generous. Not a zealot, nor a fanatic, Guido’s life is eloquent in deeds, not in dreams.

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

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

¹ See Morley, English Writers, vol. iii., p. 364.
facts. The Speculum stands as the intense utterance of a poetical temperament, responsive at once to nature and to art, but in touch with earnest daily life. Such utterance meets nature in the reminder that "art is but the masque for nature." Dante speaks for Guido of Warwick and of Tours:

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

CHAPTER IX.

PRINCIPAL SOURCES OF THE SPECULUM.

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

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

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

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1 Glosses representing the Alcuini Exhortatio are printed in the well-known Wright-Wülker, Anglo-Saxon and Old English Vocabularies, London, 1884, pp. 86 and 87.
2 This work is characterized further as follows: Post primam editionem, a viro clarissimo D. Andrea Vercetano eratam, de novo collecta, multis locis emendata, et apsecvis primum repertis plerimvm acuta, variisque modis illustrata, etc.
4 The Kentish Glosses preserved in the Cotton MS. Vesp. D vi, printed in Wright's Vocabularies, suggest to the reader a possible Englishing of the Liber in the ninth century. Regarding these Alcuvini Capitula Theolocica ad Guidonem,
Chapter IX.—Sources of the Speculum. Alcuin’s Liber.

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

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

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

Comitem *isdem Litteris in quibus etiam non nulla voces Sax. glossate;* see also Zupitza, *Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum*, Neue Folge, Bd. ix.
Chapter IX.—Sources of the Speculum. Alcuin’s Liber. xcv

1. The direct source, the Liber, offering framework for the complete text.

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

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

De Virtutibus et Vitiis Liber.

I. Main Resemblances between Liber and Speculum.

Epistola Alcundii.

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

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

Chapter IX.—Sources of the Speculum. Alcuin’s Liber.

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

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


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

1 The Catalogue ascribes the MS. to the eleventh century.
2 The decoration consists of grotesque faces in outline, following the text on the left margin.
3 For information regarding MS. Vesp. D, the editor is indebted to a communication from Dr. Assmann, dated Jan. 12, 1895.
Chapter IX.—Sources of the Speculum. Alcuin's Liber. xcvin once obvious by the large number of weakened inflectional endings presented by Vesp. D in contrast with it. A librarian's note places this MS. "between the earlier copy of Laȝamon, MS. Cot. Cal. A. IX. and the later years of the Abingdon Chronicle." The importance of this testimony will be recognized by the reader.

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

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

1. Dedication.

Dilectissimo Filio suo Widoni Comiti humilis1 leuita alcuvinus salutem.2 MS. R, fol. 109 b, I. 20, is reproduced3 in the records of the Speculum, verses 27—64 of the history of the knight Guy of Warwick. The names of the heroes4 are identical, Guy in both

1 The expansion of contracted forms is indicated by the regular type.
2 Line 28, fol. 109 b reads: Incipit epistola alcuini quam edidit ad Widonem Comitem.
3 Similar features are preserved in MS. Bibl. Reg. 5. E. IV. described: Alcuini sive Albini Angli ad Guidonem de Virtutibus Liber, a parchment MS. attributed to the 13th century. This MS. is without heading, and begins D[2] lectissimo filio Widoni... etc., fol. 97 b. Near the top of the folio is written: Alcuinus sive Albini clarissimus. The peroration is wanting. The text ends fol. 110 b: Explicit liber Alcuini lerite ad Widonem Comitem (vide supra, Note). At the conclusion of the volume is a note: Thy Will be dun o lorde. Bonum est mei, Domine. A bit of a musical staff is inserted into the fly-leaf of the MS.
4 References occur to folio and line numbering of MS. Bibl. Reg. 6 A. XI. A small number to the right of a word and above it marks the beginning of a line. The orthography is that of the MS. Bibl. Reg. 6 A. XI.

SPEC. WAR.
Chapter IX.—Sources of the Speculum. Alcuin's Liber.

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

2. Capitula huius Libri.

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

DE VIRTUTIBUS.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LIBER.</th>
<th>SPECULUM.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Virtutes.</td>
<td>þewes to heuene reche.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i. De sapientia</td>
<td>1. (1) Wisdom v. 81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iij. De fide</td>
<td>2. (2) Trewe bileue 83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iiij. De caritate</td>
<td>3. (3) charite 83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iiiij. De spe</td>
<td>4. (4) Stedfast hope 85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v. De lectionis studio</td>
<td>14. (5) (reding of lesczoun) (500)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vij. De pace</td>
<td>5. (6) Pes 86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>viij. De misericordia</td>
<td>6. (7) merci 86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>viijj. De indulgentia</td>
<td>7. (8) forjifnes 86</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Cf. MS. Bibl. Reg. 5. E. IV.
Chapter IX.—Sources of the Speculum. Alcuin’s Liber. xcix

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SPECULUM.</th>
<th>LIBER.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ix. De pacientia</td>
<td>8. (9) Lounge of herte, ful of pite (god suffrance) (571)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x. De humilitate</td>
<td>9. (10) verray humilite 88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xi. De compunctione cordis</td>
<td>10. (11) repentaunce 91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xij. De confessione</td>
<td>12. (12) shrifte of moupe 94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xiiij. De penitentia</td>
<td>11. (13) sorwe at þin herte rote 93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xiiij. De non tardando conceptio ad dominum</td>
<td>(sped þe faste) (865)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(In gode weyes) (865)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>penaunce 92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xv. De timore domini</td>
<td>15. (14) (Drede of god) (883)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xvi. De jeiunio</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xvii. De eleemosinis</td>
<td>13. (15) almes dede and charite 95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xviii. De castitate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

DE VITIIS.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vitia.</th>
<th>Wicke þewes.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>xix. (1) De fraude canenda</td>
<td>5. (1) tricherie v. 110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xx. (2) De iudicibus</td>
<td>4. (2) Fals ingement 110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xxij. (3) De falsis testibus</td>
<td>6. (3) Fals witnesse 111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xxij. (4) De inuidia</td>
<td>3. (4) ennue 109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xxiiij. (5) De superbia</td>
<td>1. (5) Pride¹ 109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xxiiiij. (6) De iracundia</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xxv. (7) De humana lande non querenda</td>
<td>7. (7) pis worldes blisse 113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xxvj. (8) De persuerantia boni operis</td>
<td>Loue not to muche</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ See Caput xxxv. de primo de Superbia.
Chapter IX. Sources of the Speculum. Alcuin's Liber.

xxvij. (9) De viij
decim
e uticiij

principalibus

xxviiij. (10) De gula

(glotonye

9. (10) glotonye

xxix. (11) De fornicatione

10. (11) lacccherie

xxx. (12) De aaricia

8. (12) Auarice

xxxi. (13) De iva

2. (13) wrappe

xxxiij. (14) De accidia

11. (14) Accedie

xxxiijj. (15) De tristicia

12. (15) Wanhope

xxxiiij. (16) De cenodoxia id est

uana gloria

3. Epistola Nuncupatoria.

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

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

Liber.

Speculum.

cel. 109 b, l. 30: Memor peticionis v. 46. wille to him bar.

tue.

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

gitasti.

cel. 110 a, l. 1: exhertamentum v. 53. preie jhe for godes loue.

Exhortamentum,

Pero.

(celiqud ... exhertamentum,

Pero.).

cel. 110 a, l. 4: tam honeste peticioni.

v. 59. were my ioye.

v. 60. a gret profyt.

cel. 109 b, l. 31: promissionis mece. v. 68. His preie i wole do.

(sieut petisti, Pero.).

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

1 Read octo vicij.

2 id est uana gloria is glossed.
Chapter IX.—Sources of the Speculum. Alcuin's Liber.

fol. 109 b, l. 32: tue occupationi, quam te in bellicis (bellezis in the MS.) rebus habere nonimus.—fol. 110 a, l. 9: scien te in multis secularium rerum cogitationibus occupatum. Unde precor sanctum salutis tue (vestri, Froben) desiderium.—l. 11: animus exterioribus fatigatus molestis.

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

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

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

Sir Gij. Auch. MS.:

Hou he hadde euer ben strong werrour. str. 21, v. 7.
... in wer shadde mannes blode
Wip mani a griseli wounde ...

Caius MS.:

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

MS. Ff. 2. 38:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(e) That the request was granted, each author is authority:
Chapter IX.—Sources of the Speculum. Alcuin's Liber.

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

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

v. 70: Aller fuerst i wole pe teche,
      Faire uertuz for to take.
v. 73: bat maitou noht don, leue brofer,
      Bote pu knowe on and oper,
      I shal pe now shewe hope.
v. 77: And at the beste i wole biginne.

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

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


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

\(^1\) Concerning the literature of the Epistola, see ten Brink, Eng. Lit., vol. i. p. 115, with reference to the motif of the Alexander saga: Epistola Alexandri ad Magistrum suum Aristotelem, etc.
Chapter IX.—Sources of the Speculum. Alcuin’s Liber. ciii

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

The method of arrangement needs no explanation. Each of the three texts follows its manuscript. Capitals and punctuation have been used irrespective of original, but the orthography of the MSS. is in general not altered. Occasionally a variant representing the Cambridge MS. I. is to be noted. At times the reading of Froben (Fr.) indicates the Liber in its current version. Otherwise the readings of the editions of Froben and of Migne have not been introduced into these pages. Dr. Assmann follows the Vespasian MS. with exactness.
Epistola 1 Alquini ad Guidonem 2 Comitem
De Virtutibus
MS. BIBL. REG. 6 A. XI.

Capitulum i.

[Civ. 110 b.]

De sapiencia.

1. Primo (primum, Fr. 3) omnium quem renderunt est hominis, quod sit uera scientia.
2. Sapiencia perfecta est dem colere.
3. Quia in his duobus utat beata acquiritur, sed at psalista ait:
4. De inerte a malo, et fac bonum.
5. Hee (non, Fr.) etiam sufficit eiu quam mala non facere.
7. Virtus boni operis fructus eternae beatitudinis.

Capitulum ii.

De fiduc.

1. Sed hoc cognitio divinitatis & scientia veritatis, per sedem descendit est 4 catholicae.

Capitulum iij.

De caritate.

Sine quae nemo deo placet.

21. In preceptis uero Dei caritas optinet.

1 Selections from MS. Bibl. Reg. 6 A. XI. in the Museum.
6 De uera Karitate in li. 2 om. in V.
Chapter IX. - Sources of the Sideculuni. 

Alcuins Liber, cv 

Speculum. 

l. 21. Sine cuinis perfectione nihil deo pla\^ere posse. Paulus testator. v. 326. And godes wille hit is next. 

l. 25. Diliges Dominum Deum tuum ex toto corde tuo, & ex tota anima tua, & ex tota mente tua. v. 345. (His se\^p) Sein Powel (and) bere\^p witnessse. 

l. 26. Addidit quoque: Secundum (Secundum autem, Fr.) simile est huic. v. 329. (Hit is), lone god owen alle \^ping, 


[lol. 111a], 1. 1. Qui diligat deum (Dominum, Fr.) diligat & proximum suum (om. Fr.). v. 332. An efter \^ping \^bu most do; 

1. 2. Sciat omnem christianum recte proximum dici. v. 333. \^bu most lone, hu so hit be, 

Capitulum itij. v. 334. \^binemeristene for\^p wid \^be. 

Verses 459—478. 

l. 11. Nec\^mo ig\^ther quanumis ingenti pec\^eratorum pondere pr\^ntatur, de bonitate divin\^e \^pitatis deserpere debet. v. 468. \^bu\^h man be charged, sikerli 

l. 13. sed spe certe misericordie illus indulgentiam sibi cotid\^i\^nanis deprecari laetarius. v. 469. Wider sines heuis and sore, 

(cotidianis.) v. 470. He ne shall deesperre neuere pe more... 

l. 14. Quam desulpere possunt, si ab accionem pra\^ni operis \^cessabant. v. 471. Ac sopfast hope hane, to winne 

[4.] v. 472. Godes merci of his sime 

5. 473. I\^re shrifte of mounpe and repentance. 

61. Ne secal man mann, \^ech he seco ofsett mid un\^e byrdene his symen, 3-ortreo w\^en te\^re a\^sefndysse \^eree gode\^dun mildhe\^tnysse. 

63. ae mid witan\^e 4 lyhte and mid de\^i\^lwammice tearen hym for\^yfynyssse biddan... 

(mid de\^i\^hwammice.) 

64. 5. For\^jan pe sway\^e r\^itl\^ice he mei\^h hym for\^yfynysse wen\^en... \^eree yfelre woercan. 

1 MS. V has dridten. 2 Here MS. I reads: calra \^pnce heortan. 3 orname in I. 4 god in I.
Epistola.

Capitulum v.
De lectione.¹

1. 21. Sanctarum lectio scripturarum divinae
   est ... In his enim quasi in quodam speculno
   homo se ipsu considerare potest, qualis sit,
   vel quo tendat.

1. 21. Qui multa cum deo semper esse, fre-
   quenter debet orare, frequentor & legere.

1. 25. nam cum oramus, ipsis cum deo lo-
   quinam.

1. 26. Cum vero legimus, Deus nobiscum
   loquitur.

Capitulum vi.

[fol. 111 b.] De preceptis pacis.²

1. 5. Salvator ad patrem rediens quasi
   speciale dona (munus, Fr.) discipulis pacis
   dedit "precepta dicens.

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

1. 9. In filius dei incepit uocari, qui pacificus
   esse iam cepit.

Capitulum vii.

De mericordia.

1. 24. Precipuium est misericordiae bonum,
   de qua ipse ait salvatur.

1. 26. Ergo dimittat homo temporalis de-
   bitum, ut mercator recipere eternale bonnum.

Speculum.

Verses 497—510.

Reading of lecoun (v. 500).

v. 505. Holi writ is oure myrour.

v. 506. In whom we sen al vre socour.

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

v. 499. Þu most ben ofte ir orisoun

v. 500. And ir reading of lecoun.

v. 503. And we wight him, ful iwis,

v. 504. Whan we him bisekep þat riht is.

v. 501. Wot us god spekeþ, whan we rede

v. 502. Off him and of his goddele.

Verses 511—522.

Ps and love (v. 514).

v. 517. For lesu Crist hit seip ful wel:

Beati pacifici, quoniam filii dei uoca-

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

v. 520. Iblesed be, þat makeþ pes.

Verses 523—550, 567, 568.

Of mercy (v. 524).

v. 526. Man, þu most ben merciable.

v. 549. "Alswich met as þu metest me,

v. 550. Alswich i wolde mete to þe."

v. 567. ... "He þat wolde no merci have,

De lectionis studio, Fr.

Liber.

[5.]

De Scripturarum Lectione.

76. On þan halijen þwriten se mann hine
   sylfne maþ sceawijen swa swa on hwylken
   sceawere.

81. Se þe wyle simle mid jode beon,

81. He sceal him of þebiddan and he sceal
   oft halijæ þwriten radan.

82. For þar þe þonne we us þebiddeþ, we
   spekæþ to jode.

83. And þonne we halie beþ hædæþ, þod
   spekæþ to us.

[6.]

De Paece.

100. Se halænd ... sealde ... beboðan
   and þuss cweþ.

104. Eadige byð þa þæsilsum Forþan þe
   heo byþ godes bearn þecseid.

106. Se byþ þodes bearn þecseid se þe wyle
   þæsilsum beon.

[7.]

De Misericordia.

126. Mildheortynysse is swyþe helic god
   [Beo fære se halænd sylf cweþ].

130. Æe fordæte se man nu þa hwilwendlice
   sceyled to þan, ðet he þæsarme to onfone þet
   ecæ þod.

² De pace, Fr.
Epistola.

1. 29. Quo modo a deo misericordiam expectat, qui erat delis est in consertos suos?

1. 31. Ad misericordie opus optimo nos in evangelio dominus exemplo reboreruit, ubi ait.

Capitulum Xij.

[fol. 112a.]

De indulgentia.


Verses 551—566.

Forsythone (v. 683).

v. 555. (Pu seist: “Swete Lord, forjine pu me,
      v. 555. Pat i hate gift aionines je,
      v. 557. Leit as i do alle je,
      v. 558. Pat me hauen ouht misdo.

Capitulum i.e.

De pacientia.

1. 27. In pacientia enim uestra (dicitar in evangelio) possibitis animas uestras.

1. 27. In omni eviuit humana pacientia necessaria est.

1. 28. Siue itaque pacienter sufferre de benum iniurias ab aliis in nos delatas ita.

Verses 568—622.

Of god suffrauce (v. 571).

v. 568. In pacientia vresta possibitis animas vrestas.

v. 571. (And) bud hem ben of god sufraunce

v. 572. In alle mancre destornhraunce.

v. 585. And, ife felefe trauail on hunde,

v. 587. Ooff al is most sufranfet be.

v. 599. (And), ife a maaw purw his power,

v. 600. Dofe fe wrong on eorfe her,

v. 612. ben here polemod,

v. 613. To sufrfe wrong and vriht.

[fol. 112 b.]

Sine ferro ac flammis martyres esse possimus, si pacientiam nerciter in anime sequimur proximus nostris.

v. 610. He may be marty, treveliche,

v. 611. Widenote shelving of mannnes blod,

v. 612. Pat may ben here polemod.

Speculum.

136. Hwa meiæ se him ænigne mildheortynysse wenyn to jode, so þe þæ þæ wælreow on his efenþeowes?

140. Drihten sylf us eac swyæ ædelice trymede to mildheortynysse weorcyn on þan þodspelle, ja ja he ecaæ.

[8.]

De Indulgentia.

160. (Drihten ecaæ): Forsyteæ, þonne byæ eow forsyfen.

[Liber.

185. Purh cower ææylæd þæ mugen habben cower sawle hæle.

186. On eallen þæs mannes life ææylæd is neodæartlice to habbone . . . swa us is eac neod æært, þet we call þa broca and þæ swynce, þæ us on . . . arefen.

187. swa we seulen ææylædelice arefen þa tomen þæ us ðære mænn doæ.

209. We musæ bean martires buten irene and lege, yrif þæ þæ ææylæd so æærtlice on ure mode æcealdæ ðæ mid uren þan nextan.
Epistola.

Capitulum x.

De vera humilitate.

1. 16. Quanta sit viribus, nera humilitas facile ex viribus donati agnoscitur. 1

1. 17. (Omnis) qui se exaltat, humilitatis est et qui se humiliat, exaltabitur.

1. 18. Humilitatis passiones ad eici culmi ha ascendit.

1. 19. Quis Deus exercitum sapere superbia nullum humilitate attingitur.

1. 25. Per superbia miservit angeldorum creaturae cecidit de celo.

[fol. 113 a.]. 1. 5. Qui (etiam) sine humilitate bona opera agit, in mento pulucrem portat.

Capitulum xii.

De compostione cordis.

1. 15. Componetio cordis ex humilitatis viatute nascitur.

1. 15. De compostione confessio peculorum et delictorum. De penitencia nera proveniet. . . indulegia.

Capitulum xiiij.

[fol. 113 b.].

De confessione.

1. 8. Ora autem confessione fit ad salutem.

1. 10. Quia autem confessus fuerit & reliquerit ea, misericordiam consequetur.

1 venia., in Fr. 2 verba humilitatis virtus. Fr. 3 cognoscitur. Fr.

Speculum.

Verses 623—678.

Pe urtis of humilitate (v. 658).

v. 657. Ac, if he conest knowe and se

v. 658. Pe urtis of humilitate!

v. 639. Quo se excidit, humilitatis et qui se humilitate, exaltabitur.

v. 631. Pe milde purw his humilitate

v. 632. Ful he he honorest, pehi sholen be.

v. 633. For pehi sholen be draun on heih

v. 634. And wonye peod swipe heih.

v. 635. And pride, it is so foul a last,

v. 636. Pat out of heune he was east.

v. 664. Quo sine humilitate viatutes etc. conregat, est quas, qui in vento pulucrem portat.

Liber.

[10.]

De Humilitate.

216. We magen oncaunen, . . . hwa myccl

217. Hele. . . . heine syrline upp ahef, he

219. Wid caedmonysse stapan we magen

to hefene helmyssse ystem.

220. . . . heine ymde ne mei hine man

221. Purf oferhede se wunderliche gescaft

223. Seah men te be in caedmonysse ymde, he

228. . . . meyne benwe on mycele winde dust ber.

[11.]

De Compositione Cordis.

268. Seo obrenraynysse kee mannnes heortan

269. and of peare obrenraynesse ondetynysse

269. And of peare andtnyse cumex sey dede, se ye

272. Seo andtnyse cumex sey be

[12.]

De Confessione Peculorum.

309. Seo andtnyse kee myches becume
yrere sawle to hele.

312. Se he le heaundette and forhelte, some he betytt jodes milhecortynysse.
Epistola.

Capitulum vij.

De penitentia.

1. 31. Cuius ipse Salvator in evangélio viritatem estendit 32 dicens:

[L. 114 a.] 1. 3. Launamini (dicit Dominus per ysayam prophetam) et mundum estote. Launatur itaque, et mundus est, qui et proterita plangit, et iterum flenda non admissit.

6. Launatur, et non est mundus, qui plangit, quod gessit et post lacrimas (erosura) delicta reuertuntur.

1. 6. Filii, peccasti, dicitur in scriptura sancta, ne iudicius iterum, sed de pristinis deprecarea, ut remittantur.

1. 22. In hac nita tantum penitentie (penitenti Fr.) patet libertas. Post mortem vero nulla correctionis est licentia.

Speculum.

Verses 815—850.

Wille to leue siime (v. 839).

v. 815. Iesu spek and sceide ene.

(L. 114 a.) 1. 3. Launamini, et mundi estote.

v. 816. Easchep ou, and bepe elene.

v. 839. If tu hast wille to leue } siime,

v. 841. Of tin eijen pe hote teres,

v. 843. Hij wolen make god acord

v. 845. And make pe hote of siime.

v. 825. Summe wasschep, ac nolt arhiht.

v. 827. Pe hote teres of maunnes eije,

v. 818. Makep eilenne tan any lige.

v. 837. Man, pouh peh hame siime don,

v. 839. If tu hast wille to leue } siime,

v. 840. Pat tu no more ne come permne,

v. 841. Of tin eijen pe hote teres .

v. 845. (And) make pe elene of siime.

v. 859. While tu art on liue, } sih mift worche,

v. 860. Godes werkes of holi church.

v. 861. And, cernetes, whan } pat tu art ded,

v. 862. Janne maiton don nofer god ne qued.

Liber.

[13.]

De Penitentia.

345. Dere soñen dedhote maigen ...
halend sylf on his nodepelle atcowde.

351. And drihten ewað þurh Isaan:

Aðweard cow and byð elene.

354. Beo þan mannenn, þe heora synnen
(bewepeð, and eft after) þan wope þa ilea

yphine wyrcðeð.

358. Þif tu synne synne dest.

359. hee þe þa synne mid ðære synne

ynnen.

359. ac þu god þorne bide.

360. Pat he þa ðefreðuma synne forseyfe.

385. On þysser wurldæ is se frydond dedhota, after deade nis nane mann nan bote

þeleð.

Verses 853—882.

Worche godes werkes (v. 859-60).

v. 864. (While þu mift gon and se),

v. 865. In gode wyues sped þe faste.

De Conversione ad Dominum.

[14.]

v. 864. (While þu mift gon and se),

388. (Sune), ne elea þu na to gode to

þecetan.
Epistola.

[fol. 114 b.] 1. ne si, dum potest noluerit, omnino cum tarda noluerit, non possit.

Chapter IX.

Sources of the Speculum.

Alcuin's Libra.

Capitulum xci.

De Timore domini.

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

21. Qui perfecte deum timet, diligenter se a peccatis custodit.
26. Si filii dei summus, timeamus eum ex caritate dulcedine, non de timoris amaritudine.

1. 29. & a facie tua quo fugiam?

Capitulum xcii.

De elemosinis.

Verses 983—918.

Drede of god (v. 883).

Inicium sapiencie, timor domini.

883. Drede of god in alle ping
884. Off wisdom is pe beginning.
885. And many hauen of god drede.
890. And so he shal casten his lone
894. To Jesu Crist, pat is aboue,
895. And leten and llen sinful dede.
896. As hit dop here bi pe bondo:
897. And hit bondo nele nofer loude ne stille.
898. In eje his lords wille—
897. And hit fareb bi man also,
898. Pat spareb more sinne to do,
899. For pe doute of fret pining,
900. For pe love of henen king.
901. To bi jenke him on godes face.

904. And leten and llen sinful dede,
905. Bope for lone and eke for drede.

939. Se pe elcaþ, pet he to jode ne jecerþ, he deþ on pilih[t] his aycene sawle, forþan pe se deaþ hit na ne elcaþ.

434. jodes eþ is se frune wisdom.
Ele manne simle jode andweardynys ondrede.

436. Se pe fulfremedlice him jod ondredexe,
he hine sylfne swyþe þeornlice wiz synne healdexe.

448. He þeowes heom ondredexe heora hlafordes for wite.

450. Nu we þeodes bearn synen þeowes, ondredæ we us hine of þære soðe lufe swetynysse, na of þæs þeowes biterynysse.

466. Swa ondredæ we us jod, pet we bine lusþen forþan pe seo fulfremede lufe ut adriþe þone þeowlice eþe.
Chapter IX.—Sources of the Speculum. Alcuin’s Liber. cxi

5. Discussion of Alquin’s “wicke pewes.”

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

CAPITULUM XXXII.

De Accidia: Accedie.

Liber. Speculum.

fol. 119 b, l. 9. Accidia est pestis. v. 117. Accedie is a wel foul sinne.
l. 14. De qua nascitur\(^{15}\) somnonia. v. 121. Accedieis as sleepes broper.
lencia. pigricia operis boni. v. 124. And makep man annied to do god.

CAPITULUM XXXII.

De Tristicia: Shame.

l. 22. Tristicie duo sunt genera. v. 785. Tweye manere shame men fint in boke.

unum salutiferum, v. 786. \(\text{pat oper to saunacioun.}\)
alterum pestiferum. v. 787. \(\text{pat on (go)}\) to dampnacioun.

l. 22. Tristicia salutaris\(^{23}\) est quando de peccatis suis v. 799. \(\text{bis ilkeshame, be my croun.}\)
amina contristatur peccatoris v. 800. \(\text{Drawe} \text{al to saunacioun.}\)
et ita contristatur ut confessionem v. 794. At \(\text{pin herte sore agramed,}\)
et \(\text{pe}^{24}\)nitenciam agere querat. v. 795. And ne sparest for shame, v. 796. \(\text{pat pu hit nilt inshrifte seie.}\)

\(^{1}\) The poet of the Speculum did not always follow his original in the actual arrangement of the chapters. With verses 765—766, 779—782, compare l. 300 ff., Caput xv.; Qui erubesceit in conspectu hominis peccare, quanto magis debet erubesceo in conspectu Dei iniquitatem agere. Cf. MS. R, Cap. xiii., fol. 114 a; Qui peccata sua occultat et erubesceit salubriter confiteri; Cap. xii., fol. 113 b, ll. 23—25; Deum quem testem habet item habebit eum altem. Verses 859 ff. of the Speculum recall l. 34, Caput xvii., although included under Caput xiii. of the poem: \(\text{In vita tua benefac anima tua, . . . quia post mortem non habes potestatem bene faciendi.}\)
6. The Benediction of the Speculum.

Verses 1029—1034 of the Speculum.

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

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

nostro (iesu Cristo qui cum patre & Spiritu Sancto) v. 1029. ßat is king ouer alle ßyng finita secula seculorum, amen. v. 1034. Amen. Amen. So mot it be.

With these versions may be compared the concluding passage of MS. Li. 1. ff.:

"Se heofenlice fæder (and ße sunu and ße halja 30st) þeunne us ßet we moton þer ece lif þearmian (and ße trymne on us þo ríhtan ße leafan and þescyldre us wið deosles costunça and) þet ... we moton mid him wunian þer he lifaþ and rixaþ on ealra worulde woruld abutan ende, Amen.”

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

"To þat blisse he vs bryng, ßat is king ouer alle ßyng.

Amen. Amen. so mot it be.”

The Speculum is quite independent in the additional element of the glorification of the Virgin, verses 1031, 1032:

"And þeue us grace, while we be here, To serve hym and hys moder dere.”

An amplification is preserved in MS. H₂ (fol. 53 a), 832—835, with fuller detail, marking a monkish environment for MS. H₂.

MS. Bibl. Reg. 5 E. iv. adds the unique and charming benedicite (fol. 110 b) : cum angelis dei perpetualiter possidere dignus efficietur.¹

¹ Explicit liber Aluinii (MS.) levite ad Widonem comitem.
Chapter IX.—Sources of the Speculum. Alcuin’s Liber. cxiii

II. Main Differences between Liber and Speculum.

Distinct points of agreement marked in the Speculum, preserving introduction, arrangement, and main outlines of the Liber, have been discovered. On the other hand the two works are distinct from each other in important characteristics. These occur:

1. In the specification and discussion of the moral vices (De Vitiis, i. e. vicce pecces, v. 101) through deficiency in the original material, or through modification to be credited to the poet.

2. In the section De Virtutibus, large portions of the Liber are omitted from the Speculum, where the Latin author developed his theme consistently with his text, producing a moral, not a liturgical work.¹

3. In portions of the Speculum, De Virtutibus, Whar þure þu mitti to heuene reche, v. 80, for which the Liber is not responsible, and where the poet interweaves episodes of different character.

The preceding section indicates that the Liber is the immediate source of the Speculum, directing the trend of the argument. Yet but one hundred and fifty of the eight hundred and ninety verses represented in the accompanying tables are to be accounted for through the Liber. The larger portion of the Speculum is thus not to be discovered in the pages of the Liber, but deviates materially from the original composition. Allowing for the variation natural to the metrical arrangement of an underlying prose work devoted to the same current of thought, it must be conceded that after the first one hundred and thirty-seven verses, the Speculum exists as a free production of an English redactor. The poet followed his source as conscientious principle seemed to direct, but he modelled his material according to his inspiration and enlivened his theology with incident and episode not connected with the principal action of the work. He improved dull passages, adapting them to the sympathies of the English people.

If the Speculum be regarded as an independent unit, its immediate sources must be looked for elsewhere or traced through representative passages. No English work has been found, that, as a whole, can be held responsible for the incidents with which the Speculum is enriched. The various categories of vices and virtues characteristic of the Middle Ages add nothing to the proof of the Liber, and they are themselves indebted elsewhere for origin. The interesting French

¹ See Moralia Opuscula, Froben II, p. 2.
treatise, *Somme des Vices et des Vertues* (Frère Lorens 1279), also called *Somme le Roi* or *Miroir du Monde* (ed. F. Chavannus, *Documents publiés de la Suisse romande*, IV.) is distinct in itself and in its descendants. The *Aženbite*, Chaucer’s *Persons Tale*, and the later text, *Confessio Amantis*, have no immediate connection with the exposition for Guy. Caxton’s print, *The Book Ryal, The Book for a Kyng*, based on the ten commandments, the twelve divisions of the Creed, and the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, is a distinct treatise.

Compare also Kläber, *Das Bild bei Chaucer*, pp. 337 ff. Equally distinct are *Vices and Virtues* (Stowe MS. c. 1200), edited by Holthausen, E. E. T. S., and all the various enumerations in the different collections of Homilies, the editions of Morris for the E. E. T. S., Nos. 29, 34, 49, and 53. It is hardly necessary to look for the source of the *Speculum* in a French original. The somewhat large number of words of French origin, in comparison with other texts of the period, *Aženbite* through Danker’s summary in *Die Laut- u. Flexionslehre d. mittelkent. Denkmäler nebst roman. Wörterverzeichnis* and *Poema Morale*, for example, are to be attributed to the vocabulary of the first source of the text, the *Liber*; however to the contrary¹ see Einenkel, *Anglia*, vol. v., pp. 91 ff. Sturmfels in *Anglia*, vol. viii. p. 205, aims to prove, that in the first half of the 13th century but few A.F. words or derivatives are to be traced in any theme.

An original for the *Speculum* as a specific unit not being discovered, the history of salient passages is to be investigated. The text itself guides uniformly to the clerical literature of the Middle Ages, through allusion to St. Austin (St. Augustine), to Gregory, and to the Scriptures.

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**CHAPTER X.**

**MINOR SOURCES OF THE SPECULUM.**

§ 1. *Minor religious Sources.*

1. *Indebtedness to St. Augustine.*

With Chapter XVI. (verse 919) the influence of the *Liber* ends abruptly. With verse 947 the poet transfers his study to another type of popular didactic literature. The naïve and charming account of *Elize* is to be recognized as a favourite theme with St. Augustine.

¹ *Die zahld der französischen wörter hängt ab vom stande der verfasser, nicht vom stoff der behandellen gegenstände*.
It is the subject of more than one discourse attributed to that divine. Passages from the *Speculum* may be compared with the fortieth discourse (*Sermo XL. § 2*) of Augustine (see Migne):

**St. Augustine.**

*Sermo XL. § 2.*

v. 950. Spak to Elīže pe profete.

v. 951. To a pore widewe he him sende.

v. 949. Hou Iesu Crist,houre lounerd swete . . .


teg mandavi viduæ, ut te pascat ibi.”

beatus Elias viduam illam in-

veniet.

terse lavaret,

cum ab ca

cibum petet.

v. 954. Into Sarepte.

v. 955. þer is a widewe, þat shal þe ðede.”

v. 959. þe widewe he mette.

v. 963. A dishful water she sholde him ʒiue.

v. 969. “Do,” he seide, “bi my red,

v. 970. Bring me wid þe a shiue bred !”


ex eo quod habes, ministra.

v. 983. “First, þerof mak me mete,

v. 984. And, whan þat i hit haue ʒiue.

v. 985. Off þat bileueþ, þu shalt make.”

v. 1000. “þi mele ne shal wante nolit,

v. 1001. And þin oyle shal waxen, sikerli!”

v. 1005. Now þu miht knowe in þi mod,

v. 1006. þat in almesse dede is double god.
cxvi  Chapter X.—Theological Sources of the Speculum.

To Augustine\(^1\) is to be ascribed the comparison embodied in the Latin texts following verse 664 of the Speculum, Sermones, vol. iii. p. 353, fol. 654, also employed by Gregory:

*Qui sine humilitate virtutes ceteras congregat, est quasi, qui in vento puluerem portat* (see edition of Migne).

Augustine’s discourses in common with others of the age expound Biblical passages subject to the exegesis of the theologian of the Speculum and of English priests of associated literature. Cf. for instance Sermones 297, 302, 303, 304, etc., in connection with chapters x, v, i and vii.

2. Biblical Sources.

Under the fanciful exaltation, the decorative incidents of the Guy saga is to be discovered a solid texture of Biblical passages so skillfully interwoven, that at first their presence is not to be imagined. Some of them are as follows:


\(^1\) Augustine’s sermons preserve other passages suggestive of the Speculum: "Vade, et affer me posillum ut manducem"; "moriturae, se dicit, cum consummavit, quod remanisti..." etc. "Benedicit... Elias... kydrian... farinae et capsuæm olei," etc. Traces of the Vulgata are to be noted in the account preserved by the Speculum:

v. 10: "Cumque venisset ad portam, apparuit ei... vidua... vocavit eam, dixitque ei: 'Da mihi poulalum aquæ in vas et bibam.'"

v. 11: "Cumque illa perierat et affecerat, clamauit... dicens: 'Affer mihi... baculum panis...'" v. 12: "... non habeo panem, nisi quantum pugillus farinae... & poulalum olei in lecho... faciam illum mihi & filio meo... moriamur.'" v. 13: "'mihi primam fac... tibi... posta..." v. 16: "farina non deficiat, & leychus olei non est iannimatus..." See Vulgata of MDCCLXXXVIII. Liber III., Regum verses 10—16.

The same theme is employed by Gregory, Hom. in Excehilem, Lib. I Hom. IV. Tom. ii. col. 808, but marks no resemblance with the version of the present poem.
Chapter X.—Theological Sources of the Speculum. cxvii

ll. 559—568, Matt. vi. 15. ll. 568 ff., Luke xxi. 19. ll. 624—632, Matt. xxiii. 12; Psal. cxxvi. 6. ll. 630—634, Matt. xxiii. 12; Luke xiv. 11; xviii. 14; James iv. 6, 10. l. 782, Num. xxxii. 23; Is. lix. 15; Prov. xiii. 21. ll. 814, 816, 824, 848, Is. i. 16; 2 Kings v. 12, 13. Ezek. xvi. 9; Acts xxii. 16. ll. 854, 878, John xii. 35. ll. 855—857, John ii. 35. ll. 861, 862, Eccles. ix. 10; John ix. 4. l. 883, Psal. cxi. 10; Prov. i. 7. ll. 949, 1004, 1 Kings xvii. 9, 16.

The text underlying verses 168—176 recalls Prov. xxix. 23: A man's pride shall bring him low, see Is. ii. 17; Prov. xvi. 18, and Job viii. 13:

So are the ways of all that forget God;
And the hope of the unholy shall perish.

Verses 177—188 describe the compensations of adversity suggested by Heb. xii. 6: Whom the Lord loveth, he chasteneth. See also Job v. 17; Deut. viii. 5; Ps. xciv. 12; Prov. iii. 12. The passage carries the mind to verses 837—846 embodying the text, Psal. cxxvi. 5: They that sow in tears shall reap in joy.

Texts in which God is symbolized by fire (v. 359): Heb. xii. 29; Ps. xcvii. 3; Hab. iii. 5; Is. lvii. 15.

In the Latin texts cited, the Vulgata is generally followed throughout the Speculum. A few orthographical deviations are to be noted; cf. l. 630, Matt. xxiii. 12. l. 554, Matt. vi. 12. l. 782, Mark iv. 22; Matt. x. 26; Luke viii. 11, 12, etc.

3. Indirect Sources of the Speculum.

Sources of the Liber as employed by Alcuin may be regarded as having a secondary and indirect value in the composition of the Speculum. Alcuin's Liber, apart from the fact that it stands as the product of the great learning and the high spiritual development of

1 Cf. Shakspere, King Richard III. iv. 4:
"The liquid drops of tears, that you have shed,
Shall come again, transform'd to orient pearl."

For verses 454, etc., 544, etc., cf. Merch. of Venice, iv. 1:
"In course of justice, none of us
Should see salvation."

King Rich. II., v. 3:
"I pardon him, as God shall pardon me."

King Henry VIII., ii. 1:
"I free forgive, as I would be forgiven."

2 The MS. Jun. 23, Bibl. Bod. preserves some account of the teacher Alcuin. He "ferde siðdan on se to þa shoteran cyninge Karulus þehaten. se hæfde
the eminent teacher, is indebted largely to the theological fathers of the day, for Alcuin was rarely original. Alcuin was a living exponent of modern doctrines. His life marked "self-reverence, self-knowledge, self-control." Added to his sense of responsibility and of consecration he desired to be of service to humanity in promulgating the impressions and vital doctrines of those, whose theology he studied. Accordingly it is not surprising that the Liber, and indirectly the Speculum, should mirror the fundamental moral truths of Gregory, Augustine, Prosper, Isidore, Bede, and that with Hraban he should find, "Prudence, justice, bravery, temperance," the root and foundation of all virtue. It is not strange, that the contemplations of Alcuin should be flavoured largely with the Christian ethics of Cassian, and that the fidelity of Alcuin to his original should be reproduced in the English poem. In this connection compare passages of the Speculum, verses 785 ff., with Cassian over Tristitia: Tristitia genera sunt duo, unum quod vel iracundia desinente vel de illato damno ac desiderio propedito cassatoque generatur; alius, quod de irrationabili mentis anxietate seu desperatione descendit. For additional discussion of this question see Max Förster, Ueber d. Quellen von Ælfrics Exeget. Hom. Catholicae, Anglia, vol. xvi. (1892), p. 47.

In purpose and dedication, the address to Guido, nominally Guy of Warwick through the Speculum, is to be traced in the work of Jonas of Orleans: De Institutione Laicali, Book III. Here Matfred of Orleans receives instruction at his own request for guidance in Christian life. In the classification of the eight fundamental sins, Theodulph and Prosper are in agreement with Cassian.

mycenaean craft for ʒode and for worulde. To þam com albinus se æpela lareow and on his anwealdæ ælpeodliʒ wunode on sancte Martines münstero and þær manæʒa þælere mid þam heofonlican wisdome þe him ʒod foræaf."  
1 See Guizot, Civ. in France, Lect. XXI.
2 Dedication of Com. on John to Gisela preserves Alcuin's tribute to other authors for help in "expounding holy words of the gospel," and first of all to Augustine.
3 quatuor principales: Prudentia Tristitia Fortitudo, Temperantia, Caput XXXV. l. 3; also Gregory (ed. Migne), Tom. VI. col. 20.
4 Ælfric's familiarity with the works of Alcuinus is attested to through Ælfric's translation of the Interrogationes Sigeiole in Genesin; see editions of Maclean and Mitchell.
5 Dilicta in Christo Mathfredo Jonas in Domino perpetuum salutem, Migne, Tom. CVI. col. 121.
6 Werner, Alcuin u. sein Jhit., p. 254.
Chapter X.—Traditional Sources of the Speculum.

§ 2. Traditional Sources.

1. The Alexius Motif.

Guy’s entreaty for counsel has been recognized in the Liber; the epexegetical source has been determined; the ascetic factor of the poem, providing romantic and sentimental environment for the ethical theme of Alquin, is to be traced. The legend stands out from inter-workings of Biblical themes, nomadic doctrines, the inheritance of all liturgical and homiletical literature, and finds ulterior source through the investigation of that greater Guy of Warwick saga, in whose atmosphere rests the Speculum. In the motif of the Speculum an element in contrast with the Liber, is to be recognized, overshadowing in charm that marked by historical reminiscence. In distinction from the superannuated military glory, that stirred the hearts of the ancestors of modern England, it is the leit motif of poem as well as saga, in which present interest attains its highest expression. In the Speculum is blended the radicalism and the romanticism of tradition. The minstrel re-echoes the melody of earlier song no longer in familiar tongue. The essential spirit of the poem culminates in a single incident with its outlying episodes, that of the sacrificial resignation of bride in religious consecration. Here Guy of the legend is in conflict with another personality, for, whether the exterior of the saga be endowed with the fine figure of the warrior Guy or mark the features of the priestly saint Alexius, it envelops one underlying kernel. From the fundamental germ of the English Guy history has emanated an opposite type of literature recognized in many languages, a traditional history, which may in general be described as Cantun de saint Alexis. Through this agent the ascetic factor of the Speculum is to be separated from its Guido-individuality, and the Speculum, as a member of the Guy family, is to be regarded as the after-play of an Alexius germ wandered to England. In both are to be recognized the same characteristics; here are the same joyous wedding, the same pilgrim wanderings, and death under the same exaggerated resignation.\footnote{1}{See Dr. Furnivall’s edition of the Alexius miracle published for the E.E.T.S. The scope of the present volume limits mention of Alexius texts to fundamental editions. No saga has a literature more comprehensive, extending to all the languages of Europe, and comprehending all types of composition, even dramma musicale and tragédie (Le charmant Alexis).}

The earliest reedition of this material is a life of the saint: Vita auctore anonymo conscripta. Ex codice nostro membranaceo Ms.
antiquissimo Hieronymi de Gaule, Geldriuae Cancellario, cum aliis collata, found in the collection of the Bollandists, and supposed to have been printed in 1636, in Rom typis Francisci Corbelletti from ancient MSS. of the venerable monasteries of St. Boniface and St. Alexius. This text was given to the public by Pinius in the Acta Sanctorum Julii. 1725, Tomus IV., pp. 238—270, with the title De S. Alexio Confessore. The Vita was also included in an incomplete form, by Massmann in the following work: Sanct. Alexius Leben in 8 gereimten unhl. Behandlungen; nebst geschichtlicher Einleitung, sowie deutschen, griechischen und lateinischen Anhängen. Quedlinburg u. Leipzig, 1843, cf. pp. 167—171.

Johannes Pinius assumes as undoubted, that the nationality of Alexius as well as this recognition of his history was Roman. His opinion is stated in the title of his edition: De S. Alexio Confessore, Romae, vel, ut alia acta ferunt, Edessae in Syria. Pinius bases the entire history on a Greek canon of the 9th century, whose author was St. Joseph.

Gaston Paris, La Vie de saint Alexis publ. par Gaston Paris et Léopold Pannier, Paris, 1872, discovers the Guy-Alexius germ in a Syrian legend embodied in literary form by a priest of the church at Edessa, extolling the monastically upright life of a pilgrim to that church, the son of an industrious and virtuous family of Constantinople. He explains the alleged Roman ancestry through accident. The incident carried to Rome by Bishop Sergius became associated with the church of Boniface by Pope Benedict. There the narrative acquired local flavour, and became so genuinely acclimated as an episode of Roman history, that the death of the saint is actually ascribed to the 5th century; cf. Monograph by Du Chesne, p. 163.

The earliest presentation of the theme is to be attributed to a Latin MS. written probably in Rome, a transcript of an older text. Thus the Guy of Warwick saga was extant among the Romans, and rests not necessarily on Roman tradition, but on a Roman source developed also in England.

And here again it bespeaks an earlier generation in tradition; but all actual material in ages to follow, whether it be Greek, German, Provençal, or Norman, or French and English promulgated on British soil, returns to Roman ancestry. In all MS. forms, the Alexius narrative embodies a Latin original transcribed in Italy. In its branches are to be recognized the features of the Guy legend, resignation and renunciation, voluntary poverty, the atoning pilgrim-
age, the return to native land, the acceptance of alms from the fair hands of the forsaken bride, a moment of final recognition before both martyr and martyr's bride become united in death. These familiar lineaments are to be discovered in the history of Guy of Warwick. The link connecting the two episodes is probably French on English ground. The characteristic modifications of the later versions of the history were collected on English shores, but the Speculum is undoubtedly indebted directly to a legend bearing the name Guy of Warwick.

2. Minor Traditional Sources.

A parallel expression introducing the account of the fiery bush, symbolical of the purity of the Virgin (Speculum, verses 355—368), occurs in The Prymer or Lay Folks Prayer Book;² edited by Littlehales, 1895, in the "Hours of the Blessed Virgin" as follows, p. 24:

Bi þe buzych, þat moises sij vbrent, we knowen þat þi preisable maidenhede is kept. . . . "Thou art the bosche of Synay," Shoreham's line, Poem to Mary, Wright, p. 131, recalls l. 112 of Marien Rosenkranz:

"Se ys de bッシュ her moysy," . . . etc.

The figure is used by Jacob Ryman, compare Zupitza's note, str. 3, v. 1 ff. Archiv, vol. xciii, p. 309. Chaucer employs the metaphor in the Prioresses Tale, Prologue:

"O mooder mayde! o mayde mooder free! O bush vbrent, brenning in Moyses syghte,
That ranyessed dom fro the deite."—str. 3, v. 1657 f.

But these lines were probably written later than the twelfth stanza of An A. B. C. (cf. Skeat, xlvii), La Priere de Nostre Dame,³ str. 12, v. 89 ff., where the theme is developed with some fulness of incident:

"Moises, that saugh the bush with flammes rede
Brenninge, of which ther never a stikke brende,
Was signe of thyn unwemmed maidenhede,
Thou art the bush on which ther gan deseende
The Holy Gost, the which that Moises wende
Had ben a-fyr; and this was in figure."

¹ A genealogical table showing the connection between the two developments of the saga as represented by Guy and Alexius might be in order here; but it seems wise to reserve the discussion for a separate article, particularly since Professor Zupitza has investigated so carefully the Guy MSS.; see Zur Literatur gesch. des G. v. Warwick.
² E. E. Text Society, Extra Series, ev.
³ Skeat, Minor Poems, pp. xlvii—xlviii and p. 4; Skeat’s Chaucer, vol. I., p. 266.
Chapter X.—Traditional Sources of the Speculum.

Skeat cites Chaucer's original from De Deguileville's 1 Pélérinage de l'Ame, Part I. Le Pélérinage de la Vie humaine, edition 2 of Paul Meyer, MS. 1645, Fonds Français, in the National Library, Paris. The exposition of the Speculum seems to stand as near the text of Deguileville as does the Chaucerian quotation, as will be seen from a comparison with the selection as contained in Stürzinger's print 3 of Le Pélérinage de Vie Humaine, "final assault of the 7 deadly sins":

"Moises vit en figure
Que tu virge nete et pure,
Ihesu, le fil Dieu, conceus.
Un buisson contre Nature
Vit qui(l) ardoit sans asure.
C'es tu, n'en suis point deceus.
Diex est li feus qu'en toi eus
Et tu buisson des recrues
Es pour temprer leur ardue.
A ce veoir, Virge, veus
Soie par toi et receus."——v. 11,025, etc.

The application to the virgin cannot possibly have originated with Deguileville, 4 for it had been given literary form fully two centuries earlier by Walter von der Vogelweide, 5 see Leich, edited by Wilmanns, Halle, 1869, p. 31 f., v. 37 ff.:

"Ein bosch der bran, da nie niht an besenget noch verbrennet wart:
breit 6 unde ganz beleip sin glanz vor fiüres flamine und unverschart
daz ist diu reine maget alleine, diu mit megetlicher art
Te kindes muoter worden ist
An aller manne mitewist,
und wider menneschlichen list
den wären Krist
gebar, der uns bedähnte."

Compare Lobgesang auf Maria, edited by A. Jeitteles from Innspruch and Breslau MSS., Germania, vol. xxxi., pp. 299, 300, v. 167 ff.:

"du griener busch, den Moyses sach
vol flammen, dem doch niht geschach,
unversenget bleip er gar:
daz bezeichnet offenbar,
dar du meit bliib unde ware,
dö du daz österlamp gebære,
daz für uns geopfert wart
an daz crüne, Marjä zart." 7

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1 It will be noted that the orthography of Skeat following Meyer is here employed; see Morley: Eng. Writ., ii. 204.
2 Copied by Skeat from Furnivall's One-text Print of Chaucer's Minor Poems, Part I., p. 84.
3 Printed for the Roxburghe Club, 1893.
4 Varying forms are not necessary to the purpose of the Speculum in the selection of the passage.
5 To this selection and to Bödkeker's Ballad attention was called by Professor Kölbings, to whom thanks are due.
6 grüen according to Bartsch's print of the poem in Pfeiffer's Deutsche Classiker des Mittelalters, Leipzig, 1877, vol. i., p. 169.
7 Zingerle (Zeitscr. für d. Philologie, vol. vi., p. 377) ascribes this text to the fifteenth century.
Chapter X.—Traditional Sources of the Speculum. cxxiii


A Carroll in Jahrbuch für Romanische und Englische Literatur, Neue Folge, Bd. II., 1875, pp. 92, 93, Das wunder der Incarnation, edited by Böddeker in Englische Lieder u. Balladen aus dem 16. Jahrhundert, reads as follows:

"Another signe behold and se:
Upon this maid virginitie.
Trulie of hir was ment
This fierie bushe that was so bright
To Moises did give suche a light,
And not one leafe was brent."—str. 4, v. 21.


In the discovery that the fiery bush is symbol of the spotless purity of the Virgin, the passage differs from the broad-spread interpretation of the prodigy. The traditions of "bush on fire," conspicuous in all stories of the rood-tree from the days of Cynewulf and Elene to the 14th century, and later1 in their multitudinous accumulations of gleanings through the Middle Ages, unite in regarding the bush as symbol of divine Presence. A frequent medieval application of the Biblical passages, Exodus iii. 2—6; Mark xii. 26; and Acts vii. 30, is embodied in lines from Legends of the Holy Rood, The Story of the Rood Tree, p. 73:

"For suth, he said, þi wandes mene
Pe trinite þam thre bitwene."


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1 The "fierie bushe" is to this day in current use in figurative language. Dr. Ripley discovered in Transcendentalism "the fair tree of mysticism," a "burning bush" of revelation and sorrow, see Sanborn's Henry D. Thoreau in Charles Dudley Warner's "American Men of Letters" (1882), p. 143.

2 The prodigy is not interpreted as symbolical in Book II. Of the Jewish Antiquities of Josephus (ed. Roger L'Estrange, London, 1702), chap. xii., p. 48, where the record stands: "A Þire seen in a Þush, the Þush burning, the Flame fierce and violent, and yet neither Leaves, Flowers, nor Branches blasted or consum'd." The "surprise of it struck Moses with astonishment." The "Voice that spake to Moses out of the fiery Bush" commanded him "to depend upon the Assistance of an Almighty Power."
Chapter X.—Traditional Sources of the Speculum.

the text is included in Early Travels in Palestine, Bohn's Antiquarian Library, Messrs. George Bell and Sons:

“And the Mount of Synay is clept the Desert of Syne, that is for to seyne, the Bussche breynnynge: because there Moyses sawghte our Lord God many tymes, in forme of Fuyr breynnynge upon that Hille; and also in a Bussche\(^1\) breynnynge, and spak to him.”—p. 58, ed. Bell, p. 42.

“Allso behynde the Awtier of that Chirche is the place where Moyses sawghte our Lord God in a breynnynge Bussche.”—p. 59, Bell, p. 43.

“And a lytille aboven is the Chapelle of Moyses, and the Roche where Moyses fleyhe to, for drede, whan he sawghte our Lord face to face.”—p. 62, Bell, p. 44.

Maundeville attempts no explanation of the miracle, leaving the interpretation to the theologian and mystic.

Verses 347—354 contain the exposition of Gen. xviii. 2. See also Hebrews xiii. 2. The same passage is presented in Maundeville's description of Hebron (see Halliwell):

“And in that same Place was Abrahames Hous: and there he satt and sawghte 3 Persones, and worschipete but on; as Holy Writt seythe, Tres vidit et unā adoravit: that is to seyne; He sawghte 3 and worschiped on.”—p. 66, Bell, p. 47.

The same general theme is discussed by Orma as follows, verses 19,385, etc., cf. ed. of Holt:

\[\text{“Nan mann ne mihhte næfre sen Allmahhtij Godd onn erpe, Wijpp erpliʒ eʒhe off erpliʒ flesh.} \]

19,429. Whatt Abraham, whatt Moyses,
\[\text{Ne sæxheim jeʒʒ nohht Driihtin Godd Inn hiss goddenunde kinde? Na fulijwiss, ne saḥḥ himm nan Wijpp erpliʒ fleshess eʒhe,表态 wise ket himm emgless sen Inn hiss goddenunde kinde.”} \]

\[\text{\(^{1}\) Maundeville reports the exhibition of the bush which was “burnt and was not consumed, in which our Lord spoke to Moses,” shown at the church of St. Catherine, see edition of Bell, p. 43. “And thanne thei schewen the Bussche, that breynnynge and wasted nought, in the whiche our Lord spak to Moyses.”—Halliwell, p. 60.}\]
Part III.

CHAPTER XI.

ON THE METRICAL STRUCTURE OF THE SPECULUM.

The Speculum Gydonis may receive investigation on basis of laws governing the lyric verse of Chaucer. The Speculum, representing the pre-conquest rather than the modern side of the mediæval period, marks itself as a distinct type in the growth of language. On authority of Chaucerian study noteworthy questions of mechanical form may be classified. The poem is to be studied with reference to the development of the riming vowel, its phonology, its quality and quantity, and the method of its introduction in the riming system used by the poet. Attention will be directed to the poet's use of open and closed e- and o- sounds in rime combination, to his representation of the development of O.E. -y (-ŷ), umlaut of -u (-ū), and to his arrangement of rimes in the relationship of -y : -ye, and cons : cons + e.

§ 1. The Strophe.

Two lines joined by final rime form the strophe. Compared with the Poema Morale, in septenar, and with On God Ureisun of Ure Lefdi in mixed verse, where the completion of the strophe marks also the limit of the sentence, the verse may be regarded as presaging the “run-on” line of the Elizabethan drama. Sentence structure is in no way impeded by mechanical verse form. At times the riming characteristic of the strophe is continued through two consecutive couplets, developing the scheme a a a a. This illustrates no unusual phenomenon in M.E. versification: Sir Beues 633—6, 749—52, 893—6, etc., see Kölbing, p. xi.; Havelok 17—20, 37—40, etc.; Sir Pyrambras, see Zupitza, Übungsbuch, p. 107, 1138—41, 1144—47, and also in the casural rime 1138—41, etc.; Poema Morale, 3—6, 75—80, 233—36, etc. The Speculum contains illustration through the following instances: (-ay) 249—52, (-erē) 353—56, (-ē) 389—92, (-ē) 401—4 (ney : say 403—4 in H₁), (-ē) 533—36, (-er(ē)) 779—82, (-iht) 855—58, (-edē) 1025—28, as well as in (-ē) 549—52, (-o(mē) 643—46. Purely accidental or resulting from the momentary impulse of the poet, successive couplets united by the same riming syllable do not present strophic formation.
Chapter XI.—Metrical Structure of the Speculum.

§ 2. Construction of the Verse.

The normal line contains four stressed syllables with regularly alternating thesis, fulfilling Ruskin’s requirement for the “chief poetry of energetic nations.” It produces the conventional iambic tetrameter. A final unstressed syllable is admissible. The scheme thus develops a catalectic or a hypercatalectic verse; a metrical pause occurs generally after the second arsis. The same technique is employed in Guy of Warwick, the first 7306 lines of the Auchinleck text (cf. Zupitza’s edition, and Köllbing, Sir Beues, p. xi.), in Sir Beues, verses 475—4620 (Auch. MS.), in Owl and Nightingale, King Horn, and in a multitude of like works. Although following the accentual system of versification imitated from French poetry (cf. Pl. Grdr., vol. ii., p. 1042, § 33), yet the verse partakes of the character of the native English short-line couplet.1 This is recognized through the logical significance of its stress, through freedom in the development of unstressed syllables, and through incidental return to a modification of the elemental alliterative construction. As medium for the expression of his own personality, external form must be considered to a degree subservient to the moral emotion of the poet. The merit of this quality in the verse is emphasized by contrast with the evenly accentuated measures of the phonetician Orm, or of the “moral2 Gower.” There the quantitative standard of the Latin model3 is exemplified with painful exactness. Lines from Orm, in septenar, Gower, and the author of the Speculum, both in tetrameter, placed side by side, display to an advantage the pleasing dignity, the thoughtfulness, and the melody of the verse of the present text. Compare as follows, where the opening verses of the Orrmulum serve as characteristic of the poem:

1 The short riming couplet is to be regarded as first consistently and regularly employed in a metrical Paternoster composed in the south of England in the second half of the 12th century, see ten Brink (ed. Kennedy, 1889), p. 156, and also p. 267.
2 See Chancer’s dedication of Troilus to
   "moral Gower
   To thee and to the philosophical Strode."
   Radulphus Strode nobilis poeta has earned attention from Dr. Furnivall and a notice from Gollancz, in Pearl, pp. 1, 11. See also Morley’s edition of Confessio Amantis, p. xiv.
3 The Poema Morale, illustrating to a degree principles of classical accentuation in respect to precision in the alternation of the stressed and the unstressed syllable, is to be distinguished from the Speculum, where the English element predominates.
Chapter XI.—Metrical Structure of the Speculum. cxxvii

\[ \text{piss bóc iss némunedd Órrmulúm,} \\
\text{forrþi þatt Órrm itt wróþhtć,} \\
\text{andd itt iss wróþht off quaþþprigán,} \\
\text{off góðspellbókess fówwrće.—Orrm. ll. 1—4.} \]

Sometimē lich úntō þe cóck, 
Sometimē untó þe lauērock.¹—Gower, p. 266.

As representative then of the element distinctively English, the verse is subject to modifications dependent on conditions in the thesis and upon various readings made possible through elision, slurring, and the interpretation attributed to the syllabic value of final -e. Through diversity in arrangement of syllables of this order the line seems at times too short for the scheme to which it belongs, at times too long. After making due allowance for instances of apocope, syncope, elision by synalepha or ethlipsis, for the doubling of the unstressed syllable, or for its omission, still the verse contains uniformly four metrical divisions. Every line of the poem can be resolved into a four-stressed verse. For instance, verse 124 reads smoothly under five-syllabic ictus as follows: \textit{And mākeþ mán · anúidd tó do góð.} With aid of syncope of e in makeþ and of a double thesis in the first foot, the normal four-stressed measure is attained: \textit{And mākeþ mán · anúidd tó do góð.} It is also secured by means of the double thesis in the fourth measure: \textit{And mākeþ mán · anúied tó do góð.} With verse 124 compare Leg. of G. Women, Recension B, v. 91: \textit{And mākeþ hit sóune · after his fingeringe.}² Verse 329 adapts itself to Gower’s standard (the first thesis being deficient³) arranged in quantitative pentameter: \textit{Hit is, lōvé góð over állē þíng.} Corrected by Ḥ4, it conforms to the four-beat line. The vigour of the preferred arrangement is apparent: \textit{Hit īs, lōvé góð · over állē þíng.} The flexible thesis is answerable for similar irresoluteness in verses 232, 398, 670, 847, 959, 973, etc.

In all the texts verses apparently devised for the three-accentuated measure occur, giving the copyist opportunity for amplification of the material. That the poet be answerable for the deficiency, decision cannot be ventured. Copyist alone would hardly incur the

² This scansion presupposes that metrical and word accent do not necessarily fall together. Otherwise the following arrangement is to be adopted:
\textit{And mākeþ hit sóune · after his fingeringe.}
³ Naturally Gower never permitted himself the license of the omission of the “up-beat” in the first or the second section of the line according to models of versification purely English in origin.
Chapter XI.—metrical Types of the Speculum.

responsibility of the fundamental mass of deviation. Line 107, Herkne nouepe : to me, was source of uneasiness to the scribe. Each remodelled the line, to adapt the unstressed measure to the requirements of the tetrameter. Lines omitting the unstressed syllable in the first or the fourth measure have apparently but three metrical divisions. Lines 81 (also 139) and 704 appear, at hasty glance, as follows: 81 (139), "Wisdom in gôdês drêđê; 704, Dôp a lîtel trespâs; but a preferred reading ranks them in type D: "Wisdom in gôdês drêđê, Dôp a lîtel trîs-pâs.

In no instance is the principle of the verse necessarily to be regarded as altered by the poet to introduce new rhythms, trimer or pentameter, for purpose of added impressiveness, as has been attributed to Sir Benes (cf. Kölling, p. xii.), see line 1376, "hât i sé : now hêre, or 1383, "Lô hêr, i pe king Ermin. The Speculum does not illustrate the practice of the Elizabethans in modifying its accepted standard to portray solemnity, as for instance under the presence of supernatural beings (see Abbott, §§ 504, 507, 509, etc.), illustrated by Shakspere, Macbeth, IV. i. 20; Rich. III., IV. 4, 75.

§ 3. Metrical Types of the Speculum.

"So pray I god, that none . . .
Ne thee mis-meter, for defaute of tunge." 2

In general the characteristics of the verse-system of the Speculum may be classified metrically according to the following scheme:

A. A marks the typical and fundamental line of the poem, the four-accented measure, constructed regularly as it is described in the preceding section. A conveys the intended movement of the original verse. To this line as a standard all other lines must be referred in metrical classification. Modifications of type A are presented developing a system, 3 which comprises four additional types of verse structure. 4 Under type A all lines will be classified, that may not be arranged in the remaining four divisions of the subject. The type is abundant in the Speculum. The representative verse is as follows:

1 These verses could probably be adapted to the tetrameter on the hypothesis of a monosyllabic arsis, the thesis being replaced by an emphatic pause: "hât i sé : now hêre; Lô hêr, i pe king Ermin, the effect of slowness and solemnity being still attained.
2 Chancre, Troilus, v. 1809.
3 Cf. Schick, pp. lxxii ff.
4 The standard verse of the accessional system is to be regarded as uniformly the metrical couplet of four stressed syllables to the line.
Chapter XI.—Metrical Types of the Speculum. cxxix

v. 17. For, whan þe wórld · þe háþ iðáht.—31. Hou on a
tíme · he stód í þóúht.1—32. þe wórldës blisse · him þónhtë nóht;
cf. 8, 9, 10, 13, 14, 33, etc. The verse may have a final unaccented
syllable, i.e. a feminine ending: v. 2. And hëlë of sóule · i máy ou
téchë.—3. Pat í wole spéke, · it is no fúblë.—4. Ac hit is swífé ·
prójútëlë; cf. 6, 11, 12, 15, 16, 20, 22, etc.

The number of verses to be ascribed to type A varies, being in-
creased or diminished according to the standard determining the
logical significance of the unaccented syllable at the caesura and in
the first measure. Confiction often exists between A and some other
distinct type. Examples could be cited in which an unaccented
final syllable may be shurred, apocopated, or syncopated at the caesura
in favour of the rhythm, and conducive to type A. On the other
hand, poetical license permits the sounding of a final -e or -en, other-
wise silent, at the caesura. Under these conditions types A and C
have equal claims to the same verse. Because of the flexible
accentual quality of the language at this period and the license per-
missible in the thesis, ultimate decision in classification on basis of
a specific type must be influenced by personal taste, guided by
a sensitive ear for rhythmical harmony, and governed by the
individual judgment as to the standard employed by the poet.
Compare paragraphs to follow over types B, C, D, and E.

B. B serves as a variation of the verse structure A, by which a redund-
ant syllable is introduced before the caesura,2 giving in that
position a thesis of two syllables (i.e. a trisyllabic measure), the
Speculum thus presenting a development of the epic caesura. B is
not well illustrated by the poet. It does not approach the Romance
standard (Italian, French, Provençal) of popularity supported by the
verse of five measures (cf. Schick, p. lvii.) preserving similar con-
struction. The added variety and melody produced by this type as
developed in the five-accentuated line of Chaucer and of the Eliza-
bethan dramatist (cf. Abbott, § 454) is to be attained for the shorter
verse by other means. Supposing the accent to have passed to the
first syllable in instance of séruise (seruisse?), verse 36 illustrates the
use of the epic caesura (type B): And in his séruise · wäs éware mó.
Otherwise v. 36 is to be classified under the fifth type (E): Ænd in
his seruisse · was éwere mó. The preservation of line rime v. 495

1 Read Hëw on a tíme with fluctuating accent.
2 i.e. trochaic caesura, the first section of the line preserving a feminine
ending.

SPEC. WAR.
gives the epic cesura: þere .CodeAnalysis2, þe (149,127),(184,157) findè · i wólé þe býndë. See also verses 826 and 955. Type B is combined with a trisyllabic foot at the beginning of the verse: v. 357. At þe mōnt of Sýnay\(^1\) · bī Ȝldē dāwē.—959. At þē gāte of þe cītē · þē wīlēce he mêtē. With monosyllabic first measure: 303. Wit and kûnning · and kōintē, though the reading Wít and kûning · and kōintē (grēyttise, MSS. A\_2D\_3H\_2) merits recognition. Probably in this class is 157: Hēle of bōði · in bōn and hûndë, permitting the hiatus to exist at the cesura. Note, however, instances\(^2\) of double thesis in third foot as follows:


Under B the number of illustrations is increased by instances in which an unaccented -e (-en) is sounded before the cesura, but generally final -e will be elided or apocopated in favour of the fundamental type A. Accepting rigidly the inflectional laws attributed to the poet, the following lines may be read by type B: 52, *64, 101, 181, 240, 522, 533, 747. Suppression of the final syllable at the cesura converts into type A many verses otherwise to be cited under B (see under A): 2, 3, 15, 16, 26, 31, 32, 44, 59, 60, 76, 77, 83, 85, etc. Slurring or syncope will remove from B some illustrations: 12, 13, 345, 424, etc. Verse 94 opens a question treated under declension of substantives, that of the inflectional final -e in dative forms in the singular: And shrīftē of mōupē · shāl bé þi bōtē. Type B removes all difficulty from the acceptance of this -e in the present instance, though verse 94 may naturally be interpreted (cf. Decl.): And shrīftē of mōupē · shāl bé þi bōtē, avoiding the awkward effect of the break at the middle of the short verse.

Verse 123 possibly belongs to type B: Hit ēs a děrnē · mōurning in mōd; but it seems to provide an instance of double thesis in the fourth measure, rather than at the cesura: mōurning in mōd; though here the question of fluctuating accent merits consideration.

\(^1\) This reading presupposes that Synay received the accentuation familiar in modern English.

\(^2\) An asterisk marks the number of a verse containing a principle of metrical structure in addition to the one specifically illustrated.

\(^3\) Epic cesura, if the reading be wīlēn.
mourning is undoubtedly the form to be read, verse 125 mourninge: (springe). For modern use of the epic caesura, compare the musical application of Coleridge, Christabel (ed. Morley, p. 287), Part I., v. 2: And from her kennel • beneath the rock.—Part II., v. 121: She shrank and shudder'd • and said again. Lyric caesura characterizes verse 999: Ne drëd pe nöht, womman, • in ën ën pöuht. Compare also verse 232.

C. Type C produces in the four-stressed system a verse corresponding to the Lydgatian type in the five-beat measure. It completes the rhythm by substitution of a rest for a sound, a dignified and vigorous means of poetical emphasis. The thesis is wanting in the caesura, so that the third measure consists of arsis only, two stressed syllables meeting in the middle of the line. Compare Schipper, Engl. Metrik, vol. I., p. 37, and Schick, p. lviii. This type seems to have been pleasing to the poet; cf. as follows:

v. 204: ët ët god is • and no mó.1—215. And ýaf to mán • frë power.—405. ëf ëf volt sën • in ën sïkht.—613. To sïffré wrông • and vrëht.—615. Aë swich a fiht • ës vnëp. Other illustrations are: 224, 332, 452, 453, 454, 503, 719, 726, 918.

It is to be conceded, that in some instances other hypothesis is possible. Uncertainty in the classification of the syllable producing the thesis results in alternative readings for some of the lines previously cited. Following type A with omission of the thesis in the fourth measure are the following versions of lines 204, 224, 613 and 615:

v. 204: ët ët god is // and nó • mó.
v. 224: ët euerë singyn // bi • gân.
v. 613: To sïffé wrông // and vën • riht.
v. 615: Aë swich a fiht // ës vën • mép.

v. 719 may be read: Whërpurw ën miht • in ën mód. A question of emphasis modifies the absolute classification of other verses. 332 may receive the interpretation // ën móst • dó in its second section; 453: // fro zöu • gón; 454: // hadde zë • nöw.

Combining with unstressed final syllable occur, v. 105: ënëne is hit god, • ët ët shônë.—438. ët slöwen him • ëurw enûic.—446. Wid stërnë vûiz • and wid helë. Additional illustrations are: 24, 25, 35, 75, 100, 227, 253, 498, 583, 766, 832, 909, 960, 1025. Type C produces, in combination with the acephalous verse

1 MSS. H₁ and H₂ attempt to preserve type A by the modification of the construction of verse 204; H₃ and K of verse 452; D and K of verse 615.
(type D), the effect of two short acephalous verses, the half line following the cesura having the general character of the type\(^1\) in the principle of the full acephalous line: 323. *Hérkné nú · állę to mé.—461. Hópe to gód · ánd do gód.—80. Whíché peih bép · állę on réwë.—90. Žit þu móst · èse móre.—927. Góld seip þús · ín his lóre. Other examples are: 445, 448, 816, 824, 848, 864, 919, 927, 983, 1026. Uncertainty characterizes also the illustrations of this paragraph. The meaning of the poet may have demanded the following arrangement:

v. 445: þánnen wóle gód // to hém · séié.

v. 448: Góp anón, // góþ nú · góþë.

v. 461: Hópe to gód // and dó · gód.

v. 494: Óff þis wórđ // þat gól · séidë.

v. 816: Wásshëp óù, // and bép · catné. 824, 848.

v. 983: First, þérof // mak mé · métë.

Verse 498 is removed from type C by MSS. D and H\(_1\) through the reading: *And to Ísú Crist þe tāke.* 919 passes also to type D on the supposition of fluctuating accent: *Léúf frënd // hérkné to mé.* 881 may be removed from type C on ground that it contributes illustration of the retention of the imperative ending in weak verbs: bërfore wórch[ë], // while þu máit. 983 may be read: *First, þérof // mak né métë.*

Type C is enriched by the uniform observance of established poetical laws,\(^2\) particularly in the elision (apocope) of final -e in the cesura. Yet if it be granted, that through the influence of the metrical pause a syllable be preserved, that would otherwise be suppressed, numerous lines belonging to type C, under rigid adherence to the metrical and inflectional system of the poem, may be read according to type A or type D. With the following lines may be compared v. 217, *Leg. of G. Women:*

v. 145: Ac to láte þi sínnë · ál onlíchë;

v. 294: I shál þon shóvë · ín þis plácë;

v. 311: Bópe þe pórë · ánd þe ríchë.

v. 217: With flórouns smálë · ánd I shál nat lýë.—

*Leg. of G. Women.*

\(^1\) The "up-beat" (*aufakt*) is thus omitted at the beginning of each of the two sections of the verse.

\(^2\) The evolution of type C may possibly be accredited to the influence of the acephalous verse, as well as to the increasing tendency toward the weakening of the O.E. full endings and the ultimate loss of the inflectional final -e. *Cf. Schick*, p. Ivii.
Chapter XI.—Metrical Types of the Speculum. cxxxi

Skeat does not accredit Chaucer with the metrical suppression of -e in the cæsura, *Prioresses Tale*, p. lxii. The poet of the *Speculum* may at times have availed himself of the same licence. He has done so in other measures; cf. 279. *sholen* · *wiltên ēuerē*.—297. *sholên* · *pârten hêmê*.—316. *hêm* · *shal wîntên vaht*. Similar instances are not wanting in the third measure: verses 109, 145, 179, 273, etc. A larger number of lines, where conflicting vowels do not coalesce, may be studied under *Hiatus* (cf. § 8). *Sir Beues* illustrates type C, MS. A, 475—4620; v. 485: *Bûte þow mé · tó him tâkê*; cf. 747, 801, 839, 916, 936, etc., and *Pearl* 601.

D. *D* classifies a line iambic in movement, but beginning with a single stressed syllable. The first measure consists of arsis alone, the German *auftaktlose verse or verse mit fehlendem auftakt*. It is employed by Skeat as the “clipped line,” *Leg. of G. Women*, pp. xxxv., xxxvi., by Schick as the “acephalous line,” *Temple of Glas*, p. lviii.; cf. also ten Brink, § 299, and Sidney Lanier, *The Science of English Verse*, p. 139. The *Speculum* is rich in illustration. Compare as follows:


Of the couplet of four measures as employed by Chaucer, type *D* occurs in *The Haus of Fame*; cf. verses 58, 61, 86, 103, 105, 133, 172, 173, etc. In the Chaucerian pentameter Skeat discovers many illustrations; see *Leg. of G. Women*, pp. xxxv., xxxvi., and note to verse 67; *Prioresses Tale*, p. lxvi. The second system of versification *Sir Beues* uses *D*, verses 475(1), 476(2), 479(5), 481(7), 485(11), 487(13), etc. It existed in the earliest mediaeval English versification, in the *septenarius* of the *Poema Morale*; cf. verses 1, 4, 5, 6, 7, 11, 12, 13, etc. Milton² makes happy application of the principle in *L'Allegro*, 19, 21, 25, 26, etc., *Il Penseroso*, 17, 32, 34, etc., and it finds expression in *Vision of Sin*, part II. (see Skeat). Freedom in

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1 *L. e.* monosyllabic first measure.

this construction is attributed to the great Elizabethan master, Abt, § 479.

Group Y of the Speculum often seeks to remove the monosyllabic first measure by the introduction of an unstressed syllable beginning the line. The effort of $H^2_2$ at reconstruction of the metre is to be noted. Verse 7 accomplishes this by the introduction of $ys$; v. 18 replaces $In$ with $Int$; v. 30 writes $Sir$ $Gy$ for $Gy$; v. 49 has $Vpon$ for $On$; v. 54 $our$ $vs$ for $us$; v. 57 $Doo$ $me$ $make$ for $Make$ $me$; v. 74 $But$ $yffe$ for $Bote$; verses 28, 39, and 41 are not altered in the first measure.

E. The first measure of type E is represented by a thesis of two syllables, i.e. verse mit doppeltem auftakt. In contrast with the five-stressed measure, where the type is not uniformly well represented, many verses of the Speculum may be read according to this model:

v. 341. $Büt$ $p̣ṭ$ $ḷọ̃ụ̣e$ $·$ $p̣e$ cristene $p̣at$ $ḅi$ $p̣e$ $ḅé$ (MS. $A_1$).—504. $Ẉḥān$ $ẉe$ $ḥịm$ bisēkēp $·$ $p̣ụt$ riht $ịs$. With unstressed final syllable: v. 21. $Ṇê$ $f̣ọr$ $ḷọ̃ụe$ $ṭo$ $g̣ụ̂d$ $·$ $ṇe$ $f̣ọr$ $ḥịs$ êị̂ʒê.—36. $Ạṇ̃l$ $ịn$ $ḥịs$ $ṣẹṛṿịṣ$ $·$ was ēụṛē$ ṃộṛē.—37. $Ạ$ $g̣ộd$ man $p̣ḥ$ $ẉạs$ $·$ in $p̣ụ̂ḳê$ ðụ̂ẉê.—754. $Ạṇ̃l$ of nēḍjul $p̣ị̣̂ṇg̣$ $·$ $ị$ $ẉọ̄ḷe$ $ẓḥọụ$ têchê.—1006. $p̣ụt$ $ịn$ ðụ̂ṃ̣ẹṣse$ ḍệḍê$ $·$ $ị$ $ḍ̣ụ̂ḅḷê$ $g̣ộd$.—1013. $Ịū$ āṇọ̄p̣ẹṛ $ṣṭệḍê$ $·$ $ị$ $ḥạ̄ụ$ ẉụ̂ṇẹ̄ṣṣê. Additional instances are: 1241, 143, 145, *232, 280, 284, 329, 340, 465, 507, 535?, 564, 565, 567, *581, 582, 683, 779, 793, 795, *835, 859, 936, 940, *959, 966, 975, 976.

$A_2$ preserves in verse 149 the reading of $A$ in distinction from $E$, $p̣ịs$ $ịs$ being read $p̣ịs$' (p̣iṣ is). Verses 341 and 504 were much tampered with by the scribes (cf. variants) in aspiration toward type $A$.

By the omission of $p̣ụt$, v. 1006 conforms to the fundamental type on basis of MS. $R$ in opposition to $A_1$ and $D$. Contrary to other MSS., perhaps quite by accident, 92 (= 474) falls into type $A$ in MS. $A_2$ reading: $Ạṇd$ rëḍy $p̣ụ̂g̣$ $·$ $ṭo$ $ị̣ḍō$ $p̣ẹṇậụṇc̣ê$. The verse is otherwise indefinite in classification, the criterion being rëdi. Accenting the second syllable type E is illustrated. A preferred form places the verse under $A$ with double thesis in the second measure.

v. 1020. $Ạḷṣo$ ōf̣ṭe $ạs$ $p̣ọ̄ụ$ $·$ $ṃạỵṭ$ zēẉẹ̌ ọ̋ụḷṭ, is excluded from type $E$, if $Ạḷṣo$ be regarded as a single syllable; cf. Chaucer, Genl. Prolog. v. 730. For $ṭḥị$ $ỵe$ $ḳụ̂ṇc̣ẹn$ $ạḷṣo$ (= als) wēl as $I$.

The classification distinguishing any one of these individual types is not absolute. A verse admits of various readings according to
v. 45. Off hín pe éorl · wás wel wár. (C)
Off hín pe éor[č]l · wás wel wár. (A)

In opposition to the hypothesis that eo is a dissyllable, is the reading of verse 29, Öff an éorl of gódē fámē, and the monophthongic use of eo in corpe, possessing the metrical value of erpe, compare corpe 296, 375, 397, 600, 604, 735, with erpe 382 and 589.

Type C often depends for its classification on the interpretation of the poet’s intended meaning. In verse 100, grant that the poet wished to make þu conspicuous, and type C is assured; but D is quite possible on supposition of the poet’s desire to emphasize the condition presented through if in the first measure, with added weight of stress on the idea of the wish suggested in wolt; cf. Abt, § 484.

If þu wolt hém · tó pe tákē. (C)
Íf þu wólt hem · tó pe táke. (D)

Type C is peculiarly influenced by the -é at the cæsura. Thus verses 10 and 14 are the property of C, if the -e of self[ę] be silent (cf. MS. A₁). Interpreting þiselfě and himselfě as original forms, the normal type claims the verse. The fluctuation between A and C is illustrated, verse 253, in the copyist’s versions of the vigorous steh. To hewnē he stēh · þúw his mihtē. The five texts add a final -ē, supplying the more melodious stēgē (A₂) or stěgê (H₂).

Inflectional forms of the verb, to be regarded as monosyllabic or dissyllabic, open another channel for inexactness, thus louèst or lowest is the reading of v. 13, v. 337, etc. Whether the arsis fall on the first or the second syllable of redī determines the classification of verses 92 (= 434); cf. type E.

After making allowance for elision, synizesis, hiatus, and slurring of all kinds, there still remain verses that are uncertain in metrical structure.¹ Chaucer’s pronunciation of persones justifies

¹ The peculiarly independent nature of each of the individual MSS. of the Speculum renders the question opened in textual and metrical study exceptionally perplexing.
the scansion of v. 206: \( \text{pré persones} \cdot \text{in trinité} \), with which compare v. 73 of the Clerkes Tale: \( \text{A fair persone,} \cdot \text{and strong, and young of age} \), but see also The Eel of Tolous, Lüdtke, p. 36, v. 2: \( \text{Oonly god and persons thre} \).

The question of the legitimacy of the middle \( \text{-i-} \) in \( \text{neih-e-bour} \) involves the type of v. 535: \( 3 \text{if } \text{pi neih(e)bour} \cdot \text{mislof pe} \), being in conflict with: \( 3 \text{if } \text{pi neih(e)bour} \cdot \text{mislof pe} \), or \( 3 \text{if } \text{pi neih(e)bour} \cdot \text{mislof pe} \), the preferred form being \( \text{neihbour} \).

Illustrations of this character throughout the poem confirm the decision noted earlier, that the verse-types of the Speculum cannot be rigidly classified on basis of the accentual models of mediaeval Romance poetry, but was adapted in rhythm to language susceptible to fluctuation through the influence of poetical aspiration and spiritual devotion.

In the study of the Bohemianism of this verse formation,\(^1\) some attention is due to details in which the copyist was deficient in accuracy and faithfulness, and perhaps in intelligent understanding of his archetype. Although in some instances defect is incidental to the original, yet the scribe did not always understand the omission of the unstressed syllable. Thus the technique of verse 107, that stumbling-block to the scribe, illustrating the omission of the thesis in the fourth measure, is a dark mystery. MS. R tried to rectify the irregularity by the use of \( \text{unto} \); \( H_1 \) and \( H_2 \) tried to improve the metre by means of an adverbial modifier. Clearly the verse illustrates deficiency originating with the common archetype of all the MSS. MS. \( A_1 \) is to be unaltered.

Verse 341 reads in five MSS.: "But \( \text{pu lone pym cristene,} \) \( \text{pym is wanting in } A_1 \) alone. As exact translation, it is logically based on the Latin \( \text{proximum tuum} \) according to v. 338. Five MSS. recognize also the necessity logically if not metrically for \( \text{emcristene,} \) a form familiar to \( A_1 \) and \( D \) alone of the scribes. \( H_1 \) paraphrases \( \text{emcristene with neybore, 341 (enemy, 334).} \) It is expanded to \( \text{euene crysten} \) by other copyists.

To the influence of the individual scribe,\(^2\) with his varying sense of accuracy, must be reconciled some irregularity resulting in the omission of \( \text{here v. 268, a reading preserved by } H_1 \) and \( H_2 \). The error, that of haplography,\(^3\) possibly originated through close associa-

\(^1\) Among themselves the MSS. of this poem are peculiarly incongruous, increasing difficulty in determining the original form.

\(^2\) Cf. Chaucer's Wordes unto Adam, his owne Scrivyn.

\(^3\) i. e. lipography.
Chapter XI.—Treatment of the Unstressed Syllable.

tion of two words distinct in meaning but the same in form. $A_1$ detected the incongruity, and attempted correction through the introduction of here in a second arrangement of the same line, later crossed out (cf. text, p. 14). Verse 269 is similar, where $A_1$ is also guilty of a careless substitution of -es (fleshes) for -ly of the original: 

\[ \text{pure sing of fleschly · liking}. \]

Five MSS. are answerable for fleschly.

In verse 89 the MSS. unite in the translation of and in the sense of if by the insertion of zeit: *And zeit *pu wolt *have gode *orë*, removing the verse from type D and re-classifying it as A. The latter reading seems to be correct.

Of hypotheses supplied by the scribe other examples are at hand. It has been deemed wise not to extend this discussion. Variants offer material for individual judgment. Textual notes will interest themselves in additional illustrations.

§ 4. Treatment of the unstressed Syllable.

It has been recognized, that the elemental measure contains one unstressed beat for every stressed syllable, but other combinations are employed. It is in this specific relationship that the verse distinguishes most sharply between standards of the poet Gower and those of the poet of the *Speculum*. Gower’s rigid measurement of every syllable, forcing each to tally with its neighbour, found no sympathy even with Chaucer. But the better feeling of Chaucer did not permit him to introduce the double thesis with great frequency. Nor did the “halting metre” of Lydgate clog its steps with too heavy a burden of double thesis. The *Speculum* contains proof not only that a secondary unstressed syllable marks its rhythm, but that a measure may consist of arsis alone, the thesis being omitted for poetical effect or in the zeal inspired by the theme.

1. The double thesis. The double thesis is frequent in the first poetical measure, yet in this position as type E it may often clash with type D. That two unstressed syllables exist at the caesura developing type B has been proved (*vide ante*). Two unstressed syllables are to be noted in other portions of the verse. The principal illustrations occur in the second measure.

v. 132. *hë wë mëhtë*; 341, *þyn êncristenë*; 343, *máitöu lœug göd*; 356, *of ñ bësh*; 959, *of þë citë*; perhaps 670, *And who só bereþ pöudre*; cf. also 255, 368 ?, 807 ? Probably to be read here are 92 and 474 (*vide ante*). 592 is excluded from the list, see Morsb. § 84, Anm.
Chapter XI.—Treatment of the Unstressed Syllable.

Probably to the fourth measure is to be traced the double thesis of verse 123: "mourning in mold;" verse 150 (MS. A₁) is removed from classification in this division by slurring. Other conjectured instances of the double thesis in the fourth measure are generally not considered, on account of oft-quoted interference of elision, slurring, etc.; cf. verses 321, 469, 633, 873, 907, etc.

2. Omission of the unstressed syllable. An element of rhetorical significance characteristic of this verse is the omission of the unstressed syllable, emphasizing the narrative with dramatic picturesqueness through a "compensating pause," Guest, Hist. of Engl. Rhythm. The pause occurs:—

(1) In the first and second measures the conjunction being emphasized by accent as follows:

v. 563: Nōht, 'if i dār it séiē (type D).

Compare other doubtful readings:

v. 398: Nay, nóman · mīhtē dōn pāt dēdē.

v. 973: Ne nōht · pāt i mīhte pe zīnē.

In Shakspere's time also the unemphatic monosyllable was permitted to occupy an emphatic place and to receive an accent, Abt, § 457. Shakspere strengthens a negative by the monosyllabic measure; cf. Rich. II. ii. 1. 148: Nāy, · nóthing; áll is sāid. And Coriol. iii. 3. 67: Nāy · tēmperatēly; your prōmisē, Abt, § 482, and p. 375. The first vīrūte prescribed for Guy of Warwick, verses 81 and 139, is conspicuous through the same medium:

Wīs · dōm || in gōdēs drēdē (type D). Continued exemplification of this dramatic canon designates significant passages: 86, 702, 734, etc.

(2) In the fourth measure. v. 673: Off mān hit fūrēp || rīht · sō; 704: Dōp a ītēl || trēs · pās. Here the pause suggests the burden of responsibility and the seriousness of the preacher's message. v. 269: Ðūrw sīnē || of jēschly līk · īng. 502 with proper licence gains in emphasis when read: Off hūn || and ēf ēis gōd · dēde. Compare also 85 (A₁), mīldnesse? (inorganic -ē- is inserted in other MSS., cf. D mekenes); 86, fōrzīf · nēs; 390, clēr · tē; 107, tō · mé; 259, tō · bē. Fluctuating stress is possible, v. 259: Hē pāt wās wōnd to bē, though the testimony of the copyists confirms wōnded by the reading wōnt. Compare also illustrations collected under type C. A₁ offers many instances of this type of verse, rectified in other MSS. through the insertion of an inorganic -ē- (cf. Sachse, Das unorganische e im Orrulum, p. 63); cf. sōp-nēsse, 346, 411, 565.
Similar feature characterizes the versification of *The Earl of Tolous* (Lüdtke, p. 59), 83, 328, 403, etc.

The tonality of this application is indicative of power, giving in line 563 an impression of vigour, in 125 of sadness, in 81 of deep fervour, and in line 704 of solemnity. It is suggestive of the modern poetry of Robert Browning, infinitely dramatic in quality. It seems to be a deliberate purpose of the poet to embody through inner principle of language the character of the thought.


The cæsura became an important factor in the hand of the poet. It seems to conform to two offices. Apart from its normal function, that of the metrical pause, it performs at the same time duties of emphasis. The effect of a pause after an emphatic monosyllable is similar to that of the omission of the unstressed syllable (*vide ante*), calling attention to the reading immediately preceding (cf. type C): 498, 517, *Iesu Crist*; 514, *lōwe*, etc.; 494, *Öff þis wórd þat gót · sēide*, the emphasis marking *god*.

In general there exists considerable uniformity in the treatment of the cæsura. The epic cæsura (see type B) is not, as in Chaucer and Lydgate, of frequent occurrence. The cæsura may be discovered:

1. After the ictus of the first foot: 563. *Nōht, || if i dār i t sēie.* 697: *Hit sēmēp, || þat hé hāþ trēce lōwē.* It occurs apparently in a colloquial usage, where the first measure is dissyllabic after *sēide* 52, 68, 953; *seist 555; seîp 567*; but also after a monosyllabic first measure: *Mān 481; Lēf 866.*

2. The cæsura in other positions. Lyrical cæsura occurs in some instances by the side of epic cæsura (see type B). The position of the typical pause is uniformly after the second ictus, but isolated exception, due rather to caprice than to deliberation, is exemplified, 520 *but Iblessēd; Conēp 423.* Irregularity is to be noted in the following instances:

v. 617: *Whij? || fôr þe kynde of þi manhēdē.*

v. 395: *Mān, || míhte hit ēnere þānnē bē.*

v. 523: *Mān, || if þu wólto mé herkny.*

A pause offered by the cæsura seems demanded, though rarely, in two parts of the single verse: 431, 833, 982, etc.
§ 6. Resolved Stress.

Resolved stress, fluctuating accent (schwebende betonung, taktumstellung), is determined on the one hand, objectively, through the natural accent of the individual word; on the other subjectively, through the rhetorical purpose of the specific verse. The rhetorical accent of the Speculum does not often clash with the rhythm, yet every measure cannot be regarded as a perfect unit, and stress must at times be divided between the word accent and the verse accent. This is exemplified particularly at the beginning of the verse and after the caesura.

1. Beginning the verse:
   v. 43: Wit of clergie · he hadde inóuh.
   v. 355: Hu Móyses him sáuh, · wólto héré?
   v. 950: Spák tó Élízë · pé profétë.
   v. 972: Siker, she séide, · "bred háue i nón."

2. In the second section of the verse:
   v. 245: To sáuñé mán, · mán hé bicám.
   v. 349: pé fóurme · of pé childrén he métë.
   v. 414: pé cléne of hérte, · blésséd péih bé.²

The resolved stress is peculiarly applicable to individual words of Romance origin, where the accent was not at this period unalterably determined. Romance forms with the suffix -aunce, -age, etc., forms like servise, merci, resúun, etc., where the primary word accent is no longer active, admit of fluctuation due to the conflict between English and French intonation. That merci of the present poem was subject to variable accent, is proved by metre. That the accent belongs at least once on the final syllable, is indicated by the riming form, merci¹: (herkny) 524. To the contrary, merci in the following verses requires accent on the first syllable:

   v. 263: Mérçí · nèle he shéwë nón.
   v. 472: Góldës mercí · òf his sínñë.
   v. 532: Mérçí wás þer · néüere nón.
   v. 545: Mérçí gétstu · néüere nón.
   v. 567: Hé þat wólë · no mérçí háüë.
   v. 568: On þydel · dòp he mérçí cráüë.

¹ See Schipper, Neuenglische Metrik, vol. i., p. 32, natural emphasis is sacrificed to technical purpose.
² See also: "'Pe cléne of hértë, blésséd péih bé."
Verse 131, as illustration of type D, is open to speculation through variable accent:

v. 131: Merci he lês · þúrw þat sînne.
Mërci hé lês · þúrw þat sînne.

Resolved accent will be recognized also as hovering accent, and as wrenched accent was in use by Puttenham, Arte of English Poesie, and Gascoigne, Notes of Instruction, Steel Glas.

Consistent pronunciation is hardly possible at a time when laws were not more tangible, than is illustrated by Ben Jonson’s rules, viz.: if a dissyllabic word be simple, it should be accented on the first syllable, but if derived from a verb, on the second; cf. Abt, § 490.

§ 7. Slurring.

Slurring" (verschleilung) in favour of the metre occurs, for instance:

1. At the caesura: v. 934, Fór so thúel · an álmeslêlé.—545. Mërci gétestu · nènere nôn.—12. þu miht be sêker · to hêwene wêndê. 264. Æc, riht áfter · þat mán hâp dôn.—213. Also áfter.—Giving after two syllables: 876. Ac riht áfter · þú hast dô. A, and R preserve consistently the slurring and strengthen the claims of the verse to type A by the introduction of an additional syllable, þat following after: Æc riht áfter · þat þú hast dô. 345 illustrates slurring in a proper name: þis sêþ þin Powel · and béréþ witnesþ; cf. Pogatscher. 2

2. In the second measure: 218. þe éuel to lâte · and gòd to tákê. Parallel with euere (read e’er), euel 3 is monosyllabic through slurring, as was the Shaksperian usage, Cymb. V. v. 60 and I. i. 72 (Abt, § 466). Compare with éuel, in other measures (giving type A), 901, and ýuel (probably dissyllabic, type A) 15. Type C is confirmed by the slurred form yuel in verses 217, 228, 872, but the preferred reading gives two syllables. See also evyll in Thomas of Erceldoune (ed. Brandl) 379, spéke none evyll of mé. Other forms are also

1 A moderated syncope resp. apocope, see Morsb., § 85, 5.
2 Pogatscher gives explanation of Powel relatively to O. E. au in words of foreign origin, as follows: Wenn Kons. + Liquida, oder Nasal, in den Auslaut tritt, kann im ae. aus silbębildender Liquida ein sekundärer Vokal entstellt werden (Pâulus, O. E. Pâwel, M. E. Powel), § 275, and § 25: Vor silbębildendem r- oder -w in Auslaut, entsteht im ae. der Keibelaut w; e. g. M. E. Powel < O. E. Pâwel < Pâulus, § 254.
3 Compare the Elizabethan pronunciation of devil (Scotch de’il) with softening of the -e-; cf. Abt, § 466, with reference to Macbeth, IV. iii. 56:

“Of hórrid hêll can come · a dévil more dàmn’d.”
found: *wonder of* 149; *hunger and* 185; *Many a* 112, 369, 592; *Many and* 675; *Many on* 829.

3. In other measures: *euere among* 186 occurs in the fourth syllabic measure; 44. *euere he* in the third measure. With a second slurring in the same verse occurs: *many on· euere among* 880.

Slurring is illustrated through inflectional forms: substantives:
gen. in -es: *faderes* 254, 255; plu. in -es: *peres* 97; in en: *children ifère* 978.—Verbs: in -en: *hepen* his 48; *comen* him 67; *comen* 240.—In -est: *lowest* 13; in -ep: *spekep (caesura)* 275; *makep man* 124.

*Whe'ier* 219, 272, 536, 872, is to be read as a monosyllable, *vhér*; cf. 219: *Whe'ier (vhér') ké wole chése,* *he húp power.* See Chaucer, *Monk's Prologue*, 3119; *Leg. of Good Women*, 1995; with Skeat's reference, l. 72, to Shakspere's 59th Sonnet, *Whe'er wé are mended*, and Abt, *Sh. Gr.*, § 136 and § 466, with reference to *Tempest*, V. i. 111; *pyder* 257; *Ofer* 175; *nofer* 862 are also to be regarded as monosyllabic.

§ 8. *Hiatus.*

The hiatus depends upon the preservation of unaccented final -e, before a word beginning with a vowel-sound, in positions where two vowels do not coalesce (cf. Skeat, *Leg. of Gd. Women*, 217), and where at times a conflict exists between type C or type A. The *Speculum*, availing itself of technical licence in favour of type A in distinction from type C, offers numerous examples of hiatus (*vide ante*); cf. as follows:

v. 266: To *ióyé · or to stróng turment.* (A)
v. 656: *þé to hóldé · in þi prídé.* (D)

The text is rich in such lines1; cf. 58, 68, 74, 109, 143, 145, 380, 409, 493, 495, 510, 651, 722, 743, 760, 792, 817, 845, 945, 1005. Elision (apocope) is not lost in the cesura, as may be inferred from the following illustrations: 411, 413, 417, 721, 746, etc. Hiatus is possible in other measures:

v. 122: *Wické on · and wické ófer.*
v. 1020: *Also ófte as þón · mayl3 zévé ónþ.*

See 93, 106, 838, and possibly 600, 735, 904, etc.

1 The association producing hiatus occurs before *h* as follows: 198, 419, 694, 789, 834, 895, 1028, 1029, etc. In this position the verse is to be distinguished from the Chancerian system; cf. ten *Br.* § 270.
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Inflectional -n retained in the infinitive excludes from consideration passages otherwise to be ranked in this class, for example: 181, 182, 188, 285, 292, 297, 405, etc. The introduction of final -n in the infinitive lessens the number of lines illustrative of hiatus; cf. 58, 74, 380, 743, etc. Verse 273 is improved by the addition of -n; And þere biletē[ŋ] ēnere mó. See also 1005: Now þu miht knówc[ŋ] in þi móð.

CHAPTER XII.

ON THE RIMING STRUCTURE OF THE SPECULUM.

§ 1. End Rime.

The rimes of the six MSS. of the Speculum are virtually the same, modified only in orthography through dialectical variations. They are in general adroitly handled, but are without great diversity or originality. Imperfect rimes occur through assonance.

Assonance.—The Speculum contains five illustrations of assonance: ek : jet 440; cam : man 590; men : hem 150; wene : brenne 368; vanderstonde : fonge (corrected in D and R to fonde) 508. 826 offers in rime with ariht\(^1\) (A\(_1\)), white A\(_2\), whizht H\(_1\), see Kluge, Pl. Grdr. I. p. 849. Compare also illustrations of Guy of Warwick (Ff. 2. 38), p. xiii., hyt : nyght 9505, and ryght : zỵt 3209 (Zupitza's 3219, p. xiii.); str. 54: delyt : plyt (-ght) 93. : spyt 95. Pearl 90\(^7\), and the Rolandlied, see Schleich, p. 26 lyght : wit 848 ; erthe : hed 101. Readily corrected by restoring the original reading is þerwip (read þerwip) : grịp 148.

Inexact rimes.—In some rimes practically perfect in the fundamental text, the vowels of corresponding syllables are dissimilar in instances, where the scribe's orthography and the author's do not correspond. The unimportant disagreement may be amended by a trifling change in orthography, since the consonants and consonantal groups following the vowel are identical. The accompanying forms are represented through illustrations from MS. A\(_1\) : e : i (y) : forgete :invite 194, : wite 764; her : fyr 452; here : fire 356; seines : blisse 188; þisterness : blisse 114; prest : Crist 806.—e : ei : drede : seide 140, 494; rede : seide 168, 692.—e : ie : anskerede : heriede 66.—e : i : eige : lize 828.—u : e : turned : sterne 436.—a : o : gauge : longe 762.—i : o : skile : wole 712.—i : u : gill : ipult 888; aperteliche:

\(^1\) The poet undoubtedly spoke riht : wiht.
muche 386; lihtliche : muche 672.—i : wi : fire : duire : 282.—o : u : worche : churche 860.—o : ou : noht : bouht 172, 226, : ierouht 580, : souht 196, : pouht 32, 560, etc. These unimportant variations exist purely on the face of the MSS. and are without weight as regards the internal principle of the rime. A more or less successful attempt at correction of such errors has been offered by various scribes, who detected the inaccuracy.

**Perfect rime.**—Perfect rime is represented in both its classes; but this subdivision is to be modified in Teutonic words according to the interpretation of the syllabic value of final -e. If -e be regarded as silent, masculine rime predominates in the versification of the *Speculum*; while on the other hand, if -e be sounded, feminine rime is in excess in the proportion in general of 7 to 6. The discussion to follow will probably show that as in Chaucer (cf. Skeat, *Prioresses Tale*, p. lvii) and in contemporary poets (but see Schleich, *Ywain and Gawain*, pp. xxxvii ff.) the dominant rime preserves the -e, and in closer proportion relatively to the masculine rime than in the *Poema Morale* (Skeat, pp. Ivii—Iviii) and in *On God Ureisun of Ure Lejdi*, where the relationship of masculine rimes to feminine rimes stands perhaps as 10 to 150. Assuming that -e is to be pronounced, on basis of rimes recurring most frequently, perfect rime may be classified as follows:

1. **Masculine** (strong, monosyllabic) rimes. *(a) Assonantal rimes.* In -e: be : pe 328, 334, 414, 536, 588; be : charite 96, 936, 1034; be : fle 834, 850; be : se 396, 534, 738, 752, 872; (ise) 402, 730, : pite 260; me : se 190, : pe 108, 392, 550, 552, 556, 920, 1012; pe : bise 488; charite : me 56, 324, : pe 84, : be 96.—In -i: witerli : merci 458, 528; sikelri : empty 1002; lewed : witerli 364.—In -o: also : do 10, 208, 898; do : to 68, 332; do : wo 484, 918; po : mo 240, 1004. Numerous other examples might be included, in which this poem is prolific. *(b) Consonantal rimes.*—In -a: al : pral 238; bieam : nam 246; cas : trespass 704; last : cast 636.—In -e: qued : ded 862, : red 48, 654; wel : katee 162, 578, 896, etc.; power : ner 216.—In -i: wif : lyf 234, 702, 734; his : paralys 300; liht : niht 856.—In -o: forsok : tok 34; bloo : rod 248; non : idon 546.—In -oht: bouht : noht 172; pouht : ouht 316; inouh : drouh 44. Here compare Robert of Gloucester, where inou rimes with drou 253, 269, 311, etc. (Wright’s edition, *The Metrical Chronicle of Robert of Gloucester, London*). Compare also Guy of Warwick, Zupitza’s fifteenth century edition, p. xiii: ynogh : too 10,859; ynowe : also 8953, and Rolanlied, enow : trowe 530, 1000 (Schleich, p. 28).
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Triple rime.—A single couplet in triple rime is preserved,¹ probably incidental to the poet: dammuacioum : samuacioum 788.

Rimes in -y : -yē.—The Speculum, agreeing with the system of Chaucer, is free from the riming combination -y : -yē; cf. ten Brink, Chaucer Studien, pp. 22 ff., and Pabst, Robt. of Gloucester, pp. 99, 100. Distinction is here marked between this poem and texts of Lydgate (cf. Schick, p. lxii) and of Guy of Warwick (MS. Fl. 2. 38, cf. Zupitza, p. xiv), where rimes char̩te : sekr̩te 5367; commen̩e : thre 3865, etc. are recorded. Concerning the rime chivalry : Gy, The Rime of Sir Thopas, v. 209, cf. Skeat's note.

Rimes of -econs. : -econs. + ē.—The poet was virtually accurate and logical in the use of final -e. The rime goþ(e) : loþe 448 is the most noticeable exception. The questionable god : rod 144, goþe : loþe 448, que̩de : fede 1026, are treated under inflection. milt : sith̩e 362 is withdrawn from discussion, because of the existing conditions of the poem, ascribing forms in -ē (e) to the dative of the substantive; cf. Inflection of substantives. The Roland Lied offers example to the contrary in the treatment of cons. : cons. + ē; cf. shal : alle 17; place : hos 413, 714, and other examples. See Schleich, Prolegomena ad Carmen de Rolando Anglicum, p. 4.

Cheap rimes.—Cheap rimes are introduced in abundance in correspondences of identical riming suffixes: — -auce : -auce 92, 474, 572, etc.; -ē : -ē 96, 390, 678, etc.; -hede : -hede 372; -(n)esse : -(n)esse 306, 346, 412, etc.; -liche : -liche 146, 416, 442, 606, 718, 798, 822, etc.; -ing : -ing 278, 314, etc.; -oun : -oun 788, etc. Self-riming suffixes in -ence and in -ful are not represented in the system of the Speculum.

¹ The medieval poet was rarely ambitious in his rhythmical composition to make current higher attainment than that of correspondences in feminine rime; cf. Poema Morale, Guy of Warwick, Sir Beues, Patience, etc.

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Double rimes.—eize (O.E. ēage) riming with heie (O.E. ēah) 388, on one hand, occurs also in rime with lize (O.E. lēa) 828, suggesting a double form, but not proving its existence. Double forms of have are assured in rime have : (crane) 455, 529, 543, etc., have : (saue) 477 and habbe : (gabbe) 463 are preserved by the poet.

Rich rimes.—acord : discord 514; anon : non 972. Identical in form but different in construction are mynē (simple poss.) : mynē (absolute poss.) 340. The definite verb form nas rimes with itself in the negative nas 360. Over this usage, as illustrated by Chaucer, compare ten Brink, § 330. The rime occurs in R. of Gl. (cf. edition of Wright) 254, 564, 656, etc. Many instances are recorded.

Of the numerous riming arts (cf. Kluge, Zur Geschichte des Reines im Altsypermanischen, Beiträge, vol. ix—x) lending richness and variety to the Chaucerian verse (cf. ten Brink, pp. 190 ff.), and to the systems of contemporary poets, the ten hundred rimes of the Speculum afford but limited scope for illustration. Of broken rimes, a class of which there are two illustrations in Sir Beues (see Kolbing, p. xii), v. 2928, 3423, two in R. of Gl. (see Pabst, § 4, with reference to Anglia IV, 479), v. 2481, 6575, several in Guy of Warwick, there occurs not an instance. No identical rime comes to light. The use of light endings by the poet, forms of be, can, etc., is attested to in the paragraph over perfect rime.

Although the dominant rime throughout is end rime, yet interior rime as illustrated by middle rime and sectional rime, and alliteration, are to be traced.

Middle rime.—It is illustrated as follows:

v. 969: Dó, he seulê,1 be my rød[ê]2
v. 495: þere í þe fíndê,3 i wólê þe bíndê.

v. 315: Ne lát hit nóht4· come in þi þóuht.

v. 999: Ne drêd þe nóht5 womman, in þi þóuht.

Sectional rime.—A single instance of sectional rime is incidental to the verse of the Speculum, probably without the deliberate purpose of the poet:

v. 174: For whún a mún · hap sinnê dó.

Read with fluctuating accent, verse 919 illustrates sectional rime:

Lěuê frend, herknê to mé.

1 Read seulê, the poet's form; cf. se(ê)de : rede 168, 691.
2 This is indeed questionable, but on some grounds justifiable.
3 Read fíndê, the verse illustrating type B with hiatus at the cæsura.
4 Read nóht.
5 Read nóht.
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§ 2. Alliteration.

Alliteration, as embodying an underlying and elemental principle, a form of consonantal rhyme representative of the native English system, the direct correlation of Teutonic literature, has been lost in the verse of the Speculum. Not even sufficient mechanical link remains to connect this poem with that noble alliterative group of the "West Cuntre," whose "literary ancestors were Cædmon and Cynewulf," and whose latest minstrel was the Gawain poet; see Professor Thomas in her Zürich dissertation Sir Gawayne and the Green Knight,¹ and Dr. Trautmann,² Ueber Verfasser einiger allit. Gedichte; see also Gollancz,³ Pearl, p. xx.

But though the poet⁴ cannot "geste—rom, ram, ruf—by lettre,"⁵ yet his usage of alliteration occurs sometimes unconsciously, accepting formulae common to the language of poetry and practical life in the century. Occasionally an example seems introduced deliberately according to literary standards for the purpose of ornament. As a rule one alliterative syllable occurs in the first half line, i.e. before the caesura, one in the second. A line may have two alliterating syllables in the second half line and none in the first. In general, alliteration as here illustrated unites words connected by some normal syntactical relationship. The association is as in Chaucer based on metrical accent in preference to logical or word accent. The alliterative principle is illustrated in combinations as follows:

1. Verb and object.⁶—(a) Derived from distinct radicals: v. 28 tale · sou telle.—42 · lyf he ladde.—463 hope · . . . habbe (haue). 477.—689, 690 haue · hope · to heuene blisse.—464 say · þe sop.—983 · mak me mete. See also 35 tuned (god · and) his lore. (b) Presenting an etymological relationship between verb and cognate

¹ In Sir Gawayne and the Green Knight. A Comparison with the French Perceval, preceded by an Investigation of the Author's other Works, and followed by a Characterization of Gawain in English Poems. By M. Carey Thomas (President of Bryn Mawr College). Zürich, 1883 (Zürich dissertation).
³ Cf. Pearl, an English poem of the fourteenth century, edited by I. Gollancz, London, 1891, where the same topic receives attention, p. xlii.
⁴ The Speculum would stand as a link of perhaps one hundred (at least fifty) years nearer this O. E. ancestry than the poet of Pearl, if Trautmann’s theoretical date for the Gawain-group be final, 1370—80 (p. 33), or Gollancz’s be preferred to Morris’s (Early English Alliterative Poems, E. E. Text Society, 1864), in Sir Gawain and the Green Knight, whose title-page is dated 1320—30.
⁵ Prologue of the Persones Tale, v. 43.
⁶ A point indicates the position of the caesura, marking the relationship of the alliterative syllable relatively to the half-line, in legitimate descent from the native alliterative construction.
noun: 50 · sente his sondé.—549 met · as þu metest me.—859, 860 vorche Godes werkes.—398 · don þat dede.—674 dedes · þouh he do.—Verb and attribute: 45 · was wel war.

2. Verb with substantive limitation by means of preposition.—v. 38 lüede · in lawe.—232 (out of) paradys · he was pylt.—255 sit · on side.—411 self · seide in søfenesse.—719 miht · in þi mod.—779 for shame · . . . shewe.—780, 781 shewed · to shaftes.—804 for shame · shewe.—812 bringeþ · in blame.—818 wid wæter men wassheþ.—831 weneþ · wasshe wid þat wæter.—888 Into pine · ipult.—978 mot make · of mete.—1014 · seide in sopenesse.—1029 To þat blisse · bryng. Alliteration through cognate words: 19 at his ville · he wolde.—405 sen · in siht.—733 lineþ · in lyf.

3. Verb limited by the adverb.—v. 145 late · al onliche.—179 here · holde lowe.—312 wete þu wel.—637 vel vite. 763.—895 wot wel.—941 vite it wel. 1017.—609 seie · sopeliche.—821 seie · sikerliche. Without direct grammatical relationship: 62 lad · to longe while.

4. Verb and substantive.—v. 368 þe bush · mihte brenne. Alliteration uniting cognate forms: 879, 880 gilour · gileþ; cf. 431 gostes · goþ. See also 447-8.

5. Attributive adjective and substantive.—v. 469 sinnes · sore.—576 þi seli soule · .—744 þe longe lyff · .—752 giltes · grete.—938 more · mede.—980 mete · more.

6. Substantive in a relationship dependent on an associated word for its direction.—v. 123 mourning in mod.—211 shappere · of all shaftes.—622 of martyrdom · þe mede.—690 hope · to heuene blisse.—745 drede · of domes day.—770 prest · tak þi penance.—868 deing · þi domesday.—998 To þe widewe · wordes swete.

7. Substantive and substantive.—v. 158 · pompe and pride.—303 hunning · and kointise.—400 lerel · and lewed.—652 to heuene · or to helle; cf. on · and ober 74 and 122.

8. Adjective and adjective.—v. 381 clene · and cler.—574 meke · and polemod. 666.

9. Adverb and adverbiale phrase producing tautology.—v. 426 euere · widouten ende.

10. Unclassified expressions.—146 Nis nouht inouh.—157 Hele of bodi · in bon and hulde.—351 tokne · i telle þe.—356 fourme · al on þre. 499 ofte · in orisoun.—618 Wolde haue wrecche · of wrongful dede.—669 fareþ · we finde · .—742 zeneþ him grace · of gostli.—857 lyf · is cleped liht.—858 dep · þe derke niht.
CHAPTER XIII.

ON THE PHONOLOGY OF THE SPECULUM.

"that none miswrite ye."

In this study of the phonology of the Speculum, every rime couplet has been consulted. A verse-number refers to the single illustration or to both members of the strophe. In the latter instance it cites the line containing the second of the pair of rimes, irrespective of arrangement. If the rime quoted occur more than three times in the same combination, the fact is indicated by the sign etc. following the third verse-number. The investigation begins always with the vowel of the text \( \alpha \). This vowel heads every sectional division of the argument. The study passes from the short sound of the vowel to the long, and concludes in each instance with its combination in diphthongs. Forms bearing secondary stress are not examined. The classification is not influenced nominally by the division "high vowels," "low vowels," and "mid vowels." Both members of each couplet are uniformly introduced, and marks of parenthesis inclose that element not immediately necessary to the subject under discussion. The orthography has for its basis MS. \( \alpha \), and reproduces the form occurring first in that text. Phonetical variations introduced by other scribes are not in general mentioned.

\( \alpha \).

§ 1. Sources of short\(^3\) \( \alpha \) (\( \dot{\alpha} \)) of the Speculum are English and Scandinavian.

A. Old English sources.

1. O.E. \( \alpha \) (\( \dot{\alpha} \)) corresponding uniformly to : (a) O.E. \( \alpha \) (\( \dot{\alpha} \)) before single nasals: \( \text{man} \) (cf. Brugmann, 180) : \( \text{bigan} \) 224 ; \( \text{man} : \text{can} \) 728 ; \( \text{cam} : \text{man} 590 ; \text{biam} : \text{nam} 246 \); possibly also \( \dot{\alpha} \) in \( \text{gange} \); (\( \text{longe} \)) 761. In the study of \( \text{cam} \), see \( \text{com} \) (O.E. \( \text{côm} \) for \( \text{cwômon} \); Orrm, \( \text{cômm} \)) 250, 480, not confirmed by rime. Cf. Sweet, Anglia, vol. iii., p. 152; Anglia, vol. xiii., p. 214; Morsh., Gram., § 90, Anm. 5; § 93, Anm. 2; p. 68, Anm. 4; ten Br., Ch., § 12, Anm. 1; Menze, O. M. Dialect, p. 12; and Murray, Engl. Dictionary

1 Chaucer, Troilus 1809.
2 At the request of Professor Schick the arrangement of the following chapter is based upon the dissertation of Felix Pabst: Lautlehre des Robert von Gloucester.
3 Criteria for determining the quantity of the vowels are not abundant in the Speculum. General laws of historical development rather than the immediate context have often governed the decisions of the editor.
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under come. (b) O.E. a, Ge. a in a closed syllable; Goth. ai-class, Morsb., p. 136, Anm. 2: habbe : (gabbage) 463.

2. O.E. a (ea): (a) Before l or l + a consonant: alle (O.E. call) : bifalle (inf.) 292; alle : (calle) 521; al : (smaal) 869; al : (pral) 237.
(b) Following a palatal: shaftes (O.E. gesceaff) 586.

3. O.E. e from Germe. ă in closed syllables: faste (adv.) : (agaste, inf.) 865; was : nas (Pabst, § 10 f.) 360; hadde (through assimilation) : (ladde) 41; smal (M.E. smâ-le in open syllables; see ten Br., Ch., § 27 3); Sir Fir. 2274) : (al) 870; war (uninflected adjective; cf. Pabst, p. 17) : bar, Genesis and Exodus, l. 1308, and R. of Gloucester, l. 6012) 46; craftes : (shaftes) 212.

4. O.E. ă shortened in open syllables before different consonant groups: agaste (inf. N.E. aghast pp., first used in 1700) : (faste, adv.) 866; ladde (ten Br., § 6 3) : (hadde) 42.

B. Scandinavian sources.


With cast compare kast (MS. A 1, kast in R) 992, not in rime, for illustration of interchange of a and e, sporadic in words of Old Norse origin; see Morsb., Gram., p. 119, § 87, Anm. 2, and Schleich, Carmen de Rotandolo Anglicum, p. 9.

2. O.N. ă : pral, tharll H 2 (O.N. þrâdl) : (al) 238.

gange (read gonge) : (longe) 761, vnderstande : honde 1021, are discussed under o-rimes; knowelachche (read knoweleche) : (speche) 509, knowelaching (not in rime) 725, under e-rimes.

§ 2. Long a (ă) corresponds:

A. In words of English origin.


1 Exceptional form without i-umlaut.
2 Naturally the long vowel of an Old Norse word is marked by the acute accent (’) in distinction from the diacritical marks indicating length classified, chapter V., § 3.
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(ashamed) 794; name (O.E. noma, nama) : (fame) 30, 39. Here may be classed also a from O.E. ea, ea: ashaemed: (agramed) 793; ashamed: (blamed) 766; shame (O.E. sceonu, sceamn) : (blame) 777, 783, 811. (b) Before a single consonant except nasals: forsake: (takke) 64, 72, 99, etc.; make (O.E. macian, 1250 make, 1650 méke): quake (O.E. cwacian) 444; make: (takke) 217, 582; mude (O.E. macode): hude (cf. ten Br., § 27 β) 244; make: sake 986; sake: (takke) 595; haue (inflectional form; cf. Curtis, Anglia xvi., Clariodus, § 1): (cranue, inf.) 456, 530, 544, etc.; haue (2 sing.): (sauve) 477; fare (inf.): þære (cf. Söra, Sievers, Gram., § 321, Anm. 2) 954; fare (inf.): (þære) 490. For the rime fare: þære see illustrations, Sinners Beware, str. 36; Owl and Nightingale, (ed. Stratmann) 995, 996, and additional references Morstach, p. 86; Pabst, Rbt. v. G., p. 20, Anm. 2; Carstens, Sir Firumbras, p. 22.

2. To O.E. ea: water: later (in neuere þe later) 832, 930. For the question of the influence of r in preserving this lengthening, cf. ten Br., § 16 β, 27 β 1; Morsh., Gram., pp. 84, 92 a, and 93 c.

3. To O.E. ea: þære (O.E. gearu) : (fare) 489.

B. In loan-words.

1. Words of Old Norse origin: O.N. a: take (O.N. taka; cf. Goth. tékan): (forsake) 63, 71, 100, etc.; take: (sake) 596; take: (make) 218, 581; cranue (equivalent cognate, Ic. krejja): (haue) 456, 530, 544, etc.

2. Words of Romance origin:

(1) French¹ a in open syllables. (a) Before nasals: blame: (shame) 778, 784, 812; blamed: (ashamed) 765; fame: (name) 29, 40. (b) Before a single consonant except nasals: face: grace 214, 904; grace: place 294; sauve (A.F. savuer, sauer < L.L. salvare < L. salvars; cf. Sk. II. 54. 1; 82. 5., p. 232; cf. savauacionu (800), O.F. an > a + le): (haue) 478.

(2) French a in closed syllables. (a) Before mute + liquid: pro-fitatable: fable 4; fable: merciable 526. (b) Before a final -s (-z): trespaz: solaz 686; trespass : cas 704; cas : solas is employed by Chaucer, 23, 797, 798.

The rimes enumerated in § 2 indicate that M.E. å had been lengthened before the composition of the Speculum, demonstrated as valid by the fact that stable å of French origin rimes with a from

¹ In the study of the phonology of the Speculum, the abbreviation A. F. will represent Anglo-French, O.F. Old French.
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O.E. ā. 1250 is the date ascribed by Menze (p. 11) as in general the period, when the lengthening of ā occurred in English poems. The first half of the 13th century is given by Morsbach, § 64; and the second half of the 13th century by Curtis, Claridius, § 42. This fact would determine relatively to the chronology of the Speculum, that the poem may be placed in a period later than 1250.

The pronunciation of the vowel in this position is probably as in Chaucer a pure a-sound; see Morsb. § 88.

For ā before a lengthening consonant-group, the sporadic form gange in rime with longe 761 is no criterion. gange is explained by Morsbach, § 90, p. 123, as an exceptional instance in which the vowel-sound shifts easily to an earlier condition. In general O.E. ā had already developed a M.E. ā; cf. §§ 15, 16, 17.

§ 3. ay of the text is developed from:

1. O.E. æ + ง: day : lay 250; day : may 492; day : (nay) 251; domesday : (nay) 257, 868; domesday : (ay) 745. A single link between ai- and ei-sounds of the poem is preserved in the couplet, rain (O.E. jœgen; cf. Skeat, § 252) : (æ-ein, O.E. ongegn, Merc. ongegn) 873, 965. mait : (caih) 881 is probably to be classified in § 3, 1. mait seems to unite the grammatical forms (ic) may (maeg) and (pu) miht, combining the properties of both in the composite (pu) mai(h)t; cf. also mait (mayt in D) 342, and 882 in D, and may? 1020, 1021. Compare Carstens, Sir Firumbras, p. 10, § 2; Schleich, Carmen de Rolando, p. 10.

2. O.N. ei: may : (day) 252; nay : (domesday) 258, 867; ay : (domesday) 746.

3. Fr. Pic. a (a) + h: caiht : (mait) 882. The double forms caiht and ikauht (cf. 1. 17) are explained through analogy with leihht and lauht, teihht and tähte, etc. (cf. Carstens, p. 10), depending upon a cognate development through ā and ē; cf. Morsb., Gram., § 102, Anm. 5; ten Br., § 113 d and § 182. caiht bears the relationship to dauht (pp. of cachen, written also cacchen, Pic. cachier), that leihht bears to its doublet lauht from geleauht (inf. lacchan, (ge)laccan) and teihht to tähte (O.E. tæd(e)an); cf. Sievers, § 407, a, 4; b, 8; Skeat, II., § 140; Pabst, § 3, d; Carstens, pp. 21, 39; Schleich, Carm. de Rol., p. 10. The development of the vowel is similar in streigþ < streigt and eighte < enhtu; cf. Pabst, § 40, a and b. Compare theiht, Ancren Rûcle (ed. Morton), pp. 134, 278, 332, etc.; keiht
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(pret.) p. 154; (bi)keihte : (eihte), Poema Morale, Trinity and Jesus MSS., 318, but kehte : (aehlte), Egerton MS.; R. of G. ycazi : (naȝ) 4372; cagte 320; Pearl, caght : (saght), : (faght), str. 522, and by-taghte : (saghte, naghhte), str. 1017; King Horn, taȝte : taȝte 248.

au.

§ 4. au, written aw before a vowel, is developed from:

1. O.E. a + g : dæewe (O.E. dagum, dat.) : (lowe) 37, 357; drawe : (lawe) 945; drawe : place (O.E. plagæ) 16. place exists as cognate of plege (O.E. pluge), cf. R. of G. 11195, developed through O.E. plagian or O.N. plaga. See place : (knæræ), Havelok, l. 950; but plege : (neeie), l. 953. The form is not frequent. It occurs in King Horn, MS. II (cf. Wißmann, Quellen und Forschungen, No. xliv.), place : (jelæræ) 1112, and R. of G. 5906; cf. Pabst, § 42, and Leo, Angelsächsisches Glossar (1872), column 92. Further, see Bosw.-Toller, plagia, plagadun, with reference to Rush. Gloss., 11, 17; see Sievers, § 407, 5. Ettmüller illustrates derivatives from *plegan, Lexicon Anglosaxonum, pp. 274–5. The riming form knæræ : (lowe) 180 is classified under rimes in au, § 18.

2. Of O.N. origin are: (a) O.N. au developed from d before ht: drauht (draht; cf. O.N. drættr) : (ikrauht) 18. (b) O.N. a + g, written aw before a vowel sound: lawe (O.E. laȝu from O.N. lög < *laȝu) : (dæewe) 38, 358; lawe : (drawe, inf.) 946.

3. au in Romance forms: (a) O.F. a + u interpolated before a nasal, group: repentæuunce : penuance 92, 474, 770, and 830 in H3; suffraunce : destouruance 572. (b) Fr. Pic. a + h : ikauht (< caht, pp. O.F. cachen, Pic. cahier) : (drauht) 17. ikauht is developed through analogy with the parallel form ilauht = geleaht, ilacchen < geleccan; cf. gelæht in Somson, Ælfric's Book of Judges, chap. xiv. 5, and see Skt., Ety. II. 140. Cf. kacche (cage in D) 903 and Varnhagen, Anglia, vol. III., p. 376.

§ 5. Short e (ê) is found:

A. In words of O.E. origin.

1. O.E. e < a (i-umlaut). (a) Before nasals or nasal-groups: wemme : (bremme in assonance) 367; wempt : (dempt) 135; men (assonance) : (hem) 149, but mon : hom in R. Probably ê characterizes the accented vowel of the following words: ende (inf.) : wende (inf.) 12; ende (sb.) : wende (inf.) 426; sende (3, sing. pret.) :
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(amicade) 575, 951; sende (3, sing. pret.) : spende (inf.) < mediaeval Latin spendere, but already O.E., 990. (b) In other combinations: helle (sb.) : dwelle (inf.) 450; helle (nelle) 271; dwelle (O.H.G. twaljan) : telle (inf.) 28, 284; ansuerede (read answered or answerde) : heviede (Goth. hæjan) 66. Possibly to be classed under this head are rimes in the suffix -nesse : micknesse : forziynes 86; fairnesse : pisternesse 306; witnesss : sopnesse 346, 412, 566, 664, etc.; cf. concluding note and rimes in e before nasal groups (vor dehnenden consonanten-gruppen) is classified as long by various Anglicists, see Bülbning, Eng. Stud., vol. xx., pp. 149 ff. and in Litt. Blatt, 1894, 262; De Jong, Eng. Stu., vol. xxi., pp. 321 ff.; Curtis, Clarivudus, § 175; Morsb., Gram., § 110, also p. 75 : Orrm seems to employ both e- and e- before -nd, but Robert of Gloucester illustrated only the short vowel, Pabst, § 14. In the Speculum e before n + d seems to be short, pronounced ë, decisive evidence being the rime sende : amicade 575, 951.

2. O.E. (Germ.) e: werk (sb.) : (clerk) 668; wel (adv.) : (kotl, catel) 161, 578, 895, etc.; wel : gospel (see Bright, Mod. Lang. Notes, April 1889, Feb. 1890) 518, 548. To the study of wel, Bülbning has contributed, Litt. Blatt, 1894, p. 261; Pabst, § 15, m.


4. O.E. ā before consonant groups: hext (O.E. W.S. hāhst, hēhst (from Angl.), hēhst > hēxt > hēxt) : next (O.E. W.S. nēhst, Angl. nēhst > nēct > nēxt) 326, 662; cf. Pabst, § 14, n), and Sievers, § 313 and Note.

5. O.E. eo (< e), breaking before the full vowel (vor dunklem vocal) in the following syllable: henne (O.E. heonane, *hinona) : (kenne) 297; henn (heom, him) : (men) 150.

6. O.E. i (y) : nelle : (helle) 272.

B. In loan words.

1. Of O.N. origin: brenne (through metathesis < O.E. bæran caus. = beornan; cf. brenna) : (wemme) 368; kenne (O.N. kenna, see Skt. Dict.) : (kenne) 298. Here belongs eying (Ic. eyja, Orrm. 11675) 229; see Brate, Nordische Lehmrörter im Ornmulum, Beiträge x., p. 37.

2. Of Romance origin. (a) Before n + consonant: amende : (sende) 576, 952; inquement : turnement 266; verreiment : inquement 878. amende is determinative in the conclusion, that e before -nd
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was not yet lengthened in the present text. (b) In words ending in -el: katel (catel) : (wel) 162, 577, 896, etc.

3. Ecc. Lat. e: clerk : (werk) 667, according to Skeat (Dict.) directly from Lat. clericus, or through O.F. clerc.

For the suffix -nesse, see rimes in i, the recurring couplet, blisse : -nesse removing these groups from the territory of the phonology of e-sounds. wibnisse : sopnisse are probably the authorized forms for the poem; see Kluge, Stammbildung, and Morsh., § 109, Anm. 6. This transmission of the -i- sound, -isse for -nesse, would classify the Speculum as belonging to the literature of the earlier M.E. period, see parallel instance in the early poem, David the King, where meknisse occurs in rime with blisse, l. 3, and The Liif of Adam, combining thesternisse : lihntisse (proving no definite truth) 355 and 549.

Pabst, § 20, refers -e- (e.g. u), of stede, to a form, where the e was not yet lengthened, basing his conclusions on absolute rime-formula. The lengthening seems to have occurred in the Speculum. stede : dede 598, 604, possibly to be treated as transitional forms in the development of language, may be read stide : dide, see Streitberg, Úrgerm. Grammatik, p. 44, Anm. 1.

\[\ddot{e}\]

The rime-system of the Speculum is characterized by two qualities in the development of long e (\(\ddot{e}\)) and long o (\(\delta\)). With reference to \(\ddot{e}\), the distinction is based on the development of O.E. \(\ddot{a}\), \(\acute{a}\) (umlaut of Germe. \(\ddot{a}\)), and \(\acute{e}\) (lengthened from \(\ddot{e}\)) on the one hand, and of O.E. stable \(\ddot{e}\), \(\ddot{a}\), and \(\acute{e}\) (Germ. \(\ddot{a}\), Goth. \(\acute{a}\)) on the other. The classification is recognized by the poet, the former division being extant in a long open \(\ddot{e}\) (\(\ddot{e}\)); the other \(\ddot{e}\) is, \(\ddot{e}\) priori, a long closed \(\ddot{e}\) (\(\ddot{e}\)). The uniformity of the observance of the law is not violated by the occurrence of a sporadic rime uniting the open and the closed vowel (cf. § 8), designating, according to Zupitza, an incident in rime-formation, rather than the violation of the purity of the rime. A third class of rimes in long e (cf. ten Brink, § 25) will not be considered in the following paragraphs. The O.E. \(\acute{a}\) (O.H.G. \(\ddot{a}\), Goth. \(\acute{a}\)) was, it seems, closed in the language of the poet, rather than open, as it has naturally been noted by Pabst in the discussion of the south-western (also West-Saxon territory) rimes of Robert of Gloucester; cf. p. 7, 2.
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§ 6. Sources of long open e (\(\varepsilon\)), written e, are as follows:

1. O.E. ë (umlaut of ai, Ge. ai): meyne (1. sing.) : clenue 408; meyne (inf.) : clenue 824, 848; clenue : ene 366, 816; bidene : (tene) 191; euere : newere (with redundant -e- in both instances through svarabhakti) 280, 808; teche (inf.) : reche (inf.) 98, 142; (speche, sb.) 2, 570, 754; (teche) 70; gëp : (unmeëp) 616; lede (inf.) : (dredë, sb.) 19; : (rede, sb.) 104. Here belong the composite forms with the termination -hede : godhëde : manhëde 372, : (dêde) 397, : (dredë) 379, 886; manhëde : (dêde) 617; faleshëde : (dêde) 722; cf. Kluge, Stammbildung and Curtis, Clariodus, § 240, Pabst, § 15, o), also Paul's Grundriss, I. p. 874.


3. O.E. aë, Ge. au : dêl (O.E. dëal) : quet (or quël) 862; fede 1025; brêl : (red) 970; vaneâp (adv. MSS. A;DH) 615; bilene (also bilëne) : (grene) 201; vér : (power) 216; ëk (Angl. éc) : (fet) 439; lës : (pes) 519; terës (O.E. tâur < teagar, h to g by Verner's law) : (leres) 841; cf. Siev. Beiträge, vol. ii. p. 411. According to the interpretation qued < O.E. cææul, rimes in qued belong in this division, but cf. Pabst, § 15, b.

4. An ë lengthened from O.E. ë in other relationship: séde (< O.E. séde < sorgëde) : (rede, inf.) 168; séde (søde) : (rede, 3 plur.) 691, : (dredë) 494, 494. For séde in rime with rede, etc., cf. Wilda, Schweifreimstr, etc., p. 12; Menze, p. 21, with reference to the same rime, Hausknecht, Fl. and Blf., pp. 111, 116, Libeaus, Octavius (Sarrazin), etc. séde is combined with rede, King Horn, 919; R. of G. 38; Ed. I., p. 73.

5. O.F. ai developed into a monophthong before a dental: pës : (les) 520.

$\varepsilon$.

§ 7. Sources of long closed e (\(\varepsilon\)) are:

A. Old English.

1. O.E. ë. (a) Equivalent to O.E. ê (lengthened in monosyllabic words): mé : pë 108, 392, 550, etc., : (be, 3. sing.) 790, : (se, inf.) 189, : (charite) 56, 323, : (meyne) 1015; pë in rime with (be, 3. sing.) 328, 334, : (be, 3. plur.) 413, : (be, inf.) 535, 588, : (se, inf.) 863, :
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(bise) 487, : (charite) 84, 932, : (deite) 373, : (leonte) 404, : (trinite) 351, : (vile) 601. (b) O.E. ē in other significance : her(e) (O.E. hér) in rime with (ihere, O.E. (ge) hèro) 296, 977, : (ellescher) 175, 779, : (per) 321, : (here) 1031, : (fyr for fer?) 452, : (cler) 375, 735, : (power) 220, 600, : (mane) 627; međe : speđe 938, 1028, : (fede) 956, : (almeslêde) 933, : (godlêde) 622.

2. O.E. (Anglian) ē, W.S. â, (â, Goth. ē) : drêde (O.E. (on) drêda, (vb. and sb.) : ðêde (O.E. ðêda) 696, 708, 748, etc., : mislêde 830, : (godhêde) 380, 885, : ređe (sh.) 82, : ređe (vb.) 648, : lowrêde 178, : (ðeide, read sêde, O.E. sêide) 139, 494, : (lêde) 20 ; teche : (teche) 69 ; speče : (teche) 1, 569, 753 ; ðêde : (godhêde) 398, : (falshêde) 721, : (manhêde) 618 ; almêlêde : ređe 922, : (mede) 934 ; godlêde : ređe (3. sing.) 466, : ređe (1. plur.) 502, : (mede) 621 ; per(e) : (her) 322, : (were) 354 ; red(e) : (sêide) 167, 692, : (bred) 969, : (lêde) 103. Among rimes in O.E. ē, W.S. â, is to be classed qued, according to Pabst (§ 15 b), illustrated in qued : red 48, 654, : (led) 862 ; quede : (fede) 1025 ; spečhe : knowelache for knowelache 510 ; Curtis, in Clariodus, Anglia, vol. xvi., p. 76. In Clariodus, knowlege is preserved in rimes with rage 1421, langauge 10. knowelaching (725) occurs in the Southern texts: Kath. 1388; Æsenbite 132; Ancr. Rivelde 92; Gower II. 319, see Stratmann, Dict.

For ređe (O.N. rêdan) to read, originally the same as ređe (O.E. rêdan) to counsel, cf. Cook, Glossary to the Lindisfarne Gospels.

3. Umlaut ē (from ō) : fêde : (mede) 955, : (quede) 1026 ; fêre : (dere) 423 ; ifêre (O.E. gefêran) : (here, O.E. hér) 295, 978 ; fet : (cr) 440 ; sêfe : (projête) 949, 998 ; breme (see Murray) : (lême) 383.

4. O.E. ē, Angl.-Kent ē, W.S. â, y, : here (O.E. hîran) : (fire) 355 ; here : (were) 782.

5. O.E. ǣ developing later ē, pronounced e : be (inf.) : se (inf.) 396, 534, : ise (inf.) 402, : fle (inf.) 834, 850, : (pe) 587, : (charite) 96, 935, : (pite) 259, : (humilite) 632 ; be (3. sing.) : se (inf.) 738, 872, : ise 730, : (pe) 327, 333, 536, : (me) 789, : (charite) 1034 ; be (3. plur.) : se (inf.) 752, : ise 288, 342, : (pe) 414 ; se (inf.) : (me) 190, : (pe) 864, : (clerê) 389, (humilite) 657 ; se : be 818 ; bise : (pe) 488 ; fle (inf.) : (humilite) 678 ; dere (adj.) : (fere) 424, : (here) 1032 ; dere (adv.) : (were) 160 ; tenê : (hidêne) 192 ; lene : (breme, bune in R) 384 ; lêres : (teres) 842 ; H 2 offers free : (me) 323.

6. O.E. y, umlaut of u : fyr (read fêr) : (her, O.E. hér) 451 ; fire : (here, O.E. hîran) 356, representing O.E. Kent. ē, also the rime of Troilus 111, 978; Danker, Die Laut- und Flexions-Lehre der
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### B. Loan-words of Romance origin.

1. O.F. *e*, Lat. *a* (cf. ten Br. *Ch.*, § 67, § 68, Anm.). (a) Through the ending -atatem: *charité* : *humilité* 680, *(me)* 55, 324, *(pe)* 83, 931; *(be, inf.)* 95, 936, *(be 3. sing.)* 1033; *humilité* : *(pite)* 88, *(be inf.)* 631, *(ple)* 677, *(se inf.)* 658; *deité* : *(pe)* 374; *clerté* : *(se)* 390; *trinité* : *(vnite)* 206, 430; *(pe)* 352; *vilté* : *(pe)* 602; *leuanté* *(pe)* 403. (b) Through other formation: *cler* : *(power)* 915; *(picher)* 976, 996; *(her)* 376, 736; *greue* : *(bileeue)* 202, *(Eue)* 230.


3. From other sources: *power* (O.F. *poër* for *poter*, *e* < *ei* before *r* in monophthong, cf. A.F. *pouer*) : *(cler)* 916; *(ner)* 216; *(her)* 219, 599; *(ner)* 215.


_Eue* (O.E. *Éje*) : *(greue)* 229, from the O.E. according to ten Br. § 23 x. Note the same rime in the unique poem, *The Liif of Adum*, verses 315, 419, and *Eue* : *bileeue* 245; *Handl. Syn.* 1604. In the *Poema Morale*, *Eue* is in rime with *ileeue* 174; *Har. of Helle*, *leeue* : *Eue* 173.

For *prest* : *(Crist)* 805, and *sterne* : *(turne)* 436, refer to rimes in *i*.

§ 8. The distinction between the two systems of open and closed *e*-rimes (*ë*, *ê*), as outlined in the preceding sections, is rigidly adhered to in the *Speculum*. Some exceptions are incident to the verse, as in MSS. of other poems. For Lydgate’s usage see Schick, *Temple of Glas*, p. ix; for *The Middle Scotch Romance Claridus*, Curtis, *Anglia*, vol. xvi. p. 420; for *Edithe and Ethelreda*, Fischer, *Anglia*, vol. xi. p. 190; see also Chaucer, ten Brink, *Ch.* § 25, where forms regarded as existing in two classes in Zupitza’s strongly marked division, have been explained in three classes. The language of the
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Speculum does not indicate the distinction € and £ in the following instances:

videne (videne, see Clariodus, § 239 and Murray, Engl. Dict.) :
tene 192; tere : teres 842; possibly quedel, cuwal, cuwel, (or quedel? < cuwel, cuwel?) but quedle in R (O.E. quedle; cf. Havelok 97): fede 1026; speche : teche 2, 570, 754; leche 70; were : dere 160, : here 782; elsewhere : here 176, 780; dræde : lede 20, : seide 140, 494; rede : lede 104, : seide (i.e. seide) 168, 692; dræde; godhede 886; set : ek 440; reed : bred 970; rede : falsheede 722, : godhede 398, : manche 618; grewe : bilene 200.

Were it possible that O.E. (Angl.) €, W.S. õ, could give an open quality (€), as in R. of Gloucester (cf. Pabst, p. 24), resulting in a neutral e having an open sound because rimes with open e, many of the rimes cited would be not impure, but representative of the period and development of the language. Such rimes are the combinations of rede (to counsel, counsel), rede (to read, see Cook), drede, speehe, leche, dede. The quality of e in qued : ded (O.E. dëãd, Nh. dëãd) 862, : fede (vide supra) 1026 is uncertain. Granting validity to ten Brink's hypothesis, § 25, 2 that lede is extant written with a closed e (€), then the couplets, verses 20, 104, do not introduce an impurity in quality of the vowel. were : þere 354 belong properly under open e- rimes according to ten Brink.

§ 9. ei written ei, ey, is developed in the Speculum from:

1. O.E. e + g: eiʒe (O.E. ege, e umlaut of a) : weye 22, : seie (inf., *regan for secg(e)an, see Menze, p. 29) 796; ajein : (fian, O.E. fjeiæ) 874, 966; leid : (misseeið) 592; seie : (heie) 445, : (preie) 563.

2. O.E. æ + ʒ: misseeið : (leid) 591, : (ebbreide) 538. For seide properly seðe, see § 6.

3. O.E. ðæ + g : eiʒe (O.E. ðaju) : heie (adv. from inflected adj., see Siev., § 295, 1) 388; eiʒe (read īje, see rimes in i) : (liʒe) 827, see § 12, 7.


5. O.F. e + i : preie : (seie) 564.

1 A more symmetrical arrangement would place the open vowel uniformly before illustrations of the closed vowel.
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The diphthong has simplified itself to the monophthong ı(y) in eiːze : liːze 828. This rime, although proving no definite truth, suggests for the poet of the Speculum the double pronunciation employed by Chaucer, in the forms ye and eye, but not known to Robert of Gloucester; see ten Br. § 21 ε, and Pabst, § 39, Anm. 1. agen : Jain 874, 966, is the single link between the two riming systems represented by ai and ei.

§ 10. eu, written ew before a vocalic ending (cf. Ellis, § 302), represents:

1. O.E. ǣ + w producing an open ew sound (ew) : rewe (O.E. rewe, sb.) : (sheiw) 80 ; lewed : (lewed) 400. Here belongs slewe (O.E. slewe) 116, slewes 121.

2. O.E. ǣaw : shrewes (O.E. screawa) : shrewes (O.E. ðewa ; cf. Judith, 129) 102 ; slewe : (sheiw) 79 ; islewes : (lewed) 399.

The remaining two classes of ew-sounds familiar to the student of Chaucer, are not illustrated in the rimes of the Speculum.

§ 11.—Short i (i), written y in later MSS., occurs regularly corresponding to:

1. O.E. i unaltered. (a) In closed syllables. (1) Before nasal groups : winne (inf.) : biginne (inf.) 6, 78 ; perinne 650, : (sinne) 132, 471, 684, 694, etc. ; blinne (inf.) : biginne (inf.) 200, : (sinne) 714 ; inne : (sinne) 731 ; perinne : (sinne) 840 ; ridinne : (sinne) 118 ; biginne : (sinne) 901. i before -ng or -nk is probably short : ðing in rime with biginning 8, 884, : bryng 1030, : shining 382, : speking 330, : washing 836 ; pining : brenning 182, : (king) 899, : liking 270 ; wonizing : deserning 314, : ðing 318 ; endng : biginning 210, : dieing 278 ; mounringe : springe 126 ; proving : (king) 335 ; hoping : (king) 625 ; drinke : swinke 156. (2) In other combinations : ivis : is 504, 724, : his 338, : (paradys) 285, : (prys) 165 ; ðis : (amis) 801 ; his : (paradys) 300 ; ivisse : (blisse) 309, 689 ; misse : wisse 120, : (blisse) 418 ; þerwijd (read þerwip) : (grip) 147 ; churche (practically chirche) : (vorche) 860 ; þisternesse (for þisterwisse) : (blisse) 114 ; seknesse (sikwisse) : (blisse) 187 ; sist : bist 554 ; wil (O.E. gewill) : (veril) 169 ; wille : spille 198, : stille 584. 594, 706, etc. ; shrift : zift (cf. German Mitgift) 682. See also : nesse : nesse 86, 306, 346, etc. (b) In open syllables : wol (read wille, inf.) : (skile)
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712; line (inf.) : shrine (past p.) 758, 768; line (3. pl.) : (gline, inf.) 184; line (inf.) : (gline, inf.) 964, 974; ivite : (forzete) 194; iver : write 926, : (forzete) 763. On the possible length of the vowel in -ing and in king, see Morsb., Gram., § 55 and § 57 d, p. 73; on king, ten Brink, § 10, Ann. 1, and Morsb., § 55, Ann. 1, 5. muche for miche : (aperteliche) 386; (lihtliche) 671, representing O.E. micel, mycel may be classified here, though in O.E. declension united with long stems, through analogy with O.E. ëtæl; see Siev., § 296, note 1, and Menze, p. 34, and compare The Life of Adam, uniting muche : siékerviche 397; miche is the form supported by Langl., Chr., Handl. Syn., Havelok, Gen. and Ex., Orrom, etc.


4. O.E., W.S. ie, i, (y) through influence of the preceding palatal (Siev., § 75, 3): gïne : (line) 183, 963, 973; forzete (to be altered to forzite in conformity with the rime) : (ivite) 193, : (wite) 764.

5. O.E. late i for stable y, Sievers, § 36; ten Brink, § 10, Annm. 1: king : (noping) 626, : (proning) 336, : (pining) 900.

6. i in loan-words. (1) O.N. i: skile : (wole for wille) 711; grið (Ic. grîð) : (perwisð(þ)) 148; amis : (pis) 802. (2) O.F. i: peril : (wil) 170. Of French origin but of uncertain etymology is priite (cf. O.F. boter) : (luite) 923, and tirne for turne (O.E. tyrnan, from the Latin) : (sterne) 435; cf. Steenstrup, Daneleg, p. 274 and Morsb., p. 167.

§ 12. Long i (i), written also y, appears:

SPEC. WAR.
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A. In development from O.E. forms.

1. O.E. i retained in M.E. (a) In open syllables: side : abide (inf.) 256, 676; side : (pride) 655; liue (O.E. lif, sb., dat., plu.): shrive 486; myne : myne 340; hie (inf., O.E. higian or higian?): (crie) 968; while : (gile) 62, R. of G. 3666, 11150. wyse, doublet of guise, borrowed through the French from the Frankish, Skent, § 392 and Dict.: (denise) 344. (b) In closed syllables: wif : lyf 234, 702, 734; myn : Alquin (O.E. Ealhwine, Latinized Alcuinus) 52. To this class belong forms with the suffix -li, O.E. lice influenced by O.N.

2. O.E. i in various relationships: (a) Before lengthening consonant-groups, Morsb., § 67: fünde (1. sing.): binde (inf.) 482; fünde (1. plu.): winde (sb.) 661; binde (inf.): (mynde) 495. (b) Before O.E. -g (-gi) through vocalization of -y: empti (sikerli) 1002; herkny : (merci) 523; levedi (svarabhakti vowel -e, O.E. hløyðige): (witerli) 363; possibly hie : (crie) 968; lyf 713 marks the development from lyf < O.E. lyf; pre (prie) 349, 350 < O.E. prīga.


5. O.E. ý: forði : (sikerli) 467.

6. O.E. ð: lițe : (campaignye) 637; (multiplie) 1010; lițe (O.E. inf. lůgan) : (Elize) 947.

7. O.E. ð. (a) Before h : lițe (originally leńʒ, N.E. lye) : (eizē) 828; cf. § 9. (b) Before ŧ: eizē (O.E. āuge, read izē) : (lizē) 827.

B. In development from Romance forms.

1. Generally developed from O.F. i are the following illustrations: O.F. i, Lat. i: crie : (hie) 967; Elize : (lizē) 948; devise : (wyse) 343; medicine : (pińe) 771. O.F. i, Lat. ia: campaignye (cf. Lat. com-pōnis) : (enwij) 437, : (lizē) 638; tricherie : (enwije) 110;
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glotonic : leccherie 116 ; multiplie : (lye) 1009 ; clergye (Latin clericia, Greek κληρικός) : (baylie) 290. O.F. i, Lat. i, before i-element: kointise : feintise 304. Combination -ïdia : ennie : (campaignie) 438, : (tricherie) 109. A.F. -ï, Lat. -ë : merci : (herkny) 524, : (witerli) 458, 528. Lat. ë-element: prys : (iweis) 166. In element: prys : (iweis) 166. In i-element: paradys : (iweis) 286 ; paradys : (his) 299. A.F. i, Germ. i: gile : (while) 61. Under other formations are: Crist (see Pogatscher, §§ 143—144) : prest (Pogatscher, §§ 141—142, Wilda, p. 13) 806 ; comforti : (witerli) 688 ; baylie : (clergye) 289 ; delit : profyt 60 ; prist, represented by prest, in rime with Crist (with stable i) 805 belongs in § 12. Cf. Wilda, Ueber die örtliche Verbreitung der 12-zeit. Schweifrime in England, p. 13 ; Pogat., § 127. duire : (fire) 281 is to be studied under rimes in u. Inexactness in the quantity of the riming vowel, O.E. ï with O.E. i, is to be noted for his, and iweis, each combined with paradys, 286, 300, and iweis with prys 166 ; cf. pris : is, Gen. and Ex. 326 ; his : paradis, Har. of Hell 5 ; and Menze, p. 65.

For pine see O.E. pin < pœna, folk-Latin pronunciation of Lat. poena ; Kluge, Wörterbuch ; Siev., § 69 ; Pogat., § 127, pine : (medicine) 772. Cf. peine in H₂, O.F. peine, N.E. pain.

ïht.

§ 13. iht of the Speculum represents:

1. O.E. ih(t), Germ. i, ë : siht(e) (O.E. (ge)sihË) : (almiht) 742, : (nihte, sb.) 133, 254, 362, : (niht) 914, : (breiht, O.E. beorht) 405, 905 ; enriht : (almiht) 613 ; ariht : wiht (R reads diht < O.E. i < Lat. ë) 826.

2. O.E. i developed through palatal influence from ea : miht(e) (sb.) : niht 320, 516, : (sihte) 134, 253, 361 ; almiht : niht 476, : (siht) 741, : (enriht) 614 ; niht (Orm, nahht, 1904) : (liht) 856, 858, : (siht) 913.

3. O.E. eo or ëo : breiht : liht (O.E. leøht) 394, : (flyzte) 639, : (siht) 406, 906 ; liht : (niht) 855, 857. liht occurs uniformly as substantive in the riming couplet of the Speculum, never as adjective.

ö.

§ 14. Short o (ö), written a, appears:

1. From O.E. ø (a) before nasal groups: honde : londe 586 ; strong (adj.) : among (adv. O.E. (ge)mong) 186, 880 ; ilong : wrong (sb.) 222 ; long : wrong (sb.) 750 ; vnderstonde : sonde 50, : honde
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890, : honde 1022, : fonge (fonde MSS. DR) 508; longe : gauge for
gonge (cf. Morsb., § 90) 762. The quantity of this o is not certain,
see Morsb., Gram., p. 74, § 58; Sweet, History of English Sounds,
§ 395. Cf. also here mon : (how) 147 of MS. R, but 149 A₁.  
2. O. E. o in other combinations : born : torn 130; folewe (O.E.
folgian) : scolewe (< swelgyan?) 642; lord : (acord) 844, 894.  
3. O. F. o : acord : descord 514; acord : (lord < O.E. hláford <
hlái-ward, Siev. 43, 2 b, and 11. 4, Skt., § 257) 843, 893.  
For o (i) in wole : (skile) 712, and in worche : (churche) 859, see
§ 11, 1, and 3. For short o, written u, see § 19, 1.  

ő.

§ 15. The Speculum generally distinguishes in rime between long
open o (ő), written o, and long closed o (ő), written also o. Certain
irregularities will be enumerated in § 17. Long open o (ő) has its
origin in:

1. O. E. õ in self-rimes or with derivations from O. E. õ. (a) At
the end of a word : þò (O. E. õō, pro.) : mo 240, : wo 112, : (míslo,
pp.) 557; þò (adv.) : õo 1004, : õo (2. sing.) 982; õo : sò 204, :
(þérô) 128, : (do, inf.) 273; also : wo 434, : (do, inf.) 9, 207, 897;
ðò (inf.) : (do, pp.) 875; sò : (do, pp.) 173; õo : (do, subj. 3. sing.)
673; wo : (do, 3. plur.) 484, : (do, inf.) 917. (b) Before -n : anqu:
everychon 432, : gun (inf.) 958, : nôn (O. E. nân) 972; nôn : bon
(O. E. báu) 532, : gun (inf.) 652, : gun (pp.) 454, 726, : (idón)
545, : (don, pp.) 263; vRON : (don) 241; qu : (don, pp.) 838. (c) Before
r : lôre (sb.) : more (adv.) 24, 36, 740, etc., : sôre (adv.) 236; more :
ôre (O. E. ór) 90, : sôre (adj.) 470, : sôre (sb.) 980; sôre (adv.) : ôre
540. (d) Before -p : lôp : (lôpo) 76; lôp : õopo 448.  
3. O. E. o or a (ea) before -bd. (a) O. E. ō lengthened in open
syllables : gold : bôld (O. E. bold, house) 154. (b) W. S. ea, Angl. a:
bôld (O. E. beald, adj.) : côld 820.  
4. O. N. õ : peirô (Ic. frô) : (mo) 127, and possibly in bôpê
(O. N. bôdûr, O. E. bôdû l) : (lôpe) 75.  

ő.

§ 16. Long closed o (ő), represented by o in A₁, often by u in D,
is derived from:

1. O. E. õ from various sources. (a) Final -ô : õo (inf.) : to
(prep.) 68, : õerô 332, : (also) 10, 208, 898, : (mo, adv.) 274, : (mo)
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918; do (3. sing.) : (so) 674; do (3. plur.) : (wo) 483; do (pp.) : (go, inf.) 876; : (so) 174; misdo (pp.) : (po, pro.) 558. (b) Before -n: don (pp.) : (çpon) 241; (non, O.E. nón) 264; : (on, O.E. án) 837; idon : (non) 546; some (O.E. sóna) : done (gerund) 852; : (bone, O.N. bón, sb.) 987. (c) Before -þ: breþer : open 74, 122. (d) In other relationships: mod : god (O.E. góð) 14, 124, 164, etc.; polemod : bloð 574, 612; : god 666; god : ýðl 144; : vunderstod 462, 940; bloð : ýðl 248; fórsk : (tok) 33; boke : boke 460, 786.

2. O.N. ó: tok : (fósok) 34; rót : bote 94; bone (O.N. bón, sb.) : (some) 988.

The tendency of M.E. ó, in course of the century, to approach a closed o sound, if, in its antecedent form, it had been preceded by w, was represented not merely by Chaucer, but, as is here illustrated by the preceding rimes, so early as the period of the Speculum. This ó was therefore in existence fifty if not a hundred years earlier than the period of Chaucer’s more important works. But if, under other conditions, w began the word, then the open sound is to be regarded as unaltered; cf. § 15. Therefore wó riming with do (inf.) 918, and do (pp.) 483, but with po (O.E. Sá) 112, is excluded from this class distinguishing the closed sound of ó.

ó and ó.

§ 17. The quality of the two o sounds of the poem is not always differentiated in rime. This inexactness was represented in the language of Chaucer and his school, as well as in the productions of earlier and later poets; cf. Menze, p. 68; Morsb., § 119. 3; ten Brink, § 25; Curtis, Anglia, vol. xvii., p. 137, etc. Open o (o) and closed o (ó) of the Speculum are combined in rime1 as follows:

1. As final vowels: do (inf.) : mó (adv.) 274; : wó 918; do (3. plur.) : wó 484; do (pp.) : gó (inf.) 876; misdo (pp.) : pó (pro.) 558.

2. Before a nasal: non : don (pp.) 264; non : idon 546; on : don (pp.) 878.

This list does not classify also: do 10, 208, 898; so : do 174; so : do (3. sing.) 674, rimes illustrating an accepted tendency to vacillate between high and low tone represented in open and closed qualities in sympathy with their environment, ten Brink, § 31; Morsb., § 119. 3. These have been treated § 16. In these

1 In Section 1 ó occurs before the rimeing word illustrating ó, merely for convenience in arrangement.
examples (also, so) o represents an O.E. ð preceded by v, and may be regarded as developing through that influence (see § 16) a mixture of both quantities of the vowel. This o might be regarded as presenting in M.E. a closed quality (Morsb., § 135, Anm. 4), or, on basis of a theory that o (O.E. ð) produces through influence of a preceding v in its O.E. form, both an open and a closed o-sound (g, g) in a stressed syllable (Morsb., § 135. 4; ten Br., § 31), a third division of o-rimes, including the preceding list (§ 17), might be recognized. The rimes are not impure, but embody to full degree phonological conditions of the language of the period; see Menze, p. 68.

§ 18. For the development of M.E. ou, see Luick, Anglia, vol. xvi., pp. 452—455. ou of the Speculum (MS. A1) is written ou before a consonant, ovw before a vowel-sound, but o (i.e. o before ht) in the single instance of noht 32, 171, 195, etc. In R. of G., to the contrary, o (+ 3t) predominates, Pabst, § 48. The open and the closed quality of ou (Pabst, §§ 50, 51) being treated under the same division ou of the Speculum, represents uniformly:


2. O.E. ð + ht, early shortened through influence of h + t (Siev., § 125): þouht (sb.): (wrouht) 792: noht (O.E. ná(we)ht, ná(we)ht, nóht) 32, 410, 560, etc.; þouht: ouht (O.E. á(we)ht, ó(we)ht, òht) 316, 1020; souht (O.E. (ge)sóht, pp.): noht 196; noht: (bouht) 171, 225; (iwrouht) 579, 804. It is noticeable that O.E. ná(we)ht, ná(we)ht, as produced noht in rime with bouht, wrouht, þouht, and souht, the orthography showing a parasitic -u- as in Clariodus, § 60, while O.E. á(we)ht, ó(we)ht is represented by ouht in rime with þouht. This o is thus a link between the two riming systems representing O.E. ð and o.

3. O.E. ð + g (ow before a vowel): owen (abs. poss.): (known) 227.

4. O.E. ð + w: known (O.E. cnáwan, inf.): (owen) 228; knawe (knowe, inf.): (lowe) 180, 629.

5. O.N. ð + g: lowe (O.N. lágr, adv.): (knawe, knowe) 179, 630.
§ 19. Short u (ū), written o through influence of the Anglo-French (cf. Morsb., p. 90), represents O.E. ā not lengthened in open syllables (Morsb., p. 163: § 126) loue (O.E. luifu, lufe) : aboue (O.E. a-buifan = on-buifan) 54, 512, 542, etc.; shoue (2. sing.): woue (O.E. (ge)wuna, sb.; cf. Zupitza, ÆElfric's Gram., pp. 252—6) 106; shoue (inf.): wone (inf.): sone (O.E. suun, sb.) 428; some (see Carstens, pp. 14, 15): iuone (inf.): shone (inf.): iuonc (inf.): soine (O.E. swiu, sb.); soine (see Carstens, pp. 14, 15); inome 644; gome (grōme in MS. R, for which see Morsb., § 65, Anm. 10; O.N. grómr): enome 646.

For O.E. i (y) after m, written also ii, see rimes in i, § 11: muche (O.E. micel, mycel): (lihtliche) 671; muche: (aperteliche) 386, the stressed vowel forming an intermediate stage between i and u.

§ 20. Long u (ū), written also ou and represented by ow before a vowel and often in a final syllable, occurs:

A. In words of Germanic origin.


2. O.E. û before n + d: stounde : bounde 710; founde : wounde 774.

3. O.E. û + final h, ten Brink § 33 ε: inouh (O.E. genôh) : drôuh O.E. drôh, pret., Sievers's ablaut class vi.) 44; inouh : nowh (nowe, DH2; nowhe R O.E. wôh, sb. inflected nowe, Pabst, § 52, b; O.S. wâ, Sievers, § 242) 302.

B. In words of Romance origin.

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2. O.F. ou: stout (O.F. (es)tout) : (proud (t)) 623.

\( \ddot{\u} \).

§ 21. \( \ddot{\u} \) written always u, spoken i, finds illustration in the Speculum as representative of i:


2. O.E. y (i) : churche : (worche, inf. ; O.E. wyran) 860 (cf. i-rimes, § 11, for the reading chirche).

Under § 21 belongs künde 178 of the text, O.E. ğ (umlaut of ā) shortened before a consonant group.

\( \ddot{u} \).

§ 22. Written also u, spoken i by the poet, the sources of \( \ddot{u} \) are:


2. Romance: O.F. u written ui: duivre (duire, R. of G. 3760, 6935, see Pabst, § 113, Morsh., p. 176) : (fire; cf. § 12, 4) 281. Possibly to be classified in this division, but difficult of classification is turne (Orm. turnenn) : (sterne) 435. turne is equivalent to O.E. turnian < vulg.-Lat. tornare < Lat. tornare, loan-word from the Latin or O.F. before the conquest, explained by Pogatscher (Zur Lautlehre der griechischen, lateinischen, und romanischen Lehnworte im Altenglischen), §§ 159, 205, and 271 through turnare for tornare, i-umlaut of Lat. o, vulg.-Lat. u, hence tyrnan. Pabst, § 109, p. 102, accounts for turne as a hybrid development blending O.F. torner (Lat. turbinare), O.E. turnian, and O.E. tyrnan; cf. also Skeat II., 75. 2; 94. 25; 138. This interpretation explains the lengthening of \( \ddot{u} \) before r + n.

The value of \( \ddot{ui} \) is represented in anniel, O.F. inf. enuiier; cf. O.F. dialectical parallel form anoîer, line 124 of the text, Pabst, § 122.
CHAPTER XIV.

THE INFLECTION OF THE SPECULUM.

The discussion of the characteristics of the inflectional system of the Speculum assumes, that its conclusions have been, if possible, verified by rime or metre. Otherwise paradigms and synopses are completed from the body of the text. Conjectural readings are based upon the Auchinleck MS. The Auchinleck MS. contributes orthography, but an occasional note introduces graphical or phonetical emendations of the copyist. This chapter endeavours to collect testimony as to the development of the O.E. vowel in the unaccented inflectional syllable. It aims particularly to present a clear view of the poet's treatment of the M.E. final -e in rime and in caesural construction. Its purpose is primarily to call attention to general characteristics, rather than to establish any precise laws of grammatical structure.

I. DECLENSION.

§ 1. SUBSTANTIVES OF THE SPECULUM.

A. VOCALIC OR STRONG DECLENSION.

§ 1. MASCUINE AND NEUTER SUBSTANTIVES.

(a) a-stems.

Nominaive and Accusative. The singular is without ending, corresponding to the O.E. archetype: day: (may) 492; dom 256, see also fredom 237; god 143; word (nom.) 519, (acc.) 420; weye 1 (may in R) 651. Inorganic -e seems to be demanded by weie (acc.) 298; compare weég, North. Gloss., Mark I., 2, and weég also within the verse, the reading of Orrm., Sachse, Das unorganische e im Orrmulum, p. 7, of Chaucer, ten Brink, § 199, 5, Anm., and probably of Lydgate in his Temple of Glus, Schick, p. lxxv, and in his Guy of Warwick, str. 377, and possibly also weie, str. 613 (cf. Zupitza). See also ping 176 and the dissyllable almesse (O.E. Lat. Greek? see Pogatscher, Lautlehre, pp. 38, 207, 218, and Cosijn. Gr., p. 97, 923).

1 Difficulty must be conceded the interpretation of the value of a final -e at the caesura, due to the existence of type C.

2 These sections do not undertake to cite all illustrations of any specific subdivision of the material.

The mark of interrogation designates the questionable value of final -e in syllabic arrangement; e. g. types A and C present rival claims to verse 651, owing to uncertainty regarding the metrical value of final -e in weye:

And óper weég · is þer mór.
And óper weég · is þer mór.

It is not possible to decide with exactness the value of this inorganic -e.
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Genitive. The ending is -ēs, continuing the O.E. ēs: domēs (day) 257, 745, 868; godēs 38, 81, 89, etc.; lordēs 892.

Dative. The old dative in -ē is preserved unaltered in the Speculum, but in many instances uninflected forms1 occur also, when, as in Chaucer (cf. ten Brink, § 201) the dative is like the nominative: /ārē : (herē, inf.) 356; uēyē : (eize) 22; monēpē : (noufē, O.E. nāpē) 420, 480; on līwē 859; yet without ending are monēp : (conf, pp.) 813, and on basis of metrical type A, monēpē 94. Uninflected forms, as is indicated by rhythm or rime, are: wif : lyf 234; bon 531; dom 415, 766; day : (lay) 250, : (nay) 251; day 49, 475, 516; bon 157; bon : (non) 531; gold : (holf) 153; wil : (peril) 169. Owing to elision nāte 959, is not determinative in the question of the development of the inorganic -e (cf. Sachse, § 25), through analogy with short fem. stems by means of O.E. plural forms in -u. day 250, it would seem, admits of explanation as nominative, subject of com, hit being pleonastic. The line recalls the idiom illustrated in the opening song of Wilhelm Tell, v. 1: Es lüchtelt der See! O.E. derivatives from the Latin to be classified here end in -ē: pīnē? 772, but pīng 104.

Plural. The ending -ēs (written often -ēs, -ys in other MSS.), O.E. -as, occurs uniformly for masculine substantive: gōstēs (type A, or gōstēs to produce type C) 431, but probably with syncope of the -e in gōstēs 447; nōlēs 439; terēs 827; gīlēs 752; vēyēs 865. Dative forms are dāwē (O.E. dagum) : (lāwē) 37, 357; līwē : (shrine) 486. sīpē (with apocope) 394 is the plural contributed by H, and R. The termination of the masculine is carried over to the plural of other genders and other stems. Thus terēs (O.E. hēor) occurs in rime with terēs 842 and sāfēs with crafēs 212. Neuter nouns end in -ēs: lōndēs (Londys, H) 152, 163; wordēs 276, 998; werkes 860; sāfēs (creatures in D) 781 illustrate syncope of the second -e; for pīngēs (or pīngēs) 141, see Pabst, Anglia2 xiii., p. 247, Anm. 1. The plural of the neuter ends also in -ē: pīngē (O.E. pingum, pīngu) 284, and perhaps in pīngū[ē]: (biginning, biginning[ē]? 8, 883, : (speking[ē]) 329. les : (pes) 519 is without ending. D and R offer beṃē : (lemē) 383; god 163 is without ending. See also lōverīdē 177; bold 154; lyf 952, forms possibly to be regarded as plural, but through context uncertain.

1 The principle was already illustrated by so early a linguist as Oerm (1200), representing, it must be remembered, the northern portion of the East Midland territory, and presenting northern peculiarities, often Scandinavian characteristics.

2 Flexionsverhältnisse bei Rht. v. Gl.
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(b) ja-stems.

These stems reproduce O.E. final -e through ë: ende : (wendē) 426; leche (O.E. Angl. ëce) 69.

(c) wa-stems.

Plural nouns illustrative of wa-stems are found: ëweðas 72; ëweðes: (shrewës) 101, but the syncopated form ëwes 97.

(d) i- and u-stems.

i- and u-stems offer as representative of O.E. final -e (-u) a syllabic -ë: stedë : (bede) 561, : (dede) 597, 604; metë : (iete) 983; elë (O.E. ëse) : (weye) 21, : (seie) 795. A w-stem is sonë (O.E. sunn) : (irone, inf.) 428. Possibly to be classed here is the plural metys (H₂) 155, through analogy with O.E. mettas of the ja-declension, Sievers. § 263, N. 3.

§ 2. Feminine Substantives.

The endings of the feminine jó- and i-stems agree with those of the ó-stems.

Singular. Nominative. The termination is -ë, through weakening of O.E. -u for short stems, Sievers, § 252, or an inorganic -ë added through analogy with oblique cases for long syllables: shamë 799, 801; shamë : (blame) 811; lorë : (more) 755, 853; dreedë : (godhede) 380; Lonë (Long, elision of -ë before a vowel in the following word) 87. The ending -ë is also to be noted: long 304; Streitpe (before i of the following syllable) 305; wortë 17, 61; Drede 883. Characteristic of the period is the inorganic -ë affixed to the nominative singular of nouns ending with the suffix -nës (-nis), already to be noted in the English Liber (Camb. Univ. MS. li. 1. 33) of the 12th century. Cf. soñiestynsse 28; oncnaicennysse 20, 27 (Zupitza, Anzeiger für deutsches Alterthum, ii. 11); fairnesse : ësternesse 305.

Genitive. The ending is -ës through analogy with the masculine: worldës 13, 32, 113, 151, 195, etc. An old genitive is recognized in the adverb of time, whileis 184.

Dative. -ë is the characteristic ending of the feminine dative, but uninfluenced forms are found here as in the masculine of the a-declension. (1) -ë: lonë : (abouë) 53, 541; lonë 243, etc.; troupë 1033; speche : (teche) 1, 569, 753; hondë (dat.) : (londë) 585, : (vnderstande) 1022; shane 777, 779, 804, etc.; dreedë : (dede) 910, 943, : (lede, inf.) 20; rotë (Scand. loan-word) 93; huidë : (pride) 157;
rodel 26; helle; (nelle) 271. (2) -e: lone 6, 21, 144, etc.; rod: (god) 144; rod: (blod) 248; sorwe (before initial e- in the following syllable) 769, but sorwe (with hiatus) 93; drede 444, 914. To be classed here is Eué 229, according to ten Brink of O.E. origin, see also Siev., § 194.

Accusative. -e is the normal ending: soule 48, 576; while 62; lone : (above) 511; shone 783; soule 688; drede: (dede) 695, 707, (godhede) 885, but by the side of -e occurs not infrequently the weakened -e: world 64.

Plural. Plural feminine forms of substantives have the ending -en, indicating the tendency to adopt in the plural the inflection of the weak or n- declension, already existing sporadically in the 12th century: wounden (acc.) 442; honden 440; also -es, sinnes (dat.) 469, (acc.) 803; synnes in H_s 91 and 830; dedes 674; probably heste (singular!) 810.

B. CONSONANT DECLENSION.

§ 1. Masculine substantives.

N- stems.

Nomina1ive. The nominative ending is -e in continuation of O.E. -a: bilewe 203; gome (O.E. guma) 645; mone (before a vowel) 383; namé : (fame) 30, 39, but hope 466.

Oblique cases are in -e: hope 463, 471, but hope 477, 690; tené 192; time 703.

Plurals. In -en is sterrên 383, retaining the old plural ending in -n, a plural not confirmed by rime. shreices occurs in rime with pevës 102, and ferë with dere (O.E. dërë) 423.

§ 2. Feminine substantives.

Nomina1ive. In -ë are widewë 965, 971, 987, 1003; (type B or with apocope?) 955 and the elided form sunne 386.

Genitive. Ending in -ë is hertë (hertë rote, hertë blod) 93, 247; heune (O.E. heofonan, gen. of fem. heofone, heuenë blisse, heuenë king) 336, 626, 690, 900. A_2 offers sunnes 393.

Dative. -ë characterizes hertë 87, 163, 208, 408, but hertë 414; eorpë 296, 375, 397, etc.; sibe : (abide) 255, 655; sunne (dat. of indirect object) 393; widewe 951, 998.

Accusative. zëmë 553; leuedi (O.E. hláfdoige) : (witerli) 363 shows no inflection.
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§ 3. Neuter substantives.

Nomina: and accusative end in -e: eizë 396; eizë: (heizë) 388. One plural form occurs: eizgu (eghen in R, dat.) 841; eizgu (acc.) 992.

C. Other declensions.

§ 1. Substantives illustrating minor declensions.

(Sievers, §§ 281—290.)

(1) Irregular consonant stems. (a) Masculines and Neuters. The singular is represented by: man (nom.) (can) 727; man (nom.) 37, 222, 223; Gen. mannës 388, 611, 723; man (dat.) 51; man: (cam) 590. Plurals of the same class with ï umlaut are: men (dat.) 149; fet: (ek) 440. (b) Feminines. These end in -ë: holë: (Jolë) 460, 785; nild (nom.) (lild) 856; nild (dat.) (mild) 320, 516; niht: (liht) 858, niht in this construction being an objective adverbial. (2) Stems in -r: oc. father 52, dat. after leue 424 (O.E. laf, cf. Chaucer) 428. The genitive is faderes 254, 255. brother (nom.) (ofer) 121; (voc.) 73. (3) Stems in -nd: frend 919; fende (gen. in H₂) 696. (4) Stems in -os, -es (Gk. neuteis in -oc, Lat. -us, -eris), Sievers's second class: lomb (nom. sing.) 260. The plural occurs in children (cf. Sievers, § 290, 2) (nom.) 287, (gen.) 986, (dat.) 349, 522. childer is the reading of D and R.

§ 2. Substantives of Romance origin.

Singular. In general, substantives of Romance origin retain a final syllabic -ë, preserved from the O.F. original: grace: facë 214, 904; gracë 78; gracë: placë 294; prëi 68; blandë: (shame) 778, 784, 812; ioyë (ioye) 295, 301, see also crown (A.F. coroune, coronel) 799, and paunter (O.F. pantiere?) 18, etc. Polysyllabic forms recur in Romance derivatives: repenauce: penaunce 92, 474, 770; sufraunce: destourbaunce 572; manere: 628; anguissë 183; with accent thrown back: séruës 36; séruage 238; cîtë! 959; Mërci 131, 545; but also merci 458, 524; peril 170: myrour 505. Representing a Romance original without final -e monosyllabic forms occur: los 158; prys 166; voiz 446; cas 703. In polysyllables: katël (catel) 162, 577, 896; uertu 922, etc.

Plural. The plural endings -s (-z) and -e occur for polysyllables of Romance origin, but seem to be generally without syllabic value: deciples 570; uertuz (vertuys in H₂) 71, 325, 661; persones 206; manere 785. Possibly to be regarded as plurals are: vessel 153;
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tresor 154. Ending in -es occur rentes (rentyts) 152, 163, and ioyes (syncopated form?) 286. \( H_2 \) reads peynys 176.

§ 2. ADJECTIVES OF THE SPECULUM.

The inflections of the poet agree with the O.E. forms through the weakening of unaccented full vowels. The twofold Germanic declension, the strong and the weak, is illustrated, but in the plural both declensions fall together in the uniform syllabic unaccented final -ê. Romance adjectives in inflected and uninflected forms retain unaccented -ê. Uninflected forms are also illustrated in adjectives of two or more syllables of Germanic or Romance origin.

§ 1. STRONG ADJECTIVES.

Strong adjectives of Germanic origin, in legitimate descent from the O.E., tend to drop the inflection except in ja-stems. Such adjectives of the strong declension find illustration as follows:

Singular forms: gret, grete with apocope of the final -e 158, 214; hot 819; god 843. Used predicatively occur: god 105, 202; vnmeṣ 615; Wicçe (O.E. vicca) 122; murie 905; fain 965; empti 1002 show the vocalization of O.E. g. The dative is found corresponding to the uninflected nominative: gret 170, 899; strong 266, 274; al 319; god 571; cold 929. Yet sporadically the poem presents instances of inflection by means of -ê, in the dative. Cf. gode 29, 40; heihê, a form open to speculation on part of the copyists, 214; hotê 282, 451; and possibly strongê 282, 449. Datives having apocope of the final -e occur: snæle 181; hote 182; gode 931. ja-stems are inflected with -ê: trewê 304, 697; stervê 446; mildê 594; newê?, used predicatively, 760.

Plural forms. The final -ê is retained: Fairê 71, 154?; fôlê 72, 803; Riche? 153, 155; oldê 357; allê 239, 300, 329, 338, etc.; gretê 469; godê 674, and gode (dat.) 865. Stems in ja: bremê 383; kemê 439; swevê 998. Predicative adjectives are: lôpê 76; fôlê 818; gode (with apocope) 287.

Words of more than one syllable are without inflection: wraþful 436; ydel 463, 466; Holt(y) 505, 701, 733, 755; wrongful 618; Gostli 715; sinful 751; dedli 774.

To the strong declension belong: Wheîper (r. Wher) 219; oþer 74, 122, 651; plural: oþere 135; Tweîe (apocope) 141; Tweye 785; aller (furst) gen. plu. 70; the Scandinavian form bopê 75, 216; Summê 825, is a dissyllable as in Lydgate and Gower in distinction
from Chaucer's monosyllabic rendering some (except in rime; see ten Brink, §§ 255, 327). Compare also the riming form of the Speculum, some: (inome), v. 643. Unaccented final -e is subject to apocope in Bohé 311, 400, 436? Contrasted forms are next: hext 326, 662.

§ 2. Weak Adjectives.

O.E. full-toned inflectional forms corresponding to n-stems of the substantive declension are represented in the Speculum by unaccented -e. As in O.E. the weak adjective is employed:

a. After the definite article: rihte 22; greté 256; stronge 449; heiđ 622, but heie (with apocope of -e) 415; fowlé 654; longe 744; derke 856, 858. Weak adjectives of more than one syllable are without inflection in this position: holi 352, 565, 687; sinful 727. Ordinals are declined as follows: formé (superlative in -na) 223; priddé 250, 251; firsté 358. A comparative occurs: þe clannere 826. To this division belongs þilkh ( = þe ilke, O.E. sê ilre) 37.

b. After a demonstrative pronoun: þat ilké 362; þat fowlé 696; þís ilké 799. þat holgé (acc.) 182, and þat fúre 914 occur with apocope of final -e. Adjectives of two syllables are found after a demonstrative, but are not inflected: þat litel sinful (dat.) 708; þís seli 987.

g. After a possessive pronoun: his rihte 39; his greté 361; his owen (owné?) 314; hiré greté 390; Hiré clenué 364; þin owen (read owné?) 620; þi rihte 878; ja-stems: Houré swéte 569; houré . . . swéte: (profête) 949. Adjectives of two syllables are illustrated: þi seli 576; His gostli 736; Hiré litel 990.

Plural forms are preserved: þe wícké 101; þe riché: (italicéd) 311; þe holé 827, 841; þe lesté (e through elision) 1016; þise holi 191; His grísli 442. Once the adjective precedes the vocative plural: miné blesselé feré 423.

Of the weak inflection are probably þísélfé 10, 564, 579; himselfé 14; oné (O.E. ána) 239, see Sievers, 324, N. 1. In the weak declension are to be classified Boxomere (followed by he) 233; muryere 284; and bypery 952.

Romance forms. Romance adjectives retain in inflected as well as uninflected forms final -e: poré (l) 951; doublé 940, 1006; merciablé 526; see also pore (e through elision) 164; cler 381, 915; stout 623; cruwel (read with syncope of -e, unless epic caesura, metrical type B, be preferred) 559.

Vocatives. In this position the inflection is uniformly -e.
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Singular: leuē 73, 919; Sveē (ja- stem) 555. ĕrsē (sing.) 623 is the single Romance form. Plural: corseē (cursed) 431, 447.

Before proper names occurs: Seīn (Pewel) 345; (Dauī) 459, 691; (Gregory) 663. For seint 275 see ten Br., § 242.

§ 3. NUMERALS.

Numerals are employed in the Speculum as follows. They illustrate occasionally the value of an unaccented -ē:

Cardinals: on : (don) 838; o 204, 205, 354; Tweē (two R) 141, (Tweye) 785; þre 206, 349, 350; hundred 394. Onē 239 preserves the form of the numeral with the meaning alone. Negative of on preserves -ē: nonē 344.

Ordinals: þe firstē (acc.) 358; þe furtē (nom.) 223; þe priddē 250, 251.

In orthography these forms reproduce MS. A. Decisive evidence through rime exists for numerals only in instance of on; vide supra.

§ 3. PRONOUNS.

§ 1. PERSONAL PRONOUNS.

The personal pronouns in use in the Speculum are as follows:

a. First Person: Sing. Nom. i (I) 2, 3, 27, 49, etc. Gen.—Dat. me : (charite) 56 : (þe) 1011, etc. Acc. me, 62, 189, etc. Nom. we, 501, 504, 506, etc. Gen.—Dat. us (vs) 54, 501, 1031, etc. Acc. us (vs) 1029.

b. Second Person: Sing. Nom. þu (þou) 5, 6, 8, 10, 11, 12, etc. Gen.—Dat. þe : (charite) 84, : (me) 108, : (be) 328, 334, 588, etc. Acc. þe : (bisē) 487, : (be) 535, 588, etc. Plural. Nom. þe 177, 425, 447, etc. Gen.—Dat. ou (Auch. MS.), ðou (MSS. Arund. and Harl.) 2; ðou 284; Acc. ou (Auch. MS.) 816, 824, 848.

c. Third Person: Masc. Sing. Nom. he 19, 31, 33, etc. Gen.— Dat. him (hym) 32, 227, 608, etc. Acc. him (hym) 34, 133, 369, etc. Fem. Sing. Nom. she (ho, MSS. D and R, or sehō in R) 965, 968, 972, 990, 1004. Gen.—Dat. hire (hyre) 981, etc. Acc. hire (hore, hyre, hyr) 960, 961, etc. The final -e (dat. and acc.) is uniformly silent.

Neu. Sing. Nom.: hit and it are found in A and R (MSS. A2DH1 have it) 3, 16, 119, etc.; hit 123, 160, 161, etc. Gen.—Dat. him (hym) 680. Acc. hit (it A2DH1) 15, 58, 175, etc.; it (A1) 563, 575, 581, etc.

Plural. Nom.: hi (MSS. A1 and R) 186, 277, 279, 309, etc.; þei (þeih A1) 25, 80, 104, etc. Scandinavian forms are uniformly
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represented by the MSS. A₂DH₁H₂.  Gen.—Dat. hem (often written hom in MS. R) : (men, assonance) 150; hem (hom R) 159, 168, 316 etc.  Acc. hem (hom R) 25, 100, 106, etc.

Possibly the most noticeable feature in the study of personal pronouns is the introduction of hij by the side of þeih, hit, and ou, the characteristic of MS. A₁; of hij, hit, hom, scho̊l and hore, of MS. R, and possibly for dialectical purposes of ho in MSS. D and R.

Scandinavian forms þei, þeir belong to later MSS., though A₁ has þeih sporadically. þe, me, hem, him are the personal pronouns absolutely warranted by the MSS. on basis of the rimes.

Possessives.

Simple possessives: my (generally before a consonant sound) 1, 59, 60, etc.; myn : (Alquin) 52; ouræ 505, 916; were 363, 506, but ourē before the name of the deity 844; were 595, etc.; Hore 569, 949, whose syllabic character is lost by apocope. þi (followed by a consonant sound) 7, 14, 69, etc. þin¹ (before a vowel sound) 9, 93, 334, etc.; his (hys) 18, 19, 21, etc. Here² (fem.) 952; hirē 235?; Hirc 956, 990, 995; mynē : (myw) 339; þin[e] ? 841 and þinē (plu.) 842 retains its syllabic -ē, but þing 841; Hisé (plu.) 570, 752; His 992; here 103, 169, etc. Otherwise plurals of possessives are often apocopated.

Absolute possessives: mynē rimes with mynē (simple possessive) 340, his with paralys 300, and with iwis 338.

Relatives and Demonstratives.

Relatives and demonstratives present no novel features. þat has the value of a who, lines 54, 317, (plu.) 424. Equivalent to what in lines 3, 73, etc., its use is substantive. þat serves also as a demonstrative 59, 82, 88, etc. þis 149 (= þis is) is the single instance of contraction. þisē 84 is used substantively. Without syllabic value is -e in Whicē (plu.) 76, 287, and in þisē 97, 191, etc.

§ 4. ADVERBS.

Adverbs following the history of the development of O.E. forms end in -ē, when formed from adjectives.

Adverbs from adjectives: derē : (were) 160; derē 172, 226; sorē : (lore) 236, : (ore) 539: but sore through elision 766, 794; loric 630; jouē 591; stillē : (ville) 584, 593, 706, etc.; fustē : (agaste) 865.

As continuation of O.E. full endings occur: aboutē (elision) 190, 1 Plu. 9, 334 ² Here line, plural?
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(apocope) 515; abutēn 196; abonē 908; Oute 490; ofte 493, 499, 1020. Through analogy ekē 436, 584, 681; but ek: (jet) 439. Assuming directly the form of an adjective ending in -e occurs: srupe 4, 236, 578, 630, 736, 879. Of another class are adverbs formed by composition of the simple adjective stem with O.E. -tire: apertelicē 355; sopfichē : opēnlīcē 442; Kindelicē 817, but Holliche 353; sikerliche 373; Bodiliche 375; Rihtfulliche 458. witerli: (comforti) 687; sikerli: (empti) 1002. Adverbs without corresponding adjectives: 3it (O.E. giêt, giêt) 851; eftsonē: (done) 851; sonē: (bone) 987; song 903. Oblique cases of adjectives employed as adverbs are from the accusative: inouh: (drouh) 43; inouh 305; ful 66, 517, 632; heīc: (eiye) 387; heīc 632.

A genitive as introductory element of a compound word occurs: ellēs (wher) 176, 780. Derived from substantives are alday 342; forsope 391; adoum 842; adoum: (loum) 261; by day and niht 475, represents adverbial construction of this class. sorē (original form with -um laut, Sievers, § 237, 2) offers illustration of an instrumental used adverbially. Adverbs from prepositions are: innē: (sinne) 731; onne 267. Adverbs of place are: wherē 176; her 197, 220; herē 296; per 322. Of time nonpe 107; nowk 348; pane 199, 283, 395 is very frequent. A numeral adjective, Enē is used by the poet. Cf. enē: (cune) 366, 815, and bidsenē 191; Enēs (gen.) 939.

Comparison of adverbs. Comparative: betrē 78, 937; ererē (comp. of ar, preserved by MS. A1 alone) 140, 168; inwardlicherē 321; clammerē 820, 828; lessē 536; morē: (ore) 90, : (lore) 739, 854, etc.; mo: (perfo) 128. Superlative: (Aller) furst 70.

Formal adverbial expressions occur: ful iwis 165, 285, 337, 503, 723; mid iwise 309, 689; on heīh 633; On ydel 568, 668; for cuere mo 240; widoute fable 525; widoute way 252, 258; jer and ner 216; lude and stille 584, 706, 891.

II. CONJUGATION.

THE VERB.

In the classification of strong and weak verbs with resulting methods of tense-formation, the Speculum does not differ materially from the normal text of the period, whose master was Chaucer. The study of the inflection of the verb with reference to the syllabic value of final -ē is of peculiar importance and interest. The copyists are often in disagreement regarding the poet's inflectional forms, and absolute proof is wanting for some specific illustrations.
§ 1. Forms that may be referred to the present stem.

The Infinitive. The final -n of the O.E. infinitive is almost universally dropped, sometimes with apocope of the final -e, resulting from the weakening of -a of the O.E. termination. Twice, remains of the O.E. -ian class occur in -i (y), confirmed by rime.

a. Infinitives in -e (-yn, -yn of the MSS.): teche : (speche) 2, 570, 754; drawe : (place) 16; ledē : (dreset) 19; hauē 455, 529, 543, 567, etc.; folenē : swelewe 642; shere : (rewe) 79. Apocope of the -e occurs: possibly nempne (or double thesis at epic caesura?) 101; hauē 148; conge 331; lounē 343; a contracted form is seiē 445, 796.

b. O.E. -n is retained: don 643; gon : (now) 652; ben (A) 938; knowen? : ( Owen) 228; belēn 175; but chasten (Kast, H) 181; an abbreviated form is han 295. In some instances the retention of final -n is conducive to smoothness of metre: bilerēnē 273; wilnēn 279; tellēn 292; wantēn 316.

g. Forms without ending through loss of -n: do : (also) 10, 208, : (to) 68, : (mo) 274; be : (charite) 96; go : (do, pp.) 875.

δ. Infinitives in -i, -y are: herknē : (merci) 523; conforti (not understood by the copyist of R; cf. R) : (cerleri) 688; and within the body of the text singy 714; wonyē 634; cf. welyn (D) 280; perty (D) 298. This distinctively Southern inflectional characteristic is abundant in Azenbite, Ancr. Riule, R. of G., and the Poema Morale, but the infinitive in -i (-y) occurs also in the Southern Midland poems, Horn (see Wissmann) werie 1411, chaungi 1076, and in the Auch. Reivbrun (Gy, some of Warwick): nory : severei 151; pasy : prony 972. For this infinitive in East Midland poems, see Stürzenbecker, p. 71; Morris, Spec. of E. Lit., p. xxi.; in Chaucer, ten Br., § 196.


ζ. Of Romance origin are a few infinitives in rime: grene : (bilene) 202, : (Eue) 230; denise 343; duirē 281; saue : (haue) 478. esē occurs 90; suffre 184, 583; preie 564.

Present indicative, 1 pers. sg. The ending is -e, occurring in rime: fīnde : (binde, inf.) 481; vudsondē : (sonde) 49; menē : (etene) 407; hiē : (campaignye) 637; seie 467; with apocope of the ending, grete 52; sey 464. Romance form: preie, 53, 601. wilē (anomalous form) is confirmed by rime: willē : (skilē) 712.

2 pers. The ending in -est (MS. -us, -ys, -es); -est, -est is of frequent occurrence not confirmed by ryme. The couplet preserves only the contracted form: sist : bist (bitst) 554; cf. Floris und Blumcheft.
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105. The vowel of the radical is in general not modified. In the body of the text are to be noted the following examples: metēst 549; ženēst 936; coũfēst 657. In -eest occur: longest 13, 321, 337, etc.; 'loest 189; sparest 795; seist 555; seest 385, give contracted forms.

3 pers. sg. The third person ends in -p (MSS. -es, -ythe, etc.) once in rime: ge/p : vane/p 616, possibly se/p 817, and almost universally within the body of the text, where no criterion exists to determine that -e/p be not the language of the copyist. The vowel of the radical is not modified. Examples are: bringē/p 114; beginē/p 126; ženē/p 212; tone/p 340; ofpinē/p 539; bitoknē/p 363; lastē/p 426; spekē/p 501; makē/p 520; berē/p 566; fondē/p 655. In -ep occur: spekep 275; berep 345; fallē/p 585; farep 669; berep 670; seme/p 697; liwē/p 733; ženē/p 742. Contraction of the ending is recognized in seip 276, 339, 345, 459; hap (3 sing.) 386, 695; halt 166, 171; tit 807; sit (one of the ten verbs preserving the present form with -jo-) 255; fint 785; flep 672; ly/p (jo-stem) 710, 713.

Plural. Rimming couples preserve - epub in one instance: beb : se/p (sing. men = one, German man?) 818, but the verse contains additional illustration of forms in -e/p (MSS. -ep, -yp) : towe/p 23; hep 23, 76, 80, 97, etc.; biskep 504; washep 818; Makē/p 828. With syncope of e : pinē/p 150; wasshep 825. Plurals in -eun (-eun), -e (-e), are offered by rime: (whiles þeih) liuē : (zwe, inf.) 184; (Wheiper . . .) nellē : (helle) 272; (as men!) ređē : (seidē) 692; dređē : (dalē) 830; (þeih) be 287, 3411, 414. The rime contributes a plural in -i : (we) findē : (winte) 669. Examples not verified by rime are: fallēn 170; findēn 518; wolēn 272. comeν 240, 280, sholēn 416 occur with syncopated -e. Contracted plural forms are: han 384; fint (or sing.? 17) 785.

Subjunctive. Present endings are -ē and -e, 2nd pers. : showē : (weone) 105; missē : (visses) 120; þu knowē 74; berē 671; 3rd pers. in -ē : she turnē 966; hauē (with apocope) 837; be : (se) 872.

Imperative singular. The riming couplet introduces no example of the imperative, but the text affords illustration. Here the distinction active in Chaucer (cf. ten Br., § 189) of the preservation through weakened endings of the O.E. inflection remains. The subdivision into strong and weak imperatives seems still extant through ending in -ē for weak verbs: Herknē 137, 419; luē 329; hauē (Mätzner II., p. 29) : (sawē) 477; Lokē 488; but Longe with apocope 113.1

1 sit = absorption of inflectional p with t of the radical. See halt, tit, and fint.
Making allowance for possible hiatus, e.g. Herknœ, and 328; Herknœ 348, 378; Lokœ 758, 768. Often divergence from the strong verb is not marked, and the two classes fall together in forms without -e. Singular, weak: lef 392, 866; Put 476; þenk 493; Cast 647; sped 865; Bring 970. Strong: lat (possibly through contraction) 143, 777; Nym 553; Forþij 541, 555; tak 770; Go (anv.) 855; Do 969; þið 1012. Romance imperatives end in -e: Vsæ 82.

Plural. Plural endings seem to be -eþ: Herknœþ 1, 790; Sittêþ 790; Comœþ 423; Listnœþ 753; Wasshœþ 816, 824, 848. Remnant of an older form is illustrated in gop 445; see Schleich, p. 6. Rimming forms contribute no important testimony for the Speculum.

Participle. The present participle is wanting in MS. A₁ of the Speculum, but A₂, D.H₁, R read suffrand (Northern form) 587, and A₂, D.R offer suffraunde 597 (H₂ sufîerynige, A₁ sufraunt), the Anglo-Norman participle in adjective construction.

Verbal substantives in -ing (or -ingê). Verbals are of frequent occurrence in rime and text: biginning : (þing) 7, 884; biginning : ending 210; deing : ending 278; shining 352; speking 330; vonishing : deservying 314, (þing) 317; piving : brenning 182, : (king) 899. In -ingê?: mourningê (môurningê? 123) : (springê, inf.) 125.

§ 2. Forms that may be referred to the first and second preterit stems.

Preterit. Strong verbs. Ablaut variations of the O.E. are preserved in the Speculum: tok : fœrkok 34; drouih : (inonih) 44; bar : (war) 46; bicaun : nam 246; lay : (day) 249; steih 253; sauk 347, 350, 355, 374; iseih : (heih) 369, 991; wülerstêld : (god) 462, 939; bâld 571; cam : (man) 589; gan (in pleonastic construction) 641, 642; slöwen 438.


(a) In -êd: liuedê 38; hirêdê 133; answeerdê 971; Graunlêdê 988.

(b) The weak ending recurring more frequently is -êd, illustrated as follows: lonedê 35; answeredê : heriedê (i.e. through analogy with the present, ten Br., §162) 66; hadê : madê 244; deiedê 248, 528; shewedê 361; dedê : (stêdê) 598; answeredê 981; seidê (i.e. sedê) 965; liuedê 1004. Variation of the radical vowel occurs in ladê 42. Plural verbs: woldeán 268; wolde 530; serneâdê (2 pers. pl.) 452; dedê : (stêdê) 603. With apocope: hadêdê 454.
Apocope and elision are also active in the following instances of singular verbs. With apocope: *kuldē* 178; *made*? 213; *wolde* 529. With elision: *birede* 133; *dode* 230; *seide* 411. Syncope and elision are both marked in *deıgde* 144, 531, and *liıgde* 192. The d of the ending is lost in *seende* : (amende) 575, 951; *sentẽ* : (spende) 989.

(c) Forms in -tē: *wrouthtē* ; *bouhtē* 26; *owąhtē* 32. In -te: *bouhtē* 236. Resulting from assimilation of the termination and the final vowel of the radical occur *gretē* : *metē* 350, 960, but *grette* (with elision) 353, *putte* 994, and *sentē* (before h-) 50; *kest* introduces a contracted form 992. Preteritive-present forms are: *mihtē* (1. sing.) 292; (3. sing.) 368, 376, 398. With elision: *Mihtē* 291, 366, 367, 396.

**Past Participle of strong verbs.** The participle ends in -ēd, but forms occur in -en. (a) In -ē or with loss of -un: *inome* 644, 646; *bounādē* : (stounedē) 710; *ilōrē* : (whurfore) 715; *shriuē* : (livē) 758, 768; *forzētē* 764; *founēdē* 773; *iētē* : (metē) 984; *do* : (so) 174, : (go) 876. (b) In -un: *born* : *born* 130; *don* : (non) 264; *idon* : (non) 546; *don* 802, 837; *zoldēn* 932. A syncopated form is *comēn* 67; *nomēn* 649.

**Past Participle of weak verbs.** The weak participle ends in -ed, resp. -gd and -t. (a) In -ed: *Ibriēd* 249; *wemmēd* 366; *prewēd* (or *prenēd*, type C?) : *ishewēd* (!) 399; *ijilēd* 410; *damēnēd* 432; *charyēd* 468; *ashamēd* : *agramēd* 794; *clepēd* 857; *irekenēd* 869. In -gd: *wongēd* 259 (or *wondēd*, clerical form *wond*); *zarkēd* 300; *ashamēd* 809. Romance forms are *annēd* 124; *Sanwēd* 128; *hounēd* 521, 632. (b) In -t: *ikauht* 17; (ibouht* 160, 172, 226; (i)pyn* 232, 888; *agilt* : *jعlāt* 308; *gilt* 556; *iwrouht* : (nokht) 580, 803; *cailt* : (mait) 882; see also *leid* 592; *aferd* 685. A contracted form is *misseid* 538, 591; and the-F. Pic. *kauch* 17. coup occurs (O.E. *cyp*; Goth. *kauþ-s*) 814.

The prefix *i*- in the past participle. The prefix *i*- is undoubtedly to be read. Stürzen-Becker, p. 74, writes concerning the value of this prefix in East Midland poems. It is illustrated in King Horn: *iborn* 140; *inome* 160. Its value in the metrical verse is pointed out in the accompanying selections:

v. 17: For, whān þe wórld þe hāp ikāuht.
v. 546: Off þrespas, þat þu hāst ilōn.
v. 580: But ás hit wás þurw gōd iwróuht.
v. 715: Gōstlī wít þe hāp ilōre.
v. 724: Þurw dédlí sinne þifilōd ðs.
v. 803: And fōule sînnes þe hāp iwrōuht.
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Indication of inheritance from reduplicating verbs is to be noted in the Speculum. Derivatives from lētan, rēlan, feallan, healdan, gongan, cnawen find representatives in this poem, chiefly through infinitives. Cf. the contracted form halt 171; held 593; lat 315; gang 761; knowe 180, 629.

Contracted participles are to be noted in idempt (O.E. gedēmed, gedēmde, Siev. 406, N.) : nempt (O.E. genemde) 136, but on the other hand gemination is not simplified in the weak participle wemmed 366. A remnant of the old ending is marked in gofē (the -ē added through false analogy) : (lofe) 448 ; for gotē : (sothe), v. 469 of the Rolandshied, see Schleich, pp. 6 and 13 (Prolegomeno), and Wülker’s note Anglia, III., p. 402. The MSS. vary in the orthography of the inflectional terminations, the later MSS. contributing Midland and Northern forms.

The examples cited in the preceding pages show, it is believed, that the poet pronounced e in unaccented syllables, and particularly in unaccented inflectional syllables. This principle governed the composition of words. The e, organic or inorganic, standing between the parts of a compound word was sounded by the poet. MS. A1 often omits this e, and thus places two accented syllables in immediate juxtaposition. Conclusions regarding e in the unaccented syllables have been collected in the two following sections.

Composition.

An unstressed -ē, required by the rhythm between principal and subordinate syllables in words of Teutonic or of Romance origin and frequently written in that position by the later MSS., rarely by MS. A1, has often the place of an unaccented syllable with its equivalent value. Orm illustrates this phenomenon (cf. Sachse, p. 63), and it exists in Chaucer. Illustrations contributed by the Speculum are as follows: loucrede 177; sopēnesse 346, 411, 664; sopēliche 525, 609; mildēliche 605; trewēliche 610; jorjiēnesse 683; apertēliche 385, 416; knowēlache 509; knowēlaching 725; Fr. derivatives: amendemant 56; ingēment 265, 878; verreçment 877 ; the Eng. dirkēnnessē (MSS. D, H,) 114, (MSS. A2, D) 306. In opposition to these conclusions the following instances are to be cited, where -ē is not marked by distinctive syllabic value: sopēnesse or sopēnesse 722; Wraffyl 262; seukesse 187; Sledesüst 85; lihtliche 198; Sodeynēliche 882; dalli 710, 713; sopēliche 441.

1 The MSS. show much divergence in the introduction of this inorganic -e.
CHAPTER XV.—Dialect and Chronology of the Speculum.

§ 1. The Dialect of the Poem.

"Is your own land indeed so far away,¹
As by your aspect it would seem to be?"
"But trusteth wel, I am a sotherne man.”²

The phonological and the inflectional systems of the Speculum afford criteria for the investigation of the dialect of the poet. The following testimony is of value in the discussion:

1. Obvious is the Southern element in the language of the poet in rigid distinction from the Northern, as is indicated through the

¹ Rossetti’s translation of Dante’s Vita Nuova.
² Chaucer, Persones Tu’c, Prologue, v. 42.
following combinations. *Non* is embodied in rime with *dôn* (pp.) 263 and with *îdôn* 545, etc. *also* occurs with *dô* 9, 207, 897. *gô* is united with *dô* (pp.) 875; *pô* with *misdô* 557; *mô* with *dô* 273; and *sô* with *dô* 173, 673. *wô* is in rime with *dô* 484 and 917.

2. The representative vowels *i*, *î*, < O.E. *y*, *ý* (umlaut of *u*, *ú*), in rime with *stable* *i* *î*, offer conclusive evidence for Midland dialect. Conclusive Midland forms are found in the following combinations: *myndê* with *bindê* 496; and *pride* with *side* 656; *sinnê* : *winnê* 131, 472, 693, 845, 1007; *sinnê* : *wîdînên* 117; *sînnê* : *blînên* 713; *sînnê* : *înên* 732; *sînnê* : *perînên* 839; *sînnê* : *bigînên* 902; *prîte* : *laîte* 924.

The self-rimes, *pride* : *hûîde* 158; *mîndê* : *kîndê* 620; *agîll* : *fulîll* 308; *gîll* : *pûllt* 232, and *gîll* : *ipûllt* 888, contribute nothing in the specification of the dialect, but confirm the testimony of decisive rimes.

3. Conclusive for Midland influence is the inflectional form in the plural of the present indicative. The ending -ê is uniformly returned by riming couples: *we* *fîndê* : *wîndê* 669; *men* *redê* : *seîndê* for *sedê* 692; *lîndê* (3 plu.) : (sinê, inf.) 184. The number of these forms is increased by the plurals of the regular text in its various MSS. Cf. *fûllên* 170; *shûlên* 281, 288, 295, 309, etc.

4. A Midland country in its Eastern division or a Southern neighbourhood is the evidence of *geþ* : (unmeþ) 616, third person singular, and possibly *seþ* (subject, *men* = *one* ) : *beþ* (plu.) 818. Inflection by means of -êst and -êp in the second and third persons singular is abundant in positions not supported by the rime. Indecisive is the form *sîst* : *bîst* 554. The text also affords plural verbs marked by the Southern ending -êp: *beþ* 23, 97; *lonêþ* 23; *seþ* 339; *bîsekeþ* 504; *Makêþ* 828; *þinkeþ* 150; *wasseþ* 825.

5. Apparently contradicting a claim to Midland origin through a form peculiar to the Kentish vocabulary but used by Chaucer, is the rime *fyr* : *her* (O.E. *hêr*) 451; *fire* : *here* (O.E. *hîran* , *hêran*, Angl. *hêran*, *î*- umlaut of *êa*) has no value in determining dialect, see Kölling, *Sr Benes*, p. xvi. *dede* : *stede* 598, 603, may be read *díde* : *ståde*, or *dûde* : *stude*. *díde* (sing. or plu.) is explained by Morsb., § 130, Anm. 6, as representing an older *i* (*y*); *stedê* preserves Kentish -ê-; see reference to Siev., *Beitr.* , vol. xvi., p. 235, Morsb., § 132, Anm. 2. This form is employed by *Rht. of G.*, v. 330, but it was found in all parts of England; cf. *Gen. and Ex.*, 1298, 1836. For *style*, see Streitberg, *Urgerm. Gram.*, p. 44, N. 1.

6. Southern is the infinitive in -i, *y* : *herkny* : (merci) 523;
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comforti : (witerli) 688. The text offers: singy 714; vonye 634. These infinitives are not incompatible with Midland authorship, as will be recognized by comparison with King Horn: werie 1411; chawungi (Fr. origin) 1076.

7. Through the prefix in- (O.E. ge), required by the metre, and the loss of the inflectional final -n, the past participle is recognized as Southern in development: inome : (some) 644; ilore : (wharfore) 715. The Midland King Horn duplicates the phenomenon, verses 140, 162, 484, 500, 548, etc.

8. The normal form sede (O.E. seide) of frequent recurrence and verified by rime as follows: sede (MS. seide) : (drede) 140, 494, : (rede) 168, 691, characteristic of Southern poems, is, according to Sarrazin (Octavian), specifically a Kentish feature; cf. Wilda’s note, p. 51, Pabst’s, p. 26, Menze’s, p. 21, and Brandl, Anzeiger für d. Alt. xix. 101. sede : (rede) 155, 223; sede : (ide) 131, occur in the Poema Morale. sede in rime with drede, rede, etc., is the reading of Sir Beues; see Köbling, p. xv. ful irise 285, 337, and mid irisse 309, 689 occur in Southern poems; cf. Poema Morale 40, 141, 154, (mid nane irisse) 236, 375, 391; On God Ureisun of Ure Lefdi 6; De Muliere Samaritana 37, 53. henne (O.E. heonon) : (henne) 297, contributes a Southern rime, Sarrazin and Carstens, p. 8, Nessmann, p. 10.

9. Significant for Western origin is the couplet fiere : duire (Fr. durer) 282, see Rbt. of G. 3760, dure : fiure, but dure : fiure occurs in Alisaundor 4322, a Southern poem with Kentish peculiarities. The ui represents the orthography of the Ancren Riche, Hali Meiden- had, etc., Morsb., §§ 132, 133, 2 Anm. 2. The possibility of determinative value for dialectical purposes of the rime pute : lutte 923, is weakened through the uncertainty of Anglicists regarding the specific etymology of pute (N.E. put). It is suggestive of put (read pit) : wytte, Floris und Blauchepl.; cf. Hansknecht, p. 132, 1. The rime is probably pute : lute with unequal quality, see Morsb., § 129, Anm. 4, b, and p. 181.

Other couplets, calling to mind a South-western country, unfortunately do not occur in such connection as to become of value in the investigation. ipult : gilt 888 (cf. v. 232), muche : aperteliche 386, and : lihtliche 671, churche : vorche 859, are not significant in dialectical study. They may be read with equal correctness ipilt, mich, churche : wirche. turne : sterne 433, apparently characteristic of the Kentish dialect, is not impossible in Midland dialect, and is actually the form of Orrm. 961; cf. Morsb., p. 167.
Chapter XV.—Chronology of the Speculum.

Examining the conclusions derived from the foregoing paragraphs, the preponderance of testimony, contributed by the mass of phonetic and inflectional characteristics, argues for the poem a Midland nativity. Sporadic forms locate the poet in an East Midland territory, perhaps in the neighbourhood of *Floris and Blaucheitar* or *King Horn*, a poem also coloured with strictly Kentish characteristics. But this original home must have been far to the South, on proof of characteristic elements of the language. Some margin must be conceded in this judgment, for a poet of advanced culture in his age, as was illustrated in Chaucer, might have left the mark of the breadth of his culture in the variety of phonological elements represented in his speech. Still it would seem, that many Southern characteristics, and the combined value of the Southern features, would indicate that the environment of the poem was to some degree Southern. The Western elements of the poet's language are not essentially farther to the West than are those of the *Hali Meidenhad*, *Katherine*, and other lives of saints, comprising Professor Morsbach's Katherine-group. With due regard, then, for rimes that might, *prima facie*, indicate other locality, it would seem that the phonetic elements of the language of the *Speculum* combine in ascribing the *Speculum* to a country intermediate in position between the East and the West, but eastern rather than western. The poem has the colouring of the dialect spoken near the Midland boundary, possibly in a territory not far removed from the home of the legends of the saints, represented by the legend of Katherine, but in the associated neighbourhood of *Sir Beues*; see characteristics summarized by Kölbing, pp. xx., xxi.

§ 2. Chronology of the Speculum.

Absolute evidence affording even approximately an exact date for the composition of the *Speculum* has not been discovered. On ground of external test its ulterior terminus is naturally the limit of its oldest transcript. As an individual member of the Auchinleck collection, palaeographical considerations suggest that the *Speculum* be regarded as a representative of the early decades of the 14th century. Important testimony is contributed by Zupitza, testing the

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1 In the early study of the dialect of the *Speculum*, in April 1894, the editor regarded the poem as a type of Middle-Kentish (borrowing Danner's phrase) literature. On later consideration it seemed that the rimes *i*, *î* (O.E. *y*, *ý*): *i*, *î* (O.E. *i*, *î*) are sufficiently numerous to be evidence of Midland environment; this a suggestion of Zupitza in 1894, later confirmed by Kölbing, both in personal communication with the editor.
age of The Rimey Chronicle, Liber Rerum Anglie, Auch. 40; see Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Litteraturen, vol. lxxxviii., p. 90. He recognizes as determinative basis the period of King Edward the Second (Ed. II.), the Auchinleck list of kings continuing to 1327 through the reign of that monarch. Zupitza writes: die in ihr (i.e. the Auch. MS.) gegebene Version der Chronicle of England geht bis zum Regierungsantritte Edward III. Directly interpreted this specific transcript could not have been completed earlier than 1327, and, if Virgilian philosophy be valid, ab uno disce omnes, the Speculum on this proof could not be ascribed to a date earlier than 1327. The examination of the massive "Affleck" folio with its exquisite workmanship, and with the indication of the existence of large numbers of finely wrought illuminations belonging to the original volume, suggests that the mechanical execution of details of such delicacy could have demanded that an interval of a number of years intervene between the transcription of No. 10 and the completion of No. 40. The year 1325 might then be a generous limit ad quem for the Speculum. Considerable uniformity in the handwriting indicates that the transcripts were prepared at approximately the same general period. The Speculum bears, it is true, a different script. That change in text does not necessarily indicate a later interpolation, but rather the influence of another copyist, as seems confirmed in the fact that the ninth selection bearing the original number XIV., immediately preceding the tenth piece, original number XV., contains near the bottom of fol. 38d instructions for the copyist, the first line of folio 39a in the handwriting of the scribe of No. XIV: Hervne al to mi spech (cf. text), also the hand of text XVI. immediately following the Speculum. That this marks no irregularity, is further attested through the circumstance that the various articles follow each other in orderly sequence, apparently not disturbed by any irregularity in workmanship; cf. also Kölling, Englische Studien, vol. vii., p. 183.

Various limits have been proposed dating this choice relic of Boswell’s library. Numerous speculative periods, individual problems,
have been attributed to the Auchinleck texts by its various editors. Kölbing, Sir Bewes, p. vii., dates the collection not younger than 1327; Scott, Sir Tristrem (1804), p. lxxxi., 1330; Ellis, Early English Pronunciation, vol. ii., p. 448, the beginning of the 14th century; Skeat, Specimens of Early English, vol. ii., p. xxxix., 1320—1330; Laing, A Penni worth of Witte, etc., p. i., "not later than the middle of the 14th century." "The Speculum," says a well-known Anglicist, "could have been copied into the collection so early as the 1310." Ritson, questionable authority, A.E. Metrical Romanceés, p. lxxxvi., mentioning the fact, that several poems of the folio refer to the reign of Edward the Second, believes that no romance was entered into the collective MS. before the time of Edward the First. Scott, 1 p. evii., discusses the possibility of the earlier part of the 14th century, and p. lxxxi., has concluded that the date of the collection does not seem to be much later than 1330. The Catalogue of MSS. in the Advocates' Library, probably influenced by Scott, states indefinitely, about the middle of the 14th century. It would seem, from weight of general testimony, that the compilation of the Auchinleck texts was completed before 1340. That the common original of the MSS. of the Speculum could hardly have been transcribed later than 1325, is necessary, if the foregoing evidence be valid. On the other hand, there is nothing to dispute a greater antiquity or a more flowery youth. That the Auchinleck copies be a forgery of the 17th century, as Hazlitt 2 (Remains of the Early Popular Poetry of England, vol. i., p. 193) maintains, there is not the smallest proof.

Nor do the sources of the Speculum contribute material conducive in marking progress in the solution of the age of the poem recorded. Were the verses 355—368 to be considered as definitely an adaptation of stanza twelve of the fundamental poem underlying Chaucer's A. B. C., and ascribable to the same source, de Dugunville (cf. chap. x.), then these verses written 1330—1331 (cf. Skeat, Minor Poems, 1888, p. xlvii.) contribute inferior date for the Speculum; but, although there is nothing seriously incompatible with this assumption, the evidence is not conclusive. The inference is not necessary, for the parallel metaphor was in existence so early as the 12th century, or earlier (cf. Sources, chap. x.), and Legends of Mary

1 "The date of the MS. cannot possibly be earlier, and does not seem to be later than 1330," Scott, p. lxxxi.

2 After examination of Hazlitt's note, I find a reference to the same statement in Mall's Harrowing of Hell, p. 5, in which he expresses opinion that Hazlitt's conclusion is übertrieben.

The solution of the question of the chronology is not advanced by the testimony of the MSS. The Guy legend was promulgated no earlier probably than the 13th century, as is the argument of its oldest MS., the Wolfenbüttel Codex, No. 87.4, *Augusteorum Guelf-ferbyt* of the 13th century. To this century belong the French MSS. of the Bodleian Library. The earliest English MS. does not permit the diminution of years from the history of the *Speculum*. It is a contemporaneous MS. of the Auchinleck collection. The remaining French MSS. and all the English MSS. belong to later centuries. The account of Guido in the *Gesta Romanorum*, ed. Oesterley, Berlin 1872, is of the late 13th century. The *Dictionary of National Biography*, in a carefully discussed article over Guy of Warwick, grants literary form to the saga in the concluding years of the 12th century; ten Brink (*Eng. Lit.*, I. p. 246) believes that “Guy of Warwick and Bevis of Hampton were unknown to saga until they emerge as heroes of Anglo-Norman poems of the 12th century.” An editorial note to Percy’s *Folio MS.*, vol. ii., p. 509, allot the oldest literary form to the 13th century; Tanner (*Die Saga v. Guy v. Warwick*, p. 34), the 13th century; Jusserand (*Eng. Novel*, p. 39), the 13th century; Ritson, not later than the reign of Edward the First, and in the *Legenda Catholicae* (1840, cf. chap. ii., § 3), in the 13th or early 14th century; Morley (*Eng. Writers*, vol. iii., p. 276), the 13th century. That the Alexius saga was associated with an English hero in the 11th century (cf. G. Paris, p. 27, and Pannier, p. 340), opens the question as to whether the same germ could have become associated with Count Guido at an early stage of the development of the Alexius literature, and distinct from Guy of Warwick. The theological element in the *Speculum* points to a period of religious awakening, such as was conspicuous in Southern England in the 13th century.

1 ten Br., I. p. 264. See also *Gesta Romanorum*, ed. of Wilhelm Dick, Erlangen 1890.

2 Ritson, *Cath. Leg.*, ascribes the folio to “the gloomy fanaticism of a lazy monk” . . . “for the promotion of fanaticism,” see pp. xi. and xii.

3 Ritson, p. v. of *Cath. Leg.*, believes that the Auchinleck texts were written “in some North of England monastery,” in opposition to Scott’s view that the folio was written in South Britain. Scott’s argument is, that every poem that introduces local reference concerns South England, and not a word refers to Scottish affairs. Scott locates the scriptorium of an Anglo-Norman convent as the scene of the workmanship of the Auch. texts (cf. p. civii.). Laing confirms Ritson’s conjecture, but places the location in the extreme North of Scotland.
Chapter XV.—Chronology of the Speculum.

Were it possible to ascribe connection with "Count Guido's Address to Guy of Warwick," Camb. MS. ii. I. 33, the history of the Speculum could be conveyed to a more remote period. This MS. is attributed to the 12th century, but the text seems to represent virtually an 11th-century version. The language is archaic. Old forms are used intelligently. The weakening of unaccented vowels is not abundant. Full vowels are employed consistently. Such conditions would place the O.E. Liber so early as the year 1000 or 1025. Some points of coincidence could be traced more readily between the Speculum and the MS. Vesp. D, xiv., fol. 104 a ff., described in Hickes' Thesaurus, the Wanley Catalogue, pp. 246 ff.; cf. Assmann, Anglia, xi., p. 371, and Homilien und Heiligendeiben, Bibliothec der A.S. Prosä, vol. iii., pp. 246 ff., probably the composition of one of the School of Ælfric, as Assmann suggests. This work has been ascribed to the last years of the 12th century; cf. Nehab, Der altenglische Cato, a Berlin dissertation, 1879, pp. 32—41. This premise would give the vantage ground of a hundred years to the earlier cited 13th century. The cogency of such a premise would be disputed; cf. Morsb. i., § 1, Anm. 1. The Liber is not of service in ascribing terminology to the Speculum, but internal tests, theological, aesthetical, metrical, phonological, ascribe to the poem an early composition.

The theology of the poem contributes no facts useful in establishing its exact age. Medieval theories of hell fires, heaven's blisses, popular versions of the fall of Lucifer, reproduce tone and feeling of ages earlier than the 12th century, where these attributes of Christian doctrine are preserved; cf. O.E. Homilies edited by Morris (E. E. T. S.). It is possible that the hypothetical period allotted to the authorship of the Speculum finds terminus at one extreme by the date 1325. It is not probable that the poem was materially a later product, and it may be inferred that it was a much earlier composition. That conclusion will be in harmony with the history of associated Romance poems. Scott's protracted and tireless search for Thomas the Rhymer placed the composition of Sir Tristrem in 1250. Sir Beues's history begins with the 13th century, Kölbing, p. xxxviii.

Internal evidence of the poem, on basis of phonological and inflectional investigation, will probably demonstrate that the poem was not the product of a period earlier than 1250. Compare the chapters over Phonology and Inflection.
Chapter XVI.—Conjectured Authorship.

1. The lengthening of the short vowel in open syllables had already occurred. Whether this linguistic change immediately preceded or immediately followed 1250, the date of the composition of the Speculum must be associated with a later period.

2. O.E. à had passed into ã. This could not have occurred later than 1250; cf. Morsh., § 64, and Napier, Compassio Mariae, p. 84.

3. In harmony with these conclusions is the retention of final -ë in the language of the poet. This recurs with a fair degree of constancy. Compare the section over final -ë. The Speculum is an early production, yet naturally it does not represent a composition on the immediate boundary of the O.E. period, the weakening of the O.E. full vowel having occurred long before. On the other hand, it is to be conjectured that it may present an early phase in the history of the M.E. poetry.

4. Were the diphthongic character of e + o (ëoë), for example, to be regarded as an internal trait of the Speculum, that feature would attest to the antiquity of the original; cf. Napier, p. 86. The transition stage in the orthography ci, Strecype, 1. 305, suggests early condition of the language.

In conclusion,¹ it is to be said that the poem, the Speculum, must be ascribed to a period circa 1300. The limits seem certainly within the boundaries 1250—1325. The authority of the phonology of the text would justify the hypothesis of the existence of the poem even before the concluding years of the 13th century.

CHAPTER XVI.

AUTHORSHIP OF THE SPECULUM.

§ 1. Conjectured Authorship.

1. Lydgate. The Library Catalogue of the MSS. of the British Museum classifies the MS. Harley 525 (H₂) among texts of John Lydgate. Certain external evidence might tend to justify this arrangement. Metrical, grammatical, and dialectical features of the transcript preserved in MS. H₂, and particularly the name of the central figure of the narrative, suggest, at casual glance, Lydgate. Moreover, to ascribe the paternity of a M.E. poem to John Lydgate²

¹ A chapter on The Style of the Speculum could be appropriately introduced at this point; but the more conspicuous characteristics of the poem have demanded so full a discussion, that it seems wise to reserve the investigation for a special article.

² For the authentic works of Lydgate, see Schick, pp. cxii, and cliv, cvv.
Chapter XVI.—Conjectured Authorship. cxiii

is a fallacy of the age. It is a fallacy in this instance, for the author of the Speculum was probably dead before Lydgate was born. 1368 is the earliest year to which the birth of the monk of Bury is ascribed; 1370 is probably the more correct limit. The original poem of which MS. H₂ is a late transcript must certainly have been in existence in 1327, forty years and more before the advent into the world of “that approbate” priest, its reputed author. The poet must indeed be permitted the privilege of birth before that of authorship. Poeta nascitur non fit. Contrary to circumstantial evidence, history offers facts à priori not to be controverted. John Lydgate’s claim to the authorship of the Speculum is ungrounded. The argument is reductio ad absurdum on proof of the earliest MS. of the poem. It might be intimated, that the Catalogue of the Harleian collection be placed “under correction.”

2. Alquin versus Alcuin. The Speculum testifies concerning its authorship. Thus it is learned who wrote the sermon for Guy: “Alquin was his rihte name,” I. 39. Sir James Foulis, according to Ritson, A. E. M. R. I. p. xciii, explains that Alquin was “a Scotch Highlander.” On investigation it might seem that Sir James is a myth, as is his Scotchman. History provides no direct personality for these two gentlemen. In the records of the family Sir James Foulis, ancestor of the race, Burgess of London, died in 1549, and his grandson, Sir James Foulis, the last Lord Colinton, two generations removed, died in 1688; cf. the interesting records made public in The Account Book of Sir John Foulis of Ravenston, 1671—1707, by Rev. A. W. Cornelius, Edinb. 1894. Yet if Sir James cannot be identified in person, it is not impossible that Ritson refers to some

1 “The great names of literature have always been made the official fathers of unclaimed productions;” cf. Gollancz, Pearl, pp. xlv and xlv.
3 Schick, Temple of Glas, p. lxxxvii.
4 The circumstance is worthy of Lydgate. His search after opportunity for self-deprecatory phraseology is in attempted imitation, perhaps, of Chaucer, his “maister”; cf. Prologue to the Persones Tale, v. 56 (v. 17367, Tyrwhitt’s enumeration),

“(But natheles this meditacion)
I putte it ay vnder correcsion.”

Compare Schick’s discussion of the question, pp. cxli and cxlii, with quotation from Troilus, III, 1283, p. lxxv, “alle under correction.”
5 The figure of Sir James Foulis is to be recognized in the group of Scottish nobles, portrayed on the famous window adorning the parliamentary buildings, Edinburgh.
6 Cf. Genealogical Tables accompanying the Foulis Account Book.

SPEC. WARB.
descendant of the family of Foulis, whose members have long been influential in the affairs of Scotland. Although no literary record authorizes the testimony of Foulis, still Ritson's quotation might be based upon some personal communication. The statement accredited to Sir James may be accounted for on various grounds. The *Speculum* could easily be regarded as the product of the authorship of that Alquin or Alcuin of Britain, *nom de plume* of Jacob Ilive, who "went on a Pilgrimage to the Holy Land," and whose pseudo-translation into English of the *Book of Jasher* was published in 1751. Another hypothesis is, that Foulis might have been misled by the orthography. Finding a clue in a phonological test he might have conjectured the *-qu-* of Alquin to indicate Scotch origin. On the supposition of further investigation on the part of Foulis, Albinus, *Alc1uin Albinus Flaccus*, could have suggested to him a native of Alban or a home in Alban. In this manner Alquin (Alcuinus) could have been converted into a Scotchman without having ever trod the Alban soil. But these conjectures are not supported, for the language and vocabulary of the *Speculum* do not indicate Scottish source for the original poem. Ritson attempts to correct the error of Foulis, explaining that the Alquin here meant (i.e. in the *Speculum*) was Alquinus = Albinus Alcuinus, a Saxon-Engleishman at the court of Charlemagne; cf. A. E. *Metrical Romance*, p. xci. A blunder equally grave is involved in Ritson's explanation, for *Eadhurine* was, of course, no Saxon.

On the other hand, the underlying Latin text, *De Virtutibus et Vitiis Liber*, is by no means so conspicuous as source of the *Speculum* as to give to Alcuin, Alcuinus, Albinus Flaccus, who died in 804, preceptor of Charlemagne, any claim to the authorship of the present text. Rather the poem stands as an individual product. Its author, the poet, must be responsible for the entire composition.

3. The poet of *Ipotis* as author of the *Speculum*. Concerning alleged claim of the same authorship for the *Speculum* and for *Ipotis*, nothing is to be proved. On purely external evidence the personal

1 There seems to be no connection between the family of Sir James and that of the eminent Glasgow printers to the University, which has identified the name Foulis with immaculate prints of the classics. Robert Foulii's *Demetrius Phalerus on Eloquence*, 1742, the first Greek text printed in Glasgow, and the celebrated edition of *Horace*, 1744, have immortalized themselves in the memory of literati.

2 Cf. *Holy Scriptures*, Josh. x. 13; 2 Sam. i. 18.

3 No explanation occurs through Sir Henry Foulii's (Bart.) *Relation of a bloody fight*, etc.
Chapter XVI.—The Actual Author of the Speculum.

Character of the two poets is at the two diverging extremes of development. The same poet could have written the two poems only under different degrees of inspiration, or under varying conditions of life. *Ipotis* stands for a cruder nature, a narrower phase of experience. The artistic element is marked in the *Speculum*, but the poet of *Ipotis* permits all the machinery of his workmanship to be visible in rigid harshness.

As for internal tests, there are none of importance to cite. A few parallel passages are to be quoted; a few coincidences in construction can be traced. But no peculiar merit is to be ascribed to a common use of terms like the following (see Gruber, *Zu dem mittelenglischen Dialog 'Ipotis'*. Berlin, 1887): *herewen may wynne* (MS. D) 25, Spec. 5; *dedly synne* 26, Spec. 724; *herewen blyss* 30, Spec. 309—10; *in hys servysse* B 612, Spec. 36. Prayer Book descriptions of God, 11. 35—36, Spec. 207—10, the Trinity, 11. 54—57, Spec. 204—6, an account of the fall of Lucifer, 11. 106—108, Spec. 635—44, point to nothing startlingly original in mental activity. The rimes are ordinary and do not contribute evidence marking connection with the *Speculum*. Both poems account for authorship on weirdly impossible grounds. It will be remembered that the *Ipotis* attributes its source to the apostle John, a theory fallacious on its surface, as well as assured by the crude verse. The assumption is without the grounds for possibility that must be permitted the hypothesis of the *Speculum*. The charming fantasy discovering a personality for Guy of Warwick in Count Guido is not reproduced in the awkward assurance of verses 613—616:

"*Seynt Jon be evangelieste,*
Pat jëde in erje with Jesu Cryste,
*Dis talle he fond in latyn*
And dede it wrytte in parchemyn."—*Ipotis*, MS. B.

Nothing more striking can, it seems, be cited to clinch the argument of coincidence in the authorship of *Ipotis* and *Speculum*.

§ 2. The Actual Author of the Speculum.

"I know him by his harp of gold." 1

History has not revealed the name of the poet of the *Speculum*. Whether he be called Lydgate or Alcuin, or whether he remain a nameless spirit, his name is of secondary interest. The man is to be recognized through his work. As to his individuality, as represented

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in his character and his personality, his mirror reflects his own features. The poet belonged to the clergy, but he was no ordinary priest. He lived no humdrum life of ascetic severity. His horizon was broadened by gifts of homely personal sympathy for his flock. His heavens had midsummer clearness through the beautifying dignity of love to humanity. The poet illustrates forcibly the application of the Ars Poetica that tuned the classic lyre of Penshurst and Arcadia: sayde my Muse to mee, looke in thine heart, and write.

The minstrel's songs peopled for him a glowing world of fancy, a vision of the hero in generous deeds. The knowledge that he uniformly displays of the Holy Scriptures and of the works of the fathers, suggests preparation for the priesthood and recalls hours of study at some monastic school, some English Abbey like that of the Holy St. Martin in France, with “quiet cloisters and gardens, in which the arts of peace could be cultivated,” and where a gentle and pious brotherhood could “illumine a martyrlogy or carve a crucifix.”

The Speculum testifies to the worth and permanence of the individual; it reveals the story of a life. That life marks triumph over temptation, a longing for the mercy that the poet implores be given, a struggle after holy living, so that In holiness his lyf he lalde, l. 42. The poet has learned the lessons that he would teach, of fortitude, of patience, of hope, of faith, of trust. He has lived through the humility of confession. He has found joy and peace. Alcuin's Liber is for him no collection of well-dried statistics. On the contrary, it reproduces his own experience. He has developed character, that gives as well as receives, in sympathy and helpfulness. He has grown not narrowly in mind alone, but in heart, in breadth of soul, in all that for this period could make true and intelligent manhood.

Did this modest country priest take part in church controversy, his attitude must have been that of the humanitarian. His argument would be primarily the doctrine of enforcing principle through laws of Christian brotherhood. He would become the apostle of gentleness, of culture, of kindly speech, the optimistic apostle of joy, the mind at peace, for,2

"... gently comes the world to those
That are cast in gentle mould."

1 Cf. Macanlay.
2 It was not until a year after the present sketch had been completed, that the editor discovered that a similar theme had served as similar inspiration to Mr. Gollancz in his graceful "hypothetical biography" of the poet of Pearl. Cf. pp. xlvi, xlvii, xlviii.
Here gyuepe ye sermon
pat a clerk made pat was eleput Alquyn
To Gywy of Warwyk
Guy of Warwick, in deep remorse, would expiate his offences against God. He told his wish to Alquin, Dean of a religious brotherhood, and asked counsel for the welfare of his soul. The holy friar prepared a sermon, in which he instructed Guy how to discriminate between virtue and vice. The discourse unfolds principles of spiritual growth through a twofold medium, the renunciation of evil and the achievement of good. Alquin concludes with an appeal for benevolence, which is enforced by an account of the incident of the widow of Zarephath.
Hearken! 
And hele of soule i may ou teche. 
Dat i wole speke, it is no fable, 
Ac hit is swype profitable. 
Man, if þu wolt heuene winne, 
þurw lone to god þu most biginne. 
þus shal ben þi beginnynge: 
þu lone god ouer alle ping 

And þin emeristene lone also, 
Riht as þi-self[e] þu most do. 
If þu wolt þus biginne and ende, 
þu miht be seker to heuene wende; 
Ac, if þu louest more worldes god 
þan god him-self[e] in þi mod, 
þu shalt hit finde an yuel plawe: 
To deþ of soule it wole þe drawe, 

For, whan þe world þe haþ ikauht 
In¹ his paunter þurw his draught, 

For the title, see the Introduction. The numbering of the folio follows the Auchinleck MS. The character * reproduces the paragraphing of the Auchinleck text. 1 to 8 into DH₂. 2 And] om. D. may] wyll A₂DH₁HH₂R. 3 no] not R. 4 Ac] Bot DH₂R. For H₁, swipe] ful H₁R, very gode & H₂. Between 4 and 5 the following three lines are interpolated in H₂: 

For the sowlys saluacyowne 
Who soo that heryth þis serumone 

* Inicium sapirnicie timor domini (Cp. H₂ in l. 138.) 

¹ MSS. A₁ and A₂ have and in.
A Tale of Guy of Warwick

Al at his wille he wolde pe lede.
Ne shaltu spare for no drede,
Ne for loue to god, ne for his eize,
To gon out of pe rihte weye;
† For swiche [per] beʒ, pat loueþ more
pe world and his foule lore,
Þan þeih don god, pat hen mereþte
And on þe rode [hem] dere bouhte.
† Her-of i wolde a while dwelle,
I wish to tell
of an earl,
Guy of Warwick,
how he for-
sook the world,
and chose
God,
A devout
man,
Alquin,
lived then,
of whom
Guy
† Off him þe eorl was wel war,
þe periwys his wille to him [he] bar,

And of him he tok his red,
To kepyn his soul from that qued.

On a day, i vnderstonde,
Sire Gy þe eorl sente his sonde
To þe holi man Alquin
And seide: ‘[I] grete þe wel, fader myn,
And preie þe for goðes loue,
þat us alle sit aboue,
þat pu wole, par charite
And in amendement of me,

Make me a god sarmoun
And don hit write in lesczoun:
þat were my ioye and my delit
And to my soule a gret profyt;
For þe world þurw his foule gile
Hap me lad to longe while.
þer-of i wole consail take,
Hu i mihte þe world forsake.’

Alquin þe eorl þo answerede,
And Iesu Crist ful þerne he heriede,
þat swich a wit was comen him to
And seide: ‘His preie i wole do.’
‘And, [sethen] i shal be þi leche,
Aller first i wole þe teche,
Faire wertuz for to þ take
And foule þewes to forsake.

Jet maitou noth don, lene broþer,
Bote þu knewe on and oþer,

I shal þe now shewe hope,
Whiche þeþ gode and whiche þeþ lope;

First,  
76  
To win grace  
he taught  
the virtues in order.
Wisdom  
shall be thine,
also faith,  
love,
steadfast  
hope, meekness, peace,  
mercy, forgiveness,  
patience, humility.

Repent!

In penitence  
confess.

Give in charity to thy life's end.

Wisdom in godes drede
Vse wel, þat be my rede;
Trewe bileue and charite—
þise sholen bileue wid þe—
Stedefast hope and micknesse,
þes, merci, and forþifnes,
Lowe of herte, ful of pite,
þat is verray humilitie.
And þu wolt hane godes ore,
þit þu most vse more,
For þi sinne repentunce,
And redi þerfore to don penaunce
Wid sorwe at þin herte rote,
And shrife of moþe shall be þi bote.
In almes dede and charite
þi lyf shal enere more be.

þise þeþ þeþeþes, þat i þeþ teche,
Wharþpurw þu mihte to heuene reche,
And so þu miht þeþeþe world forsake,
If þu wolt hem to þeþeþe take.'

75 and 76 are transposed in A₂. 75 þe now shewe] shewe to þe now H₁, the shewe nowe hem H₂. 77 And at] And A₂, At H₁. wole] sal D. 79 i wole] þat I wyll A₂, I sal D, fyrsste I wylle H₂, first] sow H₂. shewe] chewe (Before chewe space is left for an s.) D. 80 Whiche] þe wyche D. alle on] now o D, al in H₁, ypon A H₂, on a R. 82 be my] I þe D, is my R. Between 82 and 83 are the following two lines in A₂ (Cp. A₂ in ll. 140, 141, and 142.):

Twey þynggys it wyll þe tech
Whare þorow þou myȝt to heuen reche
And of Vices.

1. The final e is above the line in MS. A. 1.
2. MS. A 1 has itc.
3. Read pisternesse.
The Sermon to Guy

The points two ways to heaven:

Hearken to my sermon!

Wisdom

Wrote he the lust, Iudas born,
For purw pat sinne he was lorn;
Merci he les purw pat sinne,
Wher-purw he ne mihto no ioye winne.

Hasten!

Flee that sin.

To fleen pat sinne bi his mihte
And alle opere pat i haue nempt,
If he wole to ioye be dempt.Æ

The rewards are mercy and peace.

I counsel yche man with al his myyte H1,
Enyry man behouythe in lyys sytse H2.


1 Read sede.
2 Read þerwilp.
Teaches of Wisdom,

¶ pis wonder of many sinful men,  
pat pinkep it were muche\(^1\) for hem  
To have gret worldes honour  
As londes, rentes, halle, and bour,  
Riche vessel of siluer and gold  
And gret tresor and faire bold,  

¶ Riche mete and riche drink[e],  
And litel perfoure to swinke[e],  
Hele of bodi in bon and huide,  
And gret los of pompe and pride.  
A murie lyf hem pinkep pis were,  
But eft hit worp ibouht [ful]\(^2\) dere,  

Quia nihil\(^3\) in-felicitus, quam felicitas  
pecatoris.

\(\text{N}a\)peles hit may falle wel,  
pat, pouh man haue muche katel  
As londes, rentes, and oþer god,  
3it\(^4\) he may be pore of\(^5\) mod  
And low of herte, ful iwis,  
And halt þerof ful litel prys.

¶ Ac nu i wol speke and rede  
Of hem, þat i erere seide,\(^6\)

149 pis] pis is A\(_2\). It es D, Thys ys a H\(_2\). of many] is of mony R.  
sinful] om. DH\(_2\), a synful R. men] man DR. 150 it were] om. A\(_2\). 152 As]  
As in D, om. H\(_2\). 154 gret] oþer H. and faire bold] faire and bold A\(_2\)H\(_2\),  
manyfolde H\(_1\). 155 2d riche] goode H\(_1\). 156 litel] leþe D. 157 Ifelic]  
also of H\(_2\). 159 pis] ytte H\(_1\). 160 eft] om. D, after H\(_1\)H\(_2\). worp] shal be  
H\(_1\), wylle be H\(_2\), mot be R. [ibouht] abought A\(_2\)D, bohte H\(_1\)H\(_2\)R. After 160  
are the following two lines in H\(_2\):  

Where be thoo þat thynkye þere vpon  
I cane nott telle be scynte John

\(\text{Latin: The Latin text is inserted between 158 and 159 in R. Quia nihil!} Quia nihil! QUI  
R. in-felicitus] infelicitus A\(_2\), felicitus R. felicitas A\(_2\), vita R. 161  
Naþeles] Neuer þe lese A\(_2\)H\(_2\), but no þo lesse R. falle] be fall H\(_2\), bifalle R.  
162 pat] om. H\(_2\)R. (Space is left for one word in H\(_1\)) man] a man A\(_3\)DR,  
men H\(_1\), ssuman H\(_2\), muche] ryzt muchill H\(_2\). 163 As londes] Londes  
londes (The second londes is marked for erasure.) D. 165 low] ful lowe DR.  
ful] om. DR, fully H\(_1\), and fulle H\(_2\) iwis] wyse H\(_2\). 166 halte] hane H\(_2\),  
ful] om. A\(_2\)H\(_1\)R. (lytill is over erasure in H\(_2\)) 167 and 168 are transposed  
in D. 167 Ac] And also A\(_2\), and DH\(_2\). But H\(_2\)R, nu i wol] now I sal D,  
I wil now H\(_1\), and rede] om. A\(_2\). 168 hem] whom D. erere] are A\(_2\)D, before  
H\(_1\)R, eere of H\(_2\).

1 muchel is in MS. A\(_1\).  
2 MS. A\(_1\) has wel.  
3 The MSS. have nihil.  
4 it is on the margin before he in MS. A\(_1\).  
5 of is above the line in MS. A\(_1\).  
6 Read sede.
And Reveals

are in peril, 

pat purw here pride and here wil
pëih fallen ofte in gret peril.
Seint Austin halt þer-mide noht
And seiþ, it shal ben dere bouht,
And skilfulliche it mot be so,
For, when a man hap sinne do,
Opær he mot hit beten here
Or suffre pine elles where.

and they

must alone.

The gracious

love of God

Wole 3e here, what louverede
God kudde to¹ hem pat wole² him drede? [{He wyn] hem here hold[e] lowe,
For pei schold hym pe better knawe³;]
He wole hem styled wi' smale pining
And maken hem lese þat hote brenning;
And many anguisse he wole hem þine
To suffre here, whiles þeih liue,

grants chas-tenings, anguish,

hunger, thirst,

earthly losses,

These in-crease heav-en's joys,

To a hunger and þurst and travaile strong;
Hij sholen haue euere among
Lore of catel and seknisses,⁴
And al is to cethen here blisse.

Man, if þu (ne) leuest noht me,


⁵ pe better for he sull hym knowe D.
The bettyr for jey shulde hym knowe H₂.


¹ to is above the line in MS. A₁.
² Before w one letter has been erased in MS. A₁.
³ Read knowe.
⁴ Read seknisse.
A Creed for Guy.

11

pu sek aboute, and pu miht se
isse holi men alle bidene,
How peih lindele in wo and tene.
And, if my tale nys noth for-3ete,

pat pe worldes blisse is noth,
When pu hast abouten souht;

For, 3if a man haþ her his wille,
Wel lihtliche he may spille.
Her i wole nonþe blinne.

De Fide.

Anoþer ping i wole biginne
To speke, man, of þi bileeue,
For hit is god, it wole noht greue.
Man, þi bileeue shal be so:

pat o god is and no mo,
hat o god is in vnite,
þre persones in trinite.

þu shalt, [man], bileue also
And treuliche in þin herte do,
þat god had neuere biginning
Ne neuere (ne) shal haue ending,

And shappere is of alle shaftes,
And þeue þ wit in allc craftes,

Pe which is in persones þree
And oo god in trinitee


1 Read forjite. 2 One letter has been erased before 3 in MS. A1. 3 One letter is erased after it in MS. A1. 4 re is above the line in MS. A1.
And made man after his own face—
Nas hat gret loue of heih[e] grace? 216
And 3af to man fre power
To chese, bope fer and ner,
Off god and yuel shed to make,
be euel to late and god to take.
Wheiper he wole chese, he hap power
purw zijte of god, while he is her;
panne is hit noht on god ilong,
If man wole chese to don wrong.

Adam was pe forme man,
hat euer singyn began,
And hat was god to wite noht,
berfore hit hap ben dere boult.
God 3af him wit as his own,
God and yuel for to known, 228
Ac purw eging of pe fe审核 and Eue
He dede a sinne hat gan him grene.

Vnoxonnesse was his gilt,
berore out of paradys he was [pylt].
Boxomere he was to his wif,
pan to god hat 3af him lyf;
And, for he dede after hire lore,
He bouhte hit sippen swipe sore,
His fredom was binomen him al
And put in servage as a þral, 41 b


1 pylt is supplied from MS. A₁. was is the last word of the line in MS. A₁. gilt seems a deeper black than what precedes, suggesting that it may have been added later.
Nor the one, but alle þo

<table>
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God's pity
and love
saved mankind.

God became man,
and shed His
heart's blood
on the cross,
died, was
buried,
rose the third
day,
ascended into
heaven,
sits at His
Father's
right hand.

On Dooms-
day

There

And
he
257
to
248

And

To man, þat he himselfe made,
To saune man, man he bacam,
And pine for hem to him he nam,
And þat for hem his herte bloed,
And deide for hem on þe rod.

Ibiried he was, in¹ tumbe he lay,
Til hit com þe pridde day;
Vp he rote þe pridde day
From deþ to line wid-oute nay;
To heuene he steid þurw his minte,
Riht in-to his faderes sihte,
And sit on his faderes riht[†] side,
þe grete dom for to abide.

Iþer he wole come on domesday,
Cruwel and sterne wid-oute nay,

He þat woned to be
Meke as a lomb, ful of pite:
þeder he wole withen adoun
Wrapþful and sterne as a houn.
Merci nele he shewe non,

251 and 252 are omitted in H₃.
251 reads in A₂: And rose for soth als I sow sav.

¹ There is an erasure after in MS. A₁.
The Terrors of Hell.

If Ac, rhit after pat man hap don,
He shall fone his ingement
To ioye or to strong turment.

Allas! what sholen hij onne take,
Pat wolden [here] her god forsake
Purw sinne of fles[c]h[ly] likening,
And wolde hit bete wid no pining?
Per-fore peih sholen in-to helle,
Wheiper peih wolen, or peih nelle,
And peere bileue[n] euere mo,
In [as] strong pine as men may do.
Seint Austin spekep of alle swiche
And seip wordes [ful] reuliche:

Habet mortem sine morte
et finem mortis sine fine.

shall suffer death without dying,

Hij sholen euere more duire
In stronge pine of hote fire.
Her i Wolfe noupe dwelle,
And of mur[y]ere jinge [i Wolfe] you telle.

265 He shal] They shalle [pan H₂, pai shall R. - fonge] a fonge D, take H₂R.
his] om. A₂, here H₂R. ingement] verament (MS. indistinct) A₂. 266 or to] or els H₂. turment] tournement DH₂. 267 what] how A₂DH₂H₂R. hij] [ei A₂DH₂H₂R. omne] [on on H₂. 268 here her god] her god A₂D₂DR, here god here H₂, here here lorde H₂. 269 of] of here H₂. 271 sholene] shulde go H₁, shul wende R. into til R. '272 or jeih] or A₂. 272 is omitted in R.
In its place is the following line: nyl [pai wil [pai pere to dwelle. 273 bilenen] be lenyu H₂ euere] for uer H₁H₂R. 274 as] also A₂, om. DR, als H₂.

1 263 is written twice in MS. A₁. The second time it is crossed out.
2 MS. A₁ has fleshes.
3 MS. A₁ mursere.
Tellen i wole ful iwis
Off pe ioyes of paradys,
Whiche godes children, pat gode be,
Sholen haue and ise;
Ac, pouh i hadde in my bayli[e]
pe wit of alle clergy[e],
but God's children

Mihte hit neure so bifalle,
pat i mihte telle[n] alle.
Ac, also god ȝif me grace,
I shal you shewe in pis place,
What ioie peih sholen han ifere,
pat seruen god on eorpe here.

Whan peih sholen parten henne,
Ful wel peih sholen here weie kenne
Riht to pe blisse of paradys,
pat god hap zarked to alle his.

There is euere ioye inouh
And euere riht widouten wouh,
Wit and kunning and kointise,
And trewe lone widoun[t]1 feintise,
Streinc[e] inouh and fairnesse,
And liht wid-outen pisternesse.
there to dwell
[For] al here wilde shall ben fulfilt:
Hij sholen haue, mid iwisse,
shall know their way
to paradise,


1 MS. A_1 on.
There poor and riche togeth,

each hath his dwelling, after his own deserving.

The least in God's kingdom hath perfect joy.

There in Eternity and the Joy

Fulle ioye and fullisse, !

Bope þe pore and þe riche,

Ac, wete þu wel, noht alle iliche.

Euerich shall have his woniþ[ing]

Riht after his owen deserving;

Ac lat hit noht come in þi þouht,

þat any of hem shal wanten ouht,

For he þat hap lest in þat woniing

Hap fulle ioye ouer alle þing.

Þerfore, man, in al þi miht,

þu loue wel god bi day and niht:

þe inwardlichere þu louest him her,

Þe more shal ben þi ioye þer.

Herkne nu alle to me,

For i woole speken of charite.

Off alle uertuz hit is hext,

And godes wille hit is next.

3if þu wolt wite [what] hit be,

Herken, and i woole telle þe:

Hit is, loue god ouer alle þing,

In þouht, in dede, and in speking.

And, if þu wolt enere come þerto,

An-þoper þing þu most do:

þu most loue, lu-so hit be,

þin emoristene forþ wid þe.

Þ Man, woltou make a god prouing,


1 wonjîng in MS. A.
Of True Love.

Wher þu loue þe heunene king?
If þu louest god ful iwis,
þu [wolt] louen alle his.

Si non diligis proximum tuum, quem uides, deum quem non uides, quomodo potes diligere?¹

For men seïp sop, bi wit[ec] myne:
‘Whoso loue me, he loue myne.’
‘But þu loue [þyn em]² cristene þat bi þe be,
þat alday [þou]³ mait hem ise,
Hou maïton loue god, i ne can denne,
Whom þu miht sen on none wyse!’

Þis seïp sein Powel and berep witnesse,
As he may wel in sop[e]nesse.
Abraham him sauli, ac þu [nost] noht hou!
Herkne, i wolde þe telle nowh:
In tokne it was, i telle þe,
Off þe holî trinite.


Whom þou maïste see echþ day wiþ yeþe H₁.
That alday wyth hem mayste speke & see H₂.


¹ MS. A₁ has dilegere. ² MS. A₁ has þe. ³ MS. A₁ omits þon.

SPEC. WAR.
Visions of the Godhead,

Moses saw God

in the bush, burning but not consumed,
symbol of the pure maidenhood of Mary.

Others have seen God,

but no man hath seen Him in His Divinity


1 liche a is over erasure in MS. A₁. 2 no o is over erasure in MS. A₁. 3 Read here. 4 MS. A₁ omits Ne.
One letter has been erased after he in MS. A1.  

2 Read miche.
Nay, noman mihte don þat dede:
þat is preued and ishewed
God to lerel and to lerel.

Hanne maiton þenke: 'Hu mai þis be?
Ne shal no man god ise?'

Yes, yes,
†Ius, ius, bi my beaute!
Herkne, and i wole telle þe:
þif þu wolde sen in þi siht
God of heuene, þat is so briht,
Vnderstond nu what i mene—
þu most ben of herte clene,
In word, in dede, and in þouht,
þat þu ne be ifled noht;
For god self seide in sop[e]hesse—
þe godspel þerof bereþ[1] witnesse:
Beati mundo[2] corde, quoniam ipsi deum
uidebunt.
þis is to seie, i telle þe:
þe clene of herte, blessed þeih be;
For, at þe heie dom sikerliche
þeih sholen se god' aperteliche,
In his godhede and in his blisse,
Off which þeih sholen nevere misse.

†Hanne sholen þeih here, herkne nouþe,
A blisful word of godes mouþe,

Herken & herke what I wil say

1 MS. A₁ has bereþ þerof. 2 MS. A₁ mondo.
And to the Condemned.

[Which shall not be to hem vncowepe, For god shall sey it with his mowepe :]

Venite, benedicti patris mei.] 'Come, mine blessed fere,
that my fader bep leue and dere!
In-to my blisse ye sholen wende,
that lastep euere wid-outen ende,
And euere more per to wonne
Wid pe fader, and wid pe sone,
And wid pe holi gost in vnite,
that is pe holi trinite.'

'And [3e], cursedest gostes, goth anon,
that sholen ben dampered euereichon!'
here hij sholen him sen also,
Ac al shal ben for here wo ;
For toward hem he wole turne

Bope wrapful and eke sterne,
And namlich to pat eumpanigne
that slowen him purw ennue,
And kene nailes driuen ek
purw his honden and his fet,
And þere þeih sholen se sopliche,
His grishi wounden openliche,
þat þeih deden hemeselne make.
For drede þij sholen þanne quake ;
þanne wole god to hem seie
Wid sterne voiz and wid heie :

421 and 422 are omitted in A1A2H1R. The Latin is omitted in A1A2H1R.

1 MS. benedictæ. 2 MS. A1 has þe.
447 and 448 have the following readings in H₁ and in H₂:

3e cursyd gostis fro me goþ
For to my fadir & me 3e bëp ful loþ H₁.
Waryed gostys 3e are me lothe
Gothe in to sorowe & care bothe H₂.

449 In-to þe] In to A₂R. And evene in to H₂. stronge] stykynge H₁. om. H₂. [fyr] payne A₂. pytte H₂. 450 Æuere more] And enere more A₁H₁. Withoutynde H₂. for ener more R. [per] þeer in A₂. here for to H₁. 451 and 452 are omitted in H₂. 453 Þe] for Þe han R. [serued] have a seruid H₁. her] hyere A₂H₁. 453 al fro 3ou] now alle H₂. gon] I gonne H₂. 454 Whij on] on A₂H₂. hadde Þe] ne hadde 3e D. Þe hadden R. Between 454 and 455 are the following two lines in H₂:

Whan 3ower power was full welle
I sente I nowe of everyde


1 ne is above the line in MS. A₁.
2 Read fer.
3 þe is above the line in MS. A₁.
Though grievous the burden, he be not in despair, be steadfast.

Daily in confession and tears, hope for mercy.

Delay not to do good.

Be ready.

Though sad the burden, to winne Godes merci of his sinne

And redi perfore to don penaunce.

Wid grete sinnes heuie and1 sore,

He ne shal despeire neuere pe more, Ac sopfast hope hau, to winne Godes merci of his sinne 

Hau shiffte of mouPe and repentance, And redi perfore to don penaunce.

3if pu dost pus, bi day and niht,

Put al2 pin hope in god almihit, And tristi hope to him pu hane, hat he pe wolde helpe and saue.

Herkne, what i wolde seie noupe,

For hit com out of godes mouPe:

Vbi te in=venio, ibi3 te indicabo, 'Man, riht þere as i pe finde,

Riht þere i wolde pe iuge and binde.'

Allas, what sholen hij þanne do, þat beþ ifounde in sorwe and wo,

þat wolde noht hemselne shrifie,4

While þeih mihte in here lüne! perfere, man, i warne þe:

Loke, þat þu pe bise,

þat þu be euere redi and þare

Out of þis world for to fare;

For sikor noman wite ne may,

Whanne shal ben his ending day.

¶ perfere þenk ofte in drede


1 and is above the line in MS. A1.
2 al is above the line in MS. A1.
3 One letter has been erased before ibi in MS. A1.
4 484 and 485 are over erasure in MS. A1.
In Christ's Gospel.

God said: Let us find the word of God in our heart, and in our reading, we shall find it.

Pray often. Let us speak with the Holy Writ, where knowledge is revealed.

Seek peace. Let us make peace with God, for in our prayer, we shall hear Him speak.

God hath proclaimed a blessing to the peacemaker.

1 Off pis word, pat god seide: 2 Off pere me finde, i wole pe bunde:

Lat ofte pat word ben in pi mynde!

Man, if pu wolt pe world forsake, And Iesu Crist to pe take,

pu most ben ofte in orisoun And in reding of leszoun.

Wis us god spekein, when we rede Off him and of his goddele,

And we wid him, ful iris,

When we him bisekein pat riht is.

Holi writ is oure myour,

In whom we sen al vre socour,

And, if we hit wolen vnderstone,

we muwen sen and fonge,

To hau of god pe knowelache,

Bope in pouhte[we] and in speche.

And, if pu wolt hau of loue

Off god, pat is in heuen aboue,

pu most ben euere in god acord,

In pes and loue, and hate descord,

And ben aboute wid al pi miht,

To make pes bi day and niht;

For Iesu Crist hit seip ful wel,

As we hit vinden in godspel:

Beat pacifici, quoniam filii Dei no-

cabuntur.


If we vnderstond it welle

pere may we se every delle.


1 word is corrected from world in MS. A1. 2 Read sede. 3 Read knowelache.
A so† word hit is and no les:
‘I blessed be þat makeþ pes;’
Hij ounten to ben honoured alle,
For ‘godes children men shal hem calle.’
† Man, if þu wolt to me herkny,
Nu i wole speken of merci.
† So†[e]liche, wid-oute fable,
Man, þu most ben merciable.
On Iesu Crist þenk witerli,
Hou he deiede for merci,
† And al for he wolde merci hane
Off hem þat wolde merci cræne;
For, ar he deiede in flesh and bon,
Merci was þer neure non.
† Bi þis ensaunple þe muwen se,
Merciable for to be.
3if þi neiheboure misdop þe,
More or lasse wheþer hit be,
Or in dede, or in vbbreid,
Or wid word þe hap misseid,
And he þe-after of-þpineþ sore
And þer-of criþ þerci and ore,
For-þif hit him for godes loue,
þat us alle sit aboue!
† And, if þu wolt no merci hane
Off him þat dop þe merci cræne,
Merci getestu neure non
Off trespas, þat þu hast idon;

Of Forgiveness.

For god it seip in his godspel—
ponge men may finde it ful wel— 548

† 'Alswich met as þu metest me,
Alswich i wole mete to þe.'

[For þeone, þou man, for þe lone of me,
And I wyll for þe lone of þe.] 552

Nym god þeone, man. þu sist
In þi paternoster, what þu bist:

Et dimitte nobis debita nostra, sicut
et vos etc.

Pray: 'Sweet God, forgive my guilt,
as I forgive.'

To the cruel

† And þu, þat art so cruel in þouht
And wolt to merci herkne noht,
What wole hit [þe] helpe in eny stede
þe holi paternoster bede?
Noht, if i dar it seie,
For æsein piself[e] þu dost preie,
564

† And þe holi bok of so[e]nesse
þer-of bereþ god witnesse
And seip: 'He þat wole no merci haue,
On ydel dôp he merci craue.' 568
Of Patience.

In patientia\(^1\) vestra possidebitis\(^2\) animas vestras.

Houre swete lord in his speche
Hise deciples began to teche
And bad hem ben of god suffraunce
In alle manere destourbanece.

\[\text{If } \text{p} \text{e art sek in flesh and blod,}\]
\[\text{pu most ben meke and polemod}\]
\[\text{And penk[e] pat god it pe sende,}\]
\[\text{bi seli soule to amende.}\]

\[\text{If } \text{p} \text{u hast lore of pi catel,}\]
\[\text{Bi\(\text{p}\)enk pe \(\text{p}\)anne swipe wel,}\]
\[\text{pat of \(\text{p}\)i-self[e] haddestu noht,}\]
\[\text{But as hit was purw god iwrouht;}^3\]
\[\text{And, if god it wole from pe take,}\]
\[\text{pu ne shal} \text{p} \text{erfore no gruching make,}\]

\[\text{Ac suffre al godes wille}\]
\[\text{Bo\(\text{p}\)e lude and eke stille.}\]

\[\text{And, if} \text{p} \text{e falle\(\text{p}\) travaile on honde,}\]
\[\text{Or pine of body, or shame in londe,}\]
\[\text{Off al \(\text{p}\)is \(\text{p}\)u most suффraunt be,}\]
\[\text{\(\text{p}\)ouh \(\text{p}\)e pinke, hit greue \(\text{p}\)e.}\]
\[\text{\(\text{p}\)enk hou Iesu in-to e\(\text{p}\)e cam,}\]
\[\text{And \(\text{p}\)olede pine and shame for man,}\]
\[\text{And foule was perto misseid,}\]

Our sweet
Lord taught
his disciples
patience.

In sickness,
be meek and
content.

Know that it
is to help thy
poor soul.

Mourn not
loss of pos-
sessions.

Of thy-elf
haide thou
nothing:
all is God's
gift.

What God
hath ordered,
must bright.

Be not re-
gretful,
God's will is
best.

In distress,
pain, dis-
grace,

be still.

Remember
the agony,
the vilo
words,

\(570 \text{ began to} \) \dagger \text{ he gan to } A_2, \) \text{ he con R.} \quad \text{571 and 573 are transposed in R.}
571 \text{ And} [\text{he R.} \] \text{ bad} \] \text{ om. D.} \quad 572 \text{ alle} \] \text{ enyer D. destourbanece} \] \text{ of disturb-
annece D. disesse or chanuce H;} \quad 573 \text{ and} \] \text{ or D.} \quad 574 \text{ most} \] \text{ salt D. and} \]
\text{ om. R. polemod} \] \text{ pole mod } A_2, \] \text{ pole } \text{ pi mode D,} \] \text{ and lowe of mode } H, \] \text{ in al}
\text{ pi mode R.} \quad 575 \text{ it be} \] \text{ he it A_2,} \quad 576 \text{ to} \] \text{ for to } H, \quad 577 \text{ lore} \] \text{ lose } A_2 H_1 R,
\text{ hire D.} \quad 578 \text{ Bie\(\text{p}\)enk} \] Loke & vm\text{think R.} \text{ janne} \] \text{ man H,} \] \text{ om. R.}
\text{ 579 haddestu} \] hast \text{ pou} \] \text{ (or Last in } A_2) \] \text{ A_2 D,} \] \text{ pou haddest hit R.} \quad 580 \text{ iwrouht} \]
\text{ (bouzt D,} \] \text{ wroght R.} \quad 581 \text{ it wole from} \] \text{ weil it fro } A_2 R, \] \text{ wil fro } \text{ pe it } H, \quad 582 \text{ ne} \] \text{ om. H,R.} \quad \text{ perfore} \] \text{ it per of D.}
\text{ 583 Ac} \] \text{ Bot A_2 H_1 R,} \] \text{ And D.} \quad 584 \text{ Bo} \(\text{p}\)e] \text{ What ene er do bop } H, \] \text{ eke} \] \text{ om. H,} \quad 587 \text{ Off} \] \text{ al } \text{ pis } \text{ pu most} \] \text{ Of}
\text{ pis } \text{ pou most } D, \] \text{ pou muste in al } \text{ pis } H, \] \text{ suффraunt} \] \text{ suффraand } A_2 D H_1 \] \text{ (before}
\text{ most} \] R. \quad 588 \text{ pouh } \text{ be} \] \text{ ze } \text{ pou } H, \] \text{ pou } \text{ pou R.} \quad 589 \text{ Iesu} \] \text{ Iesu Criste D}
\text{ 590 polede} \] suффred H, \] \text{ for mon tholyd } R, \] \text{ for maual } \text{ om. R.} \quad 591 \text{ was}
\text{ perto} \] \text{ bere was } R. \quad 591 \text{ and 592 are omitted in } H, \] \text{ In their place are the}
\text{ following two lines:}

\[\text{And many a fowle worde sufferd he } \text{bere}\]
\[\text{Bo} \(\text{p}\)e scornyngis and lesinungis on hym } \text{ Jey bere}\]

\(^{1}\) MS. A\(_{1}\) reads paciena.

\(^{2}\) bitis is written below the line in MS. A\(_{1}\).

\(^{3}\) The line is punctuated here with a period in MS. A\(_{1}\).
Concerning Martyrdom

And many a scorn on him leid,
Wid-oute gruching he held him stille,
And polede hit al wid milde wille,

And all he dede for vre sake,
For we sholde ensample take
To be suffraunt in eueri stede,
Riht as vre lord himselfe dede.

If man wrong thee, be not sad,
Dop pe wrong on corpe her,
Jenk in pin herte, i preie pe,
Off pe wrong and pe vilte,
Bat men to Iesu Crist dede
Here on corpe in many stede,

And hou he polede hit mildeliche,
Al fior pi lone, sikerliche.
On ensample of him pu nim,
To suffer wrong for pe lone of him ;
For, i dar seu sof[e]liche,
He may be martyr, treweliche,
Wid-oute shedding of mannes blod,
Bat may ben here polemod,

To suffer wrong and vurriht
For pe lone of god almaht :
Ae swich a fiht is vnneþ,
For aþe in pe kinde hit gep.


1 is above the line in MS. A1.
Whiȝt for þe kinde of þi manhede
Wolde haue wreche of wrongfûl dede;
Ac of Iesu tak þi minde,
And fylt æsein þin owen kinde,
And þu shalt haue for þi goddede
Off martyrdom þe heie mede.
Ac þu, fersse man, þat art so stout,
And heih of mod, and herte proud—
He wolde bowe for noping
To man, ne to heene king—

And he þat wolde hym heinen here,
þat nele be meke in none manere,
In litel and he shalt hit knowe
And falle þerfore swyçe lowe.

Qui se exaltat, humiliabitur, et qui
se humiliat, exaltabitur.
þe milde þurw [her] humilite
Ful heie honoured þeih sholen be;
For þeih[3] sholen be drawn on heih

And pride, it is so foul a last,
þat out of heene he was cast.
þu shalt wel wite, þat i ne lieþ,
For Lucifer [with] his campaignye,
[Out of heen, þat was so bryste,
In to helle for pride he toke his flýste.]
through pride.

And so he wole don alle and some,

\[\text{pride in pride be inome.}\]

[Nowe be you were, you prode gome,
\[\text{proue ne be in prude enome.}\]

Cast hit awaye, i wolde ye rede,

Er of strong pine ye may drede;

\[\text{For siker, and ou be nomen perinue,}\]

Heuene maite neuere wizne,

Pride drags to hell.

And ofer weye is yer non,

Butte to heuene or to helle gon.

\[\text{panne do bi consail and bi red,}\]

And overcon ye foule qued,

\[\text{bat fonchip ye on vch a side,}\]

\[\text{ye to holde in pi pride.}\]

\[\text{Ac, if you cou?est knowe and se}\]

For no?ing you noldest shone,

\[\text{Ac hit sholdre enere wid ye wone;}\]

Off alle uertuz it is hext,

Sein Gregory herefo beree witnes,

Qui sine humiliitate virtutes e teras

congregat, est quasi, qui in vento

puluerem portat.

\[\text{641 and 642 are omitted in H}_{1}. \quad 641 \text{ gan} dyde D, con R. \quad 642 \text{ pine} \text{ pyt}\]

D, hem] peyme A_{2}, to om. A_{2}, R. \quad 643 \text{ And so} So R. \quad he] pei A_{2}, om. H_{1},

wolde done] shalle do by H_{1}, and some] men R. \quad 644 \text{ inome] } \quad \text{taken} R. \quad 645 

and 646 are omitted in A_{3}, D. \quad 645 \text{ No} \text{e be you} ] \text{en be H}_{1}, \text{ Now be R. } \text{ done}]

grome R. \quad 646 \text{ ne be] be not H}_{1}, \text{ om. R. } \text{ enome] } \text{ inome H}_{1}, \text{ be not nome R.} \quad 647 

wolde] sal D, om. H_{1}. \quad 618-653 are omitted in A_{2}. \quad 648 \text{ Er of strong} \text{ Or}

of stronger H_{1}, or elles of strong R. \quad ] \text{you DH}_{1}, R. \quad 649 \text{ siker} \text{ sikerly R.}

nomen] fonade H_{1}, tame R. \quad 650 \text{ maite} \text{ myst you D.} \quad 651 \text{ per] per neuer H}_{1},

652 to hel}e] helle you mast H_{1}, helle R. \quad 653 \text{ panne} \text{ Man D. } \text{ bi] be my D.}

and bi] and be my D. \quad 654 \text{ pe] fat A}_{2}. \quad 655 \text{ ou} in A_{2}, vch} \text{ ilk R. } \text{ a side}

syde DH_{1}. \quad 656 \text{ pe to holdre} ] \text{For to holdere A}_{2}, Tho holde you D. \quad For to hold}

\[\text{he H}_{1}, \text{R. } \text{bi] om. R.} \quad 657 \text{ Ac} \text{ For A}_{2}, \text{ And DH}_{1}, \text{ But R. } \text{ coupest] kowdest H}_{1}, \text{ and}]

or R. \quad 659 \text{ ou noldest] noldest you A}_{2}, \text{ you not it } D, \text{ woltested it H}_{1}, \text{ you}

woldist hit R. \quad 660 \text{ Ac} \text{ For A}_{2}, \text{ And D, But H}_{1}, R. \quad 661 \text{ hext] yo hext R.}

662 And] And at A}_{2}. \quad 663 \text{ perof beree] beree youer A}_{2}, beree D. \quad 664 \text{ soleneses}

mokenesse D. \quad Latin: es] et D, om. H_{1}, R. \quad qui] om. A_{2}, R, quem D. \quad \text{ in vento}

puluerem] puluerem in vento R.

\[\text{1 MS. A}_{1} \text{ bred.}\]
Man, thou hast done muchel god,  
But thou be meke and polemod,  
Sein Gregory seip, pat holi clerk,  
Pat muchel on ydel is pat werk.  
Hit fareb bi swiche, as we finde,  
As who-so bereb ponde in grete winde;  
For, bere he neuere so muche,\(^1\)  
Hit fareb awey ful lihliche.  
Off man hit fareb riht so,  
For, gode dedes thou he do,  
Many and fele in vch a side,  
Per may non wid him abide:  
Bute he haue humilite,  
Awey þeih wolen fro him fle.  
\(\uparrow\) A god ping is humilite:  
Off him comeþ verray charite,  
And penaunce, and eke shrift—  
Þís is of god a wel fair gift—  
And of him forzifenesse of sinne.  
Wel is him þat hit may winne!  
\(\uparrow\) Who-so is aferd of his trespaz,  
He shal haue comfort and solaz  
Off þe holi gost, witerli,  
þat wole [his] soule conforti,  
And make men haue, mid iwisse,  
Tristi hope to heuene blisse.  
Sein Dani þer-of spak and seide\(^2\)

\(^{665}\) do\(^{om.\ D.}\) muchel| ful meche D,/neuer so mikel R.  
\(^{666}\) meke and| lowe & meke of H\(_1\).  
\(^{polemod}\) pole (verb) mod (substantive) D, mode H\(_1\), of thole mode R.  
\(^{667}\) þat| þe A\(_2\), clerk| chirche A\(_2\)D.  
\(^{668}\) on| in A\(_2\)|R.  
\(^{þat}\|\ his R.  
\(^{670}\) who-so| he þat H\(_1\), grete| þe H\(_1\).  
\(^{671}\) bere he| þoþ he bere H\(_1\), of he bere R.  
\(^{672}\) þleþ| þalleþe D, flyþ H\(_1\), ful| om. A\(_2\).  
\(^{673}\) and 674 are transposed in A\(_2\), H\(_1\), and R.  
\(^{675}\) Off| Ry<st be D, riht so| also A\(_2\).  
\(^{674}\) þou| of R.  
\(^{676}\) him| of H\(_1\), A\(_2\), D.  
\(^{677}\) Bate| But if H\(_1\), humilite| verray humylite R.  
\(^{678}\) and 679 are omitted in A\(_2\).  
\(^{679}\) Away| Alle R.  
\(^{þeih wolen fro him}\| frō hym þay wyl D, þei wil al fro him H\(_1\).  
\(^{flye H\(_1\)}\) 679 is omitted in D.  
\(^{682}\) þis| þat D.  
\(^{683}\) hit may| þat may A\(_2\), may it H\(_1\),  
\(^{684}\) Who-so| For who so A\(_2\), þe þat H\(_1\), aferd| afer H\(_1\).  
\(^{678}\) witerli| witterly H\(_1\).  
\(^{688}\) his| þi A\(_2\), R, man H\(_1\), conforti| confort in hye R.  
\(^{689}\) men| here D, men to R.  
\(^{mid}\) mvnde A\(_2\), þer myd H\(_1\), þer with R.  
\(^{690}\) Tristi| Of tresty D.  
\(^{691}\) þer-of| om. D.

\(^{1}\) Read miche.  
\(^{2}\) Read sede.
Compunction of Heart,

In pe\textsuperscript{1} sature, as men rede:

Secundum multitudinem dolorum meorum in corde meo, consolationes tuae latificauerunt\textsuperscript{2} animam meam.

Fear sin:

\[\text{[Pe]}^3\text{ more man doute}\,\text{here siame,}\]
\[\text{be more ioye he shal winne;}\]
For, who-so hap of sinne\textsuperscript{4} drede
And nel noht don \text{pat}\textsuperscript{5} foule dede,

Hit semep, pat he hap trewe lone
To Iesu Crist, \text{pat} is abone.

\[\text{O ping is comen in my jou[ht],}\]
To shewe hit wole i spero noht:

The godly

\[\text{[P]t any pat is in holy lyf},\]
\[\text{Man, maiden, ope wif,}\]
In any time, \text{purw} any cas,

for a little trespass

\[\text{Dop a litel trespas,}\]
\[\text{pat be agein godes wille,}\]
\[\text{Ope loud[\text{e}] oper stille,}\]
\[\text{He wole hauue more sorwe and drede}\]

For \text{pat} litel sinful dede,

than doth for his sin

\[\text{ban many on wole in eny stounde,}\]
\[\text{pat lyb in dedli siame bounde,}\]

\[\text{[P]if ye wolen wite herof pe skile,}\]
\[\text{Herkne, and i jou telle wole}:\]

the man

\[\text{luying in guilt,}\]
\[\text{And to singy wole noht blinne,}\]

692 as men] boke men may D. \text{rede} do rede H\textsubscript{1}, \text{Latin : meorum] om. R. \textit{mor] om. D. consolations tuae} om. R. 693 man] a mon R. here] his A\textsubscript{2}H\textsubscript{2}, R. here of D. 694 he shal] shal he H\textsubscript{1}, 695 sinne] his sinne A\textsubscript{1}R. 696 \text{And]} He D. nel] wil H\textsubscript{1}, R. noht] no more R. \text{pat} foule dede] \text{fe fende reed} H\textsubscript{1}, hit in dede R. 698 is] sitt[he] A\textsubscript{1}H\textsubscript{1}R. 699 comen] comyn now D. in] to R. 700 hit wole] it ny[\text{t}] A\textsubscript{2}H\textsubscript{2}, nif D. hit I wil R. i] om. R. 701 \text{pat} is] man be H\textsubscript{1}, is R. 702 Man maiden] Man or childe made H\textsubscript{1}, ope\textsuperscript{r} or A\textsubscript{1}H\textsubscript{2}, wvdo[\text{r} D, childe or R. 703 any] one R. \text{purw} for D. any] a R. 704 Dop] and dos R. a litel] gret or smale H\textsubscript{1}, 705 be] is H\textsubscript{1}R. 706 Ope\text{r} Erly or late H\textsubscript{1}, be hit R. ope\textsuperscript{r} or H\textsubscript{1}, be hit R. 708 litel] on H\textsubscript{1}, 709 om. \text{D}\textsubscript{1}H\textsubscript{1}, 710 \text{lyb}] es D. bounde\textsuperscript{r} I bounde A\textsubscript{1}H\textsubscript{1}R, ibonde D. 711 \text{[P]e wolen wite]} jou wyll\textsuperscript{r} A\textsubscript{2}R, jou wolt ny[\text{t}] D, \text{ze} wil H\textsubscript{1}, \text{je} skile\textsuperscript{r} skyll\textsuperscript{r} D, any jinge wite H\textsubscript{1}, 712 i jou telle I \text{je telle A\textsubscript{2}R, tell je I D, I wil tel} 30w H\textsubscript{1}, \text{wole]} jtte H\textsubscript{1}, 713 \text{pat]} \text{pe A}\textsubscript{2}DR. 714 And to singy] Fro doay to day and H\textsubscript{1}, and \text{[P]o symhe he R. wole]} wyll he A\textsubscript{2}, nele DH\textsubscript{1}.\]

\textsuperscript{1} pe is above the line in MS. A\textsubscript{1}. \textsuperscript{2} MS. tue letificauront. \textsuperscript{3} MS. A\textsubscript{1} has so. \textsuperscript{4} MS. A\textsubscript{1} has his sinne. \textsuperscript{5} One letter has been erased after \text{pat} in MS. A\textsubscript{1}. \textsuperscript{6} Read wille.
Gostli wit he hap ilore.
Whi, i wole telle, [and] wharfere;
For gostli siht, witerliche,
Man, is ði resoun, sikerliche,
Wher-þur[þ] ðu miht in ði mod
Knowe bope yuel and god,
And shed to make in eueri dede
Bitwene sopnesse and falshide.

And, whan mannes soule, ful iwys,
þurw dedli sinne iñled is,
His knowelaching is al gon;
For wit ne siht hap [he]¹ non,
Wherfore þe sinful man
Noþer he ne may ne he ne can
His own stat [a]riht ise,

Ne knowe in what lyf he be
For þisteresse, þat he is inne
þurw þe filpe of dedli sinne.

Ac he þat linçep in holy lyf,
Man, mayden, ðer wyt,
And serene þod on corpe her,
His gostli siht is swîpe clær;
For þerwîd he may knowe and se—
In what lyf[ê] þat he be—
God and yuel, lasse and more,

and] om. A1A2, how and D. 716 reads in H1 and R: I wil þow telle
whi & wharfare, Þow] þe R. 717 gostli] þi gostly D. siht] witte H1,
witerliche] sikerlyche D, witerlyche H1. 718 Man is þi resoun] Is þi resoun
man H1, sikerliche] soplyche D. 719 Wher-þurw] where þe A,R. 720 boþe]
om. A2, boþe þe DR, þer bi H1, and] and ðe þe D, and þo R. 721 shed]
þartye H1, to] om. DH1, ewen] alle þ þ. dede] stede A2H1. 722 Bitwene
Hyt wene D, bytwyxt R. 723 And whan] When A2, mannes soule] man is
A2, ful iwys] foule þe D, fyld is H1, I wis R. 724 þurw dedli] And þerow
and A2, þorow þe fende and H1, iñled is] fouled þe D, I wisse H1, fyled is R.
725 His knowelaching] Here knawlagnyng D, gostly knwonyng H1, his know-
ing R. al gon] agone A2, al agone D. 726 ne] nor A2. 727 Wherfore þe]
þerlor þe sorti H1. 728 ne may] maye H1, ne he ne] nonþere he ne A2, ne
þopere he H1, ne he R. 729 arîht] riht A,R, ryzt wel H1. ise] see AãR. 730
he] þat he R. 731 þisteresse] derkenes A2, þe derknesse D, þe sternesse H1,
R. 734 oper] childre or R. 734 reads in H1: Be he man mayde or wyte.
ful H1,R. 737—740 are omitted in H1 and R. 737 se] sene D. 738 is
omitted in D. 739 and] ðer D. and] ðer D.

¹ MS. A1 has here.

SPEC. WAR.
With Confession for Vanities.

The Almighty guideth him

Al he knoweth purw godes lore;

For widinne him is god almight,
And 
prise grace of gostly siht
To sen and knowe in his mod
pe longe lyff, pat is so god,
And pe drede of domes-day,
And pe pine pat laste ay,
Wher-purw hij sholen pe more drede
And fien sinne in al here dede.

Here ye muwen se pe wrong
And knowe, wher-on [hit] is long,
pat sinful man may noht se
Hise giltes, pou[i] peih brete be.

Listnep noupe to my speche,
And of nedful ping i wole you teche.
Off holli churche it is pe lore,
pat spekep to alle, lasse and more,
And sei: 'Man, while pu miht liue,
Loke pat pu be ofte shrive.'

Anon, so pu hast sinne wrouht,
While it is newe in pi pouht,
Anon to shrifte pat pu gange,
Ne dwelle pu noht perwid to longe;
For, if pu dost, pu miht wel wite,
pat suwwhat shal be forrete,
Wher-purw pu miht be blamed,
And at pe dom sore ashamed.

Therefore, man, while pu miht liue,


1 MS. A1 has his. 2 MS. D has say say. 3 MS. A1 reads pi pi. 4 Read gonge. 5 Read forjite.
Devout Exhortations to

Loke, pat þu be [elene]1 shrue, 768
Wid sorwe of herte and repentance,
And of þe prest tak þi pennaunce.
 þis is a riche medicine,
Hit shildeþ man fro helle pine. 772
A betre þing was neueere founde,—
For hit may hele dedli wounde—
And, who-so euere wolde hit craue,
Wid-outen cost he may hit haue. 776

¶ Man, ne lat hit for no shame,
Last þu falle þerfore in blame.
If þu nilt for shame [shewe] hit her,
Hit shal ben shewed elle[s]wher2
To alle þe shaftes þat euere were,
And alle þeih sholen sen and here.

Nihil absconditum,3 quod non scietur,
 nec occultum, quod non reueltur;4
And þer-of þu shalt haue shame
And þer-to wel muche blame.
Tweye manere shame men fint in boke,
Who-so wolde þerafter loke:
þat on gop to damñacioun;
þat oþer, to sauaucioun. 788

¶ If ye wote wite hou hit be,
Sitteþ stille, and herkneþ me:


Harkeneþ alle now to me D.
Herken & I wil telle þe H1R. (l. 328)

1 MS. A1 has ofte. 2 MS. A1 eller wher. 3 MS. A1 Nihil absconditum. 4 MS. A1 reueltur.
Be earnestly Penitent,

True shame,

\[ \text{If man, poun \ phi haue sinne wrouht} \]
\[ \text{In word, in dede, and in pounth,} \]
\[ \text{If \ phi art piself peryf ashamed,} \]
\[ \text{And at \ phi herte sore agramed,} \]
\[ \text{And ne sparest for shame ne for eise,} \]
\[ \text{Dat \ phi hit nitl in shrifte seie,} \]
\[ \text{Off god \ phi miht vele lihtliche} \]
\[ \text{Forgifnesse hane, sikerliche.} \]
\[ \text{His ilke shame, be my croun,} \]
\[ \text{Drawe\phi al to sauauacioun.} \]

False shame

\[ \text{Dat oper shame so is his:} \]
\[ \text{If a man \ hap don amis} \]
\[ \text{And foule sinne[s] \ hap iwrouht,} \]
\[ \text{And wole for shame shewe hem noht} \]
\[ \text{In his shrifte to \ phi prest,} \]
\[ \text{He wrapp\phi sore Iesu Crist.} \]
\[ \text{For-zifnes, iwis, ne tit him neure,} \]
\[ \text{But in helle to brennen euere.} \]

Whi artu more ashamed to speke

A word, \ phi godes heste to breke?

\[ \text{His is foule, wicked shame,} \]
\[ \text{Dat bringe\phi sinful man in blame.} \]
\[ \text{He lore \ phi come\phi out of godes mouf,} \]
\[ \text{To alle men hit sholde be coup:} \]

\[ \text{Lauamini, et mundi estote.} \]

Iesu spak and seide one:

\[ \text{De Penitentia.} \]

---

"Wasshep ou, and bep clene.'
Kindeliche ofte men sep,
Wid water men wasshep, pat foule bep,

And hot water, be pu bold,
Makep clannere pan dop cold.
Al pis i see sikeliche,
For to spoken openliche,

What hit is for to mene:
"Wasshep ou, and bep clene.'
Summe wasshep, ac noht ariht,
For pe clannere bep hij no wiht.
pe hote teres of manmes eije
Makep clannere pan any lige.
Many on wepep for his misdede,
Ac to do sinne noht hij ne drede:

He wene, wasshe him wid pat water,
And he is foul neuere pe later.

816 bep] be ȝe made H1. 817 Kindeliche] Kendely H,R. ofte men] often-
tyme men H1, menne ofte tyme H2, of men R. 818 wasshep] wasshe hem
H1. 819 and 820 are inserted between 828 and 829 in H2. 819 And] For H2.
820 Makep] wasshis R. do]? pe A2DH2, dos þo R. 821 Al] And al H1, pis
i] I hyte H2, sikeliche] sekerlye H2. 822 spoken] schew D. openliche
opeulye H2. 823—826 are omitted in H2. 823 hit is] is hit R. 824 bep] bep
made H1. 825 washep] wasshen hem R. ac] bot A2H1R, and D. 826
For] Nenere A2, hie] þei A2DH2, no] ne A2, naunt DH. wiht] white A2,
ryt D, whist H1, dight R. 827 mannes] a mannes D. 828 Makep] Þay
makeþ D, washep H1. 829—840 read on fol. 53 a in H2:
Sorowe of herte and repentawnce (Cp. l. 769 in A.)
And for ȝowe synmys doom penawnce (Cp. l. 474 in A.)
Shalle graunte ȝowe myghte & space

832 Iesu cryste too sene hys flace
Lady crownyd, heuenne qwene
Preye for vs alle be dene
To thy sone, kyng of heuen

836 For hys holy nanmys senene
That he vs graunte, hys ryche blyssse
That we therow nott ne myssse
And that hit soo mote bee

840 Amen. Amen for seynte charyte

Explicit Speculum Gy de Warewyke

Secundum Alquinum Heremite

841—1034 are omitted in H2. The manuscript ends with 840. For colophon,
see the Introduction. 829 Many on] Many A,R. And noman D. his] here
ne] þei no A3, om. D. he hav no H1, þai han no R. 831 He wene] þei wene
H2R. wasshes him] þay wassh hym D, to wasshes hem H1R. 832 he is] es D,
þit þei bep H1, þai ben R. foulis] foulid R.

In MS. A1, d is in red ink above the line. 2 Read iȝe.
To do Holy Works,

Whij? For sit wole he nolte sinne fle:
Iwis, vnclene he shal be.

Ac anop]er manere wasshing
Makep clene of alle ping:
Man, pouh pou hane sinne don,
Lodlich and foule many on,

‡ If pu hast wille to leue pi sinne,
pat pu no more ne come perinne,
Of pin eige pe hote teres,
pat gop adoum bi pine leres,
Hij wolen make god acord
Bitwene pi soule and oure lord
And make pe clene of pi sinne,
Wher þurw pu miht heuene winne.

‡ Nu 3e muwe witen, what it is to mene:
‘Wasshep ou, and be pe clene;’
Æc he þat wole clene be,
Certes [synne] he mot fle.

‡ Wole 3e here sit eft sone
Off þing þat nedful is to done;
Hit is godes owen lore,
þat spekeþ to alle, lasse and more:
Ambulate, dum lucem habetis, ne
tenebre vos 1 comprehendant.

Haste, lest
night surprise.
Life is day; death is night.

833 Whij] om. R. sit wole he]; sit he nyld, pa wil H1, if þai wil R. fle
and the A4, flye H1. 834 he shall] shall he D, þei shulde H1, R. 834 reads in
A2: He was vnclene so schall he be. 835 Ac] Bot A4, H1, R, And eke D, 836
(Cp. l. 792 in H, R, D, lodely R. (The last word of line 833 is lost through a
hole in the parchment in D.) 839 lete] let D. 840—845 are omitted in A2.
840 no more] more D. no om. H, R. come] falle R. 843 Hij] þay DH, H,
god] a good H1. 846 miht] salt D. 847 þæt] mar þou R. it is] is R.
848 þæþ] þe be make H1. 849 Ac] Bot A4, H1, R, And D. he] þe R. 850
synne] sum what A4, H1, deedly synne H1. he] þe R. mot] moste A4, H1, R.
855 þat] om. A4, H1, R. 856 of-take] onere take A4, H1, R. 857 is cleped] I clepe
þi D, is cale þi R. 858 þe] is þe A4, þi D.

1 MS. A1; te tenebre nos.
While þu art on line, þu miht worche
Godes werkes of holi churche,¹
And, certes, whan þat þu art ded,
þanne maitou don noþer god ne qued.

While þu miht gon and se,
In gode wyes sped þe faste!
Lef, þe miht þe wolde agaste,
And sikerliche widoute nay,
At þi dei[i]ng² shal ben þi domesday,
For þere shal ben irekened al
þat euere distu, gret and smal.
þere þu shalte knowe and se
God or yuel, wheiþer it be,³
And þanne, par aunter, wofldestu fain
Biginne to worche and turne æsein;

Ac, certes, þu ne shalt noht go,
Ac riht after þu⁴ hast do,
þu shalt fonge verrecrement
þere þi rihtæ ingetment.

Et ideo ambulare, dum
lucem habetis.

Dep is gilour swipe strong
And gileþ many on euere among,
þefore worche, while þu mait,

While it is day,
do works of love.

Speed fast.
The dark night brings terror.

Then shall be counted all thy deeds.

As thy deeds, shall be thy judgment.

Death is a deceiver,
and deceives many,
therefore

¹ Read wirche : churche. ² MS. A₁ deijng.
³ wheiþer it be is written on creasure in MS. A₁. ⁴ MS. A₁ þat þu.
For sodeyneliche þu miht bæe caïht.

_Enitium sapientiae, timor domini:_

De _Timore Domini._

‘Drede of god in alle ping’

Off wisdom is þe beginning;

And many hanen of god drede,

Ac noht for lone of his godhede,

But last þeiþ sholde for here gilt

In-to strong pine ben ipilt.

Hit fareþ bi swiche, i vnderstonde,

As hit døp here bi þe bonde:

þe bonde nele noþer loude ne stille

Don noht ææin his lordes wille—

Ac þat nis for lone ne for acord,

þat he hæþ toward his lord—

For, if he dede, he wot wel,

He sholde lese of his catel;

And þit hit fareþ bi man also,

þat spareþ more sinne to [do]

For þe doute of gret pining,

þan for þe lone of heuen king.

It is noht euel so to bigiþme,

For drede of pine to late þi sïne,

For some after he may kacche grace

To bipenke him on godes face,

Hu murie hit were, to haue þe siht

Off godes face, þat is so briht!

---

1 _MS. Iucium sapientie._
2 _MS. A, al alle._
3 _Probably read ipilt._
4 _MS. A, A2 have go._

And so he shal casten his lone
To Iosu Crist, pat is above,
And leten and flen sinful dede,
Hope for lone and eke for drede.
Ae, who-so wolde don be my lore,
Iwis he shal spare more,
To flen sinne day and niht,
For drede to l ese pat faire siht
Off godes face, pat is so cler,
Off whom we han al oure power,
Pat for drede of any wo,
Pat any ping mihte hem do.

Lene frend, herkne to me,
And more i wole speke to pe ;
For in pe godspel i wole rede
Off pe nertu of almesdede.
Pin almesse pu shalt forp nuite,
And spare hit noht, pouh hit be luite :
[In pe godspel it es write,
I sal, man, pat pou it wite.]

God seip pu in his lore :
'Man, if pu miht 3ene no more
But a dishful of cold water,
Pu shalt hit 3ene nenere pe later
Wid gode wille and wid charite,
And ful wel it worp 3olden pe.'
And, whan pu shalt haue 3ank and mede
For so litel an almesdede,

Siker maitou 3anue be,
If pu 3enest muche in charite
To god, 3u miht pe betre spede,

And pe more shal ben pi mede.

Enes i it vnderstod,

The in almesdide is double god:

If It ferdop sinne, wite it wel,
And hit wole eche pi catel.
And, if pu art her-of in drede,
Hu hit mihle so be in dede,

A god witnesse i wole drawe,
On ensamiple of pe olde lawe.

Holi writ, pat wole noht lize,

Spekep of pe profete Eliye,

Hou Iesu Crist, houru lo[u]el swete,
Spak to Eliye pe profete.

To a pore widewe he him sende,
Here beybere lyf [for]1 to amende.

He seide: 'Eliye, pu shalt fare
In-to Sarepte and wone pare.

If ber is a widewe, pat shal pe fede,
And i wole selde wel hire mede.'

Elijah

If pe profete Helie began anon

Forp in his weie for to gon.

At pe gote of pe cite pe widewe he mette,
And faire anon he hire grette.

He had hire for godes loue,
pat us alle sit aboue,

A dis[sh]ful2 water she sholde him ziuie,
For to helpen him to liue.

If pe widewe seide, she wolde fain,
And to serue him she turne aze[i]n.

After hire he gan to crie,
And bad hire pat she sholde hie.

'Do,' he seide, 'be my red,

938 more] more hym D. 939 i it] hit I R. 939 reads in D: Twys. I understand. 940 pat in] In R. 944 so be] be so DR. 945 A] I R. wole
sal D. 946 On ensample of be] In pe sample in D. 947 pat] om. R. wole
yel D. lize] be leis R. 948 Spekep] It tellepe D, pat spekes R. 951 To
her ful wel R. 958 in] on R. 959 be] pet R. 962 alle sit] sittes alle R.
963 dishful] dishful of DR. she] he R. 964 2nd to] vnto D, for to R. 967 he gan] began D, he bygan R. 969 be] after D.

1 for is supplied from D. 2 MS. A1 has difful.
Bring me wid þe a shiue bred!'
þe widewe him answer[de]1 anon:
' Siker,' she seide, 'bred hauie i non,
Ne noht, þat i mihle þe ziue,
For to helpe þe to liue,

But an handful mele in o picher
And a litel oyle, þat is cler,
þat i mot make of mete here
To me and to my children ifere;
And seþe we moten deie in sore,
For mete hauie we no more.'

þe profete hire answerede þo:
' Abid,' he seide, 'er þu go!
First, þer-of mak me mete,
And, whan þat i hit hauie iete,
Off þat bileuep, þu shalt make
For þe and for þi children sake.'

þis seli widewe þo wel sone
Grauntele2 wel al his bone:
For his loue, þat him þider sende,
Hire litel mete she wolde spende.
þo þe profete þis iseih,
His eijen he kest to god on heih:
To him he made an orysoun,
And anon god putte his fuisoun
Vp-nun hire mete in hire picher
And on hire oyle, þat is cler.

þo seide anon þe profete
To þe widewe wordes swete: 3


1 MS. D reads answerd.
2 MS. A1 has an erasure after t.
3 998 and 999 are over erasure in MS. A1.
The Twofold Good of Almsdeed.

Fear not:
thy meal
shall not
diminish:
thy oil shall
come.

Ne dread þe noth, woman, in þi þouht!
þi mele ne shal wante noth,
And þin oyle shal waxen: sikerli
þi lome shal noth ben empti.'

Gret plente hadde þe widewe þo,
While she liuede enure mo.
Now þu miht knowe in þi mod,
þat in almesse dede is double god:
Almesdede for[dope þi synne],
And þerþer[w] [men may henen wyn[ne]];
And þi god sh[al multiple],
So seip þe bok, [þat nyl nau3t lye].

Be glad in
thy gift:
Also ofte as þ[ou mayt3 3eue ou3t],
For, þu miht [wele vnderstande],
þu takest hit [gode with þi honde];
For godes w[orde in sopenesse]
þer-of berep [gude wytnes]:
A man [may]2 b[e nou3t to quede],
Jesu Crist for to [fede];
For þer-wid þu [my3t wele sped]
And heunen h[aue vnto þi mede].


1 Read vnderstonde.
2 man man is in MS. A1.
Thus ends the Sermon.

To þa[t] blisse [he] [vs bryng],
þat is king [ouer all[e] þyng],
¶ And ʒeue us [grace, while we be here],
[To serve hym and hys moder dere
In trowpe, loue, and in charite.
Amen. Amen. So mot it be.]

1032 Almighty
King, show grace to us, that we may serve Him?
CRITICAL AND EXPLANATORY NOTES
TO THE
SPECULUM Gy DE WAREWYKE.


Line 1. alle: i. e. gode men, according to Harleian, l. 1, Pard. T, l. 904, and A Lutil Soth Sermon, l. 1; the hearers ordinarily addressed, lordings of the M.E. romance, as annotated by Kölling, Sir Beues, l. 1; Lüdtke, The Erle of Tolous, l. 7; Kaluza, Liebesconus, l. 461. See Gamelyn, l. 343; The Faerie Queene, iii., ix., l. 3; the old play, Mundus et Infans, l. 236; and Chaucer in many of the Tales. Compare lines 1 and 2 with lines 1 and 2 of The Harrowing of Hell:

‘Alle herken to me nou,
A strif wil I telle on.’


‘. . . soule hul Y wyl yow teche.’


may on: wyll you on basis of MSS. A_{2}DH_{1}H_{2}R. Later texts fail of the beauty and seriousness of the verse in the loss of may, am able: ‘I am able to teach you of salvation.’

l. 3. no fable: Compare Dr. Leonard’s Ged. Aus d. H., B note, l. 6: to fabelle I wil you nought (with reference to Einenkel, Streifzüge, p. 232 f). For litotes in the Speculum, the following lines may be cited, l. 102: bæp noht gode, i. e. very bad; l. 193: vis noht forzele, is remembered; l. 875: þu ne shalt noht go, thou must go; l. 892: Don noht again, carry out; l. 1003: ne shal wante noht, shall increase; l. 1002: noht ben empti, be full; l. 947 and l. 1010: þat wole noht lige, and l. 637: i ne lige, tell the truth; l. 132: he ne . . . no rýne wíne, he shall be condemned; l. 360: nóping it was; l. 628: meke in none manere, proud; l. 651: oper weye is þer non, this is the only way; l. 659: For nóping þu nolest shone, should seek to obtain it at all costs; l. 891: nele noper, will. Litotes strengthens a previous affirmation: l. 464: so;
widowen gabbe; l. 519: sop word . . no les; l. 867: sikerliche, widonte nay. The Speculum thus testifies to the popularity of litotes in the M.E. period, as stylistic reaction from the French. See Tobler, Beiträge 165; Strohmeyer, Stil d. me. Reim. K. v. Gt., pp. 54 ff. and Rbt., l. 1271: he ne lewede nozht bihinde, he hastened, 4075, 6494, 11937; l. 1909: he ne gan nozht muckle winne, lost all, even life, 1488, 5015; l. 8081: ne poète nozht be þe laste, would be the first: l. 1718: þer was nozht vel gret lore, great hate, etc. See Piers Pl., among many illustrations, A, l. 116: his peyne haþ non ende; On q. Ureisam of Ure Leflil, l. 95: wrom þine lune ne shal me no wie ne podel scan, love will continue, etc.

1. 5. heuen winne: See lines 650, 846, and 1008: grace . . winne 78, ðone winne 132, 694; merci, winne 471, 472; forþfenesse . . winne 683, 684. Compare Oerm. (ed. White), 971: winenenn eche blisse; 1175: ‘winenn Godess are,’ to win is still in use in Scotland; see Jamieson, Scotch Dict., under win.

1. 5 is to be classified under type D, giving emphasis to þu. Scansion according to type C, with emphasis on if, is not justified.

1. 6. to god: to god is to be retained, as in l. 21, on authority of MSS. A,R, the two oldest texts of group Z, in opposition to of god, extant in MSS. A,D of group Y. It presents the true meaning of the passage.

1. 7. biginning: Type A and type D both have claims to this verse on account of the variable accent ascribable to biginning. The scansion could be:

‘þus shal þen þi biginning’ D.
‘þus shal ben þi bigin, ‘ning’ A.

The metrical and logical purpose of the author seems to be satisfied by the first reading biginning, as in lines 209 and 884.

1. 9. emcristene: see note to line 334.

1. 10. piselfē: Meter and inflection require the trisyllable authorized by MSS. H,H,R; read piselfē, l. 564, 579; himselfe, l. 14; himselfe, l. 244, 598. L. 362 proves nothing. Final -e (himselfe) is lost through elision. See ten Br., Ch. Sprachkunst, § 255. The sounding of the final -e removes the line 10 from type C, where it is to be classified according to MS. A1.

1. 11. biginne and ende: suggested perhaps by ‘qui perseveraverit in hono, hic salvus erit . . bonum ergo perfecisses, virtus est,’ Alcuin’s Liber, Capit xxvi.: ‘De perseverantia in bonis operibus,’ based possibly on Matt. x. 22: ‘he that endureth firm to the end . . .’ Heb. iii. 6, 14; ‘be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life,’ Rev. ii. 10. See Poema Morale:

1. 119: ‘Ac drihte ne dem ne nanne man . . . after his bi gininge, ac al his lif scéal beo swich . . se bæs his endinge.

1. 12. to heuene vende: The infinitive employed without the introductory to, to avoid doubling the particle, see to helle gon 652; paternoster bede 562; and Harrowing of Hell, l. 244:

‘And þif ons grace to line and ende
In þi service and to heuene vende.’

1. 13. worldes: The article is to be expected before worldes. Its omission called forth various scribal errors; see variants.

1. 14. himselfe: read himselfe. See note to l. 10.

1. 15. place: O.E. plaeg, companion form M.E. pleye, pleie < O.E. plega. But one instance of plagian is recorded according to Bosworth-Toller, A. S. Dict. under plagian; cf. Sievers, § 391, Anm. 1; Pabst, § 42; Langl. A. Passus, xii., l. 295, ascribes to play the meaning pleasure; ‘That thi playground be plenteous.’ place is not very frequent in M.E. texts, but see Das Lied von King Horn (ed. Wissmann), MS. H, l. 1112:
Critical and Explanatory Notes. Pages 3—4, lines 15—21. 49

'pat trewe was in uch plawe'; Havelok, l. 950: plawe: (knowe) and pleye: (weie), l. 953; R. of Gl. 5906; Trist. 3101. See Steenstrup, pp. 15 and 190; Svenska Spraketslagar, II. 99; Brate, Beitrage, vol. x., p. 48. Ettmüller, Lexicon Anglo saxonicum, pp. 274, 275, illustrates derivatives of *pleyeon. See also Speculum, 'Introduction' under av, chapter xiii on Phonology.

1. 16. dep of soul: completing the antithesis begun with hele of soule, line 2: destruction of soul . . . health of soul; condemnation . . . salvation. The personification of the soul as a separate and independent being, thus ascribing to the living creature a sort of a dual existence, is a favourite conceit of the poet; see line 844.

1. 17. the world: The account of the crafty fisherman world with his pantier for his victim, the soul, begins abruptly, l. 13, but the slender thread of the allegory is to be traced nearly to the end of the poem: lines 13—24, 33, 61—64, 99, 103, 151, 195, 222, 650—651, etc. See l. 882: sodeyneliche þu milt be cauht, and possibly heaven's bliss 690, helle pine 642, and other references to heaven's glories and hell's torments.

kauht: with ikauht, H₂ is to be retained. caught A₂ (caunt D, causle H₂, kauht R) is contrary to the dialect of the poet; see Inflection. The metre and the language of the poet require the prefix i-, icauht and cauht are both employed by Chaucer and Wiclif. Poema Morale has keht(e), keht.

1. 18. and: and is to be expunged. It does not occur in D H₁H₂R, MSS. preserving at best the text.

pantier: pantier, as employed by the poet, is perhaps defined by a metaphor of F. G. Fleay, Engl. Studien, vol. vii., p. 87, 'Neglected Facts on Hamlet': 'inclosed in its dragnet this miraculous draught . . . of fish,' and in The Simone (Auch. MS.), l. 457:

'Pride hath in his pantier kauht the heie and the lowe, So that uneth the can any man God Almighty knowe.'

The pantier, pantire, is in its ordinary acceptance a snare or net for birds rather than for fish, as is made clear by Richard the Redeless, by Chaucer, and by Lydgate.

Richard the Redeless, II. 183, see Skeat:

'And fyll with her sflitheris flat vppon the erthe, As madde of her mynde and mercy be southe. They myyte not aschowne the sorowe they had suerd, So lymed leues were leyde all aboute, And pantere is preynliche pight vppon the grounde.'

Leg. of G. W., l. 130: 'The smale foules, of the seson sayn, That from the pantier and the net ben scaped.'

T. of Glas, l. 604: 'But lich a brid, fat sleithe at his desire, Til sodeinli within þe pantire, She is Icauht . . . . . . . .' See Ancren Riwle, p. 134 of the bird; 'heo heo ikeht þurh summe of þe deoltes groren.' In this usage of pantier the reader is referred to Schick's note to the T. of G., l. 604, with its comprehensive list of examples of pantire, and its reference to Skeat, note to Leg. of G. W., Prot., l. 130, and Dict. under pantier, and to Prompt. Parv., note to Pantiere.

Page 4. 1. 21. for love . . . for eie: a typical antithesis popular in M.E. See Sir Beues, text A, l. 1852: 'Wi8 love or eie'; Sanctes Ward, ll. 25, 26: 'wi8 eie ant wi8 love'; Gamelyn, l. 129: 'for Gamelynes love, for his eie'; Wulfstan, 'Address to the English,' Hatton MS. Jan. 99, ll. 168, 169: 'þa þe riht luftiaþ and Godes eie habbaþ.' . . . Compare with SPEC. WAR.
luue-eie, Anocr. R Ivory, p. 420: Skeat translates his eige, 'for awe of him,' note to Gamelyn, l. 129, in harmony with Gamelynes, the genitive limiting love, and in keeping with Sturzen-Becker, Notes on Characteristics of E. E. Dialects, p. 43; see of god, MSS, A H, and note to l. 6.

R on its own authority alters the rime to introduce the more Northern form awe for eige: awe; luue.

l. 28. per: demanded by the context and supplied by MSS, H, A, and A, if per be a scribal error for per. Evidence of texts ADR would ascribe the anacoluth of text A to the poet.

l. 24. worlde: Hiatus is not justified before and, worlde is monosyllabic: worlde and; see world, ill. 33, 64, 99, etc. The verse illustrates type C: be world and his, fonde lore.

l. 26. hem: hem, extant in MSS, A, H, and probably in the archetypal of D is to be inserted to improve the metre. The added syllable was regarded necessary by R; see variants. Read rode on authority of the riming couplet: rode; bod, l. 248. dere bouthe: see note to l. 160.

l. 27, 28. wole: copyist's form throughout A, for wyll(e), will, in MSS. A, D, H, R; cf. rime skile: wole, l. 712, 'Introduction,' chap. III, § 1 and § 5, and wole in Langland, A, vii. 144, 208; II, 86; III, 265; V, 36; VI, 152, 193, 300, etc.

l. 28. tale tale: Compare Zupitza's note to Athelstan, l. 153, and Chaucer, ProL. 731, 792, 831, 847; D. L. ProL. 22, 23, 48; Pers. ProL. 21, 25, 46, 66: Duch. 709, 1033, etc.

Reliquie Antique, p. 241 (II.): 'Iehow wol tale

Of Crist ane litel tale.'

l. 29. of gode fame: Cf. Zupitza's note to of gret renown, Athelston, ll. 19, 45; Leonard, Ged. ans d. Holle, B l. 63; and Spec., l. 40, where the holy man and the knight are described in the same class. Cf. as follows:

Spec. Vít., l. 43: 'Ne of Bens of Hamtoun,
Pat was a knight of gret renown.'

Erl of T., l. 178: 'Syr Tralabas of Turky

A man of gret renown.'

l. 31. bough: The sorrowful meditation of the love-poet of the century, illustrated by Schick, T. of Gl., note to l. 1. This meaning seems justified by the corresponding passages in the various Guy of Warwick MSS.

l. 35. Type C is confirmed by l. 35. It would be impossible to read gode, l. 35. See TwmDale, l. 19, all of A, R, or eke of D, are emendations of the scribe. Cf. and his-lure.

l. 41. pe orde he hadde: For the history of the brotherhood, see Skeat, note to Peres the Ploueman's Crede, l. 153.

l. 43. Wit of clergie: the understanding of books, book-learning, referring not merely to scholarship as an essential attribute of mediæval piety, but to Alcuin's ambition for an educated priesthood. See also Hamlet, l. i. 42.

l. 44. to godnesse . . . drouth: Life of St. Dunst., l. 29. Cf. R. of Gl., l. 252; to . . . processe he drouth toward pe depe drouth, l. 1159; to worse . . . he drouth, l. 9242. See Strohmeyer, pp. 48, 49.

l. 46. he: he is to be supplied before tok. It is extant in D H, two MSS, from one group, one from a second, in opposition to two MSS, A, A, one of each group. Grammatically and metrically the sentence is strengthened by the introduction of the pronoun, though its omission as subject of the sentence is characteristic of the period; see Zupitza, note to Guy of Warwick, l. 10.
Page 5, l. 47. 

\( \text{tok . red.} \) explained by conseil take, l. 63, ordinary M.E. phraseology illustrated Rbt. of Gl., nine his rede (or similar arrangement), as follows: ii. 609, 1685, 2137, 3562, 3846, 5280, 5853, 6263, 6422, 8215, 8220; text B: 11,850, 11,198; \( \text{nine . . . conseil} \) 1111, 1245, 2170, 2817, 3040, 3139, 3470, 3516, 3528; B 11,004, 10,467, 10,493, 11,328, 11,837; \( \text{take hire to rede} \), Wm. of Palerne, l. 133; \( \text{nime hom to rede} \), Rbt. of Gl. ll. 348, 6749, 7910; B 9758, 11,428; and Gamelyn, l. 683; into conseil nome: O. Kent. Sermon, ed. Skeat, l. 8: \( \text{nomen conseil} \).

l. 48. \( \text{pe qued} \): 'the evil,' 'the evil one,' 'the devil.' The etymology of \( \text{ qued} \) is uncertain, O.E. \( \text{ crwed} \) or \( \text{ cread} \); Fris. \( \text{ qued} \), G. \( \text{ qudit, kat, kat} \). See Mätzner, Sprachproben, I. p. 82; Grimm. Gr., III. p. 606; Mall, \( \text{H. of H.} \), note to l. 38; Pabs, Lautlehre, § 15 b; and the following illustrations:

\begin{quote}
\text{Speculum, l. 654:} \('\ldots \text{ overcome pe joule qued,'}\\
\text{Rbt. Act.,} \text{ p. 16:} \('\text{Thus overkam . . . the qued,'}\\
\text{H. of Hell, l. 36:} \('\text{For to lesen ons fram pe qued,'}\\
\text{Hend. Syrte, l. 5505:} \('\ldots \text{ bole pe qued,'}\\
\end{quote}

For \( \text{ qued} \) used in an adjectival sense, refer to note, l. 1025.

l. 49. \( \text{i i derstonde} \): also l. 389 (see 507 and 1021), a popular construction to fill out the verse, \( \text{füllformel} \), Lüdtke, The Ert of Tolous, l. 631 and l. 913, referring to Koch. II. § 390.

l. 49 illustrates type D on proof of five MSS. \( \text{ H2 substitutes Vpon for On, restoring the line to type A:} \)

\( \text{Vpon a daye, . . I wylystonde.'} \)

l. 50. \( \text{sente his sonde} \): an alliterating form profusely illustrated in M.E. See \text{Die Alliteration in Layamon, Germ. Stud.,} vol. i. p. 182; Zapitza, note to \text{Guy of Warwick,} l. 10,477; Breul, note to \text{Sir Gawther,} l. 87; Schmirgel, 'Typical Expressions in \text{Sir Beues}; \text{ Sir Beues,} p. liv., referring to \text{Reinbronn,} str. 14, l. 7: \text{Arthour and Merlin,} l. 6733. Compare \text{Sir Beues,} text A, 3305; S 1277; M 2928, 4200; \text{Wm. of Palerne,} l. 64; \text{Laamon, Brad,} l. 14,200; \text{Gen. and Exc.,} ll. 2312-13; \text{King Horn,} l. 265: \text{Amis and Amiloun,} l. 625; \text{Man of Law's Tale,} l. 388; \text{Rbt. of Gl.,} ll. 363, 1385, 3273, 3291, 3727, 5958, 7860, 8037; B 10,211, 10,325, 11,354; C 223, 224.

\( \text{sonde:} \) explained by Zapitza's note as existing with two meanings, the messenger and the message. i.e. \( \text{what is sent;} \) cf. M.H.G. \( \text{sandbote, messenger}; \) see \text{Auer, R.,} p. 190: \('\text{was es sondes mon}'\); p. 256: \('\text{bes deodles sondesmen}'; \) p. 190: \('\text{Entrich worlich wo is Godes sonde};' \text{Guy of W., text A:} ll. 1929, 3571; text C, 3913, etc.

l. 52. \( \text{'I grete pe vel':} \) stereotyped expression in the sense of 'I send a salutation to.' See \text{Gamelyn, l. 713:} \('\text{greteth hem vel};' \text{Wm. of Palerne,} ll. 350, 360; \('\text{gretel vel . . .} \) alle my freyliche felawes'; also \text{King Horn,} ll. 114, 145; \('\text{Gret pu vel};' \text{Gen. and Exc.,} l. 2382; Schmirgel, p. xlvii, with illustrations from \text{Sir Beues,} ll. 89, 117, 131, 164; \text{Guy of W.,} str. 289, l. 10; \text{Iommoned,} B l. 1376: \text{Seven Sages,} A l. 3883; \text{Ywain and Gawain,} l. 1598; \text{Issumbros,} 522. See also \text{faire grette, Speculum,} l. 960; occurring also, \text{Wm. of Palerne,} ll. 369, 370; \text{Laamon,} 14,073; and Chaucer, \text{M. of L. T.,} l. 1051; but \('\text{mekely gretto,'} \text{Pard. Tale,} l. 714; \('\text{recently and wysly . . . gretto,'} \text{Clerkes Tale,} l. 952. See \text{Auer, R.,} p. 430: \('\text{gretes be liedhi mid one Ave Marie}'; \text{Orm 2805, 2806:} \('\text{pu garn to gretten wipp pine milde wodders.'} \)

\footnote{1 For arrangement of references to \text{Rbt. of Gl., indebtedness is due throughout the notes to Dr. Hans Strohmeyer's \text{Der Stil d. me. Reimchronik d. Rbt. v. Gl.,}} Berlin, 1889.}
Omission of I in A₁ is a scribal error. I is extant in five MSS., but compare with the Swiss salutation, grietze used always without a pronoun; see Otfrid gruazen. H₂ attempts to restore the reading of type A by the omission of wel, reading:

‘And séyd I gréte þe · fádyr mýané.’

l. 53. for godes lone: For this form of invocation to the deity see note to Sir Benes, text M, l. 344, with reference to Lange, Die Versicherungen bei Chancer, p. 18; for godes lone, Gamelyn, ll. 31, 55; for Goddys lone, Handlyng Synne, l. 5661; Ibdt. of Gl.: vor Godes lone, ll. 428, 1886, 5006, 5801, 8890, 8968; B 9241, 11.355; also 828, 2610.

l. 54. Also lines 542, 962; cf. ll. 698 and 908. H₂ removes the verse from type D, placing it under type A, through the substitution of onyur us for us:

‘That óuyr ves álle · sýtte abóue.’

lone: above: also ll. 54, 512, 542, 698, 908, 962. See Kolbing’s note to Sir Benes, text A, l. 1837, and to Ipomedon, text A l. 5.

l. 55. par charite: commented on by Zupitza, Guy of Warwick, l. 471; Athelston, l. 540; in Halliwell’s Dictionary under charity; and Speculum, note to l. 840. See:

Langl., A. ix. 11: ‘And prévide hem, par charite.’
Spec. Vitæ, l. 15: ‘preýzeth alhe now, par charyte.’
Proc. of Hend, 2, 12: ‘Amen, par charité!’

God beginning makeb god endyng;
Quoþ Hendyng.’

ll. 56, 57. Cf. Langl. C. iv. 121, 122; B. III. 93:

‘Salamon the sage, a sermon he made
In amenemente of meyres.’

l. 57. a god sarmoun: Compare Mützner, Spachproben, vol. i, p. 115; Moralités et Sermones joyeuse, Romania, Tom. xv. pp. 414—416; Life of Charlemagne, pp. 85, 86, with reference to homilies prepared by Wærnefried for Charlemagne; Werner, Alcvin et Charlemagne, p. 252; Schick, T. of G., l. 691; and, of course, Morley and ten Brink. See also Aner. Riticle, p. 312: ‘in Uitas Patrum, po me hefde iscide ligeidom efte sarmun’; Langl., C. vi. 201: ‘That suweth my saramon’; and Hand. Sym. l. 6936:

‘Seynt Ihoun to Troye bygan to sermun
Wyp ensamples of gode resun.’

l. 58. in lesounn: Speculum Vitæ, l. 92: ‘And swyche a lesoun l schal ȝow jeue.’ For don witen, see Old Song, quoted by Robertson, Glossary of Dialect Words in the County of Gloucester, p. 37.

D and R alter the line, removing for their texts any question as to the value of -e at the casura.

ll. 61, 62. gile : white: a favourite rime of the author of Gamelyn, see ll. 370, 562, 580. white in the sense of ‘a period of time’ is used by Spenser in Prothalamion, l. 83.

l. 63. consail take: see note to l. 47.

l. 64. forsake : take: The rime occurs also in lines 72, 100, 268, 498. Line 64 is repeated in substance lines 99 and 497.

l. 65. See note to line 981.

l. 68. His . . . i . . . do: Four MSS. attempt to remove the anacoluthon. A₂ and H₂ alter the sentence so that it reads more logically in direct discourse through the rendering þi for His. D and R change the clause to indirect discourse by the substitution of he for i. The punctuation offered by the text seems to be in harmony with the reading of
three good MSS., two of the best texts, and representatives of both groups of texts. *preie*: ordinarily in M.E. the prayer to the divinity: *Guy of W.*, B. l. 10,068; *Octavian*., l. 1089; *Sir Beves*, A. ii. 803, 2635; see Schmirgel, p. xlvi. *preie*. *do*: This rendering in the sense of 'grant a request,' the editor has not yet discovered in other texts.

l. 69. *sethen i shal be*: On ground of four MSS. *A* alone reads *whan*. Four MSS. remove *w* of text *A*.

For *leche* see Introduction, 'Relation to the Guy of Warwick Romances, chap. vi.; *Faerie Queene*, I. x. 23, ll. 7 ff., and Chaucer:

The Pard. T., l. 916: 'And Jesu Crist, that is our soules leche.'

*Somp. T.*, l. 184: 'With highe God, that is our lives leche.'

*Bok of D.*, l. 920: '. . . that swepte, my lyues leche.'

*A. B. C.*, l. 134: 'Beth ye (Mary) . . . my soules leche.'

2 N. T., l. 56: 'Thou (Mary) . . art her lyues leche.'

l. 70. *Aller(furst)*: *Alperes* in MSS. A₂ H₁ H₂ < O.E. *ealra*, 'of all,' see Skeat, *Leg. of G. W.*, l. 298 and Schick, *T. of Gl.*, note to l. 70.

l. 71. *Fairer vertue*: the moral graces, literally Alcuin's *virtutes*, the subject of the sermon of the *Speculum*.

l. 72. *foule peves*: *De vitius* of Alcuin, properly the seven deadly sins of the mediaeval period; ordinarily *peves* includes the virtues, or is limited to them, as in line 97, 2 N. T., l. 101, and *Conf. Ament.*, Bk. viii., l. 43. See well-thewed, Spenser, *Shep. Cal.*, Feb., l. 96, annotated by E. K.:'Bene moratur, full of mortal wise.'

*foule*: translated *lethere* by H₂, a form popular with *Rbl. of Gl.*; see numerous examples: *luper broed* 1595; *luper due* 4974, 5994, 6630; *luper emperour* 1873, 1922, 1828; *luper fole* 2689, 2693, 4637, 6086; *luper gadeling* 6356; *luper King* 2984, 6653; *luper queene* 759, 5825, 5862, 5886, and many other examples. H₂ translates *foule*, l. 61, with false.

l. 73. *lere broper*: nominally one of the brotherhood through Christ, in distinction from *lere broynyr*, an expression of good fellowship, as in *The Erl of Tolouse*, l. 605.

l. 74. *Bote*: *Bote* *zuffe* of MS. H₂ improves the verse metrically, adding to the illustrations of type A.

*on . . . ope*r*: i. e. both, quite common; see *Gamelyn*, l. 39.

Page 6, l. 79. The verse has been tampered with by the scribes of group Y, probably to restore the measure to the more evenly accentuated system of the classic verse.

l. 80. *on reve*: *reve* is, of course, O.E. *réw*, to be distinguished from Hampole's *rowave* < O.E. *réowe*. See in *reve*, *Gamelyn*, l. 867; *avewe*, *Sordone of B.*, l. 390; on a *reve*, *Prol. to Leg. of G. W.*, A, l. 285; *Kn. Tale*, l. 2008; *H. of F.*, l. 1692; *rëvis* in Pecock's *The Repressor*, II. Chap. xi., l. 103; on *ræwe*, *Douglas*, *Prol. to Eneados*, l. 177; *Minot*, *Political Song*, l. 79; a long *ræwe* (: *alawe*) *King. Quair*, str. 154, l. 3; *ræwe*, *Hons of Fame*, l. 1855; *ræwe* (: *loxe*), *King Horn*, l. 1092. Line 80 recalls *Aunc. Riuile*, p. 198: 'Her beoð nu areowe itold, etc.; p. 336: admonewardes *bi rewe* & *bi rewe*; *Langl. C. II. 22*; And rekene hem by *reve*. *ræwe*, *Spec. MS. R*, is the scribe's form for *reve*, and is not to be referred to O.E. *ræw*.

l. 81. also l. 139. The list of the virtues follows, as based on the classification of Alcuin's *Liber*. They are *virtue*, l. 71, 79.

l. 82. *be rede*: The suggestion of MS. R as to the syntax of the line in the construction, is *my rede*, is not to be accepted. *rede* cannot be in the nominative case, but must be a dative, object of the preposition *be*.

l. 83. *bileue*: O.E. *gelēwa*, N.E. *belief* through M.E. *bilewe*. Compare
with the verb l. 84, *biene, to remain,* < bediffan, M.E. *beline,* and Skeat's note to Leg. of G. W., l. 10; *Gen. and Ex.,* l. 1332: *'Ysauc bileuf unstlagen.'

1. 85. *mikenesse:* The spelling with *ie* in MS. A is due, as in the case of N.E. *believe,* to Norman-French influence through analogy with such words as N.E. *grief.* The spelling *mikenesse* occurs in *Political Songs of England,* p. 335: *'So is mikenesse driven adown, and pride is risen on heih.'* In the later MSS, inorganic *e* unites the suffix with the root. The metrical quality of the verse is improved by the reading *mikenesse.*

1. 88. The verse describing true humility is to be read as follows:

*Pat is verray · humilité.*

1. 89. *And:* also l. 649, regular M.E. form for *if.* It is used by Lydgate, *T. of Gl.,* ll. 1002, 1289; Spenser, and of course by Chaucer; *Pearl,* str. 47, l. 8; *Tit. And. II,* l. 69; Bacon, Essay 23, l. 38. Cf. *an't,* *Macbeth,* III. vi. 19.

The rime *ore:* (*more*) occurs in *The Eel of Tedul,* ll. 586, 587: *'Y ask mercy for goddys *ore*': (*more*). Compare *Speculum,* l. 540: *'crief merci and ore': (*ore*). See Zupitza, *Guy of W.,* note to l. 8280.

1. 92. Line 92 is repeated l. 1474. The rime *repentunce:* *penance* occurs lines 474, 770, and l. 830 in *H.* Read l. 92 as follows:

*And rédi *préföre* · to dó *penance.*

 redes: vb. *prepare?* sb. *readiness?* or supplying be : *be ready?*

1. 94. *shrife of moue:* also l. 473, a typical M.E. expression. See Zupitza, note to *Athelston,* v. 1, 688; Leonard, note to the poem *Ams der Hölle,* l. 51; *Pers. T.,* l. 29; *Rel. Ant.,* p. 243, II.; and Skeat's note to *cordis contritione,* O.E. *Homily,* *Hie dic est,* l. 58, where the second step in contrition is described as *'confession of mouth,'* *Oris confessione* of l. 56 of the same homily. See Skeat's illustrations and his annotation to the lines 55 ff.: *'he (i.e. *god-almihtiu*) hanec génus us to beon mun*̄* s*̄* freo, pet we *majen mid ure mu*̄*š bringen us ut of *̄*isse patte' ... *pür̄* *mu*̄*šes openunge.'

1. 97. *peves:* i.e. *god thewys,* *Ipotis,* l. 179; *heaven peves,* *Suvels Warde,* ll. 40, 41; *-eere,* 2 N. T., l. 101; *Prov. of Hedyng,* ll. 4, 5:

*... monie peves*

*Forte teche fele shrewes.*

**Page 7.** l. 101. *pe wicke peves:* *foul peves,* l. 72, and *gode peves,* l. 97, make up the *peves,* the mental qualities, discussed by Skeat, note to *Leg. of G. Women,* l. 2577. *wikked theves* are described in *The Hous of Fame,* l. 1834, and, on ground of Alcuin's *Liber,* are limited to the vices as defined by the *Ancren Riwle,* p. 198: *'pe seonen heaned suneun,* popular everywhere in literature of the Middle Ages. See for the *seven deadly sins,* *MS. Cot. Ap.* 45; *Stürzinger Le Peterinage de Vie humaine,* p. 332, *'the final assault of the seven deadly sins':* *Ancre. Riwle,* p. 198 ff.: *'Her beos unw areawe itold pe seonen heaned suneun':* 1. *pe Liun of Prude;* 2. *pe Neddre of attri Onde;* 3. *pe Unicorne of Wreðse;* 4. *pe Bore of heui Sloude;* 5. *pe Vox of zicounge;* 6. *pe Suwe of ziuernesse;* 7. *pe Scorpion of Lecherie.*

*necepne:* *necepne* probably with double thesis at the casura, or *necepne* with apocope of -e, caused confusion with the copyist, as is proved by the variants. *necepne* was transcribed in various ways in l. 108.

1. 102. *muche shrewes:* very bad qualities. The *Speculum* employs the substantive *shrewes,* where the adjective is expected. This construction is not uncommon in M.E. See *A Poem on the Times of Edward II.,* l. 406, and *mooe shrewes,* *The Tale of Gamelyn,* ll. 6, 230.
moche: Skeat discusses the use of *moche* as applied to size, *Gamelyn*, note to l. 230.

\(\text{pron.} \): *shrewes*: The same rime occurs, *Prov. of Hend.*, ll. 4, 5, *Conf. Amant.*, Bk. vii., l. 44, and *Hons of Fame*, ll. 1834 ff. Compare line 102 with Chaucer’s verses, ll. 1830 ff.:

> We ben shrewes, every wight,
> And han delyte in wikkednes,
> As gode folk had in goodnes;
> And foie to be knowne *shrewes*,
> And fulle of vice and wikked *thewes*.

MS. R of the *Speculum* purifies the diction of the line by the removal of the redundant expression illustrative of litotes, *noht gode*, placing the verse in type D:

> 'pite arc, swithe, mykel *shrewes*.'

1. 103. *led*: *red* : of MS. \(\text{A}_1\) is undoubtedly a scribal error. Read *rede* (dat. plu.) : *led* (inf.) on authority of the other MSS., and according to the laws governing the inflection of the poem. Final *e* was pronounced. See Introduction.

1. 104. *stronge*: See Sievers, § 299, N. 1. The *e* is to be added on account of the metre. It seems to be authorized by the O.E. form.

1. 105. *is hit*: to be retained on authority of the oldest MS. Logically stress should be given to *is* rather than to *it*, as is required by group \(\text{Y}\). The verse is unmistakably type C. It would be impossible to read *godē*. \(\text{H}_1\) remodels the verse according to type D.

1. 106. *For*: *For*, \(\text{H}_1\text{R}\), is to be cancelled. It exists only in one group of related texts.

1. 107. *Line* 107 is unsatisfactory in any of its readings. Refer to the Introduction, Chapter over Versification.

1. 109. *Pride*: *Pride* occurs in its normal M.E. position, standing first in the list of the vices. This is the arrangement of Alcuin in the *Liber*, Chap. XXVII., *De octo vitiiis principalibus & primo de Superbia. Primum vitium est superbia*, de qua dictur: *Initium omnis peccati superbia, que regina omnium malorum*: Chap. XXIII., *Maximum diaboli peccatum fuit superbia*. It is the order usual in enumerations of this period. *Pride* is the first sin in Gower’s *Confessio* and in *The Persones Tale*, as Schick has indicated in his note to *T. of Gl.*, l. 761. This view is confirmed by the old poem, *The Liif of Adam*, and in *Rel. Ant.* and Chancer’s *Pers. Tale*.

*The Liif of Adam*, l. 61: ‘ . . . . for it com out of henen,
And was the form[est] sinne of seven.’

*Rel. Ant.*, p. 166: ‘Pride is out and pride is ine,
And pride is rot of every sinne,
And pride will never blyne!’

*Pers. Tale*, l. 834: ‘The rol of thish sinnes than is pride,’ etc.

See Skeat’s note, Langl., p. vi., l. 118, and Werner with reference to Hraban, Theodulf, Prosper, etc., pp. 253, 254. *Pride* is described in *The Simonie*, ll. 459, 460:

> ‘Pride priketh aboute, wid withe and wid onde:
> Pes, lone, and charite hien hem out of londe.’

See also lists of Hampole, of the *Ancren Riwle*, etc. See note to l. 18. *Cp. R. of Gl.*, ll. 185 ff.:

> ‘... turnde to sleupe & to prude & to lecherie,
> To glotonie, (& heye men ‘ muche to robberie).’

*Ipotis*, l. 410: ‘*Pryde* is a synne most of plyghte,
Pat wrattheb Jesus, ful of myghte.’
Compare l. 109 with Maundeville, p. 3: Pryde, Covetyse, and Envye, han so enflamed the Hertes of Lordes of the world, etc.

l. 111. on of po: pleonastic also in Ipotis, D l. 171: ‘Erpe .. is on of po.’

l. 114. The vocabulary of the Speculum is enriched by scribal interpretation of the pisterenesse: dyrkenes, MSS. DH, merkenes MS. R. myrkenes is used also in Tyndale, ll. 182, 437, 1122, 1205, and by Hampole, Prick of Conscience, see l. 7820: ‘pare es, withouten myrknes, lyght.’ Read here -wisse, to rime with blisse.

Tyndale, l. 181: ‘Pou shalte to fire withouten ende
And to merknes art pou frende.’

Macbeth, V, i. 40: ‘Hell is murky.’

Which doth to Slaught his reverence,
As he which is his chamberlein.’

leccherie: See Ipotis, text D, l. 406: ‘lecherye is pe devels net,’ recalling the world’s painter, l. 18 of the Speculum. The line is to be compared with Ipotis, D lll. 356, 357: ‘
And glotonye is pe furhe brojer,
Lecherye is pe ferpe,
On of pe wurste above erpe.’

l. 117. Accetie: normal form accidie; O.Fr. accide; Lat. accidia; the mental prostration of the recluse after fasting or other excess of asceticism. See Murray’s Dictionary under accidie, and Langl. V. B, l. 366: C, l. 417: ‘After al this exesse, he had an accidie.’ Accidia is the lazy parson of Jusserrand’s Piers Plowman, p. 235. It occurs often as a synonym of sloth, e.g. Ancr. Roric, p. 208: ‘me not nout þonne is hit zumeleste, under accidie þet ich cleoped slouhe’; The Persones Tale, ll. 1649 ff.: ‘the sinne of accidie, or slonth’; l. 1691: ‘roten sinne of accidie and slonthe.’ But thus Aȝenbite, l. 10: ‘Steathhe þet i clepeþe cleirje accidie, but this is not the application of the poet of the Speculum, as l. 121 distinctly tells us: ‘Accetie is slwynes brojer.’ See Ancr. R., p. 286: ‘Accidies salue is gostlich gledschipe.’ See also The Seven Deadly Sins of London, Thomas Decker, 1606. Persones Tale, ll. 1650 ff.: ‘Accidie maketh him hevy, thoughtfull and wrawe’; ‘bitternesse is mother of accidie’; ‘accidie the anguish of a trouble herte’; ll. 1827 ff.: ‘ther ben .. remedies agenst accidie,’ etc.
as: is to be omitted on authority of four MSS. For the redundant as in the sentence, cf. Schick, T. of Gl., l. 38. See also l. 121.

l. 119. wisse: O.E. wissian, to teach, see Schick’s note, T. of Gl., l. 637.

11. T. Spring

126. The Godess
derne is united with the history of rune; 'Godess derne rune,' Orm.

18,786, 18,864; 'God [scheawede] his derne runes,' Aner. Riwle, p. 154,

fol. 40; Godes derne runes, p. 96; Spring Time ('Specimens of Lyric

Poetry,' II., p. 49), II. 28 ff.: 'Deawes donke\(^{\dagger}\) be donnes,

Deores wip huere derne rovnnes,

Domes forte deme.'

See King Horn, 1363; 'He louede Horn wel derne'; Cursor Mundi,
v. 32 of 'The Visit of the Magi':

'\(\dagger\)be thoughtfust amang \(\ddagger\)am selue,

and did \(\ddagger\)am in a montain dorn,

[Biseli] to wait \(\ddagger\)e stern.'

Compare underne, 'not secret,' Aner. Riwle, p. 24; Wicl., John iv. 6;

Mand. 163; Shor. 84. For its derived and secondary meaning see

Clerkes Tale:

l. 260: 'The tyme of 

uderne of the same day.'

l. 981: 'Abouten underne gan this erl alghyte.'

Ornm., l. 19,458: 'An da\(\ddagger\) at unosserne time.'

See also Aner. R., p. 24: 'Fistene psalmes sigge\(\ddagger\) abutan undern deies.'

l. 124. annied: annied occurs in the sense of wearied, troubled, or

relyant, in several instances in The Persones Tale. See Havelok, l. 1735,

and Pers. T., l. 1683, 1684: 'Of accidie cometh first that a man is annied

. . . to do any goodnesse'; l. 1656: 'It [accidies] is annoye of goodnesse.'

l. 125. MS. H\(\ddagger\) places the line under type A by the substitution of

Welofte for Offte.

mourninge: Read mounninge, dative, to rime with springe. Final -e

do the infinitive is pronounced in the verse of the Speculum. Read

swichet, cancelling wichte, as Prof. Schick suggests, for the improvement

of the metre.

l. 126. Wanhope: a fine English word, suggesting unhope of Lang-

land's story of the cats and the mice, and described in Ipolis, text D, ll.

422: Wanhope is \(\ddagger\)e priddle broper; ll. 447:

'Wanhope it is a\(\ddagger\)oer synne,

That manely a man is bonden in,

Yf a man be falle \(\ddagger\)ermine

And doth it ever and wille not blyny,

And truoweth not god, ful of mylt,

The fende to wanhope hym plyt,

That he wil no mercy crave,

For he hopeth non to have.

And for that wanhope, wrytyn I fynde,

He goth to helle withouten ende.'

See also T. of Gl., ll. 673 and 805, and the quotation cited in Schick's note
to line 248, Life of our Lady, 1, 8: a:

'It is also the myghty panyce fayre,

Ageyn wanhope and dysperation,

Cristal sheldel of pallas for dispayre.'

Ham. Pr. of C., l. 2226: 'Pai sal fande at his last endyng

Hym into wanhope for to bring.'

Kn. Tale, l. 391: 'Wel oughte I Sterve in wanhope and distresse'; T. of

Gl., l. 895: wanhop & dispaire; The Persones Tale, ll. 1705-6: wanhope
... despeir of the mercy of God. See Hampole, P. of C., l. 2229. See also the last paragraphs of The Persones Tale, pp. 580 ff. (Tyrwh.), and Confessio Amantis, pp. 213, 214 of Morley's edition.

Page 8. l. 127. Type A is to be preserved on authority of three MSS., but bote being supported by the oldest text.

l. 129. Wrother hele: This beautiful old construction occurs in Seint Marherete, l. 10, and was, therefore, in use so early as 1200. Wrother hele was commonly made the object of a preposition, as in MS. H 2: With wrother hele, or to wrother hele, as in O. E. Misc., p. 48: The Life of St. Juliana, text A, l. 47: 'tu seist to wrother heale'; l. 92: 'tu wra^er heale inwurden'; l. 118: 'sinken to wrother heale ow to be bale bitter deope into helle.'

Anec. R., p. 102: 'Go ut ase dude Dina, Jacobes douther to wrother hele.' O. E. Hom., p. 33, has wrother hele and ufiele hele. Wroper hele is to be construed as the old gen. of the fem. adj. wráþ (O.E. ending -re) combined with hele, O.E. hálh, wráþ signifying bad, angry, hálh, health. See note to Cursor Mundi, l. 257, for explanation of the construction. Wroper hele is found Lacmon, l. 29,536; Rbt. of Breune, ll. 104, 201, 291. See the related goderhele with parallel construction, R. of Gl., l. 7570: 'pat goder hele al engelond was heo euer ibore.' See wassail.

Compare with the idiomatic phraseology of l. 129, verses 301 of Piers Pl. and King Richard.

Spec., l. 129: 'Wrojer hele was Judas born.'

P. Pl., l. 301: 'For to wrojer hele was he iworyst.'

K. Rich., l. 129: 'Why shope thou me to wrojer hele.'

l. 130. lorn: preserved on authority of the oldest and best MS., for logical and metrical smoothness in the verse.

l. 131. Line 131 may have two readings according to the stress attributed to Merci:

'Merci he les · þúwr þat sinne' D.

'Merci he les · þúwr þat sinne' C.

The theology of verses 129—131 is not based on scriptural text. It finds parallel in The Persones Tale, ll. 1713 ff.: '... he that is despeired, ther nis no felonie, ne no sinne, that he douteth for to do, as shewed wel by Judas.' The sin wanhope, despair of the mercy of God, is described in the next to the last paragraph of the Tale, ll. 3 ff.: 'The first wanhope cometh of that, he demeth that he hath sinned so greatly and so oft, and so long lyen in sinne, that he shall not be saved.' See also Conf. Amant., p. 213:

l. 37: 'Also whan he is falle in sinne. Hem thenketh he is so souplable, That god wolle nought be mercieable So great a sinne to foryive.'

l. 56: 'Wanhope folweth atte laste, Whiche may nought longe after laste. But god wot whider he shall wende!'

l. 133. birede: MSS. A,D R, and perhaps A 2, support the reading birede through slightly corrupted forms.

ll. 137, 138. sarmoun : leszoun: See notes to lines 57, 58.

l. 139. MS. A 2 supplies the ellipsis by which Wisdom, l. 139, is left without a predicate: Wisdom vse vse, etc. Otherwise there is no clue to the exact meaning intended by the poet. For mediaeval interpretation of wisdom, see other M. E. texts, for instance, The Owl and the Nightingale, ll. 1755, 1756:
‘Par he demep manie rihte dom,
    And dihit and writ mani wisdom,
    And þurh his mujye and þurh his honde
Hit is þe betere into Scottonde.’

See a MS, discourse over wisdom:
‘There is no thynge better than wysdome, ne no þyng sweeter than konnynge, ne no thynge lustyuer than knowlge, ne no thynge worse than lewdenes. It is an highe godenes of god to knowe what þou schuldest do and eschew. And it is an high wrothidnes not to knowe where þou gost. þer for lone wysdome and it schall be schewed vnto þe. Go to it, and it schall come to þe. Be besy there aboute, and it schall lerne the.’ Selected from ‘the boke’ ‘to enforce man howe he schulde flee vice and folowe vertus by consideration of a man himself.’

1. 140. erere: also l. 168, not a common form; comp. of ar. It is not preserved in later MSS. of the Spec. It is retained on authority of MS. A, seide: Read sede. The rime demands sede (drede: sede). < O.E. sáde. < O.E. swýde. See Phonology. reed: seed occurs Fl. and Bybl., l. 52.

1. 143. do god: The preacher was eminently a philanthropist. He continually emphasized the doctrine of good works, gode dede. See ll. 461, 674, 860—876, etc.

1. 144. rod: Chaucer would have spoken rodé. Final -e is to be expected, but on basis of the co-ordinate rime, rod: god (adj. with subst. use) rod is to be read without a syllabic final -e.

1. 146. inonh: inonh as well as god (N.E. God), lines 25 and 35 are argument in support of a type C. Neither can be read with the final -e necessary to prevent the clashing of two stressed syllables at the caesura. 1. 147. perwic: MS. A preserves the correct form perwicth to rime with griþ in opposition to the false orthography per wicth of MS. A. 1. 148. merci and griþ: Examples of the juxtaposition of merci with griþ are not abundant. Pes and griþ are more commonly united. See Kölbing, Sir Beues, note to A, l. 849.

Page 9, l. 149. þis: i.e. þis of MSS. A, II, written in full þis is in MSS. A, II, is to be regarded as monosyllabic as in A. The contraction occurs in Chaucer and Lydgate. See the illustrations cited by Schick, T. of G., l. 496.

1. 151. honour: honors, i.e. the material conditions that are accompanied with honor, see ll. 152—158. The figure is metonymy.

1. 152, also 163. londes: rentes: londis, rentis in H1; ‘Londys: rentys in H2; R. of Gl., ll. 2462, 6628, 6630, 7585, 7686, 8565, 10,267, 10,268.

bour: Bur as inner and private department was distinguished from hall, O.E. heald, in the O.E. period. See Beowulf, l. 140: ‘ræste sóhte bed after bærnum,’ see also ll. 1311 and 2456; Murray, N. E. Diet., under borer. Illustrations from M.E. texts are as follows: Orm, l. 8134: ‘Onnfasst to kingess bure’; bour occurs in figurative usage, Aner. Rúte, p. 34, fol. 8: ‘þet into over breoste bur is ilith of heouene’; p. 102, fol. 25: þine horte bur; K. Horn, l. 386: ‘al þe bur gan lícte’; 729: ut of bure of lore; 1472: at Fikenuhldes bure; also 273, 290, 400, and many additional instances; Langl. (redaction A, III), 13, 14:

‘. . . . . . . . the Justise soon
Busked him into the bour, ther the buyrde was inne.’

And C. VII, l. 288; B. V., l. 222:

‘The beste laye in my bour, and in my bed chambre.’

Harrowing of Hell, l. 31: ‘He ilihte of his heþe tour
Into scinté Marie bour.’
Gamelyn, l. 405: 'If I leete the goon out of his bourn.'
Sir Beues, A, l. 160: 'Je leuedi a fond in hire bourn.'
Parl. of E, l. 304: 'Of braunches were her halles and her bourses.'

bour and halle are described together in Guy of Warwick, B, 102, The Nonne Prestes Tale, l. 12; Spenser has in bowre or hall, Faerie Queene, I, viii, str. 29, l. 9; from inner bowre, I, viii, str. 5, l. 6; Guy of Warwick, l. 2674: maybe bright in bowre; Pearl, str. 81, l. 3-4:

'Bryng me to that bygly bykle,
And let me se thy blysful bor.'

The word was still in use in Spenser's time. It occurs in the Prothalamion:

l. 14: '... daintie gemmes
Fit to decke maydene bowres.'

l. 91: 'Ye gentle Birdes! the worlds faire ornament
And heauens glorie, whom this happie hower
Doth leade into your lovers blissfull bowre.'

L. Allegro, l. 87: '...
in haste her bowre she leaves,
With Thestyflies to bind the sheaves.'

The original significance of the O.E. bûr was lost early. It seems to be retained by Tennyson and Scott:

Godiva, l. 42: 'Then fled she to her innmost bowre.'

'There were twa sisters sat in a bowr,
Edinborough, Edinborough.
Ther cam a knight to be their wooer,' etc.

Bayard Taylor retains a trace of the earlier significance in The Poet of the East, l. 3.

H₂ reads halle and bowre, bowre in rime with honoure. The Speculum does not preserve honoure with variable stress, but retains the old accent honour. The alternative honour is not found.

halle, A₂D halles: the public room characteristic of English life in this period, early the centre of social activity and the seat of conviviality, as described in O.E. poems, Beowulf, Andreas, etc. See Heyne, Heorot; Grimm, Andreas and Elene xxxvii; and illustration in Gnomic Verses, l. 28 f.:

'... cyning seael on healle
 hyster dieulan ...

Distinction between halle and bour seems to be defined in Hartmann's Tewein, ii, 77 ff.

l. 153. silver and gold: related terms often used conjointly in M.E. texts: for example Rbt. of Gl., A 285, 2609, 3552, 3559, 4013, 5543, 8292; Sir Beues, A l. 562: al be seluer ne al be golde; A l. 2616: Naiper for seluer ne for golde; Rich. C. de L., l. 3796: Arthur and Merlin, l. 128; King of Tars, V l. 81; Seven Sages, A l. 2719; Alisaunder, l. 103.

l. 154. tresor ... bold: 'stores? of treasure'... 'buildings.' For bold, see Riddle, No. 16, l. 8-9:

'... pâr ic wie hûge,
bold, mid bearnun, ond ic bide pâr ...

See Merlin's description of the sword of Arthour:

Ich am yhote Escalibore,
Unto a king a faire tresore.'

Rbt. of Gl., l. 7133: tresour ... gold; Sir Beues, A l. 1504: gold ... tresor;
Rbt. of Gt., l. 372: Tresour ... oþer god.
l. 155. mete . . . drinke: another instance of juxtaposition of ordinary terms, illustrated with frequency; Sir Beues, A l. 2125: 'Mete and drinke pai hadde ayyn'; also Lawfuld, l. 340; the litotes Gamelyn, l. 390: 'mete ne drynk had he non'; Ritd. of Gl., ll. 8808, 8848, 11,294, 11,997: Sompnoures Tale, l. 167: Of mete and drinke. See a poem Aus der Hülle, ed. Leonard, l. 57 of text A:

'In delycate metys I sette my delyte
And myghty wynes vnto my pay.'

metys (plural in -ys); is the reading of H. The meaning is probably general for food, as l. 900 and Marlowe's Faustus, st. I, l. 164. See Kölb-\-ing’s note, Sir Beues, A l. 1570 and A l. 1739.

drinke: This is a plural form to rime with swinke, inf. in -e, the swinke of later MSS. See Kölb-\-ing’s note to Sir Beues, M. l. 1047.

riche: translated as 'delicious' by Kölb-\-ing, Sir Beues, O, l. 2846. 'A ryche souper there was dyght.' It could appropriately have the same meaning here, but 'highly seasoned' is to be preferred. H \(^1 \) proposes goode drinke. Riche is to be distinguished from Riche l. 153, used in the sense of 'costly': cf. Richesses, 'costly articles,' P. Pl., A III., l. 24. See in note to l. 155 the qualities ascribed to met and drink, l. 57, A poem Aus der H., perhaps equivalent to riche.

l. 156. swinke: to labour hard. Read swinke according to the inflec-\-tional characteristics of the Speculum. swinke, a common word in M.E., is not to be found in Shakspeare. See Skeat, Leg. of G. W., note to l. 2041.

perfore: 'for it,' as in Marlowe's Faustus, the last line of the first scene.

l. 157. Hede of bodi: also Persons Tale, l. 786. hyde: here 'human skin.' See Breul's note to Sir Gowther, l. 33; The Erl of Toulous, l. 189: hew and ek of hyde, hyde in rime with pryde.

l. 158. los: 'renew' on account of vice as well as of virtue; see note, Prompt. Parv., and reference to Sir Gowther, l. 186:

'His loose sprong ful wide
because of sacrilegious deeds.'

Manual., p. 108: 'Heroudes of grete name and los for her crueltie.' In the meaning glory (Rehun) los occurs in sense of good renown, Langl. viii, l. 109 (C), 'joure goode los to shewe'; xiv. l. 111: 'good los of his hondes; Hous of Fame, 1621, 1722, etc. Tobler in Chrest., on 'Half Church Latin,' disclaims the derivation of los from the French: Church-Latin lawa, Fr. los, M.E. lps. See note to l. 166, and Skeat's note to Leg. of G. W., l. 1514: 'Erecules, that had the grete los.' For the combined use of los in both senses, Hous of Fame gives example, ll. 1618 ff.:

' . . . . I graunte yow,
That ye shal have a shrewed fame
And wikked los and worse name,
Though ye good los have wel deserved.'

See Kölb-\-ing's note to los, Sir Beues, M. l. 22.


hem 'drinke: me thinkes of Shakspeare, O.E. *æpsecan, *æht, ge*æht, him pouhte. l. 32, impersonal verb followed by O.E. dative, here hem or hym. See notes to ll. 521 and 648, and Zupitza's note to Guy of Warwick, l. 385, also l. 6223, Gamelyn, l. 398, and Yeart:

str. 46, l. 12: 'Uss thynk uss oghe to take more.'
str. 47, l. 1: ‘More haf we served was thynk so.

Then thys . . . . . . . . . . . . .

l. 160. **bouhte . . . dere:** common M.E. phraseology for ‘redeemed,’ of Is. lxiii, 9, or ‘bought with a price;’ 1 Corinthians. vi. 20. See Kölbings’s note to Sir Beves, A, l. 566, including Breul’s to Sir Gouther, l. 3, and Skeat’s to Parid. Tale, l. 501. Compare **bouhte . . . sore,** l. 236, and the following illustrations, where the application is sometimes different from the scriptural sense and is adapted to the language of ordinary life:

Hymn on the Nativity, l. 152: ‘That on the bitter cross
Must redeem our loss.’

Shep. Cal., May, l. 299: ‘set too dear a price.’

July, l. 148: ‘Whose love he bought too dear.’

Pearl, str. 62, l. 1: ‘This maskelle perle that bought is dere,

l. 3: Is lyke the reme of hevenes clere.’

Townl. Myst., l. 244: ‘I have theym bought again
With shedyng of my blode.’

Mundus et Infans, l. 291: ‘bonerly bought you on the roode tree.’

Pearl, str. 75, l. 5: ‘For thay arn bought fro the urthe alyont.’

Maund., Prof. to Voitage, l. 41: ‘how dere he boughte . . . and how dere he anebought us, for the grete love . . .’

Pe Wohunge of u. Lauerd, l. 120: ‘pe blod, pat me bohte.’
l. 125: ‘siën pat tu bohtes herte for herte.’
l. 140: ‘mi lines lune, wiß þi blod þu haues me boht.’

The riming word is **bouhte,** ll. 26 and 226, as referred to in Kölbings’s note and illustrated in that connection. See also as follows:

Poema Morale, l. 184: ‘wel dore he us bohte.’

T. of Gl., l. 1258: ‘And more of pris, when it is dere boste.’

Comp. of Mars, l. 167: ‘I yaf my trewe servise and my thoghth,
For evermore—how dere I have it boht!’

**ful:** supplied from MSS. A, DH, H, R. **vel of A,** illustrates skipping, the eye of the copyist probably catching the word from **vel,** l. 161.

be seynyte John: l. 161 in MS. H. **Common in Chaucer, Somp. Tale, l. 175:** Man of L. T., l. 1019; Parid. T., l. 1522; Bok of the D., l. 1319; Parid. of F., l. 451. See Kölbings’s note, Sir Beves, M, l. 314, under illustrations of **wes I nevere none and be sein Ion,** Beves, A, l. 2747; l. 4377; O, l. 3571; The Erl of T., ll. 152, 517, 793, 931, 971, 1192.

Latini. **nihil . . . quam:** MS. A reads ‘nichil . . . quam.’
l. 161. **fulle vel:** freely translated ‘may happen perchance.’ Somp. Tale, l. 5, ‘And so befell . . . on a day;’ also The Erl of T., ll. 22, 181, 493, 997: N. Prestes Tale, l. 452, ‘so befell.’

on a day is to be referred to l. 49 of the Speculum; l. 61 of Tondale. **vel:** catel: The same rime occurs ll. 578, 895, 942.
l. 163. **londes, rentes:** ‘property and its revenues;’ also l. 152 and March. Tale, l. 67. Rbt. of Gl., l. 451, explains the terms:

‘. . . . . . & þei a londe igranted were
To a man to bere þecurere a certein rente bi þere.’

The Nonne Prestes Tale expresses the idea, l. 7: ‘catel and rente.’
l. 164. **pore of nod:** Compare the various expressions of humility as represented in M.E. interpretation and by the poet: ‘low of herte,’ l. 165; ‘halt permide noht,’ l. 171; ‘hoide love,’ l. 179.
l. 165. **ful ivis:** See note to l. 723.
l. 166. **litel prys:** ‘praise,’ ‘price,’ = ‘value;’ recalling los l. 158, the
two words perhaps synonymous in Sir Benes: M. l. 22, 'For to wynne price and loos'; M. l. 3888, 'lose ne of price'; T. of Gl., l. 1381: 'Now laude and pris.' Gamelyn increases the vocabulary growing from pris with the meaning valour, ll. 772 and 804: 'Jonge men of prys.' See also T. of Gl., l. 1258, quoted in note to l. 160. Other M.E. meanings are as follows:

Pearl, str. 35, l. 11: 'Hys prese, his prys, and hys parage.'

T. of Gl., l. 1380: 'A litel tretise . . . . . .

In pris of women, oulil for hit sake.'

Minot, Polit. Song, l. 25: 'Pan fe riche floure-de-lice, Wan pare ful littil pris.'


ereve: See note to l. 140.

seide: Read sede, Southern form. See note to l. 140, and 'Introduction' under Inflection.

Page 10, l. 173. skilfulliche: a form not often cited in M.E. Hampsdle employs sylbrisl, Ps. xxxi. 6, with the meaning 'reasonable'; but Aynbite, l. 6, skelvolliche, 'skillfully,' and Chaucer, Compl. of Mars, l. 155, skillfully in the sense of particularly:

C. of M., l. 155: 'The ordre of compleynt requireth skilfully,

That if a wight shal pleyne pitously . . .'

S. N. T., l. 320: 'Men myghten dreden wel and skilfully' (= reasonably).

A corresponding adjective is to be found in Gorboedue, A, II. 2.11, l. 762:

'Lest skillesse rage throwe downe with headlong fall . . .'

The third York Play, l. 22: 'A skylfull beeste þan will y make.' See Orrum, l. 3715; P. of C., l. 1818; II. of F., l. 1750; Mannynge, Handl. Synne, l. 5827; Ancren Riwle preserves the substantive in its normal meaning, p. 346, 'consent of the mind,' skiles setlunge; York Plays, The Ascension, l. 113: 'Anodir skill forsoth is pis'; Pearl, str. 5, l. 6, 'Wyth fyrte skyllez' (timid reasons, see note), etc.: Thos. of Ercedd., see Brandl., l. 288: 'I sull þe telle þe skille.' Note the following combinations:

Lydg., T. of Gl., l. 1382: 'as it is skil & vpt.'

Ch., Leg. of G. W., l. 1392: 'skille and right.'

l. 385: 'As hit is right and skilful that they be.'

The Orrumulm, l. 12,336: 'Innsihht, & witt, & sheed, & skill.'

Sir Samuel Tuke (d. 1673) uses skill in its mediaeval sense, 'reason,' in The Adventures of Fice Hours, v. 3. l. 25:

'He is a fool, who thinks by force or skill

To turn the current of a woman’s will.'

Tuke’s lines are introduced in the Examiner, May 31, 1829, where skill is understood to mean in its modern character 'dexterity,' 'force.' They occur in paraphrases in Aaron Hill’s Epilogue to Zara.

The meaning of Icel. skilja, to divide, occurs perhaps in Taming of the Shrew, iii, 2. l. 34: 'it skills not much,' i.e. 'makes no difference.' See Skt., Ety., § 277. The new English significance is illustrated in Shakspeare’s time, see Cymb. II. 5, l. 33:

'Tis greater skill

In a true hate, to pray they have their will.'

See Rich. III, iv. 4. 116: Henry IV, Part I, v. l, l. 133; Pope, Essay on Criticism, l. 1:

'Tis hard to say, if greater want of skill

Appear in writing or in judging ill.'
1. **pine**: 'torture'; **hell pine** described ll. 277-284. *pine* is derived from *pēna*, Folk-Lat. pronunciation of Latin *poena*, 'satisfaction', 'punishment.' Gk. *pōnē*, penalty, according to Skeat, § 398. See O.H.G. *pīna*, G. *pein*, in distinction from M.E. *peyne* from the Fr. *peine*, with the meaning 'trouble.'

The interpretation ending here recalls the terms of the Hebrew philosophy where wisdom is identified with goodness, wickedness with folly. ll. 175-6, 187-188, 265-6, 876 suggest a fallacy of the mediaeval wisdom philosophy, converting the law, that prosperity is a result of righteousness, destruction of wickedness, into a barter of religious consecration.

ll. 177-188. This portion of the poem attains its highest delicacy in the expression of the doctrine of God's chastening, illustrating with peculiar force Heb. xii. 6 and Job v. 17:

'Whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth.'
'Behold, blessed is the man whom God correcteth;
Therefore despise not thou the chastening of the Almighty.'

The passage suggests a selection from Bede's *Eccl. Hist.*, ed. Miller, p. 68, l. 5 ff.: 'on dea se pat withe brwene heardor & strongor don sy, bonne is hit of lufan to donne . . . Forson þæm menn þuth þa þrea his bið gecgeawod, þet he ne sy seald þæm ean fyrum helle tintgres.'&

louerede: 'love tokens, 'loving kindness.' Is. lxiii. 7, a word not common in the vocabulary of the period. It is found in E. E. Psalter C. viii. 5 of the thirteenth century, in *Metrical Homilies* of the fourteenth century, and also in *Agenbite*, see Strat. Dict. Cf. *tune eie*, p. 430 Ancr. R.

1. 178. dreede: 'fear' in the sense of reverence, the line recalling Job iv. 6: 'Is not thy piety thy confidence?' where *piety* can be translated *fear of God. '"

ll. 179-180. Not found in MS. A, probably a careless omission of the scribe. The lines are introduced here on authority of five MSS. The reading is that of MS. A, etc.

l. 182. maken . . . lese: 'deliver from,' see Zupitza's note, *Guy of Warwick*, l. 10,112.

l. 185. hunger and purst: Rev. vii. 16: 'They shall hunger no more, neither thirst any more.' Conversely the mediaeval poet includes hunger and purst in ordinary enumerations of the tortures of hell, e.g. *Poema Morale.*

1. 229: 'On helle is hunger end ðurst, uene twa ifere.'
1. 197: 'purst end hunger . . . eche end eal un helxe.'

*Pers. Tale*, l. 286: 'They shul be wasted with hunger . . .
and the gall of the dragon shal ben hir drinke,'

Orrm., l. 1614: 'Æ pinenn þær þi bodiʒa
wód chele & frissst & hunger enr.'

The *Poema Morale*, in description of heaven, follows Rev. vii. 16.

1. 321: 'Né nuȝen hi werien heom wið purste ne wið hunger.'
1. 323: 'Ac þer nís hunger ne ðurst. ne dieð. ne unhelxe ne elde.'

l. 186. euer among: 'from time to time,' 'continually?' see Zupitza, note to *Guy of Warwick*, l. 650; Lüdtke to The *Erl of Toulous*, l. 748; and Kirke's note to *Shep. Cal.*, Dec., l. 112 (str. 19, l. 4), introduced as 'ever and anon'; *King Horn*, l. 1565; *Sir Benes*, O, l. 606; *Two Noble Kinsmen*, iv. 3, l. 86.

l. 188. to echen here bisse: Isaiah liv. 8: 'With everlasting kindness will I have mercy on thee.' The graceful climax ending here shows the earnest naiveté of the preacher, one of the notable charms of the poem. The pictorial quality of the verse is peculiarly vivid in these couplets.
l. 189. *ne*: MS. A₁ preserves type D. Five MSS. authorize the omission of *ne*. The verse is then to be read according to types C and D:

Mán, if þú lênest noht mé.

**Page 11.** l. 190. *bidene*: derived by Zupitza from *mid āne*, note to *Guy of Warwick*, l. 2498. Also II. 8720, 8748, 11.637. See Murray's *Oxford Dictionary*, and Gollancz's note to *Pearl*, str. 17, l. 4. *bidene* is of frequent occurrence, for instance Spec., l. 834 in *H₂*; Lüdtke, *Erl of Toulouse*, l. 1217; *Havelok*, in the sense of ‘forthwith,’ ll. 730, 2841, with reference to *Tristrem*, p. 45; *Metrical Psalter*, Psalm ciit, l. 74; and *Ormulum* as follows, l. 4793:

‘oon an day all *bidene.*

The New English derivative of *bidene* occurs in *Blackwood’s Magazine*, vol. xxviii, p. 738: ‘Read our Bibles, pray *bedeem.*’

l. 194. *wel witte*: a frequent expletive, often used merely to fill out an incomplete line, as in the *Speculum*, ll. 312, 637, 763, 895, 941, and Chaucer, *Prol.*, ll. 659, 711, 740, 771; *Rom. of Rose*, ll. 1355, 1504, 2018; *Havelok*, l. 2208; *Orm.* l. 112. For *wel ywote* cf. Zupitza's note to *Guy*, l. 11154.

l. 195. *is noht*: ‘is worthless,’ also the language of the Scriptures. See *Proverbs* xx. 14: 2 *Kings* ii. 19, etc.

ll. 196-198. *velle—spille*: 1 *Corinth.* v. 5: ‘destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved’; *Prov.* xix. 18: ‘him spare to cause him to die.’ See also *Prov.* xxiii. 14.

l. 196. *abuten*: ‘everywhere,’ ‘to full extent’; in l. 191 *aboute*, ‘around,’ ‘in the neighbourhood,’ explained by *Rbt.* of *Gl.*: *aboute in ech side*, ll. 3962, 4550, 6153, 6766; *aboute in ech ende*, ll. 22, 5545, 7473.

l. 201. *bi bilene*: a specific *Credo* rather than a distinct quality of faith as described by Alcuin. *bileue* is used by *Rbt.* of *Gl.* in this sense:

St. Dunst., l. 27: ‘To teche him his *bileue*, paternoster and crede.’

See *Credo* of the *Aænbite*, l. 1: ‘Ich lene ime god . . . makere of heuene and of erpe.’

ll. 204-206. *Eph.* iv. 6, reproduced in many M.E. texts, for example Chaucer, *The Seconde Nonnes Tale*, ll. 207 ff.:

l. 207: ‘Oo Lord, oo feith, oo god withouten mo,
             Oo Cristendom and fader of alle also . . .’

l. 340: ‘So, in *o being* of divinitee,
             Three persones may ther ryght wel be.’

*Conf. Aman.*, p. 344: ‘The High Almighty Trinite,
             Which is o God in Unité.’—l. 17.

*Ipitis*, l. 45: ‘. . . . . the sone
             The fadyr and þe holy goste, togeder wone
             Thre personys in trinite.’

ll. 203-212. See MS. *Arund.* 286: ‘Of þe Sacrament of þe auter;’ ‘þe pridde poynyt is of þe trinite, þat every man owyte studefastly to bylène
             inne þre þynge man owep to trowe of þe trinite; þe first þat þe fader and sone and þe holy gost is o god; þe seconde þat god is wipute bygynnynge and schal be wipowe end and þat he made alle þynge; þe pridde is þat þe sone was ever fro þe bygynnynge wip þe fader and þe holy gost connyng fro hem hoppe.’

l. 204. *o*: as in many MSS. of Chaucer’s text. There seems to be no ground for the alteration of o (text *A₁*) to oo (text *H₂*) as is regarded desirable by Skeat, note to *Nonne P. T.*, l. 207, cited note to ll. 204-6.

l. 207. *man*: The interpolation of *man* is not justified by the MSS. This is an instance in which *H₂* preserves the most vigorous expression
and the smoothest metre, and is in keeping with the general character of
the poem.

l. 208. in þin herte do: 'enter it into thy heart,' 'imprint it on thy
heart.' do is perhaps interpreted by the German einprägen.

l. 209-210. The substance of these lines is introduced freely in M.E.
texts. See also Rev. i. 8; Is. ix. 6; Heb. vii. 3:

Conf. Amant., p. 344: 'Withouten ende and beginning
And Creator of all things.'—l. 19.

Ipotis, l. 35: 'He is withowe begynnyng
And also withowte endynge.'

Poema Moral., l. 85: 'He is ord abuten orde, end ende abuten ende.'

beginning: ending: frequent rime. See Poema Morale, ll. 119, 120.

l. 210. Five MSS. require the omission of ne, giving illustration of
type C instead of type A:

'Ne néner shall · hán ending.'

l. 211. shappere . . . shaftes: frequent alliteration in this connection,
based on Col. 1. 16:

pe Wołungeo of u. Lauerd, l. 62: 'schappere of alle shaftes.'

Life of St. Jul., l. 8: 'pe lufsume lauerdo þat shuypte alle shaftes.'

Poema Morale, l. 84: 'he scyp calle þe scealfe (sop alle softer, Tr. MS.).'

Hom. Good Shew., l. 8: 'hit enig gescæft is god . . . seo gódnyis [is] of ðam
seycypende.'

Ælfred, True Nobility, l. 17: 'Gode is fader calra gescæfta . . . hi calle
ges scop.'

Minot, Polit. Song, l. 1: 'God, þat schyope both se and sand . . .'

Compare also as follows:

Destr. of Troy, l. 1: 'Mais'ur in magese, maker of alle,
endles and on, euer to last.'

l. 212. shappere—made man: See Gen. ii. 3: 'created and made,'
King James's version.

Page 12, ll. 213, 214. Interpretation of the passage is difficult.
Copyist's forms do not aid in a decision.

l. 213. after his owen face: See Gen. i. 27: 'created man in his own
image'; l. 26: 'after our likeness.' The text is frequently quoted in
M.E.

Ipotis, B, l. 541: ' . . . god made Adam,

And schoppé hym after hys owen face.'

Nassington, On the Trinity, l. 96: '— mad hym aftere thyne owene
likenesse.'

Maund., Voïage, l. 41: 'man, that he made after his owne image.'

Aënonite, p. 57, l. 17: 'huer by we byeþ yssape to his ymage.'

l. 52: 'to þe ymage and to þe antylkesse of god.'

l. 10: 'sop þe zale to his anlynesse an to his fourne.'

l. 214. heih: 'holy,' Almighty.

l. 215. fre power: The doctrine of predestination settled with
the poet in distinction from Chaucer, see The Nonne Prestes Tale, ll. 411-
417, 422-430.

l. 219. Wheþer: 'which of two,' Read Whe'r as monosyllable, see
Skeat's note to Leg. of G. W., l. 72, and Whe'r, ll. 272, 536, 872.

l. 223. Adam . . . forme man . . . singyn began: Common M.E.
phraseolgy. See as follows:

Maund., ProL Voïage, l. 26: 'for the synne of oure forme fader Adam.'
Critical and Explanatory Notes. Page 12, ll. 223—232. 67

Poema Morale, l. 195: 'Vres formes federes gult we abigget alle.'

Pricke of C., l. 483: 'our forme fader . . . ' 'Our forme fader hit an byte.'


l. 227. wit: in the sense of the opening verses of Pricke of Conscience to be traced in other poems, see note to l. 339 and Add. MS. 11,304:

l. 1: 'Pe might of pe fader alle myhty,
pe witte of pe oone alle witty,
pe grace and pe godenes of pe holy goste
on god of myht moste,
be wit us at pis begynnyng
And byng vs to a gode endynyg.
pe myht of the fader alle myhty
pe witte of the sone alle witty.'

his: is D, ys H2: Sir Gower, l. 55.

l. 229. eging: 'urging,' 'instigation,' another instance of the connection of this word with the story of the fall, noted by Skeat, M. of L. T., l. 842:

M. of L. Tale, l. 842: ' . . . thurgh wommanes eggement
Mankynd was born and damned ay to dye.'

The Deluge, l. 241: 'Bot pur3 pe eggyng of eve ' he ete of an apple.'

Ipotis, l. 515: 'And kepyn hem from fel eggyngye.'

P. Pl., A 1, l. 63: 'Adam and Eve he eggede to don ille.'

Chester Pl., The Creation: 'And, man, also I say to the,
"thou hast not done after me,
Thy wife's counsell for to flee,
But done so her bydding."'

fend and Eve: 1 Corinth. xi. 3:

Gedicht aus d. Hölle, p. 62, l. 187: 'And that was thorow Erys rede
And pe deryll of helte, wele y wott.'

Ipotis, D, l. 276 (Adam speaks): 'The woman lyes me pertylle.'

l. 280 (Eve speaks): 'Lord, the older . . . gart me with gyll.'

Pers. Tale, l. 655:

'The fend tempted Eve'; 'Adam consented to the eting of the fruit.'

Eue: grene: The same rime is extant Handl. Sym., l. 140; P. Morale: eue: ileve, l. 174; Eue: leue, Pricke of C., l. 492.

l. 230. deede: 'committed.' gan: paraphrastic, to be omitted in translation.

l. 232. pyt: supplied from A3. D reads put, H2 pytle, R pytte; cf. l. 888; A1 has ipt, A2 pytle, D putte, H1 Ipilt. The prefix i- of the participle is not demanded by the rhythm. For the combination pyt + paradys, or pytne, see as follows:

Langl., B XV, l. 62: 'Pylte out of parlasy.'

Horn, l. 129: 'heo weren iptut ut of paradise.'

Adam and Eve, l. 123: 'Pylte out of parlasy.'

Langl., B XI, l. 157: 'Pylte oute of pytne.'

Langl., VIII, l. 96: 'to pytte adown the wikked.'

See further Sir Beues, A, l. 875; Aner. Ryrle, p. 366: 'hit wule pulton on hym'; Rel. Antiq., pp. 11, 244: 'to depe . . . pulte'; Wm. of Palerne, l. 381: 'pult hire in hope to hane'; K. Horn, l. 1457: 'agen hire pette'; O.E. Homilie, p. 197: 'hire ojer eare piletæ hire tail þerinne'; Halliwell, Ashm. MS. 61: 'I shalle hym pette.' The modern English form is found in Bryant's Cloud on the Way, l. 18:

'Pleasantly between the pelting showers,' etc.
See other versions of the ever popular history of Adam’s fall:

_Ipotis_, l. 547: ‘... wer damped into helle.’

Chaucer, _Monkes Tale_, l. 3203: ‘Was drive out of his heih prosperitee
To labour, and to helle, and to meschaunce.’

_Pard. Tale_, l. 505: ‘Adam our fader, and his wyf also,
Fro Paradys to labour and to wo
_Were driven_.’

l. 511: ‘... he was out cast to wo and payne.’

_Pers. Tale_, l. 623: ‘Adam ... must nedes die.’

l. 233. _Boxomere_: Cf. _Vexofoxoumesse_, l. 231; _Paradise Lost_, II. l. 842: _buxom air_, also _Faerie Queene_, I. 11; IX. 37, 6: _Shep. Cal._, _Sept._, l. 149: ‘they would be _buxom_ and bent.’ _L’Albecco_, l. 24; _The Delege_, l. 237: ‘Adam in obedeynt _ordaynt_ to blysse;’ Ch. _Monkes Tale_, l. 3202: ‘Adam . . . for misgovernance.’

_Tundale_, l. 1861: ‘That for goddis love wer _buxsum_.’

l. 1911: ‘The whyche wer to god _luxsum_ ay.’

l. 234. _him_: dat., indirect object.

l. 235. _lore_: _lore_, _instruction_, in sense of _persuasion_, as used by Kolbing, _Sir Boxes_. M, l. 1386.

l. 237. _freedom_: freedom with added sense of privileges; also _Hom_. ed. Morris, First Series, p. 41, l. 2.

_was binomen him al_: ‘was taken away entirely,’ he was deprived of. See O.E. _benimman_, governing the genitive. Cf. _ag_ _agon_, _Leg._ of _G. W._, l. 1766; _al to-shake_, l. 1765.

l. 238, _put_: Supply _he was_ for the sense. ‘He was thrown into servitude.’

Page 13. l. 239. _one_: Read probably _only_, to agree with five MSS. For _one_ see ‘Introduction’ under ‘Inflection.’

l. 240. The same material is found in other texts:

_Ipotis_, D, l. 305: ‘Thus Adam levedde in erthe here

When he was dede, into helle nome
And alle, _pat ever_ of _hym_ come.’

_Poena Morale_, l. 173: ‘_Erle _ga_ isprungen beco8 of adam end of _eue._’

l. 196: ‘_col his of spring after him._’

l. 241. _gile_: ‘beguiled’ in the Bible, 2 _Cor._ xi. 3. See M.E. texts:

_Ipotis_, D, l. 343: ‘But telle me, child, hit an pou can
Wharewith pe fend _begyled_ man.’

_Orrm._, l. 1412: ‘Orriuren ec fyrre heore _gilt._’

_The Deluge_, l. 241: ‘. . . . . . . . . . . an apple
_Pat enpoysened alle peple._’

l. 242, 243. _pite_. _lone_: _Isaias_ lxiii. 9: ‘In his _love_ and in his _pity_ he redeemed them.’ Compare _Piers Plowman_:

A I, l. 141: ‘He lokede on vs with _lone_ ’ and lette his sone dye.’

l. 145: ‘ _To have pite_ on _pat peple_, _pat pynde_ him to depe.’

l. 244, _man_: in general sense ‘people.’ See plural pronoun _hem_, lines 247, 248.

l. 244, 245. See other texts as follows:

_Orrm._, l. 183 (l. 187 f.): ‘purhr _patt_ he _comm to manne_ & _purrh_ _patt he warri_ _mann_ on man _erpe._’

l. 1860: ‘ _furr Crist iss_ _bafe_ _God_ & _mann._’

_Ipotis_, l. 331: ‘Godyis some _weute_ in _erpe_ here.’
l. 245. To some man: See Orrm., l. 1384: 'Forr us to cleensenn purrh hiss dāp off sinnen munclennesse.'

ll. 248, 249. See 1 Cor. xv. 3, and M.E. texts explaining pine, i.e. the penalty assumed in l. 246:

Orrm., l. 199: '... he jaff hiss aȝhenn lif

to polenn dāp o rode tre.'

Pref., l. 31: 'forr þatt he swallt o rode tre.'

l. 9: 'for Crist toc dāp o rode tre.'

Ipotis, B, l. 335: 'He suffred deth for oure gode.'

D, l. 319: 'And dede hym upon þe rode And bouȝt ons with his swet blode.'

Poema Morale (Jesus MS.), l. 187:

'Ve re alre louerd for vs þrelles, ipyned wes on rode.'

Þe W. of u. Lauerd, l. 115: 'Nu deis mi lef for me upo þe deore rode.'

l. 120: 'clenes tat herte, and cumes flowinde ut of þat wide wunde þe blod, þat me bohte.'

Pearl, str. 54, l. 9: 'Bot ther on-com a bote as týt;
Riche blod ran on rode so rogle,
As wynne water ......... .

Polit. Songs, p. 257: 'And for us don on rode
His swete herte blod he let.'

Orrm., l. 1368: 'þær Crist wass upp o rode tre
naȝyled forr wre nede.'

,, l. 1374: 'drane dæpess drinach o rode tre
forr wre woghe dedess.'

l. 248. on: Read onon, if five MSS. be authority for the correction.

ll. 248—250. See 1 Cor. xv. 4; Luke xxiv. 46. This material is drawn on freely in M.E. literature. The substance of this passage is to be traced in some form in most of the Mass Books and Prayer Books of the period.

The fundamental Credo is formulated by Michel in the Ȧenbite, l. 4:

'ynayled a rode, dyad, and be-bered, yede dom to helle. Þane pridde day aros uram þe dyade. Steaȝ to heuenes: zit aȝe riȝt halfe of god þe under al miȝt. þannes to comene he is to deme þe quike and þe dyade ....'  

ll. 249—257. Ibried he was: Compare Lay Folks Mass Book, ed. Simmons, ll. 217 ff.:

Mass Book, l. 217: '.... . deed he was,
layde in his graue,
þo soule of him went into helle
þo sothe to say;
Vp he rose in fleshe & felle
þo þyrd day.
Hé stegh til henen with woundis wide,
thurgh his bronste;
Now sittes opon his fader right syde
In mageste.
þeþ shal he come vs alle to deme.'

A Bestiary, l. 40: 'Doe ure drigten ded was,
...
In a ston stille he lai
til it cam ðe ðridde dai
...
he ros fro dede ðo,
vs to lif holden.'
l. 250, 251. See 1 Cor. xv. 4; Homilies of Wulfstan (ed. Napier), p. 105, and M.E. texts:

Orrm., l. 167: ‘& off patt he wisslike ras
pe bridde daʒ off diepē.’
l. 215: ‘Purrh patt he ras forr ure god
pe bridde daʒ off diepē.’

pe W. of u. Lanerd, l. 130: ‘his ariste pe bridde dei per after.’
l. 253. Steih: See contrasting term likten adoun, l. 261. steih occurs in this connection in many of the texts collected in the Reliquiae Antiquae, e.g. II., p. 25: ‘stepgh iidit hevene, sitis on is fader richt hand’; p. 38: ‘steyet up to hevene’; p. 42: ‘steaʒ to hevenes’; p. 57: ‘stei̇n into hevene.’

Ipotis, l. 345: ‘And steyd to hevene, per he is kyng;
On his fader ryghte hond he set hym Jan.’

Aner. R., p. 250: ‘he stei̇h up to hevene.’

Faujer Queene, l. xi. 25, l. 8:

‘Thought with his wings to stye above the ground.’

Orrm., l. 19, 851: ‘ . . . . to stighen upp
To brukenn heftness blisse.’

Orrm., l. 169: ‘& off patt he wisslike steih,
Ja sipjenn upp till heftne.’
l. 233: ‘Purrh patt he stah forr ure god.’

Spenser and Shaksper, use stye; the Aner. R., pp. 19, 248, 250, steih; the York Plays, p. 424, l. 85: stigh.
l. 254. mihte: stihte: See Skeat, Leg. of G. W., note to l. 50.
l. 257. Rom. xiv. 10, and M.E. texts:

Orrm., l. 171: ‘& off patt he shall cumenn efft
to demenn alle þede.’
l. 247: ‘Purrh patt he shall o Domess daʒ
uss gifenn heftness blisse.’

Poema Morale, l. 190: ‘We ne þeneþep nouht þat he schal deme þe quyke . . .

Ipotis, l. 349: ‘Schal come at þe day of iugement,
To demen . . . . . . . . . . . .

Rel. Ant., p. 38: ‘he þen sal come to deme þe quike an þe dede.’

Hymn on Nativ., l. 164: ‘The dreadful judge shall spread his throne.’
l. 259. woned: Read wonden. woned is not authorized by the MSS. A, DH, H, R. all having woned. See Prothol., l. 139: ‘wont to dwell’;


l. 260, 262. The same similes occur in substance in The Second Nonnes Tale, l. 198, 199:

‘Fu̇l lyke a fiers leoun she sendeth here,
As meke as euer was any lomb, to yow!’
l. 260: ‘Meke as a lomb.’

The figure is common property among the poets.

P. Pl., A vi., l. 43: ‘He is as loun as A lomb, lonelich of Speche.’

R. of Gl., l. 1321: ‘Pat in time worre as a lomb is bope mek and milde.’

Rel. Ant., p. 243: ‘Cryst com as meeklyche as a lom,
He habbe for þou deethes dom.’

Shep. Cal. July, l. 129: ‘And meek he was, as meek mought be,
Simple as simple sheep.’

Hymn, Herebert, l. 1: ‘Crist yeleped hevene lomb.’

M. of L. T., l. 459: ‘The whyte lomb, that hurt was with the spere.’
The comparison is based on Scriptural passages. The meekness of the lamb at sacrifice, Christ the lamb sacrificed, are suggested in Isaiah lii. 7:

'He was oppressed,  
Yet he humbled not himself,  
And opened not his mouth;  
As a lamb that is led to the slaughter,  
And as a sheep that before her shearsers is dumb;  
Yea, he opened not his mouth.'

Biblical references to Christ the lamb are as follows: John i. 29, 36; 1 Pet. i. 19; Rev. v. 6 and 12; xii. 11; xxii. 1; xiii. 8; the last, xiii. 8, recalling modern hymnology:

'Shout to the throne,  
Worthy the lamb.'

The gracefal application of Biblical texts is to be noted in Pearl, str. 62 ff.; the simile of the Speculum occurs str. 68, l. 11:

'As weke as lamb that no playnt tode,  
For us swalt he swalt in Jherusalem.'

The omission of the article recalls the reading of MSS. H₁H₂R of the Speculum:

Orrm., l. 1308: 'wipþ lamb þu lækses tin Drihhtin  
gastlike in þine beowess.'

l. 1312: 'Forr lamb iss softe & stille deor,  
& nowe, & milde, & lyfe.'

M. of L. T., l. 617: 'For as the lamb toward his deth is brought,  
So stant this Innocent before the king.'

l. 261. lihten adoun: 'alight,' completing the antithesis begun, l. 253.  

An A. B. C., l. 161: 'Xristus, thy sone, that in this world alighte.'

A Bestiary, ll. 29 ff.: 'vre louerd . . . .

wu <5o him likede  
to lihten her ou c<e,  
Migte neurre diuel witen,  
Sog he be derne hunte,  
hu he dun come.'

Orrm., l. 1398: 'Forr whatt teʒ telleu sone dun  
off heofine unntill helle.'

A pleonastic down occurs with lihten in the colloquial language of the period.

Sir Yfr., l. 1122: 'Brailant . . . lihte adoun.'

Squires Tale, l. 169: 'down he lyghte.'

Ley. of G. W., l. 1713: 'down they lyghte.'

II. of Fame, l. 508: 'downward gan hit lyghte.'

M. of L. T., l. 1104: 'she lyghte down.'

King Horn, l. 519: 'Horn adun lypte.'

Beues, M, l. 3943: ' . . . light adoun,  
. . . down lightynig.'

Read l. 261: 'þeper he wole lihten adouin.'

l. 262. sterne as a lioun: as that of l. 260, a common figure illustrating the popularity of the simile in M.E., particularly such as 'move within narrow limit.' See Kolbing's note to Sir Beues, M, l. 772, and Sir Orfio, p. 19.
Orrm., l. 5978: 'He wass taenadd þurrh þe lea.'

N. P. Tale, l. 358: 'He loketh, as it were, a grim lioun.'

Gamelyn, l. 125: 'he loked as a wilde lioun.'

See Bestiary, before 1250, Natura leonis, Significacio prime nature, ll. 27 ff.: 'Welle heg is tat hil, sat is heuen-riche, vre lowerd is to lew, xe liue & ser abumen.'

lioun: the most common orthography in M.E. according to Sturmfels, Anglia viii., p. 252. Auch. Guy has lioun, l. 3960; Caius Guy, lyoun, l. 4054.

Wraffeal: Epithet ordinarily applied in figure to the lion. See Marlowe's Faustus in the 'examination of' the 'seven deadly sins,' sc. 6. l. 130: 'I am Wrath. . . I leapt out of a lion's mouth,' etc.

Page 14. l. 264. 2 Corinthians, v. 10: 'according to that he hath done,' . . . (l. 265) 'every one may receive': Rev. xx. 12: 'The dead were judged . . . according to their works'; v. 13: 'judged every man according to their works'; Matt. xvi. 27; Rom. ii. 6; Rev. ii. 23; xxii. 12.

ll. 264—266. Poema Morale, ll. 174—178: 'ealle hi sculen ðuder cume · for soðe wæ hit ileue. þa þe habben ð wel ðon · efter heore mithte. to heuenriche scule faren forð mid ure drihtne. þa þe habben ð god ðon · end ær inne beð ðifunde. hi sculen falle swiðe ræðe in to helle grunde.'

Orrm., l. 173: '& forr to ældenn ðiwile manne after his æþenn dede.'

Ipotis, l. 350: 'to denmen men after here dedes.'

ll. 266—274 recall Gal. vi. 7, 8.

l. 266. turment: MSS. DH₂ have tournement, to be attributed to the scribe of the text employed by copyists of D and H₂. A similar transposition is noted by Dr. Leonard in the Rawlinson MS. 118 of a poem Aus der Hölle, l. 105, where tournement is introduced instead of turment. See Dr. Leonard's note with reference to other instances, Eng. Stud., vol. I., p. 118, l. 390; p. 120, l. 574. The confusion seems not uncommon. In Cot. Col. MS. A II of the M.E. Twadale, turment is supplied for turment, ll. 547, 1055, 1061, 1683. The error is readily explained as resulting from similarity in the form of the words. The meaning of turment is transferred to tournement.

l. 267. orme take: The most plausible interpretation of this interesting passage seems to be: 'What responsibility shall they assume,' i.e. take on, etc. Compare definitions for take on in the Century Dictionary and in Ogilvie's Imperial Dictionary, vol. iv., p. 299: 'to undertake the responsibility.' See Matt. viii. 17: 'Himself took our infirmities'; also Rom. of Rose, l. 6107 and Meas. for Meas., IV. ii. 10: 'If you will take it on you to assist him,' i.e. 'undertake.' Five MSS. modify the verse, introducing how instead of what: 'How shall they take on?' to be rendered 'How shall they begin?' (?) or appear (?)? The beauty of this reading is marred by the suggestion of the modern colloquialism 'how take on?' make a fuss over.' The vulgarism is not in keeping with the dignity of the poem. The modern 'take on' was used by Shakspere, but in connection with emotion of hysterical, sentimental, or humorous character. The Merry Wives, III. v. 40: 'She does so take on with her men'; also IV. ii. 22: 'he so takes on . . . with my husband, so rails against,' etc.; III Hen. VI., II. v. 104: 'How will my mother take on with me,' etc.
'How will my wife . . . shed seas of tears.' The meaning 'to be furious' is given by Alisander Schmidt at the conclusion of the discussion of take. 

*Shaks-lexicon*, p. 1178, col. 2. See Halliwell, *Diet. under sterakel*; *Volpone*, vi. The following illustrations have been contributed by Prof. Schick, suggesting the meaning 'How they behave themselves.'

*Comedy of Errors*, V. i. 242: 'this pernicious slave took on him as a conjurer,' *i. e.* played the deceiver.

*Mids. N. Dream*, III. 2258: 'take on, as you would follow . . . yet come not': behave as if you would follow.

Various interpretations are thus placed before the reader, permitting the freedom of individual judgment. The MSS. are undoubtedly authority for the reading 'How . . . on take,' but MS. A₁ in 'what . . . onne take,' fulfills the conditions formulated by Sachse, see below. Shakspere lexicons contain numerous illustrations of the poet's use of *take on*. See also *Heb*. ii. 16; *Times' Whistle*, p. 24; and *The Bruce*, xii., 1. 446:

'And quhen the king of England
Saw the Scottis so tak on hand.'

**onne**: The inorganic *-e*, explained by Sachse, *Das unorganische e im Oramulum*, pp. 61, 62, is peculiar to Orrm. It occurs in *onene*, according to Sachse, when the object of the preposition is a relative, as in MS. A₁ of the *Speculum*. *onene* is then written near the close of the sentence. The same law holds good for *in*, *of*, and *on*. See illustrations as follows:

1. 6960: 'Patt he wass onne i Bejpleam.'
2. 3752: 'Patt hivless wokenn o Patt nahht
Patt Crist wass boren onne.'
3. 14,802: '. . . . . pe sand
All harld to ganngen onne.'

*Onne* is not to be found in O.E. Inorganic *-e* is evidently added through analogy to *ione* and *uppe*, abundant in O.E. See Hardok, l. 341, 'onne ride': 'onne handes leyde,' l. 1942.

1. 268. *here*: inserted for the sake of the metre at the suggestion of Professor Schick.

1. 263. *fleschly*: *fleshes* is to be rejected. It stands only in MS. A₁. Five MSS. have *fleschy*.

1. 270. *wolde*: 'were willing,' 'wished,' as in l. 268: 'They wished to forsake their Lord here on earth.' Note in contrast the force of l. 272, supported by l. 271. Individual consent, freedom in choice referred to l. 216, 218, is no longer in question. A decisive judgment condemns to eternal torment.


1. 273. *bilemen*: *-n* is preserved as in case of *woden*, l. 272, to preserve smoothness of metre and to prevent hiatus. Here as in the O.E. construction the present tense is used with the force of the future.

1. 274. *as*: introduced for metre at the suggestion of Prof. Schick. MSS. A₁A₂ have also, *H₁ als*.

*do*: See l. 208; 'enter into,' 'experience,' *men*: 'people,' the human being.

1. 275. *Seint Austin*: i.e. Augustine favourite authority of Alcuin, and quoted in the *Speculum* by name, line 171.

1. 276. *ful*: authorized by four MSS. A₁R preserve the archaic verse, omitting the unstressed syllable in the fourth measure.

'And seip wórdes // rêu · lîhe.'


1. 278. *point of death*: 'moment of death.' *Point of death* is the
language of the Bible, John iv. 47; Mark v. 23; the point to die, Gen. xxv. 32; point of dawn, Hymn on the Nativity, 1. 86; Richard the Redeless, III. 1. 142: 'in pointe for to wepe.'

1. 279. Rev. ix. 6: 'shall desire to die.'

II. 279, 280. Macbeth IV. iii. 1. 111: 'Died every day she lived,' etc.; Apophthegms, Theological Remains of the Royal Martyr King Charles I., of Ever Blessed Memory, p. 66: 'to die daily,' in 'Conquering by a lively faith and patient hope those partial and quotidian Deaths, which kill us as it were by piecemeals.'

1. 279. wilen: See Pers. Tale, l. 341: 'They shal selow deth, and they shal not finde him, and they shall desire to die, and deth shall flee from hem.'

1. 280. ende of debp: the immediate crisis of physical death, the absolute death of the body, the end of life, explained Ipotis, l. 465: 'Or þe soule may partyn wythonne.' ende, subst. and vb., occurs frequently in M.E. texts, meaning 'death' or 'to die, as in ll. 278 and 492.

Orran., l. 19,325: 'jiff þatt himm likeþ] are lif & are lifess ende.'

,, l. 3257: 'Att are lifes ende.'

Orran., l. 8347: 'Afterr tatt Herode king
Was endeal inn his sinne.'

,, l. 3254: 'uss . . . endenn ure lif.'

,, l. 17,465: ' . . . he maþ endenn hiss lif
Inn alle gode dedess.'

,, l. 5033: 'sen isell ende.'

Rhet. of Gl., l. 1.538: 'to his ende was ido.'

W ommage of a. L., l. 70:

'before þin ending . . . swa sare þat reade blod þu srawttes for as.'

Seven Sages (ed. Wright), V., l. 514 f.: 'And ledis þe hym thare thylys hyng
Anon that he have lys endyng.'

1. 281. duire: Chaucer uses duire in rime with assure, etc. See Crome, Rhyme Index to the Ellesmere Manuscript, and Tale of Man of Lawe, l. 189: 'whyl his lyf may dure': (cure).

1. 281. muryere: Probably a copyist's error is preserved in A1: mersere. wole: supplied from MSS. representing two groups.

Page 15. l. 286. ioyes of paradys: Compare with these lines other medieval descriptions of paradise, notably that of the Poema Morale. The Phoenix, and Sólar ljós, the Icelandic ideal of heaven. See St. Patrick's Purgatory, p. 59; Saviles Ward, pp. 259 ff.

1. 289. baylie: O.F. baillie, 'jurisdiction;' the word accentuated on its second syllable to rhyme with clynge. See Gollancz's note to Pearl, str. 37, l. 10. As in Pearl the word is not to be confused with baile, 'fortress,' as is indicated here by the added -e: baylie.

1. 290. wyt of clynge: 'the understanding of all science,'

1. 292. tellen: -n is added for metre to avoid hiatus or the omission of the unstressed syllable in the fourth measure.

1. 296. on corpe here: See note to l. 375.

II. 295, 296. Colossians iii. 24 is recalled here.

1. 297. parten hence: 'depart hence,' as affirmed by MS. A2. Compare parting day, l. 1 of Gray's Elegy (written in a country churchyard), and parting soul, l. 89: parting Genius, Hymn on Nativity, l. 186; and hence venite, Poema Morale, l. 396.

1. 299 ff. Suggest Hampole's description of heaven, The Prick of Conscience, ll. 7814 ff.:
pare es ay lyfe withouten deede;  
pare es yhowthe ay withouten elde,  
1. 7817: pare es rest ay, withouten traauyle.  
1. 7819: pare es pese ay, withouten stratyf;  
1. 7821: pare es, withouten myrkenes, lyght;  
pare es ay day and nener nyght,  
pare es ay somer fulle bryght to se,  
And nener mare wynter in but contre.'  

See also The Phoenix, ll. 50 ff.:  
'Nis þær on þám londe lâsgeniðla,  
ne wôp ne wrac, wèýtâcen nôm  
yldu ne yrmâs, ne se enga deâs,  
ne lîfes lyre, ne lâges cyme,  
ne synn ne sau, ne sár wracu.' . . .  

These recall the Poema Morale, ll. 369 ff.:  
1. 369: 'þer is wède ábute gane ' end rest abuten swînche'  
1. 371: 'þer is blisse a buten treȝe ' and lif a buten deâpe.'  
1. 373: 'þer is sceocene bute ulde ' and hele a buten vn helcê,  
nis þer so(re) we ne sor ' ne neure man vn scalef.'  

ll. 302, 304. rîht . . . trecwe lóne: 'unvarying justice,' 'ever faithful love.'  
feintise: 'dissimulation,' 'feigning,' explained by Lydgate in the  
words of l. 1971 of the Rom. of the Rose, and in distinction from the use  
of P. Pl. See below:  
Compleynt, l. 477: 'With oute feynynge or feynytse.'  
(also Rom. of R., l. 1971.)  
P. Pl., A. V. l. 5: 'Er I a Furlong hedde I fare A Feyntise me hente,  
Forþer mihti not afote ' for defaute of Sleep.'  

1. 303. Intelligence, and skill, and knowledge.  
knowynge: T. of Gl., l. 538:  
'And eke I want knwynge to deuyse.'  

Spiritus Guidonis, l. 3:  ' . . . men grete neðe may wyn  
and namel clerkes þat can of lare  
if þat þaire cunynge will declare.'  

Wm. of Palerne, l. 120: 'Of conyng of wieche-craft ' wel y nouȝ þe couple.'  
And Marlowe's Faustus, the first Chorus, l. 20:  
'Till swaun with cunynge . . . . . . .  
His waxen wings did mount above his reach.'  

See Skeat's note. Leg. of G. W., l. 68; Psalm cxxxvii, 5.  
1. 305. Streinpe: interesting form, ei marking the intermediate stage  
in the transition of e to i before n + a consonant. The interrupted growth  
is to be noted in Horn, l. 1169, and in strenpede. Böldeker, Ae. Dick-  
tungen, p. 257. See Stratmann. The transition is completed in Bruce, but  
see Oftorien, strenpe; Poema Morale, strenpe; but styrmth < O.E. strengh  
in the Bruce, l. 87, p. 106 of Zapitza's Üblichen. The transition is not  
marked in N.E. as in string < O.E. strengh, in the N.E. pronunciation of  
England. or in Old Norse words of the same nature. See Noreen, Gram-  
matik, § 143 Anm., and the list of illustrations collected by Dr. Leonard  
in Zweim. Geschichten aus d. Hölle, p. 69, and in Wilda's dissertation, Über  
die ört. Verbr. d. Schweizr.-Strophe in Engl. See other forms illustrating  
the history of e + i before n + consonant: Lib. Disc., l. 338, flying (Icel.  
fléina); Emare, l. 794: unhende kyngye.  
Pr. of C., l. 675:  'springes,  
. . . hares, þat on þe hevedr kyngye.'
Cursor Mundi, l. 291: ‘And saugh a frut þar on hingand.’ (See Flight into Egypt.)

Woh. of u. L., l. 17: ‘swa rewliche heonges on rode.’

l. 55: ‘he heonges bitulhen,’ etc. (See ll. 53, 63.)

l. 111: ‘heonges o rode.’

Havelok, l. 43: ‘And heye heongen on galwe tre.’

l. 306. pisternesse: suggesting Eph. v. 8 and 13; liht widonte pisternesse = ‘everlasting light,’ Isaiah ix. 19, i.e. ‘uninterrupted light’; ‘one day . . . at evening song time . . . light,’ Zechariah xiv. 7; ‘There shall be no night there,’ Revelation xxii. 25; xxii. 5; pisternesse = ‘thickness’? Zech. xiv. 6. See Poema Morale, l. 366: ‘dei a buten nihte?’ and l. 378: ‘si nabbed hi nouht lihte . . . alle of godes lihte.’

l. 308. For: inserted on authority of five MSS., producing type A instead of type D.

Page 16, l. 311. Poema Morale, l. 66: ‘pe þe mare hefts end þe þe lesses þet þe mei iliche.’

l. 313. woonizing: ‘dwelling-place,’ as in 2 Corinthians v. 1: ‘An house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens,’ suggestive also of John xiv. 2.

l. 314. his . . . deserving: Poema Morale, l. 63:

‘Per me seael ure workes we þen, be fore hene kinge, end zienne us ure swinches lien aeter ure everninge.’

l. 319. in al bi miht: ll. 134, 253, 515. See Schmirgel, p. xlvii.

ll. 324, 325. charite . . . next: Col. iii. 14: ‘Charity the bond of perfectness.’ Charity here is ‘love,’ distinguished from charity, ll. 95, 996, ‘benevolence,’ ‘almsdeede’:

Orm, l. 2998: ‘Godes Gast iss kardeþ.’

Pearl, str. 40, l. 2: ‘And charyte gret be yow among.’

hext: next: See Two Noble Kinsmen, III. ii. 33: ‘The best way is the next way to a grave.’

ll. 327. what: supplied from four MSS. for the context.

ll. 328, 329. Compare the Vulgate text, Luke x. 27: Diliges Dominum Deum tuum toto corde tuo, et ex toto anima tua, et ex omnibus viribus tuis. Also Poema Morale, l. 305: ‘Lunie we god mid ure heorte: end mid al ure mihte.’


ll. 329, 334. See 1 John iii. 10 and 23; Poema Morale, ll. 305 f.:

‘Lunie we god mid ure heorte, end mid al ure mihte, end ure emcristen cal us sulfe. swa us lerde drihte.’

See the old poem On the king’s Breaking his Confirmation of Magna Charter, p. 256, Polit. Songs:

‘Love clepeth eech man brother.’

l. 334. emcristene: Assimilation from cristene, in works of the 12th and 13th centuries in MSS. of the South and West. Cf. M.E. texts: Poema Morale, l. 306, ‘and ure emcristene cal us sulfe;’ Second series of homilies: ‘To luuien god and al his emcristen,’ p. 5; ‘bicheris his emcristene;’ ‘here emcristen bicharen,’ l. 193; ‘and his emcristen also himselfen,’ p. 54; ‘Vre emcristene ben alle þo þe heRED ore Louerl,’ p. 9; ‘togenes ure emcristene,’ p. 63; emcristen occurs in the Aenbite (dating 1340): ‘þou aselt zigge non ualse wytnesse aye þine emcristene,’ l. 10; ‘Hou but god deleb his emcristen, he ys acorse of god,’ p. 66. See First Series of Homilies, Sermo cxxiv. 6, p. 157, l. 6. Emcristen is used by Langland, and thus its history is traced chronologically to 1302.
Even christen occurs in the later MSS. of the *Speculum*. From the time of Piers Pl., 1362, the full forms *even (even) cristene* are abundant.

Even cristene may be dated at least so early as 1320 through the *Castel of Lyne*, l. 976. See the *Persons Tale*, l. 855; Wiclif (1380): Sir Thomas More, p. 83: "Proudly judging the lives of their even Christians," and p. 277, "And where the men not flithe . . . against their even christen;"

*Ipotis*, l. 1, l. 522: "And wolde helpyyn al ojere,
Hys evene cristen, pat ben porewe."

The word is no longer to be found after its famous appearance in *Hamlet*, V, i. 27. The readings of the first folio and of the first quarto are identical. "And the more pity, that great folke should have countenance in this world to drown or hang themselves more than their even Christian." The passage stands in the first quarto, l. 25:

"Mary more's the pitty, that great folke
Should have more authorite to hang or drown
Themselves, more than other people."

*Even* abounds in compounds of this period: *Hom.*, l. p. 175: *efennextu*, Wiclif, Phil. ii. 25; *eune knight*, Phil. ii.; *even discipilis*, John ii. 16; *even seruant*, Apoc. xix. 10; *Matt.* xviii. 29; *efenneche*, *coeternal*, *efenneche*, *commensurate*; *efenrike*, *equal in power*, etc. *Prompt. Parr.* has *Eveynhoode*, "equality"; *Eveynholde*, "of equal age."

Page 17, l. 336. _Wher_: here the conjunction, "whether or not?"; see note to line 219 of the *Speculum._

1. 338. *wolt*: introduced from four MSS. *H₂* is without weight in textual arrangement. *must* in *A₁* is probably the scribe's error.

Latin: 1 John iv. 20. "For he that loveth not his brother, whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen?" Cf. also 1 Peter 1. 8: "Whom having not seen, ye love." MS. *A₁* reads: "... proximum tum ... deum qu[em] ... quonodo potes dilegere."

Compare O. E. *Homilies* I, p. 100: "Pe þat ne lufþ þis broþer, þene þat he isihþ, hu mei he lufran God, þene þat he ne isihþ licomite."  

*withe*: dative in -e regularly formed according to the inflectional characteristics of the poem.


1. 342. *þou*: supplied for sense and metre: "So that thou mayest see them every day." It occurs in four MSS. The arrangement: *þat [þou] alday maist hem ise*, is supported by MSS. *A₂R.*

II. 340—344. These lines recall *Leg. of G. W.*, B, lI. 14, 15:

"For ... thing is never the lasse soth,
Thogh every wight ne may hit nat yse."  
Page 345. *Sein Povell*: The preacher evidently did not verify his reference. His text is to be ascribed to John, 1 John iv. 20, see reference above. Strangely enough *H₂*, whose mission it was to set things right, did not correct the error.

1. 347 ff. See "Introduction" with Scriptural sources.

1. 347. *most*: supplied from MS. D, and necessary to the sense according to all the MSS. The reading *noht* of *A₁* could be interpreted as a scribal error for the poet's *not* = *ne wot*. *A₁* could possibly have written *noht* (N.E. *not*) for *not* (*ne wot*) of other MSS. An instance of double thesis would then be eliminated, and type *A* would occur: *Abrahām him sāth, ac þā not hōu."

l. 348. *nowh:* inorganic final -h a peculiarity of MS. A, For nost *hun,* see Schick's note, T. of Gl., l. 17.

l. 350. *as . . . hem:* are to be omitted on authority of three MSS., representatives from both groups.

Page 18, ll. 355 ff. Numerous illustrations of this comparison are to be found in the 'Introduction' under 'Sources.' Cf. Cal., July, l. 157 ff.: ‘Sike one . . . Moses was,
That saw his Maker's face,
His face more clear than crystal glass,
And spake to him in place.’


l. 358. The York Plays (ed. L. T. Smith), pp. 47, 73, and the Towneley Mysteries (Surtees Society, 1836), pp. 55 ff., record the exact words of the dialogue between Moses and the Lord; see the mystery ascribed to the Hoseers, No. XI of the York Plays, No. 8 of the Towneley. *Be erste lave:* naturally the ten commandments.

l. 361. Compare sc. 2, l. 92 of the eleventh York Play: ‘Thus has God shewed his myght in me.’

Town. Myst. xxxvii, l. 86: ‘To me, Moyses, he shewed his myght.’

l. 363. *bush:* boys in MS. D, the French expression for bush, mentioned in Halliwell's Dictionary. boys is defined in Promptorium Parvulorum as scaruss, 'a clump of bushes,' but according to the Hebrew term a single bush.

The significance of the bush as emblem of Mary seems suggested in the Cal. Jul., l. 73, although Kirke explains 'Our Lady's bower' as 'a place of pleasure':

‘Of Sinah can I tell thee more
And of our Lady's Bower.’


mayden pure,* Cf. note to l. 367.

l. 366. *Ne:* required by five MSS.

l. 367. *wemme:* In the dialect of Norfolk *wem* (as explained by the Prompt. Parrr.) 'is a small fretted place in a garment.' In figurative meaning *wem* is applied to religion. Cf. Wiclif, Song of Sol., III. 7: *My frendesse, thou art al faire, and no wem is in thee*; James i. 27: *A clene religion and wemned,* quoted in the Anvenen Ricke, p. 10, fol. 2 b: *clene religion wemned.* The application to the Virgin is made by Chancer, 2 N. T., l. 47: *withouten wemme is translated in the Cursor Muld., l. 11,226, 'immaculate,' but in Hereford's version of Psalm xiv. 2, it represents N.E. 'uprightly' as in Isa. xxxiii. 15, and is equivalent to *wemnes* in the same passage of the North. Psalter. See also Michel's Sermon on Matt. xxiv. 43, l. 149: *wymonde wem;* 'urant alle hereysye wy oute wem habbeb yclenzed.'

Pearl, str. 19, l. 5: *Bot a wonder perle withouten wemmen.*

Ipotis, l. 556: *Of pe mayde Mary, (also 315, 316 in D, 478, 479 B)*

Withouten wem of hyr body.'

See Pearl, str. 62, l. 5: *For hit is wemnez, clene and clere.'

See Kölling's note to Sir Beves, E. l. 355: *Wemme ne wunde.'
l. 370. **him**: necessary to sense and metre.
l. 372. **increind**: See **Anewr. R.**, p. 332: "Auh hope and drede shulen ever beon increind togederes." The word is not uncommon, for instance:

*Shep. Cal. Nov.*, l. 203: "... how bene thy verses meint,

\[\text{With doolfull plesansse} \ldots \ldots\]

*Owl and Night*, l. 18: "**Increind** mid spire and grene segge."
l. 428: "**Increind** bi toppes and bi here."

**Poema Morale**, l. 144:

"betere is wori weter i drunke 'pene alter i meng mid wine."

l. 374. See l **Tina**, vi. 16: "Whom no man hath seen nor can see."

**St. John** i. 18; l. **John** iv. 12: "No man hath seen God at any time";

**St. John** vi. 46. Cf. **Speculum**, l. 395 ff.

**Page 19**, l. 375. **on eorde her**: a similar redundancy is found in Rbt. of Gl. : *he in pis lond.*, l. 866, 1694, 1833, 2165, 4097, 4836, 6674, etc.

See in *eorde* here, *Ipotis*, l. 518, 531, but *aboven eorde*, l. 413.

**eorde**: This orthography for *eorde* is also that of the poem *De Muliere Samaritana*, l. 1: *Alius aunder*. l. 3853: *Homily*, ed. Zup., *Uedeboch*, p. 72, l. 9: *gris on eorde*; *On god Ur. of U. Lefdi*, l. 159: *on heuene and on eorde*;


**Boduliche**: i. e. "in human form," "in person."

l. 376. **it is so cler**: i. e. "it needs no proof," "it is evident," "not to be doubted.

l. 381. **clene . . . cler**: The same tautology of alliterating adjectives occurs *Pearl*, 625, *Rbt. of Gl.*, 180:

"England is so clene and so cler."

l. 6502: "heo was so clene maide . . . of so clene liue."

**Mass Book**, l. 3 (of Mass): "graunt alle, &ate hit shal here,

\[\text{of conscience be clene & clere.}\]

l. 7: "... clene in dede & pognht."

l. 10: "with clene herte & gode intent."

l. 382. See **Hom., post Pascha**, ll. 66—8 and the following selections:

**Poema Morale**, l. 75: "Heuene end eorde he one sith . . . . . . . . . . .

\[\text{Sunne . mone . . . bis justre to janes his lyhte.}\]

See 2 N. Tite, l. 108: "The sonne and monne and sterres every weye."

**Pearl**, str. 88, l. 1: "Of sunne ne mone had thay no nede;

\[\text{The self god wacz her lompe lyght.}\]

l. 387. **wonder**: intensive equivalent to "exceedingly," common as an adverb: **wonder sory, Gamelyn*, l. 732; **wonder grete, Tundale*, l. 573.


l. 391. **forsophe . . . pe**: one idea is presented here as in Orm's: 

\[\text{'pat witt pe wel to sopc,' as Prof. Kölbing kindly suggests.}\]

l. 394. **sipe**: necessary for meaning and preferable to *tyne* of MS. H .

See also *Shep. Cal. Jan.*

str. 9, l. 1: "A thousand sithes I curse that careful hour."

l. 3: "... thousand sithes I bless the stoure."

*M. of L. T.*, l. 1155: "She herieth god an hundred thousand sythe."

l. 396. **bodulich**: See *Ipotis*, B. l. 462: "pat on deth is bodulichere here."

l. 397. **godhede**: H preserves what would seem to be the preferred meaning: "in his godhede"; but the version of a single MS. in this connection is not sufficient reason for alteration of the verse.
Page 20. l. 398. don pat dede: The common Hebrew idiom linking a verb with its cognate noun. It is noted in the terse wisdom literature of the Book of Job; see Job iii. 25: 'I feared a fear, and it hath overtaken me.'

l. 400. lered . . . lered: Common linking of terms. Sir Beues, A. 4020: 'lered . . . lered': Orrmr., l. 967: 'to lered, to leredd'; Tund., l. 413, 593.

l. 403. bi my beante; lyttyle feythle in Prompt. Parv. under beante. See Polit. Song of The Reign of Ed. I., l. 1, also Song on the Flem. Insurrection, p. 192; 'by your beante,' Gamelyn, l. 657: 'bi mi beante,' Rich. of Almaingine, l. 2: 'By my faith,' Gamelyn, ll. 95 and 301. 'Par ma joy,' l. 307, etc.

ll. 398, 402. 1 John iv. 12: 'No man hath seen God at any time.' See note to l. 374.

l. 407. A different interpretation of the passage would demand a colon after mene.

l. 410. jified: See Macbeth III, i. 65, 'defiled,' 'made foul':

'For Banquo's issue have I filed my mind;
. . . . the gracious Duncan have I murdered.'

l. 412. Latin and ll. 414—416. See Matt. v. 8. MS. A1 reads:
'mondo . . . quonium.'

l. 413. pis is to seeie: Frequent in Lydgate and Chaucer, illustrated in Schick's note to T. of Gl., l. 311.


'Or privy or pert if any bene.'

l. 417. godhede: 'divinity' and 'glory,' in distinction from manhede, l. 372.

ll. 417, 418. Compare Tundale, ll. 2107, 2108:

'. . . . what joy here is and blis,
pat pai . . . . shalle never mysse.'

Page 21. ll. 421, 422 and Latin. It is to be conceded, that these lines are of doubtful origin, possibly spurious. On later thought they would probably not have been in the main text.

l. 422. say with moyrpe: common 'fill-gap.' See Ipotes, B. l. 281.

Latin and l. 425. Matt. xxv. 34: 'Come, ye blessed of my father . . . .' Compare York Plays, xlviii. l. 277:

'Mi blissid childre on my right hand,
. . . .
Commes to pe kyngdome ay lastand,
pat you is dight for youre goode dede.'

Town. Play, l. 365: 'Mi chosyn childer, commes to me,
With me to dwelle now shalle ye weynde,
Pere joie and blis schalle euer be.'

Tundale, l. 1778: 'The voyce of god shall saye: "Come nere,
My faders blissed childer fre,
And rescwayne the kyngdome with me."'

l. 423. fere: in the 17th cent., still used. The Two Noble Kinsmen, V. l. 116: 'his young fair fere.'

l. 424. fader: dat. after leve, O.E. leof, O.E. construction.

leve and dere; also Chaucer, Mil. T., l. 3051; L. of G. W., l. 1978: leve suster dere; The Seconde Nonnes Tale, l. 257: leve brother dere, etc.; Hand. Syn., l. 5744: 'phey are with God bope leve and dere.'
1. l. 425. Matt. xxv. 34: 'Inherit the kingdom,'
   1. l. 426. 'prepared for you from the foundation of the world.'
   vende : ende : See Köbling's note to Sir Beves, A. l. 4569.
   1. l. 426. widon ten ende: See evere mo, l. 450; phrases with the rime
   vende : ende are often used in descriptions pertaining to the decrees of
   the final judgment.

Tunale. 1. 827: 'And ye somer fro alle payne vende
   To gret joy withouten ende.'
1. 187: 'Therfor with us shalle jou vende,
   To brene in helle withouten ende.'
1. 1197: 'For jou shalt now with us vende
   To whyte of hel withouten ende.'
1. 181: 'Pon shalte to fire withouten ende,
   And to merknes art jou fremde.'

See also l. 2234.

1. l. 427 ff. Matt. xxv. 46: 'the righteous into life eternal,'
1. l. 431. Matt. xxv. 41: 'Depart . . . ye cursed (and 449), into ever-
   lasting fire.' Biblical passage and Speculum recall Browning in Ferisht-
   hak's Fancies:

   'How,
   Enormous thy abjection, hell from heaven.
   Made tenfold hell by contrast! . . . .'

Cursed gostes, see Sir Beves, A. l. 781, and l. 362.
ll. 436—444. These lines suggest Zech. xiii. 6, and John xx. 25. See
Wrightful and sterno, l. 262.
1. l. 438. Type C exists on authority of two MSS., A1 and R, in opposition
   to the remaining two texts. D and H2 are omitted here. A2 and H1
   preserve type A, reading:

   'Dat słowen hém · purw [hérə] ennīe.'

Ennīe: 'ill-will,' 'hatred.' See The Two Noble Kinsmen, V. iii. 21:

   'There is but ennī in that light, which shows
   The one the other.'

1. l. 439. kene: sharp. This meaning is also found in Pearl, str. 4,
   1. l. 4: croke kene; Sir Beves. M. 3401: 'spere kene' and S. l. 4168, 'sverde
   keen.' Chaucer's Genl. Prol., l. 104, has 'arves kene'; in figurative
   application, Shew. Cal., Feb. l. 3: 'The keen coldblows.' See note by
   Kirke and Robertson, Glossary of Dialect of Gloucester, p. 191.
1. l. 442. grisli womanden: Köbling, Sir Beves, note to A, l. 724, enumer-
   ates illustrations of grisli as epithet to womanden with reference to Mätzner,
   Wörterbuch, II. p. 322: Guy of Warwick, A. str. 224, l. 9, recalling also
   grisli gostes, Cal., Nov. l. 55.
1. l. 444. drede . . . quake: Compare Schmirgel's collection of expres-
   sions for grief, p. xlv, where Guy of Warwick, Guy B., l. 3756, Sir Beves,
   ll. 1367, 1389, Libeaus Desconus, I. 604, offer illustrations of quake for
   drede.
1. l. 445. Type C is confirmed by all the MSS., additional proof of the
   existence of the type. gode and voize, l. 446, are historically impossible.
   Under any conditions one unstressed syllable must be regarded as lost
   in these verses, whether in the third or fourth measure.

   Page 22, l. 447: heb lode: perhaps based on Luke xiii. 27: 'I know
   you not.'
1. l. 448 ff. Gop: 'Depart from me,' Matt. xxv. 41; Luke xiii. 27; Ps.
   vi. 8,

SPEC. WAR.
Compare l. 431 ff. of the _Spectrum_. See also _O. E. Hom._ (Second Series), p. 5: _Te maledicti in ignem eternum._ 'Wite, ye avariede gostes, into pat ech fir on helle'; _Hom._ xii, _The first Sunday in Lent_, p. 62, reads: 'wite ye aweregede gostes in pat ech fir pat is zarked to dedules and here fereden to wuniende eure and 6 abutan ende;' _York Play_, xlviii. l. 369:

'3e cursed kaittis, fro me fle,
In helle to dwelle withouten ende.'

30th Towneley Pl. l. 369: 'Ye warid wightes, from me ye fle,
In helle to dwelle withouten ende.'

See notes to ll. 426 and 431 ff.

The repetition ll. 447 ff., in almost identical words, suggests a _naïcete_ of the poet common in ancient narrative. He was not reluctant to indulge in frequent repetition. Perhaps he regarded the construction as a grace. It was not at the period a crudeness in structure.

ll. 450, 451. _dwell_ . . . _fyre:_ Isaiah xxxiii. 14: 'dwell with the devouring fire.' _evere more:_ i.e. in 'everlasting fire,' _Matt._ xxv. 41. See note to ll. 431 ff.

l. 451. _note _ _fyre:_ 'pytte of helle' in _He_; _Pers._ Tale, l. 452; _Ipotis_, l. 388 (D); _Tundale_, l. 1298. See _Generides_, l. 2129.

_fyre_ : _her:_ See _Lybeans_, 571: _fyer_ : _destroyer_; _Duke Rowland_, l. 94: _fyre:_ _Messangere_; _Sir Othel of Spayne._

l. 452. _non oper_ : virtually _hell_ according to context. The _devil_ is the expected taskmaster for the condemned soul.


ll. 457--458. _Matt._ xxv. 46: 'And these shall go away into everlasting punishment.'

l. 460. _a vers:_ This verse is not to be cited. The poet probably united two texts to advance his doctrine of good works, see ll. 148, 165, 502, 621, etc.

_Latin:_ _domino et._ MS. A _domino et._

l. 461. _Hope to god:_ _Psalm_ xliii. 5 and xliii. 5: 'Hope in God.' _do god:_ not authorized by the scriptural text or the _Liber_, but suggesting confusion with _James_ ii. 26: 'Faith without works is dead'; _Liber_, _Camb._ MS. _It._ l. 33: 'Widolice be _pleafa bide unynct butan pam ydem ucorum._' _Seconde Nonnes Tale_, l. 64: 'And, for that feith is defriend withouten workes.'

l. 463. _ydel hope:_ In contrast with _sopfast hope_. l. 471. _hope_ is often classified by the mediæval theologian as referring to the expectation of evil; for instance _The Erol of Tolou_, l. 815, 823, 835. See _Ludike's note_, _Gouthier_, ll. 202, 212, 227, and note to l. 208, and _Wagner's note_ to _Tundale_, l. 90.

l. 464. _widon ten gabbe:_ See _A Treatise on Dreams_, _Rel._ _Ant._, p. 256:

'God tydyngue withoute gabbe,'

_Apeyrement, y wol not gabbe._


l. 466. _so god me rede:_ 'God help me.'

_Page 23_, l. 468. _charged_ . . . _sore:_ 'burdened.' See _Macbeth_ V. I, l. 60: 'The heart is sorely charged.'

l. 471. _sopfast hope:_ in contrast to _ydel hope_, ll. 463, 466, _unsure hope_, _Macbeth_ v. 4. 19. It seems to be equivalent to the 'good hope' employed by _Lydgate_. _T. of Gl._, and described in _Schick's note_ to l. 892. _Hope_ and _dread_ ('fear,' anxiety) are at times contradistinct in the same passage by the M.E. poet, as for instance:
T. of Gl., l. 641: 'Hanging in balancc bitwix hope & drede.'
1. 892: 'And al biforme late hope be þi guide,
And þouȝ þat drede woulde with þe pace
It sittœ wel.'
1. 1197: 'So þat gode hope alway þi bridel lede,
Lat no despeire hindir þe with drede.'

Aneor. R., l. 332: 'hope and drede . . . imeind,' etc.; see note, l. 372.
1. 473. shrifte of move: See note to l. 94.
1. 474, also l. 92. ređi suggests Kölbling's 'aim' applied figuratively here in the sense of 'purpose'; see Sir Benes, l. 3101:
'A þrew is knid, & kouȝe nouȝt ređi.'

1. 475, 476. 'If thou doest thus, then put all thy hope in God Almighty.' See Romans viii. 24.
ll. 480—483. See note to l. 495.
ll. 483, 484. Cf. lines 267, 268.
1. 484. sorce and wo: Suggesting Job iv. 21: 'They die, even without wisdom, recalling in wisdom philosophy; 'They die in sorrow and woe.' See Gennng, The Epic of the Inner Life, p. 156.
ll. 491, 492. This serious truth weighed on Ælfréd, as is evident in the wisdom literature contributed to his Witenagemót, collected in An O.E. Miscellany (E.E.T.S., 1872):
1. 172: 'Not no mon þeþe tyne,
þwanne he schal beþeome turne.
Ne noman þeþe ende,
þwanne he schal beþeome wende.'
1. 492. ending day: 'death-day'; 'pat is eæles mannæ endæde þat he steþat of þese life into þan ðære,' as is explained in an O.E. Homily, An Bispel (edited by Morris), l. 137. ending day is used by Chaucer in The Compleynt of Venus:
1. 55: 'And thercfœr certes, to myn ending-day
To love him best ne shal I never repente.'
See ending, l. 278: ende of dep. l. 280; and Orm.
Orm., l. 8108: 'þatt daþ þatt he tok ende.'

Page 24, l. 495. See also ll. 481—482. An early proverb seems either to have been in existence, or to have been formulating itself at this time. 'Fast find, fast bind,' occurs in Heywood's Proverbs of 1546, in Jests of Seuyn of 1565, and in Merchant of Venice, II. 5, l. 50:
'Fast bind! fast find!
A proverb never stale in thrifyt mind.'
'Safe find, safe find,' in Washing, by Thomas Tusser, of 1523—80. The underlying scriptural text referred to in line 494, his word, þat god scide, is probably Matthew xvi. v. 19: 'Whosoever thou shalt bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven'; also Matthew xviii. v. 18. See Poema Morale, ll. 215, 216:
'pe þe gode milce sceth. jwif þo mei his finde.
achelle king is are lies. wið da þe mei bine.'

Homily, Post Pascha A. ed. Morris, l. 44: 'demed to deaþe and perto bounden. swo is þe maen þe hælt his sinne. he is demd fro henene to helle.'
1. 496. ben in mynde: 'be in remembrance,' 'be borne in mind.' See Leg. of G. W., l. 18, and note, Spec., l. 619, and New Engl. 'bear in mind,'
See. Nov. T., l. 123: 'bar in hir mynde.'
M. of L. T., l. 1127: 'here . . . in mynde.'
Ipotes, D, l. 152: 'The soneday to have in mende.'
l. 498. The present text is supported by the best MSS. and by MSS. of the two groups. Read with metre like l. 446, type C:

‘And Ísú Crist το ἰκάκη.’

‘If you will accept Jesus Crist,’ rather than ‘turn to him,’ or ‘call upon him,’ according to the reading of MSS. D and Η₂, type D:

‘And to Ísú Crist το ἰκάκη.’

l. 500. lescoun: Compare with l. 505 below.

Spec. Vit., l. 92: ‘And swyche a lescoun I schal þou þene þat mirour of lyf to you may be.’

Der eng. Cato (ed. Goldberg, p. 14), v. 81:

‘Let holy writ beo þi mirour
In word and eke in dede.’

l. 502. godhede: preserved by the two oldest MSS., by the best MS., and by a MS. of the opposing group, in distinction from the plausible reading godhede of the two remaining texts, also representatives of both groups. The meaning ‘good deed’ seems to be specifically the suffering and death of Christ upon the cross.

l. 505. myrour: a very common usage. The passage explains itself.

For various M.E. interpretations of the term mirour, see Schlick’s note to T. of Gl., l. 292, and ll. 754 and 974, and Spenser’s usage:

Shep. Cal., Oct., str. 16, l. 93: ‘Such immortal mirour, as he doth admire,
Would raise one’s mind above the starry sky.’

Gorboide, l. 3, l. 798: ‘Happie was Heenba, the woefullest wretch
That ener lyued to make a mirour of.’

P. Pl., C. xix, l. 175: ‘Thou shalt be myrour to menye men to deceyne.’

Cf. also Henry l., 2. Chorus, l. 6.

l. 508. fonge: fonde, extant in D and R, MSS. of two distinct groups, is probably the correct reading, not only as is indicated by the rime but by the sense: ‘here (in holy writ) must we look (see) and seek (trust to it) to obtain knowledge of God.’ See John xxi, 3, MS. Otho 1, C 3: ‘ne fengon nan þing on þære nihte’; Pref. Cura Past., l. 22: ‘så så ic þo rice fong,’ in comparison with Azinibite, the story of the monk, Ulensbuch, p. 99, ll. 104, 105: ‘huer he hedde yby uorti yer vor to wondi ane monke.’

l. 514. pes and love: See The Seconde Nonnes Tale, l. 44:

‘... the eternal love and pes.’

The passage is to be traced in Dante’s Paradiso, Canto xxxiii, l. 44:

‘Per lo cui caldo nell’ eterna pace.’

l. 515. ben aboute: ‘be astir,’ ‘be actively striving to secure peace.’

l. 516. To make pes: See l. 520, and Chaucer in An ABC:

l. 69: ‘Than makest thou his pes with his sovereyn.’

make is linked with pes in illustrations cited by Köbling, note to Sir B. 1. A, l. 879.

l. 518. godspel: See Kirke’s note to spell, Shep. Cal., Mek., l. 54.

Latin: Matt. v. 9.

Page 25. l. 519. no les: The Bruce, l. 419, wibouten les; the Erl of T., l. 472: The Life of St. Juliana, A, ll. 76, 77: wæstæten les; Wallace, Bk. I., l. 321: but les; also Leg. of G. W., ll. 1022, 1128, 1518.

l. 520. les : pes: the rime of Erl of T., ll. 472, 473. See the lines:

‘I remorse wythoute les
let us lyfe in pes.’

make þ pes: See note to l. 516.

l. 521. hom owv to be of MS. R: hom is a dative with the impersonal
verb oow in the present tense. See Skeat’s note, Leg. of G. W., l. 27, and note to Spec., l. 159; Pearl, str. 46, l. 12: ‘usu oath to take more.’

1. 525. widoute fable=widoute les, l. 518, a common expiatory often useful in filling out an incomplete line. See illustrations collected by Zupitza, note to Guy of Warwick, l. 3254, explained by wythout lesynge, l. 550 of Guy of Warwick; by wythoute ryme, l. 2994; and by the more emphatic wythouten gabelle of the Speculum, l. 464. See Köbling’s no doubt, l. 2027 of Sir Benes. Examples in Sir Benes are: A, l. 1672, 2027, 2219; M, l. 1933; S, l. 2612; O, l. 2381; Ipotis, l. 436; Seven Sages, l. 1558. Compare the usage of other writers:

Spense, Rhymes of Rome, 7: ‘Alas, by little ye to nothing file,
   The people’s fable and the spoyle of all.’

Ben Jonson, Volpone, l. 1: ‘Know you not, Sir, ’tis the common fable.’

Marlowe, Faustus vi, l. 62: ‘But is there not colum igneum et crystallinum?’
   No, Faustus, they are but fables.’

Pearl 50, l. 4: ‘Other holy wryt is bot a fable.’

1. 526. merciable: also l. 534. The suffix -able has not the force of modern English here, but is used in an active sense to show, ‘inclined to mercy,’ as is indicated by Abbott, Shaks. Gr., § 3, § 445, and illustrated by Schick, T. of Gl., l. 1266. profitable, l. 4 of the Speculum, is to be interpreted ‘is capable of yielding profit.’ Merciable has an active force in Chaucer’s texts:

An A. B. C., l. 1: ‘Almighty and al merciable quene . . .’
   l. 152: ‘Ben to the seed of Adam merciable,
   So bring us to that palais that is bilt
   To penitents that ben to mercy able. Amen.’

Leg. of G. W., l. 347: ‘And therto gracios and merciable.’
   l. 410: ‘Yow oughte been the lighter merciable.’

Prioresses Tale, l. 1878: ‘That of his mercy god so merciable
   On vs his grete mercy multiplye.’

1. 531. flesh and bon: Generides, A, l. 1348; Monkes Tale, Hercules, l. 10, another common circumlocution used instead of ‘body,’ found in Job ii. 5; bone and flesh, xix. 20; Sir Benes, A, ll. 628, 4044, 4107; Chron. of Engl., l. 675, etc.; mother fleshe ne bones, Tundale, l. 910. See also flesh and blood 573.

l. 539. of pinke[p]: for [pinke][p] of A2 and R, is used probably in sense of gives displeasure, according to Zupitza’s note to Guy of Warwick, l. 984.

1. 540. eriep merci: See Gamelyn, 874; Tundale, ll. 233, 234; Rbt. of Gl., also in Chaucer and Shakspere.

Rbt. of Gl., A, l. 288: ‘erie on hom no mercy per nis.’
   l. 499: ‘& eriede him milce and ore.’

Tale of M. of L., l. 1111: ‘mercy I yow crie.’


Cf. on the other hand Two N. Kinsmen, l. ii. 13: ‘Cried up with example,’ i.e. enforced by experience.


ll. 549, 550. Piers Plantyman, 1, A, ll. 151, 152:
   ‘For ye same Mesure þat þe Meden · Amis oþer elles,
   þe schul be weyen þer with · þow þe wenden hennes.’

See Latin preceeding, l. 150, for the text incorporated in MS. R: ‘Eadem mensura qua mensi furcitr remec[it]ur ubis.’ For mete, see Zupitza’s note to Guy of Warwick, l. 6954.
Il. 551, 552: omitted in A, probably through fault of the scribe. The lines are contained in all the other MSS, and are in keeping with the style of the poem, where man is addressed often in personal exhortation. The text follows MS. A₂. See il. 201, 203, 319, etc.

1. 551. *bou*: The desirability of inserting *bou* in this position is questionable. It is omitted in two MSS.

1. 552. *forzeue*: occurs in one MS. only; see variants. It is of no weight in the construction of the text.


1. 554. *bist*, i.e. *biddest*, *bitst*: normal form connected with the *Pater Noster*. See Rom. of Rose, l. 772: 'Biddeth a Pater Noster'; Spec. Vit., l. 18; Orrm., l. 5404, 5454, 5465.

Orrm., l. 5454: ' . . . bede *patt* mann *bitt* Uppe *te* Patter Nossterr.'

Promptorium Parvulorum, p. 35: 'byddyn bedys or seyn prayers'; *Book of Curtasge*, Sloane MS. 1986, f. 22 b, note over byddyn bedys:

'Rede, or synge, or byld prayers
To Crist for all thy Cristen ferey.'

' . . . . . . .
Byddynge, or praynge.'

For *bid*, to call to a specific devotion as to the *Pater Noster*, see *Bidding Prayer*, l., *The Lay Folk's Mass Book*, p. 62, with explanation on historical basis.

*bist*: *sist*: Cf. *byst*: *vyst*, Bonaventura’s *Meditations on the Sorrows of our Lady Mary*, ll. 1015, 1016.


See poem ‘On the King’s breaking his Confirmation of Magna Charter,’ p. 257 of *Polit. Songs*:

'For if that he to blame be,
   For *zif* hit *him* for charite.'

1. 555. *Swete lorde*: also II. 569 and 949, the language of the medieval love-song to the Redeemer. See *A prayer of Lone vito* *pe swete herte of Jesu*, Add. MS. 22,283, and similar construction in Morris’s *O. E. Hom.*.; *Tundale*, l. 234: 'Swete fader, mercy!'

1. 556. Cf. *Pard. Tale*, l. 130, 131:

'for a man hath *agilit* his lorde . . . *agilit* his father celestial . . .
*agilit* him that boughte him,' etc.

Il. 557, 558. The golden rule of Christ: ‘Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them.’—Matt. vii. 12; Luke vi. 31.

1. 559 ff. Cf. *Isaiah* lv. 7.

1. 561. *be*: authorized by three MSS.


1. 563. *dar il seie*: *S. Nun’s Tale*, l. 214. The effect of the denial is in harmony with the other characteristics of the poet’s vigorous style.
l. 564. aequin.: 'in opposition to,' used in the same sense in the Pro-
thalamion, l. 17. See Halliwell's Dict.
l. 567. seip.: i.e. in James ii. 13. Read: 'And seip: He bat wole
no merci have.'

l. 569. speche: i.e. the Sermon on the Mount, Matt. v. ff.
 Houre: See l. 949: inorganic H as in nowh, l. 348.
 lord: or lowerd as in l. 949, to read by type A. See 'Introduction.'
l. 572. in alle manere: 'In every kind of.' See in none manere,
l. 628, Beues, l. 565, note to l. 835, and Zupitza's note to Guy of Warwick,
l. 1228. on al manere = 'by all means'; in this manere, The S. N. T., l. 273.
l. 573. flesh and blod: See flesh and bon, l. 531: bon and hride,
l. 157; Azenbite (ed. Morris), p. 87, ll. 6 fr.: 'We bye children of one
moder . . . huer of we nome wless and blod'; S. N. Tale, l. 42: 'His
sone in blode and fleshe'; Gamelyn, l. 491:

'Cursed not he worthc, bothe fleisch and blod.'

The meaning of l. 573 is purely in physical sense, 'physical illness to
effect spiritual good' (l. 576: 'pi seli soule to amende'). See Homily, ed.
Small, p. 144, l. 255 f.:

'Bot for his fleis was pined here,
His sawel es now til godd ful dere.'

No trace is to be found here of the figurative use of the O.E. homily.
See Homily (ed. Morris, Second Series), Dominica Palmarum, l. 51:
'braken his fleis and his blod, bat is pe holi huse'; In die Pascha, l. 71:
to his holi fleis and to his holi blod.'
l. 574. polemod: The copyist of D did not understand polemod. He
regarded it as two distinct words, a verb pol and a substantive mode.
See Ancr. Riche, p. 158, fol. 40 b: 'two edic words (beaves, MSS. C and
T) . . . poledenesse . . . edmodnesse. Vor polemod is pe pe puldeltiche
abereð woun, pet me deð him.'
l. 576. seli soule: according to Cursor Mundi, 'blessed soul.' 'Sely
saule' occurs in York Plays, xlvi., l. 171. Ancr. R., p. 108: 'tu seli ancre,
pet eft his seli spuse'; p. 352: 'pis is a seli deað, pet makeð . . . mon
oðer wuman vt of pe worlde.'
The Death of Mary: as 'the happy soul.' See note to l. 987.
l. 582. gruching: 'murmuring,' 'grumbling.' See ' wideoute gruching,'
l. 593, and Ancr. Riche, p. 418: 'wurche pet me hat hire wißuten
gruchinge'; Owl and Night., l. 423:

'Gruching & buring him beða rade.'
The advice of l. 582 is contrary to the doctrine of Gorbonde, V. v. 1:

'With grudging mind to damne those he mislikes.'
l. 584. lude and eke stille: also ll. 706, 891. Cf. Zupitza's note to
Guy, l. 792.
l. 585. falleþ on honde: happens 'to be your lot,' 'falls to you,'
on honde is used with various verbs in metaphorical sense: Der. engl.
Cato, V., l. 337: 'gif þe bißallen servwe on honde.' Owl and Night., l. 1651:
'gest an honde'; M. of L. T., l. 348: 'yteake on honde'; Beues 25
and Rbl. of Gl. 2321 (A): 'take on honde'; also 10,511, 10,817: C 267;
nim an honde 61, 62, 113, 114, 743, 796, 882, 1344, 1365, 1894, 2062, 2073,
2133, 2146, 2154, 2351, 2612, 2760, 2871, 3476, 3872, 4052, 4366, 4620,
4711, 4880, 9463, 9964, and other instances.

Page 28. l. 592. leid: MS. D preserves the more exact inflectional
form, Ileide.
l. 594. See Ipotis, B 520: '[He] takyth the povert myddelyc and
See the Pardoner's Prologue:

p. 25: 'pemne telle y hem ensamples many oon,
of olde stories longe tyme agon.'

p. 69: 'There may ye lerne, / and by ensample teche,' fol. 488 b,
Sloane 1686, leaf 2.

See Sloane MS. 1686, leaf 221, and Harl. MS. 7333.

The form is to be contrasted with the N.E. expression, where the M.E. sense is entirely lost.


I. 613. See 608. The required number of unstressed syllables for the measure is to be provided by the reading wrong, but historically the form can be only wrong.

I. 615. wonepe: the reading of three MSS, giving the meaning 'scarcely.' See Spenser, the Shep. Cal. Jan., I. 6:

'That now woneth their feet coulth them uphold.'

Page 29. ll. 617, 618. 'Why? Because human nature desires revenge for injury.'

I. 619. tak pi minde: See note to I. 496.

I. 622. martyrdom: See Tundale:

I. 1861: 'That for goddis love were buxsum,
In erthe to suffer martyrdom.'

martyrdom ... mede: i.e. the palm of martyrdom, The Seconde Nonnes Tale, ll. 240 and 274.

ll. 623—625. The poet seems responsible for an anacoluthon in the transition from pu, l. 623, to He, ll. 625 ff., peih in ll. 632 ff.

ll. 623 ff. See Isaiah v. 15: 'And the mean man is bowed down, and the great man is humbled, and the eyes of the lofty are humbled.'

I. 624. heih of mod: 'proud,' in contrast to pore of mod, I. 164, and love of herte, I. 165. See note to I. 164.

I. 626. heene: O.E. fem. heofan. The feminine is indicated here by the gen. ending -e. The feminine is recognized in The Hymn on the Nativity, II. 145, 146.

'And Heav’n, as at some festivall,
Will open wide the gates of her high palace hall.'

ll. 626—630. These lines recall Isaiah xxvi. 5:

'For he hath brought down them that dwell on high,
(the lofty city):
He layeth it low, he layeth it low, even to the ground;
He bringeth it to the dust.'

I. 627. heinen: hegnyn, heinun, translating exaltare (I. 630), occurs in Promptorium Parvorum, p. 233. No other instance of this word has been discovered. It is equivalent to Swedish höjna (Sweinhejan > O.E. hēnun). See Stratmann-Bradley. The lists of the Prompt. Parv. contain

See M.E. translation of Lat. exalto: Aner. Riche, p. 154: 'beon heort gostliche iheied toward heouene'; p. 174: 'sout one heinesse, aulheinesse of folke, vorte scheaen soöliche, þet heo þet hudeð ham ariht in hore aucre huse, heo schulen beon ... ouer ouer kannes folke wurliche iheied'; p. 430: 'He beo ouer iheied from worlde to worlde'; p. 100: 'Wend ut ...', 'Hwuder?' 'Vt of mine.heihschipe'; p. 86: 'he hit heued to heie up.'

ll. 629 ff. he, his, þeih: over inconsistancy in the use of number in personal pronoun, see Zupitza, note to Guy, l. 100.

l. 630. Latín: MS. A, has exaltabitur.

l. 631. her: MSS. his, altered in text to remove anacoluthon.

ll. 631, 632. See Moral Prov., MS. Harl. 3810:

Ever the hiere that thou art,
Ever the lower be thy hert.'

Aner. R., p. 130: 'Fleó heic, and holdeð ... þet heaned ever love.'

l. 634. wonye: according to Gollancz's note to Pearl, str. 24, l. 8, -yn

representing the secondary suffix i of O.E., and not nominally the inf. characteristic. For inf. in -ie, see Skeat's Langl., p. Iviii.

l. 636. he: he refers already to Lucifer.

l. 638. Lucifer: The apocryphal legend was known and introduced into literature so early as the fifth century. See James Rothschilid, Mistere du Viel Testament, I, p. xliii., and Speculium Ecclesiae of Honorius. It became the subject of at least two miracle plays, York Play, No. I., and Chester Play, No. I. It was rarely omitted in religious literature from the earliest period. See Henry VIII., III. ii. 371, and Skeat's note to M. T., ll. 3189, 3192. In The Myroure of our Ladye, p. 189, the accepted version has suffered modification: 'The north wind signifies Lucifer; by the north is understonde the fende Lucifer, that by coldnesse of his malys causeth other angells that are lykened to fayre flowers to falle from blysses.' See Longfellow, Epilogue to Golden Legend:

'Lucifer!
The son of mystery, ... 
He, too, is God's minister
And labors for some good' ...  

Isaiah xiv. 12: 'How art thou fallen from heaven, Lucifer' ...

Langl. A. I., l. 115: 'Bote Lucifer louwest liþ of hem alle;
For pruide þat he put out. ...'

Monke's T., l. 3192: ' ... ... ... fel he for his sinne,
Down into helle, wher he yet is inne.'

Meph., Marlowe's Faust., 5. 93: 'I swear by hell and Lucifer,'

See also Ipotes, l. 108: 'In heven ... ... ... ... ...
Pat Lucifer fel oute for pride.'

ll. 639, 640, and with 638. Questionable reading. The appropriateness of the lines seemed reason for inserting them in this connection. Compare other texts:

Tundal, l. 1383: 'Fro heven throw pride he felle downs
Heder into his depe dongowene,'

l. 639. The Liif of Adam, l. 52 :

'In heven Pride first began,
In angels ar it cam in man.'

l. 640. take flyythe: touching upon the trait (in Satan's character) of restlessness as represented, Job ii. 2—5, and as incorporated in the Introduction to Goethe's Faust.
Page 30, ll. 641, 642. *gan:* paraphrastic, written *can* in MS. R as in Sir Gawthor, see ll. 49, 60, etc. and Pearl, 87, 135, etc.; the auxiliary is not to be translated.

l. 643. *alle and some:* See Cent. Dict. A formula exceedingly frequent to the present day. In the sense of *universi et singuli* it occurs as follows:

R. Cœur de Lion, l. 2288: ‘We are betrayed and ynome
Horse and houses, lords, *all and some.*’

Clerkes Tale, l. 941: ‘And in the peples eres *alle and some.*’

Mirror for Mag., p. 91: ‘In armour, the soldiâiers *all and some.*’

See also Herrick, p. 84: ‘Something made of thread and thrumme,
A mere botch *all and some.*’

*rede:* See Zupitza, note to Guy of W., l. 313; Kölibing, Sir Beunes, l. 360.

ll. 645, 646. These lines are contained in the three MSS. A₁H₁R, probably from the original text. They are in harmony with the style of the poet.


*strong:* *strongē,* dative, a questionable form. See *strong,* ll. 266, 274; but *strongē,* l. 282; *pe strongē,* l. 449.

l. 649. *siker:* expletive ‘certainly,’ an adverb used instead of *sikeliche.* The question arises as to the desirability of the comma between *For* and *siker.* These words form a single expression. and: here *if.*

l. 653. *bi consail* and *bi red:* See Kölibing’s note to Sir Beunes, M. l. 360, and Ch., *Genl. Proal.,* l. 665.

*pe fond: qued:* The customary alliterative combination is *fond: fend.*

See Sir Gawthor, l. 4; *Orm.,* 12.335: ‘puss *fundeþþp* deoffell Godess folke.’

l. 654. *pe qued:* ‘See notes to lines 48 and 1025.

l. 657. *Ac:* Southern adversative, German *sondern;* *ac* preserves a previous negative, cf. Mätzner, *Wörterbuch unter ac.* Cf. O.E. use through *Elene,* l. 355; *Beowulf,* l. 109: ‘*ac* he bine feor forrâc’; l. 1991: ‘*Ac* pu . . . gebettest marum *peodne,*’ where the significance is adversative, Latin: *nomen, num quid.* *A₂DH₁H₂R* do not use *ac,* see variants. See *Rbt.* of *Gl.,* p. 4681, l. 657:

‘If thou hast any intelligence, any knowledge,’ etc.

l. 658. *wertu:* ‘efficacy.’

l. 661. *hext:* also the attribute of *charity* in the sense of ‘love,’ l. 325.

l. 664. *Latin:* MS. A₅ reads: *Qui . . . ceteris congregat . . . qui . . . puluerem,* recalling Isaiah xvii. 13: the description of *A Doom Song,* the *Doomsday:* ‘[They] shall be . . . like the whirling dust before the storm.’ The Latin is quoted in the *Anceon Rîvel, p.* 278, with translation: ‘*pe pet* is unhe, wiþouten hire’ (edmondesse) ‘worte gederen gode þeawes, he herce dust þe wiode.’

Page 31. l. 665. *ponh:* ‘See note to l. 752.

l. 672. Read possibly, as in l. 737, *lihtēliche* with inorganic *e* between suffix and stem, according to laws described in the Introduction. Thus type A is preserved instead of either type C or A with the unstressed fourth measure of MS. A₁:

‘Hit flēp awēy ful lihteliche.’

l. 674. *dedes . . . do:* verb with cognate substantive occurs frequently; *Rbt.* *Gl.,* ll. 1107, 1649, 1655, 3845, 4499, 5273, 5876, 7047, 7459. Also 1602, 2192, 2246, 3082, 5436, 5820, 6333, 5483, 6545, 6849, 7175, 7346, 7438, 7448, 9036. See Strohmeyer, p. 23, and note to l. 398.
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l. 685. aferd: See ferd, l. 17 of A Poem on the Times of Edward II., Gaimelyn, l. 884, and Skeat, pp. xii, xiii. aferd of: ‘affected with fear on account of.’ Cf. Dict. of the Kentish Dialect, etc., p. 2; Halliwell’s Dict. With MS. D affirm note the reading of Chaucer, The Shipman’s Tale, l. 403:

‘This wif was not aferde ne affræde.’

Macbeth, I. iii. l. 96: ‘Nothing aferad of what thyself didst make.’

V. i. 41: ‘a soldier, and aferd.’

ll. 689, also 309. mid iwisse: See Poema Morale, ll. 40, 141, 154, 375, 391; On god Vereison of ure Lejifi, l. 6; De Muliere Samaritana, ll. 37, 53; mid nane iwisse, Poema Morale, l. 236.

See Monograph of M. Jacoby, Vier me Gedichte aus dem 13, Jahrhundert, p. 43, l. 47; ‘po pi sone al mid iwisse.’

mid: occurs in Southern poems. See note to l. 689 and Pearl, Rht. of Gl., and other Southern poems. For the W.S. mid cf. Miller’s well-known discussion, Bæda’s Eccles. History, pp. xlv., xlvii. See also compounds of mid, per mid, etc.


l. 693. pe: so in A1 is a copyist’s error.

l. 698, also 512 and 908. is above: See sit above, ll. 54, 962, the heavenly ruler symbolized by the attributes of an earthly monarch. The conception is very old, a notable characteristic of the O.E. See heofoncyning. Exodus, l. 410; Elene, l. 621: Hélikand: hósum hímle, l. 656; bi hímle thenn hóhon, l. 1509; heath heofon, Genesis B, 476, 736; Riddle 41, l. 22. See the gloria in excelsis and modern hymnology; e.g. Seagrave’s:

‘Rise, my soul, to seats prepared above,

Exalted high at God’s right hand.’

See illustrations from the M.E. collected by Schmirgel, p. xlix.

above: lone: a rime exceedingly frequent everywhere, as Kolbing notes, Sir Bénes, A l. 1837, and illustrates in Ipomelon, A l. 5. See ‘Willie’s emblem,’ Shep. Cal. for March:

‘To be wise, and eke to love

Is granted scarce to Gods above.’

l. 705. Type A can be secured by the reading ayeinēs, but this form is not justified by the MSS. The scansion is as in l. 446 according to type C.

l. 710. stonnde : bonnde: For rimes with stonnde, see Schmirgel, pp. lxi, lxii.

l. 712. wole: owing to a scribe who has spoiled the form. Read wille.

Page 33, l. 716. and : and is important to metre and sense, and has the support of three MSS., viz. DH,R.


l. 5533: ‘þe fifte ȝife iss shed & skill,

& weorlde like þiness.’

l. 12,336: ‘Innsiht & witt, & shed, & skill’ (see skifulliche, l. 173).

l. 722. falshehe : falseness in antithesis to soþnesse.

‘Bitwēn soþnesse & falshehe.’
1. 723. *ful ivis*: also ll. 165, 285, 337, 503. See *mid ivisse*, note to l. 689; O.E. Homilies (ed. Morris), 'Hic dic ... de Propheta.' l. 17; *Orm.* l. 1356; LaJamon's *Brut*, text A l. 14,234, and text B l. 21,561:

l. 14,234: 'He hahte heo *ful ivis*.'

l. 21,561: 'and an hijende wende folivis.'

Cf. *Gen.* and *Ex.* l. 2521: ' *to ful in ivis*' and ' *wile iviss,*' *Pearl*, str. 33, l. 10.

l. 726. *wit*: See note to l. 227, and other M.E. texts:

*Poema Morale*, l. 2: ' *mi wit ah to ben more,*' etc.

*Destr. of T.*, l. 4: ' wysshe me with *wyt* pis werke for to ende.'

l. 25: ' *to ken all the crafte* . . . . . . . . . .

Recalling l. 212 of the *Speculum*: * 'wep wit in alle crafte.'

*he*: from four MSS. *he* is necessary to the sense. *here* is a scribal error in *A*.

l. 728. *can*: See note to *Sir Beues*, E. l. 3963: 'He is neither able nor knows how to perceive his own condition.' See Skeat's note to *The Prioress Tale*, l. 1650.

l. 738. This line is to be regarded as parenthetical, whether the break be indicated by the mark of parenthesis or by the comma.

l. 739. *God . . . more*: all, 'the larger and the smaller,' 'good and bad,' i.e. righteousness and wickedness.

**Page 34**, l. 744. *be longe lyff*: eternity in heaven contrasted with *pine pat laste* p ay, l. 746.

ll. 745, 746. See *Persons Tale*, ll. 197, 198: 'drede of the day of dome and of the horrible peines of helle.'

l. 746. *domesday*: ay: For this rime see Kölibing, note to *Sir Beues*, A l. 2643.

l. 750. *hit*: emended from four MSS. *his* of MS. *A* is a scribal error. The line admits of the punctuation: *long* instead of *long*.

l. 752. *ponh*: *pou* of *A* is quite possible, see Stratmann, *Dict.* The scribe probably intended to write *ponh*. The final *h* is added here for symmetry.

l. 756. *lasse and more*: 'everybody.' See Skeat's note to *The Clerkes Tale*, l. 940; *Tundale*, l. 1852: *Beues*, ll. 453, 499; also Auch. *Guy*, str. 38, l. 4; and *Cains*, *Guy*, l. 3160.

l. 758. *ofte shrive*: based on MSS. *A* DH1. Two texts give the more plausible form *Iscryue*. *clene* in MS. R alone occurs probably from comparison with l. 764.

l. 759. *wrot*: *I wrot* of MSS. *A* DH1 is the more exact text, according to the standards of the poet.

l. 761. *bat*: without verb on which to depend has here the character of a kind of substitute for the imperative.

**Page 35**, l. 768. Also l. 758 in MS. *A*.

*clene*: through MSS. *A* DH1 R. *ofte* of *A* is probably retained from l. 758.

*shrive*: better *I schryve*, MSS. *A* DH1, according to the participial forms peculiar to the *Speculum*.

l. 769. Approximately l. 829 in *H*.

l. 771: Cf. *Der engl.* *Cato*, v. 603: ' *serve is medicine of *pi guld.*'

l. 773. *foun*de: MSS. *A* DH1 have the preferred form *founde*.

l. 776. *Without money* and *without price*; Rev. xxii. 17: take freely.

l. 779. *sheve*: The verb is wanting in MS. *A*. *sheve* is not necessary for the meaning, because it could be understood from *sheved*, l. 780; it is
supplied because found in all the MSS. except MS. A. It seems probable that the omission was due to the scribe alone.

l. 779 ff. See Persones Tale, p. 581 (ed. Tyrwhitt, Routledge edition), l. 11: 'To him may nothing be hid ne covered. Men should eke remember hem of the shame that is to come at the day of done. for all the creatures in heven, and in erthe, and in helle, shal see apertly all that they hidin in this world.' See also Tundale:

l. 2124: 'Thay se alle thyng, both evell and goode.'
l. 2128: 'And al creatures, pat ever god made.'
l. 2131: 'Thare may no thyng in this worlde be,'
l. 2134: 'Pat has sene god almyghty.'
l. 1934: ' . . . . throw pat sight Of alle, pat thay in the worlde dyde.'

l. 782. MS. A reads: 'Nichtil absconditum quod non scietur nec occultum quod non relevetur.'

l. 784. shame: blame: also II. 778, and 812. See Kölling's note, Sir B. A, l. 469.

ll. 785 ff. 'Twenge manere shame': See Persones Tale, p. 581, quoted l. 779, for the two maners of shrift, and l. 4 for aynst the shame that a man bath to shrive him.


l. 799. be my crowne: Sir Beues, text S, l. 1004; O, ll. 1923, 1987: see Kölling's note to text C, l. 131, with reference to Lange, Die Versicherungen by Chaucer, p. 39, and Zapitzza's note to Guy of Warwick, B, l. 974. Lange cites illustrations from The Reces Tale, ll. 121, 179, etc.

ll. 803—804. See other texts as follows:

Tundale, ll. 211, 212: 'Thy wykked thoughtes in thy breste. Woldest thou never scheue to pe prest.'

l. 806. wrapppep: Here wrapppep is used in the original sense of the word, 'make angry,' 'annoay.' See Zapitzza, note to Guy of Warwick, l. 77.

l. 807. Read 'Forgisnes, iwis, ne tít him nêuere.'
l. 808. Note ellipsis, to be supplied in modern English: 'he will be condemned.'

l. 814. coup: See pret. used by Spenser in the Shep. Calendar, Jan., str. 2, l. 4, with Kirke's reference to Sir Thomas Smith's Book of Government, lent him by his 'very singular good friend Master Gabriel Harvey.' Latin. The Vulgate text, Is. i. 6, reads: Lamemini, mundi estate. The poet follows Alcuinus; see Introduction.

Page 37, ll. 816, 824, 848. See Isaiah i. 16: 'Wash you, make you clean.' Followed by H, in the reading be ye made or bep made cleane. See also Jer. iv. 14; Eph. v. 26; See Engl. texts Ipatis, l. 618: 'To wasschen and to mak cleane'; pe Wohunjge of ure Lanerd (ed. Zup.), l. 7: 'He clenes tat herte, and cumes flowinde ut of pat wide wunde . . . pe water, pat te world of sake and of sumne'; 'wasche mi sawle and make hit kwel'; M. of L. T., l. 453: 'wesch the world fro the olde iniquite.'

Tundale, l. 1860: 'holy men, pat god loved right.'
l. 1863: 'And that washyd hor stolys in the blod Of the lombe, wyt myld mod. And thay lefte the world holy, For to serve god almenthy.'

l. 817. men sèp: men used in a general sense, equivalent to 'people'
with a singular verb, common in Chaucer. See Skeat’s note, Leg. of G. W., l. 12.

1. 826. no wiht: Cf. N.E. ‘not a whibt.’


ll. 829, 830. The transition from singular to plural is unexpected, yet it seems supported by the MSS. MSS. A, E preserve, it is true, the better and smoother reading. An alteration miseded : be dredes is impossible according to the dialect of the poem.

1. 833 (in H2). hevene queene: Compare The Book of Common Prayer: ‘O Queen of Heavens, incline thine ear to us.’ The coronation of Mary was a popular theme in the York Plays. See play xlvii. The Coronation of Mary, Speech of Jesus, ll. 7 ff.

p. 491, l. 7: ‘Off hevene I hane hir chosen queene
In joie and blisse that laste schall aye.’

p. 493, l. 75: ‘We schall þe bringe in to his sight,
To crowne þe queene . . .’

p. 496, l. 155: ‘Ressaye þis crowne, my dere darlyng,
þè I am kyng, you shalt be queene.’

The subject of the crowning was prominent in two plays at York, Beverley, etc. See Tischendorf, Apocalypses Apocrypha. Text N, 155: Mrs. Jameson’s Legends of the Madonna, pp. 328, 329; L. Toulmin Smith, York Mystery Plays, p. xlix and 1.

1. 834 in H2, be dene: See note to l. 191.

1. 836, nevans seuene in H2, l. 8, of the independent reading: The meaning is not decided upon by Zupitza, note to Guy of Warwick, l. 2682, nor by Kölbing, note to Sir Beves, A, l. 2191, with references to Semt Mercret, l. 68, and Octovian, l. 194, 993. It may possibly be simply an additional illustration of the introduction of the mystical seven so common at this period. For the Uses of Seven see MS. Harl. 45. The name of Christ called on seven times within a specified period is the suggestion of the words. See a prayer, Rel. Ant. I, p. 22, str. 2: ‘halged be þi name with giftis seuen’; also the Burney MS. 356. 5: ‘In þe pater noster beth sevne biddyngeges that God hym sylf ordeyned on erthe.’ See other expressions of the same idea:

Spec. Vitae, 1. 99: ‘And specially of þe sevne askyngeæ
pat on þe Pater Noster henges.’

Eng. Stud. vii., p. 469: ‘. . . þe sevne sylfes of þe holy gost,
þat þe sevne askyngeæ may to vs haste.’

Aunc. Rivel, p. 28: ‘þe seune boñen i þe Paternoster ægein þe seuon heaued
deadliche surnen.’

An ancient Pat. Nos.: ‘Seven oreyouns ther beth inne.
That helpeþ men out of Dedli Sinne.’

Thus are recalled the seven daily petitions enjoined on inmates of cloister and monastery; the seven orisons often referred to in M.E. See The Myroure of our Ladgy (ed. Blunt), p. 11: Seven prayers daily were the formal duty of the sisters of holy Sion, the ‘seven appeals’ ‘to heal the seven deadly sins’ and to assure ‘the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost.’

1. 840. Seynte Charite in MS. H2: Charity figured as a saint in the Roman Calendar according to Halliwell’s Dict.: but see also Skeat, note, Compare Zupitza’s note to Guy of Warwick, l. 1060: Lange, Die Versicherungen bei Ch., p. 39; Gamelyn, ll. 451, 513, and numerous illustrations in other M.E. texts.

The saint is invoked with frequency even to the sixteenth century:

Hamlet, IV. v. 26;

Gam. Gur. Needle 52: 'And helpe me to my neele, for God's sake and St. Charite.'

J. R. Lowell, Godminster Chimes: 'Chime of Sweet Saint Charity,
Peal the Easter morn.'

Keble, Christian Year, st. 6: 'Steals on soft handed Charity.'

Page 38. ll. 833, 834. The MSS. themselves mark an uneasiness over this difficult passage. Both language and context seem to yield the following rendering: 'Why? If he will thus continually persist in sin, then he must assuredly remain unclean' (i.e. 'unpardoned').

l. 834. Cf. Rich., II. iv. 253: 'And water cannot wash away your sin.'

l. 835. manere: generally written without of, excepted in N.E. because replacing O.E. cum, 'kind,' as explained by Morris, O. E. Hom.; Hic Die, est, l. 90, and Zupitza, note to Guy of Warwick, l. 4346. The pleonastic use of 'manere' according to French models (Stromeyer, p. 8) is common in M.E. texts. See Spec., l. 785; Tyndale's Bible, Rec. xviii. 12: 'A maner vessels ivery'; M. of L. T., l. 519: 'A maner latyn corrupt'; Shoreham:

pre maner peyne man fange
For his senne nede.'

Rbt. of Gl., A 2644: 'wipout eni maner harme'; 2750: 'A maner gostes'; also ll. 3081, 4524, 5561, 7392, 8004, 8331, 8342.

l. 836. Makep: MS. D Close, 'purifieth.'

l. 838. Also l. 792 in MSS. Hj.R.

l. 843. accord: See the following illustrations:

Prothalamion, l. 101: 'Let endlesse Peace your steadfast hearts accord.'

Pearl, str. 31, l. 11: 'Of care and me ye made acorde.'

Maund. Voige, l. 75: 'tempore lorde and alle worldly lorde were at gode acord.'

l. 851. jif eft sone: 'now soon again,' 'immediately,' in Spenser's phrase:

Prothalamion, l. 55: 'Eftsowes the Nymphes,' which now had Flowers their fill,' etc.

Two N. Kinsmen, III. i. 12: 'That I, poor man, might eftsowes come between,
And chop on some cold thought.'

eftsone is of ordinary occurrence in earlier texts. See Mark iii. 1;

Wiclif Bible: 'And he entride eftsone,' eftsone corresponding to again of King James's version.

l. 853. godes lore: i.e. John xii. 35. Cf. John xi. 9, 10.

l. 854. lesse and more: see note to l. 756.

Latin MS. A1 reads: 'lucem...comprehendant.' With this passage compare the text quoted in the Ancr. Ricle. p. 326: 'Fili, ne tardes converti ad Dominum,' and the old book, Vehiculum Vitae, p. 107: 'Ne tardes converti ad Dominum, et ne differas de die in diem, nam subito rapid miseris inclemencia mortis.'

l. 856. See also John ix. 4, recalling Isaiah xxi. 11, 12: 'Watchman, what of the night?'

'The morning cometh,
And also the night.
If ye will inquire, inquire ye.'

l. 858. þe derke nihte: common expression in M.E., Sir Beues, A, l. 2790; Partonope, l. 1182; Alisaunder, l. 6097, see Schmirgel, p. lxiii. The Poema Morale preserves þustre nihte.
Poema Morale, l. 78: 'nis hit na swá durne idón · né aswa þystre níhte.'

Shep. Cal. Nov., l. 165: 'She hath the bonds broke of eternall night.'

See Persones Tale, l. 235: 'Covered with the derkenesse of deth . . . defaute of the sight of God,' through 'the sinnes that the wretched man hath don.'

Page 39. l. 859. While þu art on line: recalling whil he was on lyue, Gamelyn, ll. 20, 58, 157, 225, 228, as noted by Skeat, p. xxxiv.

on line: See Skeat's note to Gamelyn, l. 21.

Compare the passage with John ix, 4: 'While it is day,' . . . 'I must work the works of him that sent me,' i. e. Godes werkes of holi chirche, Spec., l. 860. See Vulgate text quoted, Anec. Rithe, p. 326: 'Fili, ne tardes converti ad Dominum."

l. 859, 860. worche . . . werkes: 'do works of love,' as explained by Zupitza, note to Guy of Warwicke, l. 6675, and Kolbing, note to Sir Bawes, A, l. 58—60, and A, l. 3230, quoting Guy's advice to the old earl:

'Hyt were better for þe to be in churche,
And holly werlys for to wyrche.'

The rime in this favourite passage of the M.E. poet is uniformly worche: churche, as is illustrated in numerous passages from different mediaeval texts:

Tundale, l. 29: 'The werkes of mercy wolde he not wyrke,
He lovede not god ne holy kyrke.'

1. 209: 'þou lovedest not god nor holly kyrks,
Ne werkes of mercy woldest non wyrke.'

Owl and Night., l. 720: 'Vorpi me singh in holi chirche
And clerkes ginnep songes wyrche.'

The Miller's Tale, l. 196: 'Than fell it thus, that to the . . . cherche
(Of Cristes owen werkes for to werche)
This god wif went upon a holy day,'

The Somnoures Tale, l. 269: '. . . to bilden Cristes owen chirche,
. . . if ye wol lernen for to werche.'

Ipotis, B, l. 216: 'Lowen god and holly cherche,
And oper god werkes for to werche.'

See also The Marchantes Tale, l. 237; Gamelyn, l. 507; Ipotis, D, ll. 431, 432.

See King Hora, l. 1407: 'Horn let sone wyrche
Chapeles and chirche.'

l. 862. qued: See notes to the Speculum, lines 48 and 1025. ll. 866, 867. John ix. 4: 'The night cometh when no man can work.' See modern hymnology: 'Work, for the night is coming.'

l. 866. agaste: This early form was used by Milton in the past participle:

Hymn on Nativ., l. 160: 'The aged earth agast
With terror of the blast,' etc.

See also Wm. of Palerne, 1778: 'and him agast maked . . .'. The h of N.E. aghast. pp., is inorganic and unauthorized on historical basis. Cf. Murray, Dict.


l. 867. widohte myn: 'it cannot be denied.' See Zupitza's note to Guy of Warwicke, l. 3054.

ll. 869, 872. See 2 Corinith, v. 10.

l. 872. whether: See note to l. 219.

l. 873. par wunter: i. e. peradventure read as a trisyllable for the
metre, also noted by Schick, l. 233. See Wicelif, Matt. v. 25: 'Lest per-

adventure thin adversaries take the to the domesman,' and Pearl, str. 49:

l. 12: 'Paramunter nught schal to-yere more.'

See Skeat's note to l. 935 of the Pardoner's Tale.

II. 876—878. Rev. xxii. 12. See Poema Morale, l. 171:

'End æfter þet hæ hem hæveat i don, scal þer ben ðedmæd.'

1. 876. þat of A, omitted in this text on authority of three MSS,

from two groups in opposition to the reading of a single MS., and because

securing possibly a better metre. Compare the two readings with l. 264,

where the MSS. do not admit of the loss of the þat:

l. 876: 'Ac riht æfter þu hast dō.describe.

'Ac riht æfter þat þu hast dō.'

l. 264: 'Ac riht æfter þat mān hāp dōn.'


III. 879, 880. gilour ... gilcē: Compare Hand. Syn., l. 5975, and

other texts:

Rexes Tale, l. 4219: 'A gilour shal himself begiled be.'

P. Pl., A, II., l. 162: 'Bote gyle was forgoere and gilde hem alle.'

See also:

King Horn, l. 1488: 'He hāp giled þe twie.'

Proc. of Henld., l. 304: 'Hope of long lýf gilcē mony god wylf.'

l. 880. evere among: See note to l. 186.

l. 881. perfore worcē: 'Go work,' Matt. xxi. 28. worcē is a cor-

rect form in this connection historically and according the syntax of the

passage. See O.E. wyerce. The line belongs then properly to type A:

'Perfore worcē, while þu mātt.'

mātt: For this curious form see Introduction, the explanation advanced

by Professor Schick.

Page 40. l. 882. caihet: See 'Introduction' under 'Phonology.'

This orthography is not common. It is given approximately in the

Acer. Rydke, p. 154: 'neuer yet i moune floe ne keihte he swunche bi-

gente'; p. 278: 'hwo mei wið þeos witen him, þet he ne beo mid summe

of þeos ðekeiht'; p. 134: 'lœste heo beo ðekeiht.'

mīhte be caihet: M.E. expressions for death or to die are curious and

interesting. See the Acer. Rydke, p. 62: 'purly eie þurles deahs haue

here ingong into þe soule'; p. 110: 'al his bodi deahs swot swette';

p. 274: 'þinæ deahs dunt?'; Azen. 130: 'deahs drench?; l. 30: 'his

licham of erse he num.'

Orrm., l. 8111: 'Er þann he saff his fale gost
to farecen inntill helle.'

l. 7751: 'Forr sinness draȝcen sinful manu
Till helle deþ on end.'

l. 15,436: 'þe shulunen deþcn ijell deþ
To draȝcen helle pine.'

l. 1381: 'Wipþ deþpes pine o rode.'

P. Pl., B, xviii, l. 53: 'bede hym drynke his deth ynel.'

R. of Gl., l. 9128: 'king henri þen deþ nom.'

l. 131: 'deþ com him þus to.'

l. 5320: 'þen wey of deþe nom.'

Cf. with 490 'out of þis world for to fare.'

Orrm., l. 7010: 'þe wende heo out of þisse live.'

Sir Bever, l. 3656: 'ibroust of þe lif dauw.' 209, 317, 451, 1064, 1594, etc.

SPECl. WAR.
Latin and ll. 883, 884. MS. A, reads: 'Inicium sapiencie timor domini,' to be found Psalms cxii. 10 : Proverbs i. 7 ; ix. 10. See also Job xxviii. 28 : Dent. iv. 6 ; Eccles. xii. 13. H3 quotes the Latin in two other instances, ll. 4 and 138, where it is not cited in other MSS. See Moral Proverb, Harl. MS. 3810:

For the beginning of wisdom is
For to drede Godlys rytwysnes.

See The Persones Tale, l. 1752 ff.

l. 883. ping: Originally a neuter n. ping is preserved unchanged in the plural, but the orthography ping, pinges is to be noted. The final -e of pingé occurs through analogy with the dative plural. O. E. pingum. See Sachse, Das morgenische e im Oermum. Cf. ping, Leg. of G. W., l. 11; 'and tatt alle pinges seb.' Orm., l. 13,664. Final -es of pinges indicates analogy with the plural of the masculine. See Orm., l. 11,895; 'corplic pingess (gen.) husst'; l. 13,749; 'seyde swilkke pingess'; l. 18,798; 'lasstene alle pingess.' See also l. 19,692; 'nike ping to taceyn;' and l. 12,347; 'Lnn alle, kinne ping.' See also 'Introduction' under inflection of substantives.

l. 888. ipult: See l. 232, and Ancr. Riwle, p. 366: 'hit pulst up,' hit were pulten on him.'

Rel. Ant., p. 244, II.: 'To dethe a wolde hym putte
for Adames gulte.'

Langl., A, l. 125: 'pyrde that he pult out.'
gilt: ipilt: rime frequent in the Liif of Adam and an old Pater noster. See Gamelyn, l. 894.

l. 889. i vnderstonde: See note to l. 49.

l. 898. do: From three MSS. instead of go of two.

l. 903. keche: See pp. ikwahh, l. 17, and Ancr. Riwle, p. 324: 'Ase ofte ase ... keche toward be.'

ll. 905, 906. See The Persones Tale, ll. 259 f., and Tundale.

Tundale, l. 1836: 'So feyge a sight as he saw than.
The grete bryghtnes of goddis face.'

l. 2113: 'Thay beheld faste his swete face,
Pat shone bryght over al pat place.'

Page 41. l. 910. lone : drede: See l. 21: lone . . . eie; l. 795: shame ne eie. See The Tale of Melibues, l. 85: 'did him reverence more for drede than for lone.'

l. 924. luite : putte: This interesting rime is not common. I have not met with it in other texts.

ll. 925, 926. Lines of doubtful authenticity, probably on later consideration not to be introduced in this connection. See l John iv. 17, 18.

l. 927. in . . . lore: i.e. Matt. x. 42; Mark ix. 41. See Matt, xxv. 40.

l. 928. Man: This term of address, strikingly frequent in the Speculum, is of rare occurrence in other homilies of the Old and Middle English literature, without some qualifying adjective, often Leofemen, as in Õ. E. Hom. 41, l. 1 (see ed. Morris, First Series), or good men, Pard. Tale, l. 904, as in the modern sermon. See Skeat's note to l. 904.

l. 931. gode wille . . . charite: 'in my name, because ye belong to Christ.' Mark ix. 41.

vid: The d in vid stands for by. See Breul, Sir Gorther, p. 18. The poet pronounced vid. Cf. vj by griby, l. 148. See Napier's note to A Middle English Compassio Maria, ll. 3 and 19.
l. 932. golden be: 'he shall not lose his reward,' Mark ix. 41.

l. 937. See Prior, xxviii. 27.

be bere: See Zupitza's note to Guy of Warwick, l. 5205. Cf. Lat. eo melius. be is O.E. by, M.H.G. din.

Page 42. l. 938. made: Matt. vi. 12: Luke vi. 38. Rewards of the Lord, Prior, xxxv. 22; according to works, Hos. iv. 9; Matt. xvi. 27; Luke xxiii. 1; l Cor. iii. 8: 2 Tim. iv. 14.

l. 939. Enes: MS. D preserves a corrupt reading. The form seems to be Tyrs, but it may possibly stand Tyrs. Cf. ene, ll. 366, 815, and Gollancz's note to Pearl, str. 25, l. 3; see str. 80, l. 5.

l. 946. olde lour: 1 Kings xvii. 8—16. For influence of Gregory and Augustine on the poet, see the 'Introduction,' p. cxiv. Scriptural texts alone will be consulted in the preparation of the notes. See also Aner. R., p. 402: 'mid pe poure wumanon of Sarepte?'


l. 952. beypere: gen., a form hitherto not discovered in any other M.E. text. Although the etymology of M.E. bolpe is yet in question, yet it is probable that this genitive cannot represent the Scandinavian bróðir. It seems, as Prof. Schick has pointed out, that the second half of the word is a form of O.E. ðæ. The development may be traced as follows:

O.E. Nom. bo ðæ: M.E. bo, þe = bolpe.
O.E. Gen. beþeðær; M.E. beyre, þere = beþerere.

for: inserted from D for the sake of metre. The verse is thus transposed from type C to type A. beypere suggests the emendation lye, the plural form as used in line 486. The insertion of for is not necessary, if the verse be read as follows: 'Her beþeðær lye to amende.'

l. 953. seide: 'saying,' Script. v. 8; þu shalt fare: v. 9: 'Get thee ...'

l. 954. Sarepte: 'Sarepta,' Luke iv. 26, the reading of Gregory and Augustine. More correctly Zarephath (v. 9 of 1 Kings xvii., and Obadiah 20), from which Sarepte is a corrupted form.

wone þere: v. 9: 'dwell there.'

l. 955. vidense: 'a widow woman'; þe fede: 'to sustain thee.'

l. 957. begun anon: v. 10: 'So he arose.'

l. 958. to gon: 'went.'

l. 959. gate of the cite: 'gate of the city'; vidense he mette: 'widow was there.'

l. 960. he grette: 'he called to her there,' faire grette.

FAIRE GRETTE: See grette vel of l. 52. Usual form of greeting in M.E. texts. See note to l. 52, and as follows:

Ipolis, l. 14: 'þe emperour ful fayr he grette.'

Brut., A, l. 288: 'þe faire he ne gon gretan.'

l. 36: 'faire he ne igretan.'

M. of L. T., l. 1051: 'fayre he hir grette.'

See Schmirgel, p. lv., for the rime mette: grette, Leg. of G. W., ll. 977 and 1485; King Horn, l. 1040.

ll. 961, 963. bad hire ... zine: 'Fetch me'; for godes loue: 'I pray thee.'

l. 963. a dishful water: 'water in a vessel.' dishful water: a cup of cold water, Matt. x. 42. For the omission of the preposition see note to shine, l. 970, and to manere, l. 835.

l. 964. helpen (him) to line: 'that I may drink.'

l. 966. serve ... agein: v. 11: 'she was going to fetch it.'
turne: subjunctive, 'she would turne again'; the syntax seems justified by the meaning.


l. 967. After ... crie: 'he called to her.'

l. 969. he seide: v. 11: 'and said.' Read seide.

Page 43, l. 970. Scriptural narrative v. 11: 'Bring me ... a morsel of bread in thine hand.'

'shine bred: 'shive, 'slice,' morsel.' See also handful mele, l. 975, dishful water, l. 963. Skeat's note to Morset breed. Monkes Tale, l. 3624, and the readings of MS. R shynor of brede, D and R dishul of water, R handful of mele. Cf. Sir Beues:

A, l. 1825: 'Nowich wulde 3ene hit kof
For a schiuer of a lof!'

M, l. 1826: 'Of a lofe to haue a shynor.'

l. 972. she seide, bred haue i non: Script. v. 12: 'And she said ... I have not a cake.'

siker: See Shep. Cal., Mch., l. 7: 'Sicker, Willie, thou warnest well.'

ll. 975-976. 'out an handful of meal in a barrel, and a little oil in a cruse.'

ll. 977, 978. 'That I may go in and dress it for me and my son, that we may eat it and die,'

l. 979. deie: See Napier's note to A M.E. Comp. Marie, l. 14, and Chaucer, T. of Melib., l. 159: 'lice in sorwe.'

l. 981. answerede po: Script, v. 13: 'And [he] said unto her.' See also l. 65, and Sir Beues, A, l. 1841: 'pe lenued answerde him po.' Ordinary language of the period.

l. 982. Abid: also conversational form common with the poet of the period. See Owl and N., ll. 837, 845.

l. 983. 'But make me thereof a little cake first,' Script. v. 13. See Sir Beues, l. 1837: 'Dame, a seide'; l. 1840: 'zene me ... a meles met.'

l. 986. make: sake: See Kolbing's note to Sir Beues, M, l. 4317.

l. 987. seli: 'kind'? as in Compl. of Mars, l. 89. The sense suggests 'innocent,' 'unsuspecting.' See Skeat's note to Leg. of G. W., l. 1157; note to l. 576 of the Speculum, and texts as follows:

M. of L. T., l. 682: 'sely innocent Custance.'

Leg. of G. W., l. 1251: 'O sely woman, ful of innocence.'

l. 2713: 'This sely woman is so wayk, alias!'

Chaucer, Ym., T., l. 1076: 'O sely preest! O sely Innocent!'

Aner. Rivo, p. 198: 'tu seli ancre, jet ert his selli spuse.'

Aner. Rivele, p. 352: 'pis a seli deas pet make8 bus ... mon other wuman ut of pe worlde.' Compare also another usage, that of Spenser, Shep. Cal., Sept., Diggon's speech, l. 62:

'My sely sheep (ah, sely sheep!)

Chaucer uses sely as epithet in connection with proper names: sely John, Beues T., l. 188; sely Venus, Compl. of M., ll. 89, 141; sely Progne, Leg. of G. W., l. 2316; sely Dido, Leg., ll. 1157, 1336; sely poure Griseldis, Clerkes T., l. 948.

l. 988. Gruntede ... bone: probably stereotyped expression in M.E. See Rbt. of Gl., 'Life of St. Dunstan.' l. 37; Ch., Kn. Tale, l. 1411; Part. of F., l. 643; H. of E., l. 1537; Gromelyn, l. 153-4: 'aske me thy bone ... I it grante bone.'

l. 993. orisson: prayer to Almighty God, but also naming supplication to heathen gods. See Schick, T. of Gl., note to l. 460. Cf. a sixteenth-century MS: 'Ane denoit orisson to be said in the honour of
the sevin words that our saluiour spak apoun the crose,' Arund. 28 b, fol. 165.

1. 994. fuisoun: See Gollancz's note to Pearl, str. 89, l. 2: Two Noble Kinsmen, v. i. l. 55: 'the teeming Ceres' foison'; Macbeth iv. iii, l. 86. Compare l. 994 with l. 504. M. of L. T.:

'God sente his foyson at hir grete nede.'

Page 44, l. 999. Ne drea pe noht: also The Seconde Nonnes Tale, l. 324 = 1 Kings xvii, 13: 'Fear not.'

1. 1000. Script., l. 14: 'The barrel of meal shall not waste.'

1. 1001. 'neither shall the cruse of oil fail.'

1. 1002. lone: N.E. loom, here a vessel, and applicable either to the Scriptural 'barrel' or to the 'cruse.' lone admits of varied application, the ark in the poem The Deluge, ll. 314, 412: tools in the Parable of the Laborouns, l. 15. See a song in MS. Harl. 2253, and various illustrations in Skeat's Diet.

1. 1003. Script. v. 15: 'and she... and her house did eat.'

1. 1004. While she lioide enere mo: v. 15 'many days'; marginal note: 'a full year.'

1. 1006, also l. 940: almesse dede is double god: See Lowell, The Vision of Sir Launfal, Part II, str. 8, l. 14:

'In what so we share with another's need;
Not what we give, but what we share,—
For the gift without the giver is bare;
Who gives himself with his alms feeds three,—
Himself, his hungering neighbor, and me.'

1. 1008. pur[w]: conjectured orthography, not authorized by MS. D providing the completed line. pur[w men... ] would be the preferred arrangement, were MS. D not consulted as standard.

1. 1012. Luke vi, 38. 'Give, and it shall be given unto you'; Proc. xix. 17; 2 Corinth. ix. 7.

1. 1014. se[de in sopenesse] is to be preferred. seide is not, however, the orthography of D, the MS, supplying the deficiency in MS. A.

sopenesse: Inorganic -e- unifying radical with suffix, is to be noted here, as illustrated in MS. D. See 'Introduction,'

ll. 1015-1018. Matt. xxv. 40: 'Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me.'

1. 1016. meyne: 'brethren;' vide supra. See Skeat's note Leg. of G. W., l. 1059; Gollancz's to Pearl, str. 46, l. 2. See str. 94, l. 11; str. 96, l. 5; The Deluge, l. 331: Wm. of Palerne, l. 184; Occlere, De R., str. 620, l. 5; Chery Chese, l. 6; Gamelyn, l. 575.

1. 1019-1022. Reference is here possibly to Proc. xix. 17: 'He that hath pity upon the poor, lendeth unto the Lord,'

ll. 1020, 1021. mayt: unique form found only in MS. D, perhaps a scribal inaccuracy for mayt, ll. 863, 864. See rime mait: (cayht), l. 881.

1. 1025. quede: quede in R, O.E. guéð. For qued as substantive, 'the devil,' see note to l. 48, and Mall's note to The Harrowing of Hell, l. 36, reading 'For to leesen ous fram þe qued. The various substantive meanings are developments representing the adjective qued, 'evil.' See The Pater Noster according to Michel, Aenbite of Invyt, p. 262, l. 5: 'ac vri ous vran quede.' The same occurs in the Ancr. Rivelre and in Rel. Ant. I, p. 42. See also Ancr. R., p. 72: 'Moni mon weneð to don wel pat he deð al to ecredæ'; p. 336: 'ofte weneð wel to donne & do al to ecredæ.' The Dutch Testament of 1700 translates Matt. vii. 17: 'Eur quade boom brenghi voort quade vruchtten.' Cf. Engl. Psalter, Psalm xvii. 12 (Cotton MS. Vesp. D vii): 'Vmngriped me weeles of quede' (=
iniquity); and lines 654 and 862 of the Speculum. Cf. On g. Ureisan of u. Lefdi, l. 42: 'lif cleane urom alle queadschipe.'

Page 45, l. 1034. Compare for this conclusion Zupitza's note to Guy of Warwick, l. 11,973; Breul's to Sir Gowther, l. 763: Edl of T., l. 1222. Auch. Guy ends: 'Amen, par charite.' Meditations by Bonaventura:

'Sey amen, amen, pur charyte,'

with which is to be compared note to l. 840 in Hs, various forms of benediction collected by Schmirgel, p. xlvii, and the Biblical models, Jude 24, 25; 1 Tim, l. 17.
EDITIONS OF MIDDLE ENGLISH TEXTS
REFERRED TO IN THE NOTES

Professor Kölbing’s list of Middle English texts on pages 361, 362, and 363 of *Sir Beues*, specifies those used in the compilation of the notes to the *Speculum Gý de Warewyke*. Some of these works have been employed with greater frequency than others, and the volume is indebted to publications and manuscripts not mentioned by Professor Kölbing. The subjoined list enumerates editions particularly useful in the arrangement of the *Speculum*. The abbreviations introduced in the *Speculum* will be recognized by reference to these pages as follows. In general Kölbing’s comprehensive editions, Zupitza’s editions of Guy of Warwick MSS., Morris’s and Skeat’s editions, especially of Chaucer texts, Zupitza’s six-text editions of Chaucer published for the Chaucer Society, and Furnivall’s Chaucer texts have often been consulted. It will not be necessary to classify them a second time.

*Acren Riuie*, a Treatise on the Rules and Duties of Monastic Life. Camden Society, Number 57.


*Catu, Der englische*, edited by M. Goldberg, 1883.


*Floris and Blumcheftur*, edited by Emil Hausknecht.

*Harrowing of Hell, Das altenglische Spiel von Christi Höllefahrt*, edited by Eduard Mall.


*Ipolis*, text B, edited by H. Gruber, 1887.

Editions of Middle English Texts.


Poema Morale, generally the text of Zupitza, Uebungsbuch, pp. 49 ff., rather than the editions of Furnivall, Morris, or Lewin.

Promptorium Parvulorum, edited by Way for the Camden Society.


Shepherds' Calendar, edited by Henry Morley.


York Plays. The Plays performed by the Crafts, or Mysteries on the day of Corpus Christi, in the 14th, 15th, and 16th centuries, edited by Lucy Toulmin Smith. London.
GLOSSARY

[The Glossary serves also as an index to the Speculum. It includes all words important in the evolution of the poem. The N.E. derivative often appears among the meanings distinguished, showing direct or cognate form of the root specified. Discussion of the more archaic or rare words will be found in the Notes. The sign † marks an obsolete form; etc. indicates that the word cited is used more than three times with the same meaning. Other abbreviations will be readily understood from the context. A notation for grammatical classification is frequently omitted.]

abide, inf. to await (tr.), 256; to abide, remain (intr.), 676; abid, imp. 982.
aboute, adv. about, on every side, 190; asir, 515: abouten, 196.
ac, but, 4, 13, 102, etc.
accedie, accidiet (see note to line 117), 117, 121.
acord, sb. accord, agreement, 513; good will, 893; reconciliation, 843.
aferd, pp. aferd, afraid, 685.
after, prep. after, in imitation of (Gen. i. 25—27), 213; in conformity to, 235; in proportion to, 264, 876; according to, 314.
agaste, inf. to affright, terrify, 866.
agramed, pp. grieved, irritated, 794.
aigin, prep. against, in opposition to, 564, 620; contrary to, 616, 705, 892; aigines, 556.
aIday, every day, at any time, 342.
al, all people, all hearers, 1, 54, 323, etc.; alle and same. See some.
allerfurst, adv. first of all, first, 70; allere, MSS. A₂ H₁ H₂.
almes dede, alms-deed, the practice of alms-giving, 95; deeds of mercy, 922, 1007; a gift, 934; almesse dede, 1006.
almesse, alms, a charitable act, 923.
alnht, adj. almighty, 476, 614; omnipotent, 741.
alone, only, merely, 465; alone—ac, 371-2.
amende, inf. to amend, bring to a more perfect state, 576, 952.
amendement, amendment, correction, 56.
amis, adv. amiss, wrong; don amis, erred, 802.
among, adv. euere —, from time to time, continually, 186, 880.
and, if, 89, 387 ?, 649.
anon, at once, immediately, 33, 431, 448, etc.; as soon as, 759; quickly, 761.
amguisse, anguish, excruciating pain, 183.
amuied, pp. annoyed, disturbed, hence reluctant, 124.
aperteliche, adv. plainly, openly, 385, 416.
ar, adv. ere, before, 531.
ariht, adv. aright, correctly, 729; in a right way, 825.
auarice, avarice, greediness of gain, 115.
anuter, par —, adventure, perchance, 873.
bar. See berep.
baylie, jurisdiction, control, 289.
bede, inf. to pray, 562.
behoythe, 3. sing. behooves, needs, 133 (reading of H₂).
berep, 3. sing. bears, carries, 670. (subj.) 671; — witnes(se), tes-
tifies, 345, 412, 566, etc.; bar, prf. 46.
be(n), inf. to make amends for, atone for, 175. 270.
beijere, pln. gen. both (= two-fold?), 952.
bidene, adv. in one company, together. 191.
bi(falle), inf. to befall, come to pass, 291.
bilee, sb. belief, faith, 83; creed, 201, 203.
bilee(n), inf. to believe, to remain, 84, 273; bileue, 985.
binde, inf. to bind, imprison, 482, 495; bounde, pp. 710.
binomen, pp. taken away from, 237.

dse, refl. take thought, deliberate, 133.

dise, see, provide, give heed to, 488.
disekep, 1. pln. beseech, call on in prayer, 504.
dist, 2. sing. biddest, prayest, 554.
dotkene, 3. sing. betokens, typifies, 365.

difen, imp. bethink, consider, 578.
dalle, sb. blame, censure, 784, 812; fale in blame, become culpable, 778.
dalam, pp. blamed, reproved, 765.
dlinne, inf. to leave off, 199; to cease, 714.
disse, sb. bliss, pleasure, 32, 113, 188, etc.; supreme delight, 299; glory, 417.
diliche, adv. bodily, in person, 375; adj. human (i.e. man's physical), 596.
dold, sb. house, dwelling, 154.
dold, adj. bold, certain, 819.
donde, sb. the bondsman, the vassal, 893, 891.
done, boon, request, 988.
dote, sb. boot, expiation, 94.
douht, prf. bought, paid for, 236; redeemed, 26; iboulth, pp. 160;
douht, pp. 172, 226.
dounle. See bi(n)e.
dour, bower, inner apartment, chamber, 152.
doxomere, adj. comp. more obedient, 238.
brome, adj. bright, shining, 383.
brenne, inf. to burn, be consumed, 368, 451, 808; ibrent, pp. 360.
brenning, burning, conflagration, 182.

driht, adj. bright, glorious, 406, 633.

cait, pp. See kacche.
calle, inf. to call, name, 522.
can, vb. can, am able to, 343; has the skill, 728; coupest, 2. sing. 657; coup, pp. 814.
cas, sb. case, chance, 703.
cast, pp. See kest.
catel, sb. chattel, property, goods, 187, 577, 896; katel, 162.
certes, adv. of a certainty, assuredly, 850, 861.
charged, pp. charged, burdened, 468.
charite, sb. charity, Christian love, 55, 83, 324; giving of alms, 95, 680.
chasten, inf. to chasten, afflict, discipline, 181.
cherche, inf. to choose, select, 216, 219; prefer, 222.
clene, adj. clean, 816, 824, 848, etc.; unblemished, 364, 365; bright, glorious, 381; pure, 408, 414; make, clene, cleanses, purifies, 836, 845; clannere, comp. 826; make clannere, 820, 828.
cleped, pp. called, 857.
cler, clear, evident, 376; discerning, 736; unclouded, 976, 996; clene and cler, glorious, 381.
clergie, sb. clergy, learning, science, 43, 290.
clerk, sb. clerk, clergyman, 667.
clerte, sb. clearity, splendour, brilliance, 390.
comen, 3. pln. descend, 240; 3. sing. come (inf.) widinne, 118.
comfort, sb. comfort, relief, 686.
comforti, inf. to comfort, encourage, 688.
consail, sb. counsel, 63, 653.
cost, expense, 776.
coup, pp. known, 814. See also can.
craftes, pln. crafts, forms of human skill, 212.
craue, inf. to crave, beg earnestly, 456, 530, 544, etc.
crief, 3. sing. cries, implores, 540.
croun, sb. crown, tonsure, 799.
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cruwel, adj. cruel, pitiless, 258; merciless, 559.
campaignye, company, multitude, 437; retinue, 638.
cursed, accursed, condemned, 431, 447.
dampnacioun, damnation, spiritual ruin, 787.
damped, pp. damned, consigned to hell, 432.
dar, sing. dare, be bold enough to, venture, 563, 609.
day, 250, 251, etc.; on a day, once, 49: in filke dawe, at that time, 37: bi day and niht, always, 320, 475, 516; alday. See al.
deite, deity, 374.
dekne, dean, 41.
dele, deal, part; euery dele, every bit, entirely, 1018.
dempt, doomed, assigned, 136.
dere, adv. dearly, at great price, 26, 160, 172, etc.
derne, secret, intense, 123.
deserving, deserving, merit, 314.
destourbaunce, disturbance, agitation, 572.
deph, death, 858; deph of soule, condemnation, destruction of the lost soul, 16.
deise, inf. to devise, tell, conceive, 343.
doin, to enter into, imprint on, 208.
dom, doom, judgment, 256, 415, 766; domesday, 257, 745, 868.
doute, sb. doubt, fear, 899.
doutep, 3. sing. doubts, is anxious about, 693.
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drawe, tr. inf. to draw, drag, 16, 106; to deduce, 945; drawe\footnote{\textit{drawe}, 3. sing. 800; drawn on heih, \textit{pp.} exalted, 633; drouh, \textit{intr.} 44.}, drede, sb. dread, fear, \textit{i.e.} apprehension, 20, 493, 695, etc.; fear, \textit{i.e.} reverence, 81, 139, 883, etc.; awe, 380.
drede, tr. inf. to dread, fear, \textit{i.e.} reverence, 178; to terrify, 648.
dred, imp. 999; \textit{intr. inf.} to fear, be alarmed, 747; 3. \textit{plu.} 830.
drinke, sb. drinks, 155.
duire, inf. to endure, continue to exist, 281.
dewelle, inf. to dwell, leave off, 27, 283; to remain, 450; to delay, 762.
echen, inf. to eke (out), increase, 188.
eft, adv. afterward, 160; \textit{eft sone}, soon again, 851.
eging, egging\footnote{\textit{egging}, instigation, 229.}, instigation, 229.
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ende, sb. end, instant, 280; without ende, eternally, 426.
ende, inf. to continue, 11.
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enne, adv. once, 366, 815; enes, 939.
enome, pp. \textit{See nim.}
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er, conj. ere, before, 648, 982.
ere, comp. earlier, before, 140, 168.
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face, sb. face, image, likeness (Gen.
fain, adj. fain, gladly, 873; with pleasure, 965.

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fame, sb. fame, renown, 29; reputation, 40.

fare, inf. to fare, journey, 490; fare, 3. sing. fares, comes to pass, 669, 673, 889.

feintise, sb. feigning, hypocrisy, 304.

fele, adv. many, numerous, 675.

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fer, adv.; fer and ner, everywhere, 216.

fere, sb. companions, children, 423.

fere, adj. fierce, proud, 623.

filse, sb. fifth, pollution, 732.

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forlorn, pp. lost, condemned, 130 (See variants).

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forsophe, forsooth, in truth, 391.

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fredom, freedom, liberty, 237.

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gilt, pp. sinned, 556.

glad, adj. glad, joyful, 1019.

glotione, sb. glutony, greed, 115.

gned, adj. sparing, stingy, 1025 (reading of MS. R).

god, sb. goods, wealth, property, prosperity, 13, 163; do god, 124, 143, 461, etc.

goddede, sb. good deed, good works, 465, 502, 621, etc.

godhede, sb. godhead, divinity,
inwardlichere, comp. more earnestly, 321.
iplut, thrust, 888; pyt, 232.
ireckened, reckoned, estimated, 869.
i, inf. to see, 288, 342, 402, etc.; isehi, prt. 369.
ished, pp. showed, revealed, 399.
iuge, inf. to judge, 482; iuged, pp. judged, condemned, 457.
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kenne, inf. to ken, know, perceive, 298.
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kindeliche, naturally, according to nature, 817.
knowelaching, knowledge, intelligence, 725.
koine, sb. skill, 303.
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loke, inf. to look, 786; imp. take heed, 488, 758, 768, etc.
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misse, miss, make mistake, fail, 120; want, lack, 418.
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olde, adj. old, ancient, former, 357.
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onliche, adv. only, 145.
on liue, alive, 859.
onne. See take.
openliche, openly, publicly, 442; plainly, 822.
ordre, monastic order, 41.
ore, mercy, compassion, 89, 540.
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pes, peace, 86, 514, 516, 520.
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fulliche, reading of $A_2$.
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or, rood-tree, cross, 26, 144, 248.
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George Ashby's Poems.

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1899
George Ashby's Poems.

EDITED FROM TWO 15TH CENTURY MSS. AT CAMBRIDGE

BY

MARY BATESON.

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INTRODUCTION.

No fresh light is thrown on the history of George Ashby by the publication of these poems, for the few biographical notices they contain have already appeared in print. The first poem was written in the Fleet Prison, 1463, and Ashby describes himself therein as for forty years writer to the Signet. The "Active Policy," written for young Edward, Prince of Wales, "gallant-springing, brave Plantagenet," was penned when Ashby was "right nigh at mony yeres of foure score," and in the preface he describes himself as late Clerk of the Signet to Queen Margaret of Anjou. The facts of Ashby's life, so far as they are known, are recorded in the Dictionary of National Biography. A reference, however, may be added to a letter from Margaret of Anjou, 1447—1454, in which she thanks a lady unnamed for her service to "our servant George Ashby, Clerk of our Signet." It is thought that the lady may have been Alice, Duchess of Suffolk, the possible granddaughter of Geoffrey Chaucer, whom Ashby praises in his "Active Policy."

The young Edward, Prince of Wales (1453—1471), must have been a model of virtue if he carried out all Ashby's instructions. These are not dangerously original, but between the lines of Ashby's platitudes we may read something of the peculiar character of the period. Ashby hints at the "great changes of high estates," at much division, due entirely to covetousness. In "Time Present" he

1 Coke, Second Inst., p. 556 [Artie. sup. Cartas, cap. vii.], says, "At the making of this Statute (28 Ed. 1) the king had another seal, and that is called 'Signettum,' his Signet. This seal is ever in the custody of the Principal Secretary; and there be four Clerks of the Signet, called 'Clerici Signetti,' attending on him. The reason wherefore it is in the Secretaries' custody, is, for that the King's private Letters are signed therewith. Also the duty of the Clerk of the Signet is to write out such Grants or Letters Patent as pass by Bill signed (that is, a Bill superscribed with the Signature or Sign Manual, or Royal hand of the King) to the Privy Seal; which Bill being transcribed and sealed with the Signet, is a Warrant to the Privy Seal, and the Privy Seal is a Warrant to the Great Seal."

2 Letters of Margaret of Anjou, ed. C. Monro, Camden Society, p. 114.
recommends Edward "all rebellion for to suppress," and, in "Time Future," to put down "false conspirators," and all persons "pretending right to your coronacion"; "grete batellis disputious" are named, but it seems scarcely possible that Ashby should write so prosily as he does if another king was in fact reigning in Henry's stead. It is difficult, therefore, to decide at what date this work was written, whether before the Fleet imprisonment, in perhaps 1460-1, or later, perhaps after the reconciliation of Warwick and Margaret, and the temporary Lancastrian successes of 1470.

Ashby appears to have felt a decided respect for history, and constantly recommends Edward to consider what will be said about him in chronicles. Many warnings are given, which may well have arisen from the example of Henry's misfortunes. He presses the claims of old servants (and from his Reflections, he seems to have been one of the neglected); as to money matters, he recommends strict keeping of accounts, and the payment of servants' wages, that they may not resort to extortion; the king must enrich his subjects, but keep himself always the richest; men of high rank should not be treasurers, as the poorer the man the smaller will be his pay. In the choice of ministers Ashby has advice to give; he recommends a councillor, leech, and secretary; in choosing servants, the king should notice with whom they have been brought up; he is to avoid making many lords; he must be careful in granting fees and offices, and he must not withdraw grants after they have been made. Ashby's recommendations on the manner in which petitions should be dealt with indicate some of the abuses which then prevailed. But he was no great reformer, and his motto is not "Trust the people." He bids Edward beware of the commonalty: they must be disarmed, owing to the misuse they make of their arms in private warfare. Maintenance and livery of course are mentioned; compulsory archery is advocated, as also the enforcing of sumptuary laws, and the revival of cloth-making. The king must cherish strangers, pilgrims, and merchants; he is to learn practical economy in buying up goods when they are cheap and in season, and when he can look about him at his leisure. As a Lancastrian he is specially recommended to magnify his ancestry. Ashby approved, we may suppose, of Margaret's peace policy, for he urges great caution in making war. A king ought to study the past history of disturbed

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1 Henry's policy was the reverse. Cf. Plummer's Fortescue, p. 12.
foreign possessions, so that he may learn what has always been their attitude in the past.

In his diplomatic teaching, Ashby inculcates such a policy as that which Henry VII put into practice. Tale-tellers are not to be too soon credited, but the tale may be borne in mind, and proof amassed to test its trustworthiness. But it must be confessed that Ashby's instructions have, as a rule, no personal interest, and are only of general application.

The "Dicta et opiniones diversorum philosophorum" were evidently drawn from the same original as that used by De Thignonville for his French version, which Stephen Scrope and Lord Rivers translated into English. A copy of the Latin version is in MS. cexli., 127 b, Corpus Christi College, Oxford. Stephen Scrope, stepson of Sir John Fastolf, translated the sayings for that knight's contemplation and solace (Harl. MS. 2266), and a copy was corrected after the original (Cambridge Univ. Lib. Gg. i. 34) by William Worcester in 1472. Lord Rivers' translation was printed by Caxton in 1477. There is evidence that these commonplaces had extraordinary popularity in the Middle Ages, but the true origin of this collection of proverbs is still to seek.

Since these poems were in type, Prof. Max Förster has edited the Prisoner's Reflections in Anglia, 1897, and some interesting notes on scansion enrich his edition. It is hoped that the present edition of the works of Ashby may prove useful to students of fifteenth-century grammar. My best thanks are due to Miss K. Jex-Blake, of Girton College, for her help in the interpretation and emendation of the scribe’s Latinity. I am also indebted to Miss J. E. Kennedy for notes and corrections in the English passages, and to Dr. Furnivall for the side-notes to the Dicta, and for the List of Words.

MARY BATESON.
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George Ashby's Poems.

I. A Prisoner's Reflections, A.D. 1463.

Prohemium unius Prisonarii.

(1)

[A]t the ende of Somer, when wynter began
And trees, herbes and flowres dyd fade,
Blosteryng and blowyng the gret wyndes than
Threw doune the frutes with whyche they were lade,
Levyng theym sone bare / of that whyche they hade,
Afore myghelmas, that tyme of seasoñ,
I was commyttyd, geynst ryght and reason,

(2)

In to a pryson, whos name the Flete hight,
By a gret commaundment of a lord,
To whom .I. must obey for hys gret myght,
Though .I. cannat thereto sadly acord,
Yet .I. must hyt for a lessoñ record,
Ther'yn abdyng without help singler,
Sauf of god and hys blessyd modyr' ther'.

(3)

But oth, or other declaracion,
Coude at no seasoñ be herd ne takyn,
By no prayer ne exhortacion.
But of all pite and grace forsakyñ,
Myne enemyes on me awakyñ,
Takyng awey hors, money, and goodes,
Pullyng myne houses downe and gret wordes.1

1 Sic in MS. ?woodes.

ASHBY.

(4)

Because of my draught and my bryngyng vp 22
I have suffryd thyse and other spoyleyng,
Nat lenyng me worth a dyssli, neyther cup,
Of asmoche as myght come to theyr handlyng,
Pattyng on me many fals lesyng,
Whyche I must suffyr and bere on my ruge, 26
Tyll the trouth discussyd hath god or the iuge.

(5)

George Asshby ys my name, that ys greued 29
By enprysonment a hoole yere and more,
Knowyng no meane there to be releued,
Whyche greveth myne hert heuyly and sore,
Takyng byt for my chastysament and lore,
Besechyng god I may take my dysease In dew pacience, our' lord god to please.

(6)

Oon thyng among other' greueth me sore 36
That myne old acquentaunce disdeyned me
To vysyte, / though I haue doon to theym more
Kyndnes, / forgetyng me and let me be,
Ne yeuung me comfort, ne wold me se,
Ne the werkes of mercy remembryng,
Ne my kyndnes to theym before shewyng.

(7)

The grettest peyne that .I. suffyr of all 43
Is that .I. am put to vnpayable det,
Lykly to be therfore a wrecyhd thrall,
For the enprysonment that .I. am in set,
Without goddes grace wol hyt souner let.
Whe ropoñ to god .I. clepe, call and cry
To help me out of det or .I. dy.

(8)

What may .I. do ? to whom shall I compleyn? 50
Or shew my trouble, or myne heuynes?
Beyng in pryson, wrongfully certyyn ;
But with dylygence and gret besynes,
I beseche god of hys gret worthynes,

1 back.

Me to guyde and rewle to hys most plesaunce,
And of my wrong to haue humble suffraunce. 56

I gan remembre and revolue in mynde
My bryngyng vp from chyldhod hedyrto,
In the hyghest court that I coude fynd,
With the kyng,¹ quene,² and theyr vnclce also,
The duk of Gloucetre, god hem rest do,
With whome .I. haue be cherysshyd ryght well,
In all that was to me nedefull euery dell. 63

Wrytyng to theyr’ sygnet full fourty yere,
Aswell beyond the see as on thys syde,
Doyng my seruyce aswell there as here,
Nat sparyng for to go ne for to ryde,
Hauyng pen and Inke euyr at my syde,
Redy to acomplyssbe theyre commandment,
As truly as .I. coude to theyr’ entent. 70

And in theyr seruyce I spendyd all my youth,
And now in pryson throwen in myn age,
Hauyng of me no pyte ne routli,
Reuylign me with vnfyttyn langage,
As thauh I were neyther wytty ne sage,
Whiche greuyd me sore and was gretyly sad,
To be in pouert and of goodes bad, 77

That before was well in godees and rest,
And no man was ayenst me dysplesyd,
And all my dayes was among the best,
And so no creature me dyseasyd,
But at all tymes with me were pleasyd,
Thauh fortune lyft make me ryght sory
Shewyng that thys welly ys transytory. 84

Gef I had in youth suffred any payne,
By lake of goodes or takyng hardnes,

¹ Henry VI. ² Margaret of Anjou.

makes his fall harder to bear.

I myght the better from tene1 me refreyne, 'And take my fall the better in sweetnes.

God for hys hyghe grace and gret worthynes

Couseyll me in my troyll for the best,

That I may leue hens in quyet and rest.

(14)

Now me-thynketh2 well, yef I had ben eyr

In prosperity and in worldly ioy,

And theryn to haue abydyn leuyr

Then to haue tastyd of thys peynfull noy,3

I cast4 me nat to be neythre styll ne coy,

But say as me-thynketh, in verray sothi.

To haue chaungyd my lyf I had be loth.

(15)

And my wrechydnes nat5 to know euyn,

So well as by goddes grace I shall

And the best lyfe take & the wors leuyn,

In consyderall that I am mortall,

And so to obey hym that ys eternall, 

And to chaung my lyf to god greable, 

Both in pacynce and in feyth stable.

(16)

Knowyng in serteyn that my punysshyng

Is other-whylye for my soule profytable, 

For a feth in goddes vengeance ceasyng, 

Unto goddes plesure ryght acceptable, 

By meke peczyne to vertu able, 

Therfore punysshment ys other-whylye good, 

Aswell to low degre as to hygh blode.

(17)

I thynke to wryte of trouble rehersall,

How hyt may be takyn in pacynce, 

Procedyng theryn for myn acquytall, 

Though I haue no termes of eloquence,

With that I may conclude perfyte sentence ;

1 grief.  2 Before thynketh thyg struck out. 
3 nay in MS., noye, suffering, annoyance.   4 design. 
5 MS. na.

Wherfore I counseyll after words thyse,
Every man to be lernyd on thyss wyse.

*Ad sustinendum pacienciam in aduersis.*

(18)
O thow creature of nature ryght noght!
Remembre thy sylf, thy lyfe, thy demert,
Yef thow to pryson or trouble be brought,
Haply by gret wrong and nat of desert,
Suffryng injury and ryght peynfull smert,
Kepe paciencie and wyte\(^1\) hyt thyne offence,
Nat for that sylf thyng but of inst sentence.

(19)
Or perauenture thow mayst ryght-fullly
Come to trouble or tribulacion.
Yet I counseyll the, suffyr hyt wylfully,
Without fenynge or simulacion,
Nat the exaltyng by elacion.
And thus paciencie may the woll preserve
From gostly sorow, yef\(^2\) thow thyss observe.

(20)
And so, by process of suffraunce long,
Thow mayst atteyne to verray knowlge
Of thy demeryt, and vengeance prolong
By thy lamentynge and prayer mekeleche.\(^3\)
And so at last comfort haue treweleche
Aswell here as hense, by goddes hyghe grace,
And *perauenture with-in lytyll space.*

(21)
And as precevous gold ys thorough puryd
By fowll metall led, and claryfyed,
Ryght so ys the sowle by trowbyll curyd,
And by humble profe, hygh gloryfyed,
As in the scrypture\(^4\) ys specifysed.
So for soules helthi hyt ys a gret grace,
To haue here trouble rather then solace.

\(^{1}\) impute. \(^{2}\) MS. yet. \(^{3}\) meekly. \(^{4}\) Zech. xiii. 9. Jer. vi. 30.
Uses of adversity.

What ys trouble or trubulacyon, 148
Vexed wrongfully, or worldly disease,
Lyuyng here without consolacion,
But callyng of god hymself for to please?
Wherfore hyt ys best, for thy soules ease.
Rather of trouble be merry and glad,
Than therof be grogyng, 1 heuy & sad.

Who may haue more heuynes & sorow
Then to be welthy and aftyr nedeful?
Furst to be ryche, aftyr, redy to borow?
Furst prosperous and aftyr careful?
Who ys more comfortable and ioyfull?
Then take the world in pacynence and worth,
Suffryng hit to come and goo playnly forth.

Set the neuyr thy full wyll here
In worldly ioy and in felycyte.
For all dayes thow mayst both see and here,
In all thy lyfe there ys contraryte;
Yef thow be ryche thow hast aduersyte,
Yef thow haue a feyre wyfe and gret plente,
Moche sorow peraventur ys sent the.

Yef thow tak a wyfe to thy freelte,
Ryght thoutfull thow art, carfull and pensyf;
Yef thow lyue aftyr censalyte,
That ys acursyd and vnthryfty lyf;
Yef thow be weddyd, without any stryf,
Thow lakkest chyldren, to be thyne heyres,
Lesyng thy name in market and feyres.

Yef thow haue chyldren ryght plenteuously,
Haply suche may be theyr gouernaunce
That they woll dysplese ryght greuously;
Yef thow be set in holy observaunce,

1 grudging. 2 redeeming.

Perauenture thow hast no temperaunce;  
Yef thow be set in temporalyte,  
Thy lust ys in spyrytualyte.  

(27)
Yef thow be well,¹ haply thow lackest good,  
Yef thow hane good, thow suffrest gret sekenes.
Thus welth ebbeth and floweth as the flood,  
Neuer welthy, but som maner dystres,  
Neuyr so mery but som heuynes.  
Oone thyng lakkyng aftyr thyne apetyte,  
Nat all thynges beyng in pleasaunt plite.

(28)
Yef thow be forth² at large out of pryson,  
Thow mayst haeu sorow ynowgh³ and gret wrong.  
Yef thow be ryght welthy for the seson,  
Many pluckers-at thow mayst hauens and strong.
Prosperyte here shall neuer endure long.  
So euyr, whyle thow art on erth lyuyng,  
Som maner thyng lakketli to thy plesyng.

(29)
Wenest thow to haeu here perfeccion  
Of worldly joy, comfort and delyces?  
Nay bettyr ys sharp persecucion  
For thy synnes, offenses and vyces,  
Kepyng pacience without malyces,  
Puttyng thy wyll to goddes volunte,  
So thy spyryt may best in quyet be.

(30)
Thynke that thy lyfe here ys but pilgremage  
Towards the hygh place celestiall.  
Wherfore, for any trouble or damage,  
Preve nat thysylf lewde and eke bestiall,  
Seyth⁴ thou may be in heynyn menyall  
Seruauunt thorough thy triumphall victory  
By mekenes and werkes merytory.

---

¹ MS. *be seke* written as one word.  
² *be forth* written as one word in MS.  
³ Written as two words in MS.  
⁴ Sith.
(31) Thow canst nat be so pryve ne secret
But god ys there present and knoweth all thyng,
Therfore be eyr wytty and dyscret,
Nat for to do ne say hym dysplesyng,
But as thow woldest before hym beyng,
So by mekenes take all thyng for the best,
What that god sendeth, trouble or vnrest.

(32) Thynke that worlde welth and felycyte
Ys nat euermore in oone abydyng,
But transitory ys prosperyte,
And no certeynte whyle thow art lyuyng,
But eyr as a whele, turnyng and meuyng,
Knowyng for certayn that thow art mortall,
And neuer in thyss world verray rest hane shall.

(33) Wytnes of oure lord, allmyghty Ihesu,
Suffryng Reproves and vexacion,
Thowgh he were clennest in lyf and vertu,
Yet no man suffred suche trybulacion.
And all was for our alther saluacion.
Yeuyng vs example for to take trouble
In worth, syth he hath suffred the double.

(34) What suffred Mary the queene of heuyñ?
Most pure, most clennyst, without any syn,
Claryfyed from the synmys seuyñ,
Ever to plese Ihesu she wold nat blyñ.2
How be hyt that feare and tene she was in,
Mornyng, sorowyng, eyr in drede,
To opteyne the love of Ihesu and hyr mede.

(35) What sey ye of seynt Iohn the Evanglist?
Of many martyrs and eke confessours,
Of holy vyrgyns, and seynt Iohn Baptist?
That here in thys lyfe suffred many shours,2

1 Of us all. See p. 16. 2 cease. 3 conflicts.

Nat desyryng therof worldly succours,
Refusyng all worldly ioy and plesaunce,
And all trouble for god take in sufferaunce.

(36)

Of Iob to suffyr take thow example,
Whych pacyently suffred hys gret smert,
Who had in thyse world of losse more ample?
Yet for goddes sake he plesyd in hert

*With* hys troubleous hurt / put out in desert
As fowle, vyle, abhomynable and wreche,
Takyng hyt in gre1 and therof nold reck.2

(37)

And so to procede in the pacience
Of seyntes, and make therof rehersall
That suffred troubyll *with* out resistence,
They be infynyte to be wretyn all.
Hyt suffyseth to touche the principall,
To thy lernyng and informacion
To be of pacyent condicion.

(38)

Right so kyng, Quene, Duke, Prynce and Emperoures,
Erle, Baron, lord, knygft, and many squyers,
Bysshop, Abbot, Pryour and conquerours,
And many gret estates and Rewlours,
Clerkes, marchauntes and eke counsaylours
Haue be put in trouble and gret greuaunce
For theyr soules helthi by humble sufferaunce.

(39)

Was therere euyr lord so gret and so sure,
Or any gret Clerk lernyd in the law,
That may not fall in the snare and in the lure
Of trouble, maugre hys hed and his maw?

Wherefore hyt may be a lawdabyll saw,
Eevery man worship god in hys season
According to hys law / trouth and reason.

1 pleasure. 2 reck.
Every man may take example and hede
By suche men of good disposicion,
And by lernyd men that can teche and rede
To conforme hym to lyk affeccion,
To haue of pacience perfection,
To take trouble in worthi and in gre,
As other men haue do in liberte.

In conclusion of the verrey trouthe,
Every man other fauour and socour,
And of hys trouble haue pyt and routh,
And the blessyd men helpe and eke honoure,
Doyng your dylygence and peynfull labour,
The virtuous pepyll for to cherysshe,
Suffryng the wykkyd Rather to perysshe.

That all pacience, Riches and science
Come oonly of god and noon other,
Hyt may be prouyd by experience.
As oone ryche, another pore; hys brother,
The ryche, slepeth, the pore laboreth vnder.
So that Ryches commeth nat by labour
Oonly / but to hym that god lyst shew fauour.

And syth all thynges come of Ihesu
And nothyng without hym may avayle,
I beseche hym so full of vertu
To guyde me, Rule me / and counsayle,
That by pacience I. may wyn batayle
Of my troubles, and haue the vctory,
Thorough my symple werkes merytory.

And with humylyte and soburnes,
With feruent loue and fysthfull reverence,
I beseche the, god, of thy worthynes,
Yeue me grace, comfort and assistance,
Good wyll, good werkes, good thought and eloquence,

1 The m has an extra stroke.

With lone, charyte and feyth the to please,
That I may dwell in heuyñ at myñ ease. Amen.

(45) Lenuoy.
Goo forthi, lytyll boke, mekely, without rous,² 309
To folk troublelyd and vexed greuslys,
Steryng theym by thy counseil vertuous
To kepe pacience thereyñ ioyously,
Redyng thys tretysy forthi ceryously,
By the whyche they shall fynde grace as .I suppose,
To comfortable entent and purpose ; 315

(46)
Besechyng all folk, though I am no Clerk, 316 [leaf 45 B.]
For to vndyrstand that I nat presume
To take open me labour of thys werk
For worldly glory and thank to assume,
But vertu to encrese and lewdnes consume,
And namely to take trowble in suffraunce
Paciently to deserynd penaunce.

(47)
Also vndyr protestacion 323
That I wyll nat kepe presumptuosly
Any erroor or feynyd opinion,
But me to theyñm conforme graciously,
That of hygh connyng haue plenteuously,
Besechyng theyñm my defaut to correct,
Yef any be, and nat to me hyt to aect,² 329

(48)
But my dyiynge and good wyll to accept 330
In to theyre fauour, support and goodnesse,
And in no maner me therof except,
Though .I. haue offendyd in my lewdnesse,³ 334
Vnaduised and nat of wylfulnesse,
Kepyng enermore vertuous entent
With discriciøn that god hath me sent.

(49)
Wretyñ in pryson, in oure lordes date, 337 Written in the Fleet, A.D. 1463.
A thowsand foure hundryd syxty and thre,

¹ boasting. ² impute. ³ ignorance.
II. Active Policy of a Prince.

Thus occupying me, thys was my fate,
Beseching the, our lord god in trynyte,
To take my makyng in plesure and gre, 341
And therto hau mannys benyuolence,
To thyne owne preysyng, laude and reuerence.
Amen. 343

(50)
Explicit.

Pryson properly ys a sepulture 344
Of lyuyng men, with strong lokkes thereon,
Fortyfyed without any Rupture,
Of synners a gret castigacion,
Of feythfull frendes a probacion,
Of fre liberte a sharp abstinence,
Lackyng volunte for theyr dew penaunce. 350

II. Active Policy of a Prince.

MS. Msn. IV. 42, leaf 2 a, Cambridge University Library.

[P]resens Libellus compilatus, extractus et anglicatus in Balade per Georgium Ashby, nuper Clericum Signeti Suppreme domine nostre Margarete, dei gratia Regine Anglie, etc. ex bona voluntate, Amore et cordiali affec-
cione, quos ipse naturali iure gerit, tam erga celsitu-
dinem & regiam maiestatem suam & prepotissimum et excellentissimum dominum suum Edwardum, eadem gratia suppremi domini nostri Regis Henrici et eiusdem regine Consortis filium progenitum, principem wallie, duceum Cornubie, et comitem Cestrie, pro cuinis amore et compacencia fit ista compilacio . . . . . (illegible) suum nobilarem Sanguinem, sub quo Ipse a iuuentute sua hucusque & nunquam tota vita sua in alio servicio fuit tentus (l) et nutritus. Dividitur in tribus temporibus, videlicet in tempore preterito, presenti & futuro. Tempus preteritum exortatur, sepius meminire de rebus preteritis, ita bene in legendo sacrum scripturam et Cronica, sitent alias speculaciones & experiencias . . . . . . . . . . . Ipse potest perfecte condere bonorum factorum
II. *Active Policy of a Prince.*

bonitatem & opinione* librorum.* Et miserimam ruinam malefactorum & miserorum, . . . unde se sapienter & feliciter gubernare. Tempus *present* facit quomodo se gerriet *(sic)* in sapiencia & pollicia deo placentibus & populis suis & pro sumnet ipsius securitate. Tempus futurum providet discrete & prudenter pro rebus futuris . . . . diiendo se in honore beata fama et bona gubernitate et evitando damna vituperia et inconveniencia . . . . etiam fore activum in pollicia et sapiencia . . . . subditorum securitate & bona custodia sub debita & fideli obediencia per aduisamenta edicta & opiniones *diuersorum Philosophorum,* quorum nomina . . . in tractatu breuiiter subscribuntur. *(Much defaced.)*

*Hic Incipit Prologus.*

(1) Maisters Gower, Chaunecer & Lydgate, Primier poetes of this nacion, Embelysshing oure englissbe tendure algate, Firste finders to oure consolacion Off fresshe, douce englisshe and formacion Of newe balades, not vsed before, By whome we all may haue lernyng and lore.

(2) Alas! saufe goddes wille, & his plesaunce, That euer ye shulde dye & chaunge this lyffe, Vntyl tyme / that by youre wise pourueunce *(sic)* Ye had latte to vs / sum remembratife Of a personne, lerned & Inuentif, Disposed aftur youre condicioi, Of fresshe makyng to oure Instruccioi.

(3) But sithe we all be deddy and mortal, And no man may eschewe this egression, I beseche almyghty god eternal To pardon you all / youre transgression, That ye may dwelle in heuenly mansion, In recompense of many a scripture That ye haue englisshedde without lesure.
II. Active Policy of a Prince.

(4) So I, George Ashby, not comparison
Making to your excellent enditing,
With right humble prayer & orison,
Pray god that by you I may have learning,
And, as a blynde man in the wey blondryng,
As I can, I shall now lerne and practise
Not as a master but as a p[r]entise;

(5) Besechyng almyghti god of support,
That thorough his gracious instruction
I may confourme me after the report
Of vertuous / and sad construccion,
Without minisshyng or addicion,
 Principally in thentent and substance
 Of my matere, with all the observance.

(6) And though all thynges be nat made perfyte
Nor swetely englisshed to youre plesance,
I byseche you hertely / to excuse it,
So that I kepe intential substance,
While I haue of makyng none assurance,
Nor of balades haue experience,
Acceptyng my goode will & diligence.

(7) Some personnes peraventure woll thenke
That it myght be saide better thus or thus.
To cavillers.
For I cannat swym / I stand on the brynk,
Wadyng no forther / but as crist Iesus
Sendith me konnyng, showing vnto vs
That a little childe may natt so well bere
A grete burthen / as a man, withoute dere.¹

(8) Right so though I haue not seien scripture
Of many bookes right sentenciall,
In especial of the gloses sure,
I woll therfor kepe true menyng formal,
Nor right meche delatyng² the rehersall,

¹ injury. ² spinning out, dilating.
II. Active Policy of a Prince.

Though I do nat so wele / as thei before,
Ostendying my beneuolence & lore,

(9)
By protestacion that my menyng
Shall not be wilfully for to displease
Any creatures to my konnyng,
Principally suche as I aught to please,
Ner their estat in no wyse to displease,
But to my pore power / it to magnifie,
And in al my service / it to multiplie.

(10)
Though I be fallen / in decrepit age
Right nygh at mony yeres / of foure score
I pray god that in my wytt / I ne rage
But that I may wryte after goddes lore,
Encrecyng vertuous liffe more & more,
As myne entente is / and also shalbe,
To goddes plesance / & to my dutie.

(11)
Under a support / and beneuolence,
With a favorable direction,
I woll put to1 / my peine & diligence,
After the simplesse of mine opinion,
To my cunnyng and erudicion;
This matier is finisshe to the pleasance,
Of almyghty Iesu & his suffrance.

(12)
In the name of almyghty Lorde Iesu,
To whom heuen erth and helle —yne,2
Whiche is the grete name / higheste in vertue,
And in all gracious goodenes dothe shyne,
Whom I biseche me for to Illumyne,
That in my mater I may so procede
Without offense / & therin not texcede.

De activa pollecia principis.

(13)
[Right high] & myghty prince and my right goode Lorde,
Linially comyn of blode royal,

1 Put to written in one word. 2 Illegible. ? inclyne.
II. *Active Policy of a Prince.*

Bothe of Faders & moder of recorde,
Occupying by grace celestial
Thaier Roiualmes, with grace especial (1) 89
To whom be al honnour and reuserance,
Dewe to youre high estate / and excellence, 91

(14)
I mene, to youre highnesse Edwarde by name, 92
Trewe sone & heire to the high maiestie (?)
Ofoure liege lorde / Kynge Henry & dame (?)
Margarete, the Queene / bothe in Charitee
Euer though grete was their maiestie (2)
Yit they eschewed / vengeance and Rigoure,
Shewyng their beneuolence and Favour.1 98

(15)
God, verrey Recompenser of goodenesse, 99
Rewarde at large their blessidnesse therfore,
And so I dar say / he wil of his Rightwisnesse ;
Enlarge them daily / his grace more & more,
Blissed be tyme in whiche thei were bore,
Namly for youre birth of theim discended,
In whome al vices ben vilipended.2 105

(16)
My goode Lorde, trewe hertly affection
Compellithe me somewhat to entremete,3
In fyndyng sum goode exhortacio
That myght be to you / gracious & mete,
Ensuryng youre estate in quiete sete,
Whiche may neuer endure but by vertue,
According to the pleasance of Iesu. 112

(17)
And so youre bringying vp hath be right sad,
In all vertuous disposicio
And to the honnour of god / euer ladde,
Whome I biseche be youre protection,
That ye may abide in suche affeccio,
Not oonly to youre profite & honnour,
But als to oure althre4 wele & socour. 119

1 This verse is damaged. 2 thought ill of. 3 intermeddle. 4 See above, p. 8.
II. Active Policy of a Prince.

(18)
Besides whiche the three thinges I wolde meve
Your high estate to haue in Remembrance,
Kepyng (sic) theim in youre breste and neuer leue,
For any busynesse or attendance,
Puttyng youre high estate in assurance,
That is tyme Passed present and future,
Kepyng thees three tymes with due mesure.

In tempore preterito.

(19)
[O]f tyme passed I wolde ye sholde take hede,
Redyng the bible & holy scripture,
And there ye may see to what ende dothe lede
Vertuos dedys & condutes seure,
Principally suche as haue noble cure,
For certeyne a blissed entencion
Must determine wele withoute question.

(20)
And other men, in the contrary wise,
That be indisposed to rightwisnesse
Must nedis fal, and al folk theim dispise,
Sith their werkes bene withoute adivisinesse,
Hauing no regarde to goode stedfastnesse,
And so who so euere wol preve the sothe,
He endithe not wele that wykkidly dothe.

(21)
Seintes of youre noble blode ye may knowe,
Diuers many that lyued blessedly,
Bothe of this England and of Fraunce ynowe,
That yave theire herties to god Inwardly,
Abydy in goddes feith stedfastly,
Whos pathes ye may beholde & eke see,
And theim folowe in theire benignitee.

(22)
Beholde eke youre noble progenitours,
Howe victorious thei were in corage,
How Iuste, how sad & eke wise at al houres,
Holdyng theire enemyes in seruage,

ASHBY.

1 Two words in MS.
II. Active Policy of a Prince.

So that thei durst nat so hardy outrage, 152
Whos werkes be croniced to their fame.
Be suche as thei were, & no man wol you blame.

(23)
Ye may rede in cronicles the ruine 155
Of high estates and translacion, 1
That to vices and outrage dud incline,
For the whiche thei suffred mutacion,
Wherof ye haue daili probacion.
For certeine no persoune may longe indure,
But he attende wele to his charge & cure.

(24)
Ther was neuer yet fal / of high estate, 162
But it was for vices / or negligence,
Were he neuer so high / or elenate,
Withoute he wolde attende wele by prudence
To his charge, avoidyng from his presence,
Men vicious, and namely couetous;
Where thei abide thei distroy euery hous.

(25)
Ther hath be in late daies right grete change 169
Of high estates and grete diuision,
Right meruellous, wonderful & eke strange
To myche folk unportable punicion,
Sorouful, peineful, and tribulacion,
Whiche might [haue be] eschewed in this wise, 2
To haue had counseil without couetise.

(26)
Ther was goode ynough if ther had be hert 176
To haue departed therwith in all haste,
And saued many a man that toke smert,
But rather thei wolde take the deth is taste
Than thei wolde for theimselfe theyr goode oute cast,
And so loste there maister, 3 theimselfe & goode,
Oonly couetise shedynge their blode.

1 Perhaps the meaning is "and of their transference."
2 Line much defaced.
3 Perhaps he alludes to the death of Richard, Duke of York, 1460.
(27)
Howe may any estate be in seurte,
Of his welthe, prosperite & honnour,
Or in any wise be in sikertime,
If couetous folke be in his favour?
Whiche people wol do / their peine & labour
Euer for their owne singularitee,
Charging no personne [h]is aduersitee.

(28)
The high estate of oure king god preserue,
And if deuoided had folke couetous
From his persone, his people had not sterue
With suche grete batellis dispiteous,
Whiche to here & telle is ful piteous.
For to late the couetous folk toke hede
To haue holpen them selue when it was nede.

(29)
Ful openly shewithe experiens
To what effect couetise drawith to.
It is apte to vntrouthe and negligence,
To falsenesse and subtel treson also,
Euer for lucre, go where he go,
Hauyng no regarde to trouthe ne worship,
So he may come to goode and Lordeship.

(30)
Who that herith many Cronicles olde,
And redithe other blessid Scripture,
Shall excede al other bi manyfolde
Resons, and his discrecions ful sure,
Circumspect in his actes, wytt pure,
And so to gayde hym in siche cases lyke
As other men dudde that were polletike.

(31)
Tempus preterit kepe in youre Remembrance,
And revolue in youre cogitacion,
How mysruled haue fallen in comberance,
And wele ruled in exultacion.
Chese the best for youre consolacion,
II. Active Policy of a Prince.

Euer gracious & blissed entent,
Maketh to fynisshe wele youre tyme present. 217

Iam de tempore presenti.

(32)
The (sic) god / of his omnipotencie 218
Hath brought you now forth to our grete comfort,
So Jesus encrece you, to Justifie
And rule this present tyme for owre support,
That al people may haue cause to report
The blessednesse of youre estate Roial,
Pleasyng god and to the wele of vs al. 222

(33)
Edward's opportunity.
And also al wronges for to redresse,
With laulful and dewe moderacion,
And all rebellion for to suppresse,
Aftur Inst & dewe informacion,
All thing doon with consideracion,
As the case requireth, in his due wise,
For to youre highnesse is this entreprise. 224

(34)
Suche as ye be, so shall ye be taken,
Youre dedys & werkes shal prove al thing,
Wele or evyl thei shalbe awaken,
In cronicles youre Rule rehersyng,
Either in preisyng either in blamyng. 225
Nowe here ye may chese wherto ye wol drawe,
Best is to conforme you / to goddis lawe. 226

(35)
Goddys lawe is man to knowe his estate,
And goddis wille haue in dewe obseruance,
And his owne Cure if he be fortunate,
And thise three euer haue in assurance,
And so shall he his high estate enhaunce,
And his goode dedys be magnified,
Bothe here and in henyn glorifieed. 227

(36)
Your works will go down to posterity in history.
Of magnificence.
To entremete / of youre magnificence,
I woll make therof but litil wrytyng,
II. Active Policy of a Prince.

Advertising youre estate & excellence
Not to be to hasty in youre wyrkyng,
Ne to slowe, ne to feint, for no temptyng,
Ne to riall, ne in to grete simplesse,
Ne to liberal for no frendlynnesse.

(37)
Ne ouer streit for noo necessite,
But in a meane bi moderacioń,
And so youre estate shall encrece & thee,
And yet thaugh bi consideracioń,
Of youre honnour and nominacioń,
At a point al other ye do excelle,
Another ye may it Repelle.

(38)
And euer drawe to youre noble seruice
The mooste vertuos folkes and cunnyng,
That may youre entencion accomplice,
Youre high estate and grete honnour sauyng
And suche ye may haue that cause no blamyng,
Suche as a man is / suche drawithe hym to,
Either vertuous folk or therto fo.

(39)
And also beware of the couetous,
He is nat for youre profett and honnour,
He shall appere false and sedicious,
Be al quaint socibbilitées and labour,
Corruptyng his fellowship bi errour,
Of his false couetous opynion,
This is verrey soothe withoute question.

(40)
Take you to liue of youre own properte,
Of youre Revenues, lyuelode & Rent,
Propornouning after the quantite
Youre expenses by youre oune Iugement,
Paying all that is to youre estate lent.
Thus ye shall oure lorde god & the world please,
And all men fayne to leue you at youre ease.

1 thrive,
2 A nother in MS.
II. Active Policy of a Prince.

(41) The wiseman saith do all thinge with counsel,
Not biddynge youre counsell do al thing,
Right so if ye go youre selfe to batail,
All folk woll folowe you in youre helpyng.
Do youre selfe and all shall be obeying,
Truste to no man is execution,
So wele as to youre oune inspeccion.

(42) Principally I wolde you aduertise,
The thynges to kepe in youre remembrance.
Oon is the vertuous folk to cherishe
And pe vicious to put in gревance,
Disseuering theim bi youre ordynaunce,
Yevyng hym rewarde & other expence,
According to his merites and desert,
And thus ye shall avoide every smert.

Plato.

Docet Regem satisfacere / de stipendiis stipendiariis suis
Aliquae societas despicet eum & dominium suum; hec
Plato.

(43) And paie youre men their wages & dutee,
That thei may lyne withoute extorcion,
And so wol god truhte & equitee,
And therfore take hertili this mocion,
And in their nedys be their proteccion.
And so shal youre fame encrece & rise,
And euery man youre pleasire accomplise.

(44) Be ye rather clept an executor
Of wisdám, in his deue & formal wise,
Than to be proclaimed a wise speker,
And nought folowethe aftur that guyse,
Of bothe, weldisposed, fame shall arise,
So youre estate to wisdám do Incline,
Wherbi al myshappe fallith to Ruine.

(45) All thynges aftur wisedam to gouerne
Is verrey suretee and trusty assurance,

1 Perhaps for decet.
II. *Active Policy of a Prince.*

And pleasith almyghti Jhesu eterne,
If ther be put in hym trewe affyance,
Whiche ye may observe in youre Remembrance,
That noght eschape in dissolucion,
Ne wested by delapidacion.

(46)

And in al thynges kepe order deuly.
What is curtesye, trouthe, Reason, pite
Or Justice but a true ordre truly?
All thses vertues returned may be
To vices, withoute ordre in his degree.
Therfore ordre other while wol nat speke,
But in couenable tyme he wol owte breke.

(47)

That ye must nedis doo bi rightwisenesse,\(^1\)
Bi trouthe, goode conscience or In juggement,
Do it with pite & pacientnesse,
With no vengeance in youre commandement,
For that longithe to god omnipotent,
And who that is withoute grace and pite,
At last bi reason he shall vnthe.\(^2\)

*Fundamentum timoris dei est pietas / hec Pitogoras.*

(48)

Pite withoute rightwysnesse is folye,
Rightwisnesse withoute pite tiranship,
The toon withoute the tother withoute any lye
May not contynue in myght of Lordsheip,
But at last it woul come to shenshipp,\(^3\)
Therfore haue herto a goodely respect,
That ye be not herein founden suspecte.

(49)

Yeuethe no light credence to every tale,
Ner beleue not every suggestion,
Ner by not every thynge that is to sale,
Ner graunte ye not every petition,
But haue the ye consideracion
To every thing, as the cause requirethe,
Just, trewe, necessarye, as it semythe.

---

\(^1\) Two words in MS.  \(^2\) Not thrive.  \(^3\) Ruin.
II. Active Policy of a Prince.

(50)

Do not procrastinate,

Delay no thyng to be doon bi reason,

Ne defere it withoute cause resonable,

For thing done quykly in his season,

Is right worthi to be commendable,

And to al creatours laudable.

Bothe profit and worship shal herby sewe

To theym perfourmyg (sic) it and never rewé.

Sitis intra et extra idem ab his que loquimini;¹

ad invicem ne sit quod linguis exprimitis diversum

ab co quod reconditis in corde; hec Hermes.

(51)

Say nat oon thyng and do the contrarie,

Lete youre worde & dede be in accordance,

Kepe secretnesse as a secretarye,

For youre worshippe, profite and assurance,

Withoute langago, speche or vttterance,

But vnto suche personnes oportune

As may be furthering to youre fortune.

(52)

Heere every man is counsel & aduise

Paciently & chese therof the best,

And than I wold youre highnesse aduertise

That ye sholde kepe youre entent in your brest,

As ye wolde your owne tresoure in youre chest.

And so shall ye youre estate magnifie,

And youre grete wisdam daily multiplie.

(53)

And kepe no selfe-willed oppunion,

But to all reason bethe appliable,

And allowe als withoute obliuion,

Enery man is goode wille / resonable,

Thaugh your wytt excelle & be more hable

To discerne the vttterest jugement

In any case to you apperteneat.

¹ The English version runs, "'Be all one within and without in that ye shall speak.'"
II. Active Policy of a Prince.

Iam de tempore Futuro.

(54)
[N]ow of two tyme I wol speke no more,
It suffiseth to youre discrecion.
But of futur' temps I wol meve therfore,
Biseching you / under youre protection,
That ye wol take herin Inspeccion.
And kepe it in youre noble remembrance,
For the web of youre estate and surance.

(55)
Be wele ware by discrete prouision
For to suppress ye youre false conspiratours,
Aftur the lawe & constitucion,
Established ayenst1 opyn traiterous,
Being circumspect as youre progenitours,
In suche caas (sic) haue bene to the preseruing,
Of their Royal estate and preseruyng (sic).

(56)
Wolde to god that ye wolde prouide sadly
To subdewe al maner rebellyon,
Namely of suche countreies that gladly
Be disposed to insurreccion,
Wherof ye may haue intelleccion
Redyng Cronicles, and then ye may fynde
Whiche places bene to thair deue kyng vnkynde.

(57)
In every thyng haueth a prouidence
That no hurt fal to youre noble highnesse,
Not bi conspirying ner bi negligence,
Exilyng from you slough & simplenesse,
In suche thing as shold se sowne2 to youre distresse,
Hauyng al waies a tendre regarde,
to youre seuretee sparing for no Reward.

(58)
Almyghty Jhesu was disobeied,
First by Adam and Eve in paradise,
Thurgh the fals deuel to theim conueiede,
And in heuyn by Lucifer vnwise,

1 Two words in MS, 2 tend.
II. Active Policy of a Prince.

And in erthe bi Iudas in his false gayse. 405
Haue not ye now nede aboute 1 you to loke?
Sith god was deceyvyde by wilesroke. 407

(59)
Be wele ware of falsehode in felawship,
And namly of corrupte bloode and suspecte,
Abidyng in power, myght & lordeship,
And be towardes thair rule circumspecte,
And to thaire werkes haueth respecte,
And if thei trespace Lete not theim eschape,
Justly punysshyng then & not with lape. 414

(60)
Pretenders. Oon thyng I warne you, if ye wol be Kyng,
Thurgh goddes grace, of any Region
Ye must subdewe with al suppressyng
Every persone without submission
Pretendyng right to your coronacion.
Or ellis ye may not regne in seurte,
Nor set youre subiettes in quiete.

(61)
Old servants. And euer remembre olde Sarueyeres,
Hauyng suche persones in tendernesse
That hathe be faithfull & trewe welewyllers
To thair ligeance withoute feintnesse,
Suffryng therfore / grete peine & butternesse (sic)
And be ye ware of the Reconciled
That hathe deserved to be reuiled.

(62)
Recent experience. May nat ye see late the experience
Howe falshede, mysreule & extorcion
Mysguidyng, Robbery & negligence,
Withe all ther wiles haue conclusion
Of destruction and confusion,
Wherto shal we expresse thair proper name,
That so haue perissched to thair grete blame?

(63)
The trouthe is not hid, ne neuer shalbe,
Chroicles faueurithe no man of Reason.

1 Two words in MS.
Their disclaundre shal neuer die of equite
That falsly haue conspired bi treson,
Or lyued vngodly in iche seaso'n.
Do youre parte as longithe to your highnesse,
To avoide prudently suche heuynesse.

(64)
For truste me, verreyly god wol be knowen,
He rewardythe euery benefet,
And punyssheth bothe high & eke the lowe,
Be he neuer so queinte or countrefet,
His rightwise Iuggement he neuer let,
Thawe he delay it of his diuine grace,
For a tyme of better leiser and space.

(65)
Muche folke wishe'n hertely to be alorde (sic)
For grete plente, worship & reuerence
Takyng no hede what sholde therto accorde,
So thai hane thair pleasir and complacens.
To whiche entent god neuer j^aue suche sentence,
But that thei sholde be in chageabe (sic) cure,
To directe other vndur dewe Mesure.

(66)
Also take this for a note and Lesson,
Yf ye be put in high estate & cure,
But ye reule deuly at tyme & seaso'n,
Accordyng to right, as seithe Scripture,
A wreche shall reule theim withoute mesure,
To a grete puniss byng and chastement
To be at a wreche is commaundent.

(67)
Provide you sadly for youre sowles is helthe
Of a Confessour in discrecio'n,
Of a goode leche for youre body is welthe,
Of a Secretarie withe Inspection,
Secrete, sad, and of goode Intencion,
That can accomplishe your commaundement.
To thonno2ir and profit of youre entente.
II. Active Policy of a Prince.

(68) Also chese your servantes of goode draught, 471
That wol atteute and be seruiable,
Remembryng with whom thei haue be vpbraught,
For to suche theishalbe appliable.
Whether thei be good or nat vailable,
So take herin a goode direccion,
To haue seruice withoute suspacion.

(69) Looke that yoursevanautes be of the best, 478
of all ranks.
Bothe Knyghtes, Squiers, Clercs & yomen,
And eueryche in his degre vertuest
Whiche shalbe to your glorious fame then,
In all countrees that men may you ken,
As well in grete strenght, profit & honnour
As to al youre trewe Soubgettes socour.

(70) Buy things prouide bfore for al thing in seasson 485
In youre estate, householde & other thing,
And ye shall haue better chepe bi reason
Of youre prouision in the bying,
Than whan ye may make therof no tarying, 489
For whan a thing must right nedys be had,
It must be receiued, goode, chepe or bad.

(71) A peny spent bi wise prouision 492
Anailith two in time seasonable,
And in lyke wise the execucion
Of dedys by tyme is right profitable,
Where in taryeng it is mutable, 496
Therfore some thinges oons by tyme doon
Ben worth the twyes / other thing ouergoon.

(72) Prouide that your Communes may be welthy, 499
In richesse, goodes and prosperite,
And to ocupacion theim applye,
Vndur drede of the lawe is Rigourste.
For of what condicion that he be,
And he be of goodes right plentious,  
He dar not be to lawe contrarious.  

(73)  
For he that nought hathe is nat vnder drede,  
Neither of lawe, ne of punicion,  
For in other place / he may his nede spede,  
No thing rechygng of transgression,  
Ne willyng to come / to submission.  
For he that hathe of goodes no substance,  
He may the soner make than auoydance.  

(74)  
It hathe be, and yet is a comyn sawe,  
That Poverte departithe felaship.  
Therfor vnder rule & drede of the lawe,  
Kepe youre Comyns bi helpe of your lordsheip,  
That they may growe to richesse & worship,  
And than at tyme of nede thei may you aide,  
As often sithes as they shalbe praied.  

(75)  
Prouide that lawe may be excercised,  
And executed in his formal cours,  
Aftur the statutes autorised  
By noble Kynges youre progenitours,  
Yeving therto youre aide helpe & socour.  
So shall ye kepe folk in subieccion  
Of the lawe and trewe dispocision.  

(76)  
Yif ye wol bryng vp ayen\(^1\) clothe makyng,  
And kepe youre Comyns oute of ydelnesse,  
Ye shull therefore haue many a blessyng,  
And put the pore people in busynesse,  
Bi the whiche thei shal come to grete swetnesse,  
And robbery lafte by that excercise,  
And strumpery als by this entreprise.  

(77)  
Lete nat the pouter Comyns be dysguised  
Nee haue precious clothe in theire Vesture,  

\(^1\) Two words in MS.
II. *Active Policy of a Prince.*

But in their excesse be ther surprised
And observe a resonable mesure
In their arraye, withoute chaunge but tendure, 538
Accordlyng to degree of Laborours,
Aftur statute of youre / progenitours.¹ 540

(78)

Commons not to bear arms.

Youre Comyns shuode nat bere dagger, ne Lance, 541
Ne noon other wepins defensife,
Leste therby thei cause debate & distance,
Yeuynge other occasions / of Striff,
Swichе wepons haue made folk to lese their lif.
And if this statute² were executed
Meche folk sholde be Lawfully rebuked. 547

(79)

Liveries

Also gentilmen shuld nat yeve clothynng 548
But to their howshold meyne, for surance
That no man be their power excedyng,
Ne maynteine no people, by youre puissance,
Ner false quarels take thorough maintenance, 552
But euery man lyve of his owne in rest,
And that pleasithe god and man most best. 554

(80)

Ev ery man ought to lyve vnder a lawe, 555
And namly cristenen that wold god please,
And for drede therof to lyve vnder awe.
For miscreantes, for drede of disease,
Bene obedient to their lawe doutelesse, 559
And muche more rather to be observante³
Of cristen lawe we shulde yeve attendance. 561

(81)

Liberty and Licence.

What region may Lyve without a rule? 562
Or abide quietly In assurance,
Though he were an asse hede or a dulle mule,
He myght not lyve wildly at his pleasance.
But at last ye shall falle in grevance, 566
As ye may bi experience it se,
Mysruled folk euyll doon thrive or theе.⁴ 568

¹ 37 Ed. III. c. 8-14. ² 2 Ed. III. c. 3. ³ MS. observance. ⁴ flourish.
II. Active Policy of a Prince.

(82)

By lawe every man shold be compellede
To vse the bowe and shetyng for disport,
And al insolent pleies Repelledde,
And iche towne to haue Buttes for resort
Of every creature for their comfort,
Especially for al oure defence
Established before of grete prudence.

(83)

Iff any people put to youre highnesse
Billes of compleiut or peticion
Onswere theim in haste with aduisinesse,
Werto they shal trust withoute dececpcion,
Aftur the trouthe & Iuste perfeccion
That folke be nat delaied fruilly,
Otherwyse then the case askith justly.

(84)

My lorde al men shuld be vnder your drede,
That bene vnder your reule & obeisance.
So must ye vnder god in worde & dede,
In eschewing his wrathe & displeasance.
He wol be deled with in sad constance,
Neither with Iapes, mokke ne scornyng,
But Iustly, truly, even & mornyng.

(85)

No man reuleth god, be (sic) he reulith al,
Bothe heuen, erthe, and also helle.
What man is he that is terrestial
But of hym thus sadly wol speke & telle?
Al kynges & princes he dothe excelle.
Suche a maister that is worthi & best
Is surest to serue and at longe moost rest.

(86)

And for most especial Remembrance
Thinketh that men be erthly & mortal,
Ner there is worldly Ioy ne assurance
But in almyghti Ihesu eternal,
Bi whos myght & power especial,
Reignen kynges, and be to hym soubget,
And hym to obey is thaire deutee & dette.
II. *Active Policy of a Prince.*

(87)

Requite services, or show you don't forget them.

What classes to cherish.

And als euer amonge cherisse straungers,
Marchandes, pilgrymes & great Clerkes,
In especial suche as be makers.
Thise may exaltat youre name & werkes,
Aftur the oolde dogge the yonge whelpe barkes; Study euer to haue men is fauour
By vertue, or elles lost is youre labour.

(88)

Proverb.

A Tudor policy.

When any man telletlie you any tale,
Serche it priuely to haue trewe knowlege
Whether it be soothe, and to you no bale,
And than kepe it in secretnesse treuleche,
Til ye haue youre ful entente feithfullyche,
And so ye may ful many thynges knowe,
Where bi blabbynge thei may be overthowe.

(89)

Enrich your descendants in moderation.

Oon thing kepe in youre noble memorie,
Do magnifie & enriche youre descent (sic),
And thaugh al other ye do modifie,
I holde it a prouision prudent,
Lete not theime be to you equiulent,
Neither in myghti pouer ne Richesse,
In eschewyng hapley youre oune distresse.

(90)

Do not make many lords.

To make many lordys bethe advised,
But thei be of youre lyne or cause vrgent,
Leest the Realme be charged & supprised,
And therbi the folke haue cause to repent.
God hathe you grace and plentuous wit sent,

1 Two words in MS.  

2 Sic in MS.
II. *Active Policy of a Prince.*

Take this lesson to noon obliuion,
For many folke holde this opinion.

(92)

Make knyghtes, squiers & gentilmen riche,
And the pore Comyns also welthy,
But to youre richesse make never man liche,
If ye wol stande in peas and be set by.
So wol god and polleci sykerly,
Lyke as ye in estate other excelle,
In propre richesse ye sholde bere the belle.

(93)

Yf god sende you children plentuously,
As I truste to god he wole right wele,
Do theim to be letted right famously
Wherby thei shall reule bi Reason and skele,
For leude men litle discression fele.
Who that is letted sufficiantly,
Rulethe meche withoute swerde obeiceantly.

(94)

*Satis cito sit quidquid bene*¹ *sit.*

Euer day be ware of that extremite
Not to be to hasty in mandement,
But medle th[e]rwith youre benigne,
Being to high and lowe Indifferent.
For youre Lawe is to bothe equiuent,
Lyke as al other ye do Rectifie,
Right so god wol youre highnesse justifie.

(95)

Euer day oons showe your high *presence*
Before the Comyn people opynly,
To thentente that ye may yeve audience
To al compleintis shewid perfittly,
Yeuyng theim laufull remedy iustly,
Defendynge the pore from Extorcion,
With the al your power / myght & tuicion.

(96)

Oure nature desirith to haue a man
To reigne here vpon vs with gouernance,

¹ MS. benet.

ASHBY.
II. Active Policy of a Prince.

Circumspecte of tymes than & whan
He shal execute thyng in assurance,
Quykly & iustly to godlys plesance,
Not as a wreche, Tiraunt ne oppresour,
Nor in subtel wiles a Coniectour.  

(97)
Grounds for going to war.
I wold fain ye wolde kepe in remembrance
To be right wele aduised by goode sadnesse,
By discrete prudence & feithful constance

[1 MS. a any]
Er ye begynne werre for any\(^1\) richesse,
Or of fantasie or of symplenesse.
For werre may be lightly commensed,
Doubt is how it shal be recompened.  

(98)
I mene nat for vnthrifty Cowardise,
Whiche is in al Realmes abhominable,
But of wilfulness people to surprise,
That micht otherwise be recoverable,
By iuste meanes to god acceptabile,
For man knowith nat what he bygynneth,
Howe fortune of vntrifty werre endith.  

(99)
Seven curses.
Wo worthe the debate that never may have peas.
Wo worthe the penance that askithe no pite.
Wo worthe the vengeance that mercy may nat sease.
Wo worthe that Ingement that hathe none equite.
Wo worthe that trouthe that hathe no charite.
Wo worthe that luge that wol no gilte save.
Wo worthe that right that may no favoure haue.

Do unto others as you would be done by.
Facias aliis quod tibi vis fieri & non facias aliis
Quod tibi non vis fieri; bec Socrates.  

(100)
If forgotten be al lawe positife
Remembre the noble lawe of nature,
Obseyng it / al daies of your lif,
And ye shal kepe equite jist & suer,
As to ministre to iche Creature

671
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II. *Active Policy of a Prince.*

Suche misericorde, justice & eke grace,
As ye wold be doon to in semblable case. 701

(101)
What is wisdam, no to be this day wise,
And for to be a fole a nother day,
But euermore to a bide in wise guise
In wordes & dedis to goddes pay.
And in al thing that men wol hym assay,
Neither in malice, ne in Cruelte,
Nor owte of tempre for aduersite. 708

(102)
On al wise if your counsail aduise you
To do thing for your profit and honnour,
Yet heere pair reason & cause why & how,
Thei be to you suche a Solicitour,
Nor for mistruste but for better favoure.
For perauentre, al thyng discussed,
The case bi you may be better trussed. 715

(103)
A mater discussed & wele betyn
And reasoned by goode discrecion,
The sadnesse therof men may owte setten.
In the contrarie men finde decepcion,
Thurgh thaire owne simple intelleccion.
For who that many Reasons wol wele here,
May chese the better & with hym it bere. 722

(104)
Amonges other I wolde you aduertise
To be wele aduised in your grauntyng
Any fee or office in any wise
That it securly\(^1\) stande withoute resumyng.
Suche variance hathe be grete rebukyng 727
To many folk, that haue be preferred,
And aftur of their' livelode differed. 729

(105)
A man to be preferred to honour
Of fee or office to his grete makyng,
And aftur to be put to dishonnour

1 MS. securly.
II. Active Policy of a Prince.

By resumyng of graunt or forsakyng,
Better had be neuer be suche takyng.
   It is nought a man to be cherished,
   And aftur for povertee perished.

(106)

Your servants' good opinion.

Studie how ye may stande in ful conceite
Of youre owne servantes benenolence,
Bothe in love & in drede withoute deceite,
   That thei may haue comfort of your presence,
For your manly & wytti diligence,
   In Iustly rulyng with circumspeccion
Bothe high & lowe with deue direccion.

(107)

Than your servauntes wol bere oute your fame,
   That in this world It shal nat quenched be,
And renowne your glorious & goode name,
Spryngyng it for the to eevryche degree,
Blissyng you daily with goode hert & free,
   Whos worship shal be cronicled sadly
Ye remembryng your goode workes gladly.

(108)

Virtue not its own reward.

Looke bat your maters be with god standyng,
   And ye shal acheue / your blessed entent,
The contrayre shal miscyheue in al thing.
   He endith not wele that vngodly ment,
   Withoute a reconsiled amendment.
   A man of goode wille shal determyne wele,
   A malicious man evel shal fele.

(109)

How to listen to tales.

Whan any man maketh suggestion
   A yenst another for any greuance
Heerithe hym wele & make sad question
   How his tale may be had in assurance.
But yeueth therto no trusty affiance,
   Vntil tyme that ye haue herde the tother.
   Thaugh it seme sothe / it may be founde other.

(110)

Danger of light credence.

Light credence hath done muche harme & damage
   In this world, and euer more herafter shall,
II. *Active Policy of a Prince.*

While men wol bileue wilde folk & saigne

*Withoute examynyng lytil or smalle.

Many men haue had / therby a grete fal,
He that is warned is not deceiued;
Yene no credence / til trouthe be perceiued.

(111)

If I shal speke of the vniuersal
And the comyn wele of this Region,
I wol aduise you in especial
To haue goode guidyng & Inspeccion
To euery trouble in this nacion,
For thaug by a litil it begynnyth,
It may distroy vs al or it endithe.

(112)

My lorde, if any man hathe offended
And is brought to the lawe at your owne wille,
Of what maner bloode he be discended,
Thaug ye be above & high on the hille,
Yet let ete not people utterly spille,
If any gracious misericord
Wol helpe & it to god & man accord.

(113)

I mene not / this mercy generally,
But to suche people that by lyckelyhede
Bene wele disposed vniuersally,
To goode gouernaunce & vertuous dede.
If it be so, ye may deserue grete mede,
This I commyt / to youre discreccion,
As the case askith in submission.

*Inferas cito peuam malefactoribus terre ex quo tibi constiterit de delictis (illegible) impediet regnum tuum, decapita eum publice et ali terrentur;*²

hec Hermes.

(114)

And if thoffence touche the subuercion
Of the Realme, puttyng it in disturbance,
Procede sharply to dene execution
Aftur lawful and rightful ordynaunce,
In eschewyng al suche mysgouernaunce.

1 MS. terrenant.

² MS. terrenant.
II. Active Policy of a Prince.

For in suche case mercy is nat nedefull,
Neither for the Realme, ne for you spedeful, 799
(115)
Truste me verely, & take it for trouthe,
That ye shul moe people hertis conquer
Bi compassion & piteuous roughte
Accordyng to god and his moder dere,
Than bi cruelte, & rigorousete. 804
So lawe & mercy must be discerned,
That it be suer to god concerned, 806
(116)
My lorde, lete neuer temporal Lorde
Be your tresourer, ne your Receyvour,
For a meane personne wol therto accordre
More mete & a bitter (sic) solicitour,
More availeable in actiffe socour. 811
For a lordis rewarde is infinite,
A mene personne may be content with lite.1
(117)
Loke that youre counsell be rather godly set,
Wele aged, of goode disposicion,
Than worldly witty & no vertue knet.2
Vicious men yeve no gladly inicioun
To gracious werke ne goode direccioii,
But often theire purpose & their entente
Comyn to nought when they be euil ment. 820
In deum statwes principia tuorum negociorum &
\[\text{fines} \]; hec Gregorius.
(118)
Take this for general conclusion,
In euery case where counsell is lackyng
Committ you to goddes direccioii,
And your matiers shall haue goode begynnyng,
And consequently come to goode endyng. 825
For that thyng that is bi god commenced
Shal fynyssh wele with hym so insencet. 827
Cum inceperis aliquid bene operare incipias deum
rogare quod tibi bene succedat; hec pitagoras.

1 Little. 2 Quaere.
II. Active Policy of a Prince.

(119)

In al your maters, er ye bygynne, 828 Think at the beginning what will be the end.
Thenke what ende wol be the conclusion.

In suche guidyng ye shal grete prudence wynne, 832 And wise foresight & goode discussion,
And eschewe mishlife & confusion,
In althing take god at your commencement, 834 And al thing shal folowe after your intent.

(120)

Be wele ware that ye haue not by wishses, 835 Good intentions alone are not enough.
Wisshing that ye had doon or lefte suche thing,
Suche maner reule is nat worthe two Russhes,
To haue cause of repenting your doying.
Therfore in iche thing at the begynnyng,
Studie sadly by goode discrecion
How ye may take a goode direccion.

Aspectus ostendit quod iacet in corde plus quam verbum; hec Omerus.

(121)

Auode alvaies frownyng Cowntenaunce 842 A king's countenance.
Being fresh, not disguised, ne deyvous,
Ay gladsoni and chierful with sad constance,
To the wele of your people amerous,
And pereto with al youre hert desirous, 846 Attempying you als betwyx colde & fire,
Kepyng your selfe from Angre, wrathe & Ire.

(122)

Retoriq & musyk been two scoles, 849 Moderation in rhetoric and music.
Right miche commendable in their nature,
Without restreint many may be fooles
That rekke not to take herin goode mesure.
Neither of thise withoute reule wol be seure, 853 Musyke is disposed to grete lightnesse,
Feire speche for the most parte to grete falseness.

(123)

Feire speche I mene i-peynted withoute trouthe, 856 With flattering speche to blere a man is le,
Suche personnes to cherisshe it were routhe,
For grete parte of their langage þei do lye
II. *Active Policy of a Prince.*

So craftily that is harde theim tespie. 860
Feire speche mesurably & godly ment, 862
Accordith to goddis commaundement. (124)

Whan ye be in doubte of any Reulyng, 863
For to say, do, commaunde or determyn;
Better is of al thise to make cesing,
Until time that god you illumine.
Of al the certente bi wisedam fine,
Thus ye may observe goode auisement,
And the more suerly topteine youre entent. 869
(125)

Put no ful truste in the Comonalte, 870
Thai be euer wauering in variance,
But in god faithfulnesses and equite,
In plaine trouthe, Justice & goode gouernaunce,
Men haue be bigiled in affiance,
For al other truste is decepcion,
Bryning men to a false conclusion. 876
(126)

Loke that ye kepe alway attemperance 877
In youre langage & eke commaundement,
Auoidyng al vengeance & displesance
With al mansuetude\(^2\) convenient,
This is to your estate expedient.
So the mekenesse in your hert may habonde
To the people of god & of your londe. 883
(127)

I biseche almyghti god of his grace 884
To sende you longe lif with prosperite,
Hertly comfort, reioysyng & solace,
And in al your daies tranquillite.
Yet think ther is no suche feliciyte, 888
But al is transitorie and passyng,
Sauf your vertues & godly menyng,
(128)
Whiche bene enchaunced\(^3\) in Erthe & also 891
In heven lastyngly glorified.

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\(^1\) MS. This.  \(^2\) gentleness.  \(^3\) See 55/284, 58/339.
II. *Active Policy of a Prince.*

To your noble blode grete whorship þe reto
Where no Ioy may be now certified,
Than in thise wise to be sanctified,
For vertu shalbe lauded & praised,
And misreule atte haste disobeied.

(129)

Saint petur saithe þat soulgettes shold be
Baxom\(^1\) to þar lorde, goode or unworthy,
Right so a lord shold be in equite,
Be-tyux the high & the lowe Rightfully
Procedyng & in iche case equally,
Hauyng no respecte to grete alliance,
Ner therfore dredyng manne-is displeasance.

(130)

Whan al lawe, Reason and discrecion,
Wisdam, prudence, counseil & secretnesse
Faile & dispeire / in ymaginacion,
Than ther may be noon other stabilnesse.
But trustyng to god & his faithfulness
There is verrey relief and goode seurte.
Sith it is so, lete vs to hym trewe be.

(131)

Things past, remembre & wele denide;
Things present, considre & wele governe;
For things commyng, prudently provide;
Al thinges in his tyme peise & discerne,
That to trouthe & worship it may concerne,
Avoidyng from you al Impediment,
Showing ayenst al vertuous entente.

\(^1\) obedient.
III. Dicta & opiniones diversorum philosophorum.

Non exponas te ad dormiendum donec consideres opera que fecisti eadem die vt scias si errasti, et in quo, et si feceris quod non debuisti, et si inueneres quod male feceris, tristeris, et si quod bene letesis et per hoc peruenies quod sis circa deum; hec Aristotiles.

(1)

Every day before ye go to youre bede,  
Serce whele al youre quiedyng by remembrance.
Yf it be II, pray god of better spede,
Yf it be goode, to god be the plesance.
Thus ye may knowe your selfe in assurance,
How ye stande with god and with his goode grace.
And daily better you while ye haue space.

Rex iustus bene regit. Rex faciens rectum & servans iusticiam regit voluntatem populi et ille qui facit inusticiam & Violenciam regimen illius querit alius qui regnet pro eo. Oportet dominum rectificare prius seipsum quam populum suum; hec Zelon.

(2)

Truste nat oonly in men is multitude,
Ne in thair mygft, ne in Comon clamour,
But in god & in goode consuetude
Of trewe iustice, without any rigour,
Otherwise than god wolde, owre Saueour:
A Kynge, Reulyng al thynges rightfully
With lawe reigneth with al folk plesantly.

\(^1\) guiding.
III. Dicta philosophorum.

Decet Rem agere de nocte cogitare in bono regimine et in die perficere cognatum; et qui seruos habet seu subiectos & eos bene gubernat hunc super tuam miliciam statue principem, et qui hereditates possidet et eas decenter procurat super prouenientibus tuis ipsum procu[ra]torem constituas; hoc Plato.

(3) Bethink in the nyght of goode ordennance, And in the day execute thy thynkyng. And suche folk as be in goode gouernance, Lete theim bene aboute you awaytyng; And suche folk as mysreule theire spendyng, Exile theim and other in heritage, Rulyng wele, take theim for wytty & sage.

Iusti nullum timent; qui heret iusticie non habet vnde aliquem v[er]eatur; quare dixerunt aliiqu quod iusti non habent ex quo deum non formident ex quo quod Imita[n]tur et suo obedienti mandato. Et si Rex iusti non est, non est Rex sed predo & violens spoliatur; hoc Aristoteles.

(4) Yf ye live aftur god & rigthfull lawe, Iustly, truly, after goode gouernance, Be not in drede ner in no man is awe, For god hathe constitute an ordennance. Yf man showe in his lif a grete substance, Of his werke being goode & vertuous, Drede nat al othre pereto odious.

Gubernare populum non conuenit puero, nec ei qui est mundanorum negociorum ignarus, nec suam inmutanti concupiscenciam, nec ei qui plurimum vincere concupiscit. Non est differencia inter puc[ro]rum etate & puc[ro]rum moribus, quia mores hominum non pendent ex tempore, sed ex eo quod in suis actibus concupiscencias muta[n]tur. Qui concupiscencias vbi quam quantum et vt conuenit, non mutatur bonus ad gubernandum existit; hoc Aristoteles.
III. Dicta philosophorum.

(5)

Age is no proof of discretion.

Thage of man preuith not discretion,

Of thise two ye may take inspeccion:

Whiche guidith hym wisely / with goode sadnesse,

He is the verray man of Stedfastnesse;

For that man that childly hym gouerneth

Is a childe, while he that reule observereth.

(6)

A childish man is not fit to rule.

So he that hethe childis condicion

Ys not acceptable to gouernaunce.

For he that aught to haue subjeccion

Of the people and verrey obeissaunce

Must put hym selfe in witty assuraunce.

As ye may oft see bi experience,

He that shal reule must han grete diligence.

Recorderis semper anime tue ut stet in nobili cogitatu.

Pauci enim sunt allegantes aduersus hunc sublimem statum; hec Pitagoras.

(7)

Set your mind on noble thoughts.

Lete you[r] mynde be euer in noble thought,

In blessid menyng of goode gouernance,

With al other vertues of god sought;

Than ye shal acheue al in assurance;

Otherwise your werkys gone to mischanche.

Al thyngis begonne wele & godly ment

Comyn to goode ende withoute repent.

Cauete ab eis qui non gubernant se veritate, sed tamen audiunt eam & non operantur per illam. Et non paretis Laqueos vt noceatis hominibus nec conemini ad dampnificandum eos nam ista est res que non abscondetur que licet non cognoscatur a principio cognoscetur finaliter; hec Hermes.

(8)

Beware of evil livers.

Beware of theim that lyve not truly,

In iuste gouernance & operacion;

And noyes no man ne hurte hym wilfully;
III. *Dicta philosophorum.*

For thaugli ther be no demonstracion At begynnyng by nominacion, The ende shall showe every thinge as it is, Truly justly, or els falsly iwys.

Infelix in hoc mundo & malus\(^1\) est qui caret sensu Sapiencia & doctrina; *hec* Hermes.

(9)

He may be clept wele an unhappy man That is\(^2\) without wyte, wisdam and doctrine, Without whiche no personne wele guide hym can. Therfore every man aught to do his peine, The saide vertues to hau and opteine, Principally suche as hau governance To kepe them selfe & other from greuance.

Conuenit vt honores quemlibet iuxta condicionem suam & ipsius discrecionem et iuxta sui scienciam publicando honorem quem feceris ei vt populo manifestetur bona merentes; *hec* Hermes.

(10)

Eueri personne, cherissi ye & honoure Aftur his merite & discrecion, Publisshing to his connyng your fauour, Causyng other to take direcucion To goode & blissed disposicion, Coraging al people to take grete hede To guide them wele, & to vertue them lede.

Honoranti fit honor. *Aristoteles.*

(11)

Worship euery man in his degre, Lordis, knyghtes, Squiers and other men, Some for thair goodnesse & benignite, Some for manhode that men of them telleñ, Some for grete wisdam that ye in theim sene; So it shal rebounde to youre honour, Causynge you to stande in men-is favour.

\(^1\) MS. malio.  \(^2\) MS. it.
III. Dicta philosophorum.

Non infligas incontinentem penam peccatori sed intermittas\(^1\) spaciun ad exculpandum: hec Hermes.

(12)
Set you neuer to hasty to corre[c]te,
Or punnish a-noon euery trespassour,
But with leisour theim do protecte,
Til ye haue of the trouthe better savour.
Then ye procede after the clamour

Justly, truly as the case requireth,

Punisshyng hym that falsely conspireth.

Quando rex non potest exprimere suas cupiditates, qualiter potest cupiditates reprimere aliorum; et qui non potest suos defectus proprios reprimere non poterit suum reprimere populum a se distant. Ergo decet Regem incipere dominare sibi deinde intendere dominio aliorum; hec Hermes.

(13)
Howe shold a kynge that can nat wel represse
His owne couetise, in his owne persone,
Other men is couetise supprese,
That ben many, and selfe but a-lone.
Yef ye wol remedie this mater sone,
Ye must pure youre selfe fyrst withoute blame,
And than procede to youre glorious fame.

Te non rectificato prius tuum populum rectificare non potes, nec gubernare ipsum poteris te errante, / nam qualiter poterit cecus alium ducere pauper ditare alium, Inhonoratus seu honore carens aliquem honorabit & debilis qualiter poterit suis viribus debilem confortare? Certe numquam poterit aliquis alios dirigere\(^2\) nisi qui sciat & dirigat principaliter seipsum. Igitur si immundicias aliorum volueris abstergere primo cor tuum illis abstergas eo quod anima tua existente inunda, non poteris alium expiare nisi agere velis vt medicus qui a morbo quo periuuntur curare nititur alium, et seipsum ab eodem curare non potest; hec Aristoteles.

\(^1\) MS. intermittere. \(^2\) MS. diligere.
III. Dicta philosophorum.

(14)

A principale note / and direction

To gouerne youre soubegettis,

To euery vice making obieccion,

Looke that the same be not in you, Iwis,

How may youre self correcte that is amys,

And the same be founde in your personne?

Reule youre selfe first and than al other sone.

In vetendo vt non debet dominio Inuidia oritur.
Inuidia mendacium provenit, mendacio odium, odio,
vero, inusticia nascitur, inusticia, inimicicia erumpit,
inimicicia bellum, bello lex perit, et heredita[tes] perdunt
et in vetendo vt debetur vero dominio veritas
procreatur, veritate procedit iusticia et iusticia amor
pululatur. Amore\(^1\) vero dona procedunt et tutela cum
quisus lex manutenetur et mundus populis adaugetur.
Aristoteles.

(15)

A prince to misuse his owne Auctorite,

Grete inconueniencis sewe\(^2\) therbi,
Grete mischeif et (sic) muche enormite,
Many recuperable treuly.

He that vsith his power Rightfully,

Shal prosper in his vertuous levyng,

To his famous honnour & grete preisyng.

Quomodo adquiruntur amici? honorando eos cum
presentes fuerint & benefaciendo eis & commendando
eos cum fuerint absentes; hec Zelon.

(16)

By thre meanes ye may Freindes purchase:

Firste, when they be present, do them honour;

And do wele vnto them in euery case;

When thei be absent, prayse theim with fauour.

This ye aught to do your peine & labour,

The higher that ye be in high estate,

Observe ye this if ye be fortunate.

---

\(^1\) MS. Amor. \(^2\) ensued, follow.
III. *Dicta philosophorum.*

Qui est honorum morum, est bona vitae & secure, & homines diligunt eum; et qui est malorum morum, est male vitae, & fugiunt eum homines; *hec Socrates.*

(17) Wele manered people bene of goode lif, 113
And al folk theim loven for their goodenesse.
Euel named bene often in striff,
And men theim for their vnthriftynesse.
Thus ye may eschewe many a distresse
Taccompaignie you with folk vertuous,
And avoide from you people vicious.

Qui dominatur hominibus necesset habet habere memoriam semper trium. Primum est gentis plurime que subest ei. Secundum est quia licet sint sub suo dominio liberi sunt non servii. Tertium est quod sua dominacio durare non potest nisi modico tempore; *hec Hermes.*

(18) A lorde aught to hau thre things in mynde, 120
First, nombre of folk in his governance.
Seconde, that they be free, nat bonde in kynde.
The thirde that he hathe no sad assurance
Of his lordeship in longe contynuance.
So ye may Reuolue in cogitation
That here ther is no longe habitacion.

Sciatis quod populus obedit benefaciunti sibi, nec potest accidere Regno bene nisi quam beneficias populo; nam *quum populus* carebit eo erit dominus sui tamen; *hec Hermes.*

(19) The people haue a goode condicion, 127
To yeue to their goode doer obesance;
Take this for a trewe erudicion,
The roiaulme may neuer be in assurance,
Bot folk bene wele doon-to without distance. 131
Kepe theim laufullly in peas & in rest,
This they shall obey youre highnesse most best.

1 MS. *dominus*; but the English version runs, "For when the people is gone, the prince abideth lord of himself alone."

2 This = thus.
III. Dicta philosophorum.

Non egrediatur ex ore vestro Indignacionis tempore verbum turpe, quia hec est Res dehonstans, et ducens ad penam; hec Hermes.

(20)

In any tyme of Indignacion,

Or in other reason of displesance,

Withowte al other excusacion

Tuche not of fowle rebukynge speche vttterance,

Nor of no maner vengeable semblance.

But rather attende with mansuetude

Tamende folk, than to fere with wordes rude.

Melius & nobilius in hoc mundo est bona fama & in alio mundo exclusio a pena. Valencius est tacere quam loqui cum ignorante & solitudinem querere quam iungere se malis. Sapiencia adquiritur humilitas bona voluntas pietas & privacio peccatorum; hec Hermes.

(21)

The best thinge in al this wide world is this,

For to be renowned in blessed fame.

Who wol this haue, must be wytty & wise;

By vnthriftynesse, men lesen theire name.

Speke not to folis that bene in diffame;

Stablishe you in your hert to grete wisdom,

Withoute whiche lost may be a grete kyngdam.

Qualis sit sensus ostendit eloquium; hec logmon.

Et ex habundancia cordis os loquitur; hec Omerus.

Et os ostendit quod iacet in corde; hec Socrates.

(22)

To be of to myche speche is a grete vice;

To be of to litle speche is Fooliship.

Ches therfore pe best if ye wolbe wise,

Bestowyng your wordes to your worship

Truly, wisely longyng to your lordship.

Suche as people bene, suche is thair vsance,

After thair hertes peci make thair vttrance.

1 frighten. 2 MS. iacit. 3 MS. Thes.

ASHBY.
III. Dicta philosophorum.

Tribus de causis honorantur Reges, ex legum Institutione bonarum, ex bonis Regionibus conquerendis et ex desertarum populumone terrarum; hec Aristotiles. (23)

By thre things is honnoured a kyng, 155
Fyrste for makynge of lawe acceptable,
Seconde for many landes conqueryng,
The thirde to make desertis habitable,
With myche people pere to couenable;
Thus a goode kyng is taken as he is,
And renounned here, and in heuyn blisse. 161

Opera hominum non ad vnguem discucias, quia cum homines non possunt erroribus omnino exclusi si multum examinentur et districte confundetur tua discrecio; igitur a aliquibus eorum aurentendi sunt oculi, ad indulgendum eisdem. Hiis enim penes te existentibus corda dirigentur ipsorum & procedent ad melius facta tua. Aristotleles. (24)

Blame never people to the vtterest, 162
Ner never examine thaim to straitly.
Withoute blame or errour is not the best;
Soumtyme ye must forgene graciously,
And thus ye shall wynne hertes stedfastly.
Evry man-is traspasse be not lyke;
Considre theim wele as man pollyetke. 168

Ignorancia hominis tribus causis cognoscitur. In non habendo cогitatum in rectificatione sui ipseius, & non repugnando suis cupiditatibus, et gubernando se consilio sue consortis in eo quod scit & quod nescit; hec Socrates. (25)

By thre thinges a man-is ignorance 169
Ys knowen, hymselfe not rectifie,
To couetise to have no repugnance,
Bi his wife his counsell hym to fortifie:
Thise thre thinges no man may Justifie.
Therfore take goode hede and sad attendance
To eschewe the mischeif of this dance. 175
III. *Dicta philosophorum.*

Decet regem cognoscere adherentes sibi quorum quemlibet statuat suo loco iuxta cuiuscumque discrec
cionem Sapienciam et felicitatem, providens vociuque iuxta exigenciam meritorum; nec sint talia dona que non acceptentur nec placeant; *hec Hermes.*

(26)

A kynge sholde knowe al his owne *servantes,*

Their rule, ther gidyng and condicion;

And to eueriche of theim make his grauntes,

Afteir their wisdom & discrecion

To their merites make prouision,

In euerycche degree mete to their desert;

Acceptable & plesant in thair hert.

Hillaritas est intelligendum signum & e contra; *hec Hermes.*

(27)

To dissimile, sum men holde a wisedam,

And it may be in some herd distresse,

But for the moste in euer kyngdam,

Suche as ye be by your chere expresse,

Either in hate or in loun showe thexcesse.

And so men shall knowe you bi countenaunce

How men shall guide theimself to your plesance.

(28)

If your *servauntes* displea (*sic*) your highnesse,

As euer man is nat in that seurte

To guide hym perfitey in stedfastnesse,

Yet showe hym lonely your benygnite

*Withoute* hatefull wrathe of your dignite.

A Soubget may nat bere your displeasance

But your grace be showed to your grievance.

Quando errabit amicus penes te non recedas ab eius amicicia donec remaneat ad in eo quo (*sic*) ipsum videris posse Rectificari; *hec Aristoteles.*
III. Dicta philosophorum.  

(29) If ye haue any friende in your Favour, Thaughe he erre or do to you displeasance, Make not of his defaute to meche clamour While he hathe any power or substance To rectifie his defaute or greuance, Puttyng hym in his aquital & peyne To aveange hym, ye muste your self refreyne.  

Rex sapiens imperat cum mansuetudine & placabilitate; quod non imperat displicitate & superbia & perpere\(^1\) cum bonis propter illud quod putat facere iusticiam rectam et equam; hec hermes.  

(30) Obserue mekenesse in youre maundement With al benigne and mansuetude, Takying this goode blessid advantisment, Neuer in displesant consuetude, Ne with rigorous wordes, ne with rude, Yewe no charge ayenst goode people, namely While ye wot Justifie theim equally.  

Si Rex aggregavit thesaurum & non expenderit illum vbi connuenerit, aut perdet illum aut Regnum; hec hermes.  

(31) If ye make of tresour aggregacion By any maner meanes possible, To youre estate & nominacion But theexpense therof be incorrigible, Conuenietly to men visible Bestowed, either loste is the tresour, Or elles the Roiaulme bi men is clamour.  

Duo sunt laudabilia & bona, lex & Sapiencia, quia lege cohibemur a peccatis et Sapiencia adquiremus cunetas bonitates; Rex est bonus qui non permittit vnum alium offendere; hec Aristoteles.  

(32) Two thinges be right goode and commendable, That bene, Lawe & Wisdam in temprance.  

\(^1\) MS. propriis.
III. *Dicta philosophorum.*

Lawe constreineth folk from offence culpable,
And wisdom guideth al goode assurance.
Al thise two thynge kepith in substance,
And rectifie iche man in his degree,
That noon hurt oper by Iniquite.

Non rideas multum, nec irasceris, quia ista sunt duo opera fatuitatis. *Aristoteles.*

(33)
Two thinges bene signe of grete folie,
The toon is laugh myche in compagni
The tother is to wax wrothe in shenship,
Thise two bene the vices of grete folie
Causyng many other to multiplie.

Therfore guide your selffe in suche blessednesse
That the people may Ioy of your highnesse.

Decet Regem ad sua servicia sucepere quem prius-
quam regnaret bonum et fidelem cognouit. *Cum Rex*
postquam regnauerit non valet eos bene cognoscere quia
omnes ei postmodum adulantur & honorantur eundem ;
hec Socrates.

(34)
A kyng sholde take of his olde acquaintance,
His familial seruauntes vertuous,
That he knewe before his Regne of Substance,
Wele disposed, trewe, not malicious.

When he reigneth, eche man wolbe Ioyous
To glose hym, to please hym with all circumstance :
Harde it were to knowe then their variance.

Qui reputat omnes Homines equaliter, Amicos habere
non potest ; hec Socrates.

(35)
Oon thing I wolde aduertise your hignesse,
Take not every man in oon qualite :
Oon is wise and a nother in lewdenesse,
Sum be in welth, sum in aduersite,
Sum be mery and sum in nycyte ;

Who that cannat disseure wise from bad
Shal haue no verrey frendes pat be sad.
A good Governor is he who can rule himself.

Three things to grieve a man.

If a man has deserved reward, give it him at once, before he asks for it.

Don't get angry suddenly.

III. *Dicta philosophorum.*

Qui gubernat bene seipsum, expedit esse gubernator; *hec Plato.*

(36)

In this wise ye shul knowe a gouernour

Hable to reule & guide in every place,

That can be in hym self a goode myrroar,

Guidyne hym selfe aftur oure lordes grace,

Shewyng euer a playne & a trewe face.

He that can not his owne personne gouerne,

How shuld he other folkes therin lerne?

Tribus de causis dolet homo, de diuite qui venit ad paupertatem, de honorabili qui dispeccionem incurrit, & de sapiente quem ignorans derisit; *hec Plato.*

(37)

Of thre thinges a man may be heuy:

Riche man for to come to pouerte; (1)

A worshipful man in dispite reuly; 1 (2)

A wiseman, 2 of the ignorant to be (3)

Scorned or mocked, pat folk may it se.

So this world is not certeine ne stable,

But whirlyng a bowte and mutable.

Non expectes merentibus benefacere *quousque requirat illud, sed eis benefacias a tempore; hec Plato.*

(38)

If any man haue deserued rewarde

For his meritis & goode gouernance,

In his hasty recompense be toward,

Competently betyme by your puissance,

Er it be askad withoute daleance,

And by your selfe lete it be doon frely:

That shal be best, and the more price sette by.

Non irasceris subito, *quia si facere consueveris dominabitur tibi Ira. Cum posse habes vites Iram que non permittet rei inspicere finem; hec Plato.*

(39)

I counsel, be nat sodenly wrathfull:

And ye be accustomed so to do,

And ofte displeased & also Ireful,

1 ruefully. 2 MS. A wiseman man.
III. Dicta philosophorum.

It shall overcome you when ye wold nat so,
That ye may not tempre your self therfro.  271
Therfore guide youreself in suche pacience,
That wrath overcome you nat for negligence.  273

Si volueris scire naturam alicuius super aliquo, consulas eum, et ex hoc cognosces suam iniquitatem vel equitatem, & suam bonitatem vel maliciam; hec Plato.  

(40)

Yef ye wol knowe every man is nature,  274
Wit, purpos, entente and condition,  
Counseil with hym of sum thyng in grete Cure;  
Anoon ye shall knowe his entencion  
Of goode or Il his disposition,  
And whether he be set to equite,  
Or ells to false iniquite.  280

Scias quod inter dei dona, Sapiencia excellencior est.  
Dilige sapienciam, et audias sapientes, et obedias deo; hec Plato.  

(41)

Of al the yeftes that euer god made  281
Wisedam is the most excellent by name,  
By whiche vertue wol encrece and not fade,  
And most is enchancused worship & fame,  
And most eschewith vices & eke blame,  
And bryngith a man best to goddes plesance,  
And kepith best in worldly assurance.  287

Aduersarium tuum contra te machinantem, nitaris ad equita[te]m reducere, pocius quam proeurare vindictam; nam vindicta est utrique dampnosa, & preservans equitas vitilis est vtrique; hec Plato.  

(42)

Be neuer disposed to grete vengeance,  288
Yf ye may other wise do by Justice,  
But entrete folkes to obedience,  
By meke & gentil wordes in feir guise.  
Thus men shalbe wonnen to your service.  292

Vengeance is nat often prophitable,  
But the contrary is commendeable.  294
III. *Dicta philosophorum.*

Reduc homines ad equitatem suauiter; ali[о]quin eris in labore & pugna cum eis; *hec Plato.*

(43)

Reduce your subgettes to equite,
Firste swetely and by meanes Reasonable;
Yf thei wol rest in their iniquite,
Compelle theim bi vigour couenable,
Fyghtyng a-yenst theim til they be stable,
Kepyng your self ever in trewe justice,
And doubte not your entente thei shal accomplishish.

Qui non mansuescit vel acquiescit castigatione blanda,
fac eum mansuefieri correpcione turpi vel aspera; *hec Hermes.*

(44)

Yf ye can not brynge a man by mekenesse,
By swete glosyng wordes and feire langage,
To the entente of your noble highnesse,
Correcte him sharply with rigorous rage,
To his chastysment and ferful damage;
For who that wol nat be feire entre[te]d,
Must be foule & rigorously threted.

Noli seruiri ab aliquo de eo quod non est a natura sibi licet debite teneat, *quia plurimum tecum turba-bitar,* cum labor[ar]e oporteat in faciendo eo ad quod non est aptus; *hec Plato.*

(45)

Considre ye every man-is nature,
A[nd] aftur their oune disposicion,
Recceye theire service & put theim in cruc{e}*
Acordyng as shal be expedicion
To bothe parties in admission.
To chose a man nat apte to youre service,
How shold he your ful pleasure to accomplice?

Non tuearis illum qui *per te defendi intendit in eo per quod tua bonitas minuatur vel minus appreccieris. Propterea ymno in aliis rebus promoneas & iuues eundem; *hec Plato.*

1 ? for "cure."
(46)

Protecte ne defende no man by your myght,  
That by you to holpyn antendith,
That shold mynyssh your goodenesse or ellis right,  
For any pite that he pretendith.
Resonable wisedam god you sendeth
To disere right from wronge prudence ly;
Therfore support never wronge wyttyngly.

Modicum non reupest vnum Inimicum habere, quia malum magis quam cogites tibi poterit oriri ab eo. Res que est contra naturam, vires habet in suo inicio forci ores, et res naturalis forci ores suo fine; hec Plato.

(47)

Reuete neuer oon enemye litel,
For he may hurt you more bi his malice
Then ye wolde wene pat a wreche & fykel
Might greve or compass for to accomplis.
In-disposed men myche hurt can devise.
Of youre enemye take goode attendance
Pat he hynde2 you nat by his greuance.

Non est convieniens pranorum dominium, quia licet bonum videatur aliquo tempore, ad malum tamen deuenit finem; hec Plato.

(48)

Lordship of Shrewes is nat accordant
Ne conuenient to be cherisshed;
Thaugh at sum tymes it semith plesant,
Euyl thinge at cend is periss hed,
And comyth to nought & is vanished,
Where goo[d]nesse abideth in assurance,
And evel is reward with myschance.

Magis detrime[n]tum quod regnum habere potest, est propter elatos corde habentes meliorem quam merue-runt statum; nam alios se meliores despiciunt, et tali modo ordinacio Regis peruer titur et turbatur; hec Plato.

1 ? a genuine word, or for 'ill-disposed.' See 'wele-disposed,' 67/967, 75/710.
2 hinder.
III. *Dicta philosophorum.*

(49) Pride is the greatest harm to a realm.

Of all the detrimentis, hurtis & hyndrance
That may betide to a Roialme, is pride
To be enchaunced to grete gouernance
A-yenst desert, and other put aside.
The better he wold euuer ouer-ride,
And peruerete al the kynges ordenaunce,
And auenture it in great distourblance.

Saluus est qui seruit Regibus in fidelitate, & cum pictate populo; nec status in quo est decipit cum, nec propter bonum quod possidet, nec propter malum aliquatenus desperat quo graunatur; hec Plato.

(50) He who shows pity, is loved everywhere.

He is seure and saufe that seruith kynges,
In fidelite shewyng grete pite
To al people in his doinges.
His estate shall come to prosperite,
Whether he be in welthe or aduersite.
Lerne this lesson, to be right pitenous,
And ye shul come to loue in euery house.

Consulas in negociis equalem tibi, quia ipse maxime intelligit quod opus est tibi; hec Plato.

(51) Take counsel of your equals.

Aske counsel of a man to you equale,
In your grete nedys and meche besynesse,
He can yeve you best counsel & moost formal;
He knowethe what longeth to your prowesse,
To your estate, honnour & noblenesse.
Suche lessons have otherwhile in mynde,
In whiche wisdam & profyt ye shul fynde.

Moderata verecundia facit hominem omittit quod non competit sibi; nimis superflua facit omittit quod competit sibi, sed diminuta et modica, ad quod non competit cogit incedi; hec Plato.

(52) Modesty is helpful.

A moderate shame makith men to leve
Many shameful thinges & vnfyttyng;
Ouer moche shame makith men to bileve  
To leve that thing pat were to hym fytyng,  
Goode discrecion take to youre lernyng,  
What is to [be] lefte & what to be doon,  
And guide you aftur goode discrecion.  

Non vtaris operibus cum verba sufficiant; hec Plato.  
(53)

Use neuer for to execute in dode,  
Where ye may haue deue execucion  
Bi wordes, and al folkes justly lede.  
What nedith Rigour in submission  
Of hym amendyng his transgression?  
He that may reule wele bi benignite,  
Leue Rigour, or in vnrest shal he be.  

Res regi prohibita censetur ebrietas. Quia Rex regni  
sit custos: quam turpe erit ipsum sui custodia indigere.  
Inter Reges est felix ille, in quo dominium predecessorum dirigitur; & infelix est ille, in quo ipsum subsidiatur & privatur; hec Plato.  
(54)

That king is ful blessed & happy  
That can kepe hym from mysreule & dronkship,  
And directe his lenelode profitably,  
Encresasyng his heritage and lordeship.  
What dishonnoar is to hym, & shenship,  
That mysguideth his liuelode & lesith,¹  
And al his reuenues mysvsseth!  

Non te intromittas ad aliquid faciendum quousque sensus proiderit illud delectabiliter faciendum; hec Plato.  
(55)

Neuer entremete you of erthly thinge  
Til your wise wytt hane provided before  
How it may be doon to a goode endyng.  
Than accomplishe it with hert more & more.  
He that dothe nat soo, is lewde & a poore.  
A thing forescienc is light texecute.  
Unauised men, folcs bene repute.  

¹ loseth.
Oportet iudicem non rigidum esse sermone contra maleficii patratores, quia si non se haberet hoc modo abuteretur auctoritate scensoris; hec Plato.

(56)

A luge shold not be in worde rigorous
A-yenst malefactours in eny wise.
He is to pat power contrarious,
If he any boistorous worde deuise;
But in gentil and most piteous guise
He must attempre wele his Jugement,
That no bousterous Rigour pere be ment.

Qualis Rex, talis populus. Cupiditates & hominum voluntates reperiuntur iuxtu Regum cupiditates & vol-
luntates ipsorum; hec Plato.

(57)

Suche as the kynge is, suche bene al other,
Bothe in wille & also in couetise;
The toon may not be withoute the tother;
For the kynge hathe the charge theim to suprise,
That wolde surmonte, or in vices arise.
The kyng may make his people as hym liste,
Either evil or vertuous & iust.

Quid est quo cognoscitur iustus? Ex eo quod non agat aliquid damnosum alciui, nec loquitur mendacium ob sui protectum; hec Plato.

(58)

A Iuste man shalbe knowen in this wise,
To do no man Iniuri wilfully,
Ner ly not for his profett in suche guise
That it shuld harme any man skilfully.
Thus euery man sholde lyve rightfully,
And euer to haue God before his face,
By the whiche he shal Ioy & blisse purchase.

Si Rex omittit inuest[ig]are populi sui facta milicie sue & inimicorum, non vno die securus de regno suo; hec Hermes.
III. *Dicta philosophorum.*

(59) Yf a king serche nat the condition
Of his people, knyg[t]hode, & enemys, And al thair dedes bi discretion,
He may nat be sure of his regne treuly,
Not oon day, but he attende prudently With circumspecioii and gouernance
To put al thise things in assurance.

Quam bene est populo, cuius Rex est bone discretionis & boni consilii, et sapiens in scientiis; & quam male est ipsi quam ad eo predictorum deficit ei! hec Hermes.

(60) How goode & blissed is that Region
That haue a king wise, discrete, & witty Bothe in science & circumspection,
That can guide al his soubgettes seurely; And if he be the contrary treuly,
Al gothe at\(^1\) hauoke and mysgouernance, And the Roialme diuided & in distance.

Quando Rex despiciet aliquid modicum de quo facere debet, angebitur illud, sicut debilis infirmitas corporis, cui non occurritur cum medicina, magnificabitur, & totum corpus molestabit; hec Hermes.

(61) That king that reputeth that he shold do
For litil or nought, It shal multiplie As a litil sykenesse dothe in man; so Where first with litil he might modifie,
And with litle labour it rectifie;
For of a little sparkel a grete fyre Comyth, displeasaunt to many a sire.


1 MS. As gothe &. Mr. H. Bradley suggests 'Al gothe at' as a possible emendation.
A king's son should rule with knowledge, do justice, and not hunt too much.

A king should enfourme his sone in this wise, With science to conserue his Region, and to be rightful to folk in goode guise; Knyght-hode to put in goode direccion; To to moche huntyng haue none intencion, Ner to wanderinges, ne to vanite; And to speke ornatly with equite.

Interest Regis quod sua beneficia in bonis viris apar-"3ant, et in hiis qui seire intuentur\(^1\) vt ob hoc ad predicta melius mutantur; hec Hermes.

A king should help virtuous folk. It longithe to a king For to auance And to do wele to goode men & vertuous, And thei shall wele his profitt & assurance; Where misgoverned men and vicious, And delicate men and delicious, Wol tendre their owne proper volunt, Hauyng no regard to other bounte.

Interest Regis, cum vult sibi serviri ab aliquo de suo ministerio, seire prius moreis ipsius & qualiter se gubernet, & domum suam et socios. & si percepit cum esse bonorum morum, et gubernetorem status sui, & observa-"7orem legis, & tollere\(^2\) pacienter qui contingent sinistros eventus, faciat sibi serviri; si non, de[te]stetur eum; hec Hermes.

A kynge sholde take servantes famulere; First knowe their maners & their gouernance, How thay reulen their howse withoute dere, And to thair feliship in assurance, Yf thei be wele named in substance, Wele demeaned, & of lawe a keper, Pacient, take thaim for feithful louver.

Purum Animum diligentem te dilige, meliorem enim fratre ex patre et matre optante mortem tuam vt here-ditet bona tua. Hec Hermes.

\(^1\) MS. intuitur. \(^2\) MS. tolleret.
III. *Dicta philosophorum.*

(65)

Yf ye finde a pure freinde, Louyng and sure,
Constant, wele-willed and beneuolent,
And eke stedfastly a-bide and endure,
And euer his actes to you wele ment,
Do cherissh hym better than your brother,
So that he excelle in loun al otter.

---

Qui deficit in co quod tenetur Creatori suo, quanto magis deficit in omnibus alius bonis operibus. Hec Hermes.

(66)

He that lackythe for to do his dutie
To al myghti Iesu, oure creatour,
In al tymes of his necessite,
And displeasith ofte owre Sauiour,
Standying owte of godes loun & fauour,
Must medis lakke myche more oper goode werke,
Wyntnessyng hermes, the noble, goode clerke.

---

In multum dormiendo non est professus sed damnum. Assuesce igitur benefacere nocte et die, ad hoc quod medium vite tue in occium non expendas.

(67)

To slepe Miche, is no profytt ne availle,
But hurté, damage and derogacion.
Therfor, for remedie and acquitaile,
Accustome you bi goode probacion
For to do wele withoute mutacion,
That the myddyl of your liffe be not spent
In ydelnesse, ne in vnthriftre myswent.

---

Beatus est ille Rex qui mutat suas leges in melius; et melior & nobilior est Rex qui in regno suo commutat legem malam propter bonam; hec Hermes.

(68)

That kynge is blissed and honourable
That chaungeth his lawes for the better,
In gooode actes & statutes laudable,
By the whiche\(^1\) whiche (sic) he is gretter & gretter,
That can of Injury be a letter,\(^2\) 474
Into his glorious fame Renowned,
So often that it may not be sommed. 476

(60)
In al your noblay and prosperite, 477
In your worshipful richesse & blessed name,
Kepe ye thre thinges for your most seurete—
Goode conscience and vnblemished fame,
By the whiche ye shul be kepte from grete grame;
And from al dishonour and vice coarted,\(^3\)
And to grete worship pere-by exalted. 483

Dic bona de amico tuo cui vis occurrere, eo quod
inicium amoris est benedicere, et Inicium odii maledi-
cere; hec Socrates.

(70)
Say goode of your freinde in al freenly wise. 484
The begynnyng of loue is to say wele;
The begynnyng of hate, with evil guise.
Thus man-is tonge shewith swetnesse or felle.\(^4\)
Of al things the tonge berith the belle. 488
The tonge breketh boon, thaughe he be tendre,
And shethe\(^5\) many men thaughe he be slendre. 490

Maior rectificacio est dirigere Regem elongare se a
malis, ne mala que fiunt impudentar eidem; hec
Socrates.

(71)
The most gretttest Rectificacion 491
Ys, from euel things to directe a kinge,
Leest unto hym fal Reprobacion
By his euel doyng or mysguidyng.
Meche people awayte vppon his reulyng:
Yf it be goode, people greethly reioise;
Yf he be euel, for suche thei wol hym noyse. 497

1 ? text corrupt ; needs 'But he is the gretter' &c.
2 hinderer 3 forced 4 cruel 5 shoots (? sleeth, slays).
III. Dicta philosophorum.

Rex est uelud est magnus fluiius, nascens de paruo; vnde, si dulcis est, dulces sunt omnes parui; et si salsus, omnes erunt salsi; hec Plato.

(72)
The king is a grete and a myghti Floode, 498 The King is like a mighty River.
Ascended and comen of many smale.
Yf the floode be swete, douce, fresshe & goode, If he is sweet, his subjects are too;
Of suche sauour & Fresshnesse bene the vale.
If it be salte, of suche taste withoute tale 502 if salt, so are they.
Bene the tother, by al maner nature.
As the kyng is, suche bene al in his cure.

Non indices priusquam vtrosque audias contendentes; hec Plato.

(73)
In any striff, make neuer iugement 505 Don’t judge till you’ve heard both sides.
Til ye haue herde boothe parties wisely,
Leest after ye haue cause to repent;
For lack of Foresight and serching treuly.
A kynges worde muste nedys stand iustly; 509 Therfore in al thing be wele approved,
That nought eschape, digne to be reproued. 511

Cum habueris amicum, expedit quod sis suimet Amicus; nec expedit quod sis inimicus inimici ipsius; hec Plato.

(74)
If ye haue a frende, be frendly to his; 512 Be a friend to your Friend’s friends; and don’t be a foe to your foes.
If ye haue an enemy comberous,
Ye aught nat to be his enemy I-wis,
But euer in charite vertuons.
Thrus ye may betuyxe bothe be Ioyous, 516
And set youre selfe in quiete & Rest;
And thus ye may demene you moost surest. 518

Si pius es, non cum ea pietate que convuertatur in dampnum. Et penam merentibus inferre non differas; et ad roboraniam Legem labora, quia in ea domini timor constat. Aristotleos.

ASHBY.
Don't let your Pity turn into harm.

The fear of God consists in keeping the Law.

If ye be disposed to grete pite,
Let not that into harme be converted,
Nor differed peine to theim that worthy be
To be punished in vice perverted.
Nor lete nat your lawes be subueried.
But theim mayntene and sustene rightfully,
In whiche the drede of god standith iustely.

Debiliorem ex inimicis tuuis, forciorem te reputas, eo modo requirens tuam miliciam, velud qui ex magnis causis emergentibus egens ad sui tutelam Requirit etadem; hec Aristoteles.

Youre leest enemy, Repute ye strenger Than your selfe in his fals Iniquite, Suppresseyn hym, leest he a-bide lenger in his feruein malice and subteltee; Puttyng your personne ever in seurte; And kepe your enemy vnder your fote; To be in rest, here is noon other boote.

Si sapiens Rex fieri volueris, ad Rudos & inscios non auertas, Sed ad illos qui sapiencia te transcendunt; hec Asseron.

If a kynge wol be wytty and eke wise, He muste abstene from Rude & Unkunnyng, And al suche vnthrifty folkys despise, To th[e] moost wytty & wisest drawyng, By whome he may be in wisedam lemyng. Right as a king is grettest in noblenesse, So is wisdam moost best to his hignesse.

Mundus non est perpetuus; ergo, cum poteritis bene facere, non differatis nitentes ad habendam famam bonam; hec ypocras.

The worlde is [not] in perpetuite, Therfore, for to do wele, make no delay;

1 MS. maliciam. 2 MS. Mundus.
And if ye wolbe in felicite,
Put you in peyne and deuour
To be in blissed fame while that ye may.

It is a comon sawe, he that doth wele,
Shal haue it by goode lawe, Reason & skyle.

He who does good, shall get good.

Non sis dissipator sicut ignorans quod habeat; nec sis parcus vt non fias scrueus; sed in omnibus habeas moderanciam, quia in omnibus utilis est mensura; hee Pitogoras

(79)
Be nat in your expenses ouer large,
Ne to sca[r]ce by maner of nygonship.¹
A goode mesure, kepe euer in your charge,
Worshipfully longyng to your lorde,ship,
Eschewyng al dishonour & shenship,
That your blessed name may spryng & florish.

Don't be a spendthrift or niggard, but ever moderate.

Ne sis suspiciosus; quia suspicio inter te & amicorum quemcumque, amorem abscindit; hec Logmon.

(80)
Amonges many thinges, oon thing kepe,
Not to be ouer meche suspicious,
Ner compasse, ner wade therin ouer depe,
For that is a conceyte sedicious,
Bryngyng many a man right vertuous
To departe from the grete affeccion
That he was of by goode entecion.

Don't be too suspicious, or you'll lose folk's love.

Amicus cognoscitur in necessitatibus, quia in gaudio quilibet est amicus; hec Diogenes.

(81)
A Freende is knowen in necessite;
In Ioy, men may haue frendes plenteuous.
A man whan he is in felicite,
To please hym, al men be right studious.
In aduersite, men be nat Ioyous
To be frendly, withoute he be right goode,
Wele disposed, and of natural bloode.

¹ niggarliness.
Regna perduntur propter quatuor. Quia si a Rege necigantur Radices / et solummodo ad Ramorum gubernacula intendatur, Regna perduntur; & vt fortuitis attendatur fiduciis que expedirent omissis operibus Regna perduntur; et vt ad populacionem terre minime intendatur, Regna perduntur; & propter diurnitatem bellowrum, Regna perduntur; hic Plato.  

(82)

A land is lost by 4 things:
1. attending to Youth, not Age; 2. Rebellion; 3. trust in Luck; 4. want of care of People.

By four things, lost is a Region:
Tattende to youthe, and not to men of Age,
And daily batel by Rebellion,
And truste to fortune / with-owte werke sage,
And not tentende (though he be high in sage)
To the landes goode populacion.
Thise four / bene a Roialmes is destruccion.

Tua beneficia bonis collata, Retribucionem expetunt, et impensa vili ad plura petenda indueunt; hic Plato.

(83)

Your benefetis geuen to goode men,
Asken daily grete retribucion.
That goode that is to enel folk geuen,
Asken gretter multiplicacion;
For thei take not in reputacion
No-thyng as goode, vertuous men wol do;
Therfore goode men bithe (sir) appliable so.

Non oportet Regem in eum despicientem confidere, nec in vido nemultum, nec in eo pro quo (sir) meruit pena[m] et commisit errorem, nec in illo quem dominio priuauit et bonis, nec in eo qui suo regimine passus est dampra, nec in eo qui amicicam contraxit cum inimico; ymno necesse est talibus nullam concedere potestatem; & si est possibile corum carere suffragio in nullo eis incumbit; hic Asseron.

(84)

A kyng shulde neuer put his confidende
In any creature hym despisinge,
Ner in a conetous man-is sentence,

1 MS. opido, but the English versions have "in him that is covetous;" and the following phrase is not rendered.
Ner in a man errynge, peine deseruing,
Ner in hym that hathe be of goode pryuyng, 1 586 When a King shouldn't trust.
Ner in hym that is hurt for his trespasse,
Ner in hym that is in your enemies grace. 588

Decet Regem studiosum sine sollicitum esse, Requirere suum Regnum et suum populum, siue dominus orti suum Ortum requirit. & conuenit Regi quod sit primus ostendere leges pertinentes populo, in bonum exemplum populi; hec Pitagoras.

(85)
A kynge sholde be right besy and studious 589 A King should govern his Realm well,
To gouerne his Roiaulme & his people pure,
As a Gardyne is right laborous
To kepe his gardeyne clene from wedys seure,
Leuyng 2 wele in Rightfulnesse to endure. 593 and keep his Laws himself.
A kynge sholde be fyrst kepynge his lawe;
Al other must doo the same for his awe. 595

Decet regem non multum appreciare seipsum, nec gubernari suo consilio, nec vti frequenter venacione, nec incedere semita quam ignorant, nec angusta, nec nocte obscura; et quod sit hillaris vultus, & aspiciens libenter homines, & salutet eos et quod placite conuersetur, quia populus multum attendit ista; hec Pitagoras.

(86)
A kynge sholde not sett hym selfe in myche price, 596 A King shouldn't let his Coun-
Ner his counseil hane of hym governance,
Ne ofte use huntyng, kepyng wele his trice, 3 597 civil to his fol-
Ner take any newe way by ignorance,
Ner greuyng, ne by myght for surance, 600 and should be
But gladsum of chere, al folk salutyng;
Thanne al men wol be his highnesse blesyng. 602 believing.

Fac omnia cum consilio; hec Salamon. 4

(87)
By advis and goode counselle to gouerne 603 He shouldn't let his Coun-
Is goode, but not to be in gouernance cill rule him,
Of his counselle, but of theim for to lerne,
And teexecute your selfe in al substance;
Thus ye may guide your selfe in assurance.
And asketh of wise people ofte;
And that shal kepe your high estate a loftie.

Caueas a comedendo & bibendo a manu multum habencium zelotipiam, et ab aliis vulibus, nisi ab illis de quorum securus est credencia et sensu, et qui diligunt eum & dominium suum; hec Pitagoras.

And be ye ware of your etynge & drynyng,
Principally of men of gelousye,
And of symple wreches pourely lyuyng;
But drede never theim pat can rectifie
Theim selfe, & wittily theim Justifie,—
For suche personnes bene of grete credence,—
Ner theim that ye loue with grete diligence.

Si cum volueris aliquem corrigere, non te geras velut homo optans de alio habere vindictam, ymmo agas velut volens curare seipsum; hec Diogenes.

If ye wol do any correccion,
Behaue you not as ye wolde do vengeance,
But as ye wolde cure hym from Corrupcion,
And so ye shal deserue of god pleasance,
And kepe your selfe in blissed assurance.
For ye be a leche of Iniquite,
Chast[en]yng wronge bi felicite.

Sciatis pro certo quod timor dei est maior sapiencia & maior delectacio & est illud a quo fluit omne bonum & aperit portas intellectus et sensus legis et non poteritis esse iusti nisi habueritis timorem dei. Vtamini sapiencia & sequimini legem assuescatis mansuetudinem et ornemis vos bonis documentis & cogitetis bene in vestris robus et excludentur anime vestre a seruitute ignorantie et seruitute Inventutis; hec Hermes.

Knowe for certeyne that the dre[de] of Iesu is the grettest wisedam & dilectacion,
Of whichspringeth al goodenes & vertue,
Of wise vnderstandyng exultacion,
And of goode guidyngne dominacion.
So who that wolbe wytty & eke wise,
Drede god, and he shal haue it in best guise. 630

Fear God, and you’ll grow wise.

Fac filios tuos a sua pranitate addiscere, priusquam precedent multum & trahantor a malicia, & non pecca-
bitis in eis; hec Hermes.

(91)
Suche childred (sic) as ye haue in gouvernance, 631
Whether thei be your owne or other men-is,
While thei be yonge, put theim in assurance
Of lernyng & vertuous doinges,
Leeste in age thei wol make eschewyngis,
And ye therof haue the synne & the charge,
When first ye were at libertee & large. 637

Train children while they’re young,
or they’ll go wrong when old.

Cum festa celebrabitis existe[n]s hyllares in domibus vestris cum familia, Recordemini pauperum, largientes
cemosinas & beneficia, & confortemini angustuosos & tristes; Redimatis captuos, curetis infirmos, induati
nudos, cibetis famelicos, sicientes potetis. Recipiatis perigrinos, satisfaciat Creditoribus, tucaenni iniuriam
pacientes, non addatis afflictionem afflictis, ymmo con-
fortemini & mutetis eos placitis et ornatis operibus; hec Hermes.

(92)
Ay the werkys of mercy haue in mynde, 638
Especially the poure & the heuy,
And lete not god fynde you herin vnkynde,
But in obseruance herof beth besy,
Whiche ye [are] bounden to do sekerly. 642
For on a day ye shul make rekenyng,
How of thise dedys ye haue made guidyng. 644

Be merciful to the poor.

One day you shall give account of your deeds.

Cauete a societate malorum & inuidiorum, ebrorum & ignorantum; hec Hermes. (C.)
Malo te non associes, quia tua natura absque tui
noticia alicuiid subripiet de natura ipsius; hec Plato.
Don't associate with envious or drunken folk.

Associe you nat with men envious,
Dronkelowe, ignorant, ne of II nature,
But with the best, ay most vertuous,
Of whom ye shal have no shame ne lesure;
Of II, ye may haue of vertue rupture.
Yf ye desire to come to famous name,
Kepe this as ye luste to esche your blame.

---

Non iurare faciatis mendaces, quia participes eritis peccatorum quando scietis eum veritatem denegasse. Eciam decet Regem non vti homine men[aci] nec prauo; hec Hermes.

---

If ye knowe a lesyngmonger and fals,
Make hym not swere; he is of no credence;
Yf ye do, ye be in synne als;
Exile al suche owte of your high presence;
Suche doon many tymes grete diligence
To make discorde, debate & variance,
When goode vnite sholde be & pleasance.

---

Si perciptatis in aliquo aliquam lesionem vel aliquam maculam, non dehonestatis vel derideatis eum, sed recedatis ad deum quod omnès estis creati ex vna materia; & quia deridet, non assecurat, vt ad tempus non incidit in idem, quia decet, quum videritis, eleuare oculos ad deum, gratificates eadem de salute vobis concessa, & petentes misericordiam, quod vos custodiat & caue[at] a derisione, quia per hoc nascitur odium; hec Hermes.

---

If ye finde any spotte, fylth, or lesion
In any personne or in creature,
Dishonnour hym not with derision:
Ye be nat in suche suerte ne mesure,
But that the same may happ to you ful sure.
Therfore, if ye stande in case resonable,
Thanke god that ye nat therof culpable.

1 injury.
III. *Dicta philosophorum.*

Tria sunt opera sapientis, facere de inimico amicum, de nesciente scientem, de malo bonum; hec Hermes.

(96)

Thre things longen to a wytty man, 666 A wise man
That is, in wisdam & sapience,
To make of an enemye, a frende that can
be lovyng with a frendeli diligence;
And of vnkonnyng, to be in grete science;
And of il disposed in wykkednesse,
To be reconsiled to blissednesse.

Nullus debet dominari, nisi pius. Decet reges non dare posse, nec dominium, nisi pietatem habentibus; et ex hoc diligit omnes, sicut bonus pater, bonos filios; hec Hermes.

(97)

A king aught not to gene auctorite, 673 Give author-
Might, power, lordeship, ne also puissance, ity only to
But to piteous men of Equite, merciful and
For no praier, grete requeste or instance.
Rigorous men make grete disseuerans.
Ye shul love al forkes (sic) in charite,
As the fader the sone with grete pite.

Vita hominis est tam breuis quod quis non habet alium in odio; hec hermes. Et tractetis amicos vestros cum amore vero, nec ostendatis vna hora signum odii. Socrates.

(98)

Consider that your lif is shorte and brief 680 As your life
In this transitory world and passing;
Therfore, for a goode & blessed relief,
Ye aught not to haue other in hatyng,
But hertely cherissh theim withoute prating,
Neither wronging theim bi extorceion,
Ner plukking theim als bi compulsion.

Qui non bene faciat Amicis cum potest, deserent eum cum indigebit eisdem; hec Plato.

1 MS. haberent. 2 MS. tragemicos.
Cherish your friends, and show your love to them daily.

Kings must not drink too much, hear music too often, or care greatly for women.

The King that enforces just laws, shall reign in peace.

Rex qui sauum regnum statuit sermon legis, debet regnare; et qui legem subjectam Regno efficit, Regnum angustiatur propter eum; hec Aristoteles.

That kyng that maketh his Region
To be obedient to his iuste lawe,
That^2 reigne peasibly in an vnyon.
He that makethe his lawe souget to awe
Or to his Roialme, his wyt is not worth a strawe.
He that dwelle in grete prosperite,
Must obey lawe, and therto subget be.

Quando volueris consulere alium super factis tuis, Inuestiga illum qualiter seipsum gubernet in suis; quia si videris eum non dirigere animam suam, nec studere, quod aliquas bonitates adquirat, multo plus tui neglegens erit, cum te minori precio reputet quam seipsum; hec Socrates.

1 anguish
2 ? does. The to do. See en-the 78/784. Or is That for Shal?
III. *Dicta philosophorum.* 75

(102)
If ye wol ask e counsaile of any man, 708 Don’t consult any man till you find what he is in private.
Serche fyrste of his owne proper gouerna[n]ce.
If he be not wele disposed, ner can
Putte hym selfe in goode assurance,
How shuld [ye] put in suche oon affiance?
That¹ can nat be to hym selfe profitable,
He shal not be to other availeable.

Sis vigilans in tuo consilio, quia dormire in eo est
participare cum morte; hec Pitagoras.

(103)
In your counsail be quick and ay wakyng. 715 Be watchful and quick in counsel.
Who shold tendre so meche your owne availe
As your self? or els more Reasons making
To your entencion that myght prevalle,
And therto with al diligence travaile,
That best knoweth your estate & pleasance,
And how it may best be had in assurance,

Caueas ne innitaris tui tantum consilio, sed consultas
qui fuerit bone discrecio[n]is & etatis proiecte, qui in
pluribus est expertus; & plurium vtaris consilio & in-
vento, quod rectum sit in aliquo corum, illud assumas,
aliaquin vtioribus consilio comprehensis ab omni
habito per te dirigas, et deus te diriget; hec Hermes.

(104)
Trust neuer to your owne wytte, ne in Counsel, 722 Trust only aged men for counsel.
But of aged men in discrecion,
Being experte of thrifty antiquaile;
And by meche aduis and inquisicion
Of the moost wisest, take² discrecio[n],
That nought eschape bi Innocen[cy],
Neither bi negligence, ne by folly.

Quare sensatus petit consilium? Quia sui volun[t-a]tem veretur, que suo sensui sine racioni miscetur; hec
Socrates.

(105)
Why dothe a wytty man aske counsaile? 729 A sensible man seeks counsel,
For he is ashamed of his owne wille,

¹ That = who, he that. ² MS. tate.
III. Dicta philosophorum.

Leest his owne wytt & Reason do hym faile,
And brynge hym to grete shame and for to spille,
Sith his owne Reason wil his owne wille fille. 733
A wise Man wol nat put great affiance
In his owne discretion ne constance. 735

Non est danda potestas super se, quia si dederis
potestatem amico, vt suos peces tuis peditibus superponat,
superponet in crasinitum collo tuo; hec Diogenes.1

Don't set any one over you,
Yene neuer power ne auctorite 736
To no maner personne on erthe lyvyng
Vppon your self for any freilte.
If ye be to any man licencyng
To set his fote vpon youres areryng, 740
He wol after set his fote vppon your nekke.

Oportet dominum secedere a populo suo, & non familiariter conversari cum eis. Alioquin despicietur, cum de natura populorum sit despiciere se innicem, & conversantes cum eis, unde quemlibet conversantem vnum et idem Reputant sibi Ipsi.2 Nimia familiaritas3 parit contemptum; hec Plato.

A lorde shold nat be over conversant 743
With folke, ne in familiarite,
Leest they be to his honnour repugnant,
And haue hym in despite of freilte,
After nature of theire Iniquite.
For to meche humblesse, vsed of olde,
Makethe meche people to be over bolde. 749

Non intromittas te nisi de veris rebus, vt sint tua opera veritas & non derisio; hec Hermes. Et assume illos in amicos qui veritatem sectantur; hec Pitagoras.

Entremete you neuer of other thing 750
But of trewe withowte any soubtelte.

1 Caxton gives this quotation as applying to wives particularly.
2 Underlined in MS.
3 MS. familiaritas.
And that your werkes be of trewe meanyng,
Withoute derision or nycete,
Whiche shal put you in grete tranquillite.
For god is trouthe, & louyth it moost best,
And of all vertues is most surest.

Sapiencia adquiritur humilitas, bona voluntas, pietas & pruucio peccatorum. Non recte agit qui querit Sapienciam non legendo; et ille qui cogitat habere cam cum multa habilitate, est ignarus; hec Hermes.

(109)
By wisdam is goten humilite;
And of many synnes priuacion,
Meche other grete vertues & pite.
Wisdam must hawe grete applicacion
In meche redyng and other laboracion.
It wol not be gotyn bi Ignorance,
But with diligence & good[el] gouvernance.

Bonum consilium ostendit In principio finem rei; hec Socrates.

(110)
Goode & trewe counselle is of this nature:
In every mater atte begyning,
The cende is knowen perlitely & sure,
Wheder it wol perissh or be duryng,
The verray sothe in al thinge concluyng.
Therfore goode Counseil is necessary,
That wol guide hym wele, & not miseary.

Qui obscruat Secretum est discretus & qui patetacit est insipi. Oportet hominem occultare Secretum quod si reuelatur (sic) & magis gratus est ille, qui occultat licet ex secreto non obligetur, et occultare secretum est nobilitas anime. Cum tuum secretum cor tuum non continet multum minus tenebitur in cordibus aliorum; 1 hec Socrates.

(111)
To be secrete is a noble vertue;
And he that is a blabber is nat wise.

1 Underlined in MS.
Secretnesse pleasith almyghti Ihesu;
Where the contrari men greatly despise,
A secrete man is discrete in that guyse.
He that can not kepe his owne secretnesse,
How shold a nother kepe it in sadnesse?

Cotidie addiscit homo experiencia que contingent;
sufficit homini seire que intuetur de contingentibus
mundo, & per id die quolibet potest nouam scieniam
habere; hec Socrates.

Al day men may lerne by experience
To se of every werke the conclusion.
Of goode gydyng & blessed diligence
Sewith worship and goode direccion.
Of vnthriftynesse is despeccion.
Therfore every man may wele knowe & se,
As he dothe, so shal he thrive or vnthe.

Deum recto amore diligens & amans sapienciam ipsius
et opera bona. Deus honorat eum, & curiosus est benefacit
eidem; hec Aristoteles.

Suche men as louen god with Rightful love,
And his wisdam and goode werkes also,
God wol honnour theim, & set them aboue,
And is curious, doyng wele theim to,
Endowyng theime with plentuous grace so,
That god wolbe euer their protectour,
In al tymes of nede and dependour.

Alium rectificare si poteris cupiat sicut cupis rectificare te ipsum, quia honor est & nobilitas anime tue. Aristoteles. (C). Oportet dominum rectificare prius se- ipsum quam populum suum; hec Zelon.

Rectifie a nofer, if that ye may,
As ye wolde your selfe be rectified.
And rectifie youre selfe first euery day,
Thus blessedly to be Justified,
By whiche grete noblesse is multiplied,
Bothe in honnour, rightfulness & grete fame,
Purchasyng you\(^1\) therby a blessed name.

---

Si amorem tuum volueris cum aliquo durabile esse, eum bene agendo informs : hec Enesius.

\[(115)\]

\[Yf\ \ ye\ \ wol\ \ that\ \ your\ \ loue\ \ be\ \ with\ \ man\ \ durable,\]
\[Enfourme\ hym\ \ to\ \ do\ \ wele\ \ with\ \ grete\ \ stering,\]
For vertue shal euer be perdurable,
Where vice shalbe abhorred & hatyng,
And euer be in trouble & crakyng.\(^2\)
\[Loun\ \ standith\ \ in\ \ god\ \ &\ \ in\ \ his\ \ swetnesse,\]
\[And\ \ wol\ \ not\ \ be\ \ had\ \ but\ \ in\ \ blessidnesse.\]

\[(116)\]

Amonges your other soubgettes al,
Your owne servantes preferre & avance,
Bothe spiritual and eke temporal,
Suche of your owne bringyng vppe in substance,
In whom ye may stande in trewe assurance
\[Of\ \ body\ \ and\ \ goode\ \ their\ \ l\[i\]ffes duryng,
Redy at al tymes to youre pleasyng.\]

---

\[Potens\ \ est\ \ homo\ \ suos\ \ dirigere\ \ cum\ \ agnoverit\ \ seipsum,\]
\[nam\ \ excellentis\ \ est\ \ sapiencie\ \ hominem\ \ sui\ \ ipsius\ \ habere\ noticiam,\ \ nec\ \ ex\ \ dileccione\ \ quam\ \ habet\ \ in\ \ seipso\ \ fallatur\ \ et\ \ bonum\ \ se\ \ reputet\ \ cum\ \ non\ \ sit ;\ \ videmus\ \ enim\ \ plures\ \ reputare\ \ se\ \ robustos\ \ et\ \ liberales,\ \ cum\ \ non\ \ sint,\ \ et\ \ vniuersaliter,\ \ quasi\ \ omnes\ \ discreciores\ \ aliis\ \ reputant.\ \ Et\ \ qui\ \ in\ \ se\ \ cogitat\ \ ista,\ \ minoris\ \ discreciosis\ \ existat ;\ \ hec\ \ Galienus.\]

\[(117)\]

To knowe hymself is a vertuous thing,
\[First\ \ to\ \ godward\ \ &\ \ to\ \ the\ \ world\ \ also ;\]
Than he is myghty hym self directyng,
\[Bryngyng\ \ al\ \ other\ \ goode\ \ gouernance\ \ to,\]
\[With\ \ many\ \ noble\ \ direccions,\ \ so\]

\(^1\) MS. your. \(^2\) crying out. \(^3\) Underlined in MS.
Want of self-knowledge brings an ill name.

That it shall be to his glorious fame,
Where not to knowe hymself may haue II name.

---

Quis est iustus et quis sensatus? Justus est ille qui potest inusticiam agere, & non agit; & sensatus sive discretus est Rex omnium qui nouit id quod humana natura sufficit; hec Galienus.

(118)

Who is iuste, who is discrete & wytty?

He is iuste, that may do wronge, & dothe right.

He is discrete, that knoweth perfitly

All thing after Manne-is nature & myght.

Therfore alway, in everie man-is sight,

Attempre you to be iuste & discrete,

Whiche bene to your high mageste mete.

Vt non irascatur homo, memoretur assidue qualiter sua non interest vt obediatur ei continue, sed vt quisque obediat, nee vt serviatur ei iugiter, sed vt aliqui alteri serviat, nee vt inferatur eadem; et quod deus circumspicit omnia quibus consideratis non vexaberis ira, vel modico turberis si turberis; hec Tesilius.

(119)

Ayainste wrathe & Ire is a remedy

To remember, that it is nat leful

Not to contynue in obstinance

To be obeyed, but to-bœie\(^1\) rightfull;\[^{[1 to obeie]}\]

Ner to be serued, but serue skylfull

Things, & to be in obedience

To god and man in their deue existence.

(120)

Yf a man haue offended in oon thing,

Repute hym not in al thinge culpable.

There is no man so wele hym behauyng,

But he may be in some thyng chargeable;

Yet the case may be Remediable.

Take every man at his best.

So considre every man for the best:

Thys ye shul lyve cheritally in rest.
III. Dicta philosophorum.

Cum inimico pacificare studeas, licet fortitudinis et
tue potencie sis securus; hec Maedarges.  

(121)

To pacificie your enemye, be studious,
Thaung of youre strenght & power ye be seure,
Whiche is a diligence right gracious,
Causing you in tranquillite tendure
In conflowermyng you to holy scripture.
Syche as a man sekythe, so shal he haue;
If he seke peas and Rest, god wol hym saue.

Si rex egerit iustum & Rectum populi sui, principa-
bitar animis; et si inustum & iniquum commiserit
ipsum suum Regem ostendit exterus, sed ad alium
principantem ipsorum corda dec[l]inant (sic); hec
Enesius.

(122)

Yf a kyng do iustly & Righ[t]fully,
He standith wele in the peoples conceyte.
Yf he do wyckedly & wrongfully,
He purchasethe hym in grete deceyte,
And for kyngge they wolde haue hym in Receite,
Howe be it that they haue hym not in love,
Willyng that he shold never he a-bove?

Qui te bonum existimat, cum stude Reputare veri-
dicum; & pro bono habecas qui te pro bono elegit, siue
sit humilis siue altus. Non potest multis p[re]cipere,
qui anime sue non preceptit cum sit vna; hec Enesius.

(123)

Yf any people holde you vertuous,
Goode, gentil, kinde, curteise with al mekenesse,
To repute hym trewe be right labourous,
Whether he be lowe or in grete highnesse.
He that hathe grete labour & besynesse,
How shold he reule and gonerne many moo?

In mundo nihil deterius est quam generositate &
doctrina carere; hec Maedarges.

1 Caxton's Sacdarge.
2 MS. bone.

ASHBY.
III. *Dicta philosophorum.*

(124)

The worst thing of all this wide World is this, [1 MS. in]

To lack doctrine and also gentilnesse.

Uncunning showeth grete lewednesse, y-wis

Gentilnesse considereth al goodenesse,

Who that lacketh it muste fall into distresse.

These vertues haueth wele in your mynde,

That the proffites of theim ye may fynde.

---

Oportet quemlibet assulue scrutari opera sua, & scire niti quod refrenantur de eo vicini, et hii specialiter qui mercantur et conversantur cum eo, & in quo vituperant aut laudant eundem; quia cum incedit tali via, non latebit eum aliquest viciorum suorum; hec Aristotiles.

(125)

Men shuld serche often the opynyon

That men wol saien of there gouernance,

Eyther preising or makyng obieecion,

Wherof thei shuld be in ful assurance

Of what reule thei be in substance,

Where-vpon thei may guide theime in suche wise

To amend theime, and to be holden wise.

---

Serve God in 10 ways.

1. Suffer patiently.
2. Speak truth.
3. Perform promises.
4. Judge justly.
5. Be moderate.
6. Give before ye're askt.
7. Indulge amici & inimici errori.
8. Consider amico, nisi quod amico consideres; hec Arcules (sic).
10. Gratias age si aliquid impenditur tibi; Si male habueris, s[us]tine pacienter; Si loqueris, loquare veritatem: Quod promiseris, perfice. Si iudicaueris, Recte iudica; mensuram habeas siquam potes; Benefacias priusquam requiraris; Amicum honora, Indulgeas amici & inimici errori. Non nisi quod tibi vis, amico consideres; hec Arcules (sic).

(126)

In ten Maner wise god must be serued,

Euel thinges suffer paciently,

For to speke truly must be oserued.

Yche promisse must be performed truly;

Iche iugement must be deuided justly.

Kepe euermore conable mesure;

Er ye required, doo goodenesse sure.
III. *Dicta philosophorum.*

(127)

Showe to al maner freindis grete honnour,
Thankyng god of his yefte & benignite;
And pardon freendes & vnfreendes errore;
And desire never of your frende to be
Other than ye wolde the same in you see.
And thise ten thinges kepe ever suerly.
Thus keping your self to god demeurly.

Cum tua discretion prohibit aliquid te facturum, inobediens esse non debes; quia maius peccatum quod potest accidere est quod investiget te id agere quod vetuit; hec Plato.

(128)

When your discretion forbideth thing
For to be doon in eny maner wise,
Therto ye shuld not be disobeying;
For it is gretter synne, I promisse,
To do ayeinste conscience in suche guise,
Whiche shal frete and gruge in your soule & mynde,
And daily to grete repentance you bynde.

Ex tribus cognoscit sapiens, quod per ea que nouit; quod non se magno habeat precio, nec ob vituperanem aliquem irascatur, nec cum laudatur fiat elatus; hec Plato.

(129)

By thre thinges is knownen a wiseman,
That he repute not hym selfe in grete price,
And that from wrathe he him self restraine can
When he is set at nought & holden nyce;
And whan he is preised in noble wise,
Not to be elate ne in pride therfore,
But in grete pacience & mekenesse more.

Cum rex vincit suos inimicos, oportet cum sequi bonas consuetudines, scilicet in iusticia, in largitate pecunie, in pacienza, in diligencia, et in aliis consuetudinibus bonis; hec hermes.

1 MS. sapience.
III. *Dicta philosophorum.*

*(130)*

If a King conquers his face, he must be liberal,

Yf god sende you in this world victory

Of your enemyes by your manhode,

Ye muste kepe in your noble memory

Goode noble customes vsed of olde:

In largenesse of money be right bolde;

In paciencie, justice and diligence,

Do your peyne to have true experience.

Cum *seruiris alicui domino*, noli fieri equalis sibi, nisi in fide, in sensu, in paciencia, in aliis vero *nequaquam* caucas, ne te aspiciat sibi equalam in statu, aut vestitu, aut in suis deliciis; *hec* Plato.

*(131)*

Let a servant equal his lord

in Faith, Wit, and Patience,

not in State, Dress, or Luxuries.

A *servaunt* shold nat be euen equal

To his lorde, but in thre things trewly,

That is, in feithe, wytte, & paciencie al,

Not in estate nor clothinges richely,

Nor in other delites excessively;

But iche man knowe hym self and his degre,

Non excedying for possibilite.

Si quesieris facere facere (*sic*) *despeccionem inimico*;

*non* offendas teipsum *pro inimico*; *hec* pitagoras.

*(132)*

If you despise your foe,

Beware ye make no suche offencion

To hurte your self for suche wilful vengeance;

But kepithe in your noble remembrance,

To attemper you in suche maner wise

That no hurte of your enemy arise.

Bonus *gratificat de bonis receptis iuxta* possibil[†]atem *conferentis et satisfaccionem recipientis*. *vilis vero non* gratificat nisi iuxta *qualitatem benefactorum*; *hec* Plato.

*(133)*

A good man thanketh every giver according to his ability.

A goode man thanketh euery benefete,

After the yeuer possibilite.

Vile & euel men be other-wis sett,
III. *Dicta philosophorum.*

For to thanke aftur the quantite
Of benefit, what euer it be;
So goode men hane gentil condicion,
And II men other disposition.

Aliquy Reges *balent pro bono conservare* semper statum vn[i]us generis ex subditis tantum, et in hoc va'de falluntur et errant, *quia vnnum* genus *hominum* non *necessario* est in condicione & statu codem, *ynmo* *minuntur*, bonitas *ipsius* assimilans terre in qua *seritur* continue semen *vnius* generis, *quod temporis processu* *corruppitur* et *imitatur*; hec Plato.

(134)

Sum kynges conserven1 alwey oon kynde
Of your *sic* soubgettis, & theime meche preferre
Oonly, and noon other haue in theire mynde,
Wherin thei be deceyued and meche erre,
For men of other kynde may be more derre.
Man-is kind is right meche chaungeable,2
As sede often sowen is mutable.

Bonum est loqui dicere *modicum* Racione, completum est respondere laudabiliter et confestim; hec Aristoteles.3

(135)

Grete wisdam is, litil to speke,
Pronunccing wele & complete of reason,
Anoon with laudable aunswere & make,
Hauing regarde to iche tyme & season;
To meche language hauinth in geason4
Alweyes spekyng with advisement,
Bestowyng your vttrance to goode entent.

Fornicator landari non potest, nec esse *hilaris iruscundus*, nec *liberalis inuidus*, nec *cupidus esse divers*;4 hec Aristoteles.

(136)

A fornicator may not be preised,
Ner a Ireful man to be meche gladful,
Ner a liberal man to be seised

---
1 MS. corseruen.
2 MS. chaungeable.
3 The adj. meaning "scarce" used as a substantive.
4 Underlined in MS.
In envye, nor the couetouse richeful.
Thise thinges be thus ordeyned righful;
For, as golde is pured by fire craftly,
So is man bi his workes feithfully.

Sapiencia exornat dinitis dinicias, et pauperis paupertatem occultat; hec Aristoteles.

Wisdom exorneth nobli the richesse
Of a Richeman, and hideth pouerte
Of a pore man, being in wretchednesse.
What may be more felicite
Then to be wytty in prosperite?
When ye haue serched al the worldde aboute,
Wisdam excellithe other withowte doubte.

Hominis lingua sue discretionis est Scriba; quia quidquid dici voluerit, ipsa scribit; & compescere linguam est virtus prima; hec Aristoteles.

The first vertue is to kepe man-is tong,
For it is scribe of his discretion;
For what it wol say, it writith at longe.
By sure tonge, al noble direccioin
Ys assured, and al correccioin,[1][ms.al&t]
Thaugh it be bi the swerde or bi justice.
The wise tong commanndeth pat shal suffice.

Non est apud Regem minus decenicius quam predari, cum Regis intersit vice patris se gerere; hec Aristoteles.

On erthe ther is no thing so vnsemyng
As a kynge to be in predacion,
Or by compulsion to be taking,
Sith in hym shold be al salvacion,
And as a fader in probacion;
Who shold be the people-is protectour,
But oonly the kyng & their defendour.

Mali timore obediunt, boni beneficiam; ergo hos duos modos agnoscens, libenter vni beneficiam; Reliquo vero penam infligas; hec Aristoteles.
III. *Dicta philosophorum.*

(140)

Euel men, for drede done obedience;
Good men doon soo for benefete truly.

Of thise too things hauing experience,
Doo to the toon, benefettes freely,
And to the tother, punysshment iustly.

Thus, bi your witty disseruerance,
Ye shul make men tobey their legeance.

---

Benefaciendo populo domineris, *quia tum dominium durabilius erit, provida quam aggregando eosdem* ; *nam cum eorum dominareris ante corporibus, deinde dominaberis animis propter beneficia que concedis.* & *seias quod populus dicto presumptuosus, facile ad factam collabitur* ; *igitur nitere quod non labatur ad dictam,* & *sequitur quod non ad factam labetur* ; *hec Aristoteles.*

(141)

In dowynge wele to the people ofte tyme,
Your maieste shal be more durable
Than in grevyng theime, theire dedis to lyme.¹

For where their bodies were appliable
To youre highnesse in al thinge prophetable,
Now thei shul be in body & soule
For your benefite in feire & fowle.

(142)

For certaine, the people presumptuos
In wordis, wol slyde to dedys lightly ;
Therfore be ye therin right laborous,
That folk slyde nat to wordes wykedly,
In escheyng their dedes iniustly :

A king aught to haue a wise provision
To kepe his folk in goode direccion.

---

Observatores fidei siue leges Fideles promoucas, et ex hoc Reputaberis in hoc mundo compositus, et in alio finem consequeris optatum ; *& malos refrena, quia, cum hoc, et leges diriges & populum* ; *hec Aristoteles.*

¹ limit
Cherishe keepers of the feithe & inste Lawe,
Referyng theim to grete promocioii,
And refreine Ivel men with fere & awe;
And thus ye make goode direcction
Of the lawe, & kepe folk in subieccion,
An[d] eke kepe your Roialme in tranquilite,
Restful peas, comfort & feelicite.

Quam turpe est pronunciare aliquod, et opere non complere; & quam pulcrum apparere operibus prius dictis; hec Tholomeus.

Philosophi dixerunt Alexandro imperatori, quomodo in etate tam tenera\(^1\) potuisti, & vt regna perquirere. Respondit: quia reconcilians inimicos amicos feci, & amicis beneficiis satisfeci; hec Tholomeus.

Alexander said
He got his Realms by reconciling his foes, and doing good to his friends.

Yf a Counselor or phisicion
Of a kyng folowe his wille & entente,

\(^1\) MS. teneri.
At al tymes of his direction,
The king is nat suer of goode Aduisement,
Nor of his body helthful amendement.  1020

Therfore thys two personnes haue grete charge
To be trewe & playne to thair king at large.  1022

Decet Regem sua negocia illi committere quem fidem
et sensu probauit; et si talem habere non poterit, qui
cum sapientibus & bonis\(^1\) conversatus est, illi com-
mittat; hec Asseron.

(147)
A king sholde wisely his nedes committen
To hym that he had often approved
In grete witte and wisedam, & hym not remitten
Vnto no folkes to be reproved.
Yf he cannot to suche folk be confourmed,
Than, to suche folk as be conversant
With goode men and wise, to II repugnant.  1029

Qui splendide viuit cu??^Eege
et persistit magni-
fice, Impossibile est in aliquem non conuenire defectum,
propter quod, Regem Sapientem esse oportet vt cum
aliquem audierit de suis contra se commissa delictum.
Hora non transeat quin de veritate aut falsitate constet
eidem. Et similiter de quantitate delicti, & si conscienc-
cia fuerit aut errore commisso, et si condicionis est talis
quod ad illud redeat, vel non indulgendo; hec Asseron-

(148)
Who that is wele cherisshed with a king,
And is with hym grete & splendiferous,
And hathe al thinge at his commaunding,
It is impossible to be laborous
To finde any grete defecte odious.
Therf[o]r[e] a kinge must make provision
To haue lowe men to that entencion.  1036

(149)
A wise king aught to haue trewe knowleging
Of al thinge a-yenste hym conspired,

\(^1\) MS. bonus.
No time should be lost in putting down rebels.

Withoute delaye, not oon hour over passinge,
And that no tyme be loste ne expired,
Of the truthe as it shold be required,
Aftur the quantite and condicion,
Either for peine or remission.

Regi famulantibus expedit suum ostendere virtutem et fidem et nobilitatem generis, vt conscious Rex status et condicionis suus cuimusque ipsorum, cum eis poterit sua promouere negocia, & vt expedite executioni mandari. Et si Rex obedienti & fidei, & e contra de merentibus pro meritis non respondet, vt aliqui ob retributionem suamur, & aliis terrantur acerbitate penarum, nec Rex reputari debet, nec agendorum director; hec Asseron.

(150)

But a kynge rewarde euery man-is trouthe,
And in lyke wise punysshe a trespassoure,
His direccioun ellis were grete Routhe.
To take goode & Il in lyke fanour,
Accordithe not wele to a Gouernour.
So take euery man aftur his deserte,
Either in cherisshinge or in smert.

Qui Regem a fraudem non cripit, & medico vcritatem occultat, et debitum pandere secretum non pandit amico, interimit seipsum; hec Asseron.

(151)

Who that in Il chalengeth not a King,
And hidith to his leche the verite,
And hideth the secretnesse from frende louyng,
He must slee hymselfe, or ellis vnthe.
To be playne & trewe is grete libertee;
For trouthe at longe shal never be shamed,
Though he be other while Iuyl gramed.

Si Rex felix constiterit, sua bene agentur negocia; et si sapiens, sapiencia suo in tempore roboratur; & si vernus, letabitur populus; & si instus, sua regnacio durat; hec Asseron.

1 MS. nor.
III. *Dicta philosophorum.*

(152)

Yf a kyng be\(^1\) blissed, al his neales\[^{1\text{MS. be be}}\] \(1058\) The benefits of a King’s being blessed, wise, true, and just.

Bene done wele to his profitt & honnour;

Yf he be wise, al things spedes;

Yf he be trewe, he is in man-is fauour;

Yf he be iuste, of right a supportour,

His Royalme & Region is durable,

And his direccion commendable.

Plurimum est graue Regnum adquirere, sed est seire grauius conservare; hec Asseron.

(153)

A king, any Region to conquere,

Is right costlowe, harde, painful & greuous;

But to consere a Royalm is me more fere,

And more wisdame & wytt, & more laborous,

Gretter prouision, and more tedious.

Better were a thing never to [be] had,

Than in handes to quaile & to be badde.

Expedit sapienti qui Regi adheret, vt si viderit eum aliquid agere sibi aut Regno aut populo suo nocium, recitare historias & exempla que simili negocio contingunt, vt a tali facto desistat, Eo tamen referat modo quod ille percipiat enunciata pro eo; hec Asseron.

(154)

To a wise man with a kyng is spedeful,

If his kinge do meche derogacion

To hym self, his Roialme or folk vnrightful,

To showe to hym demonstracion

Of Stories exemplificacion

Playnly, that he may vnderstand the blame,

To eschewe of mysgouernance the name.

Bonos honora, ex hoc enim populi optinebis amorem; hec Aristotiles.

(155)

Put you in peine & deuoure euemore

The goode men to honnour & reuereence;

And thatshal encree goodenesse more & more,

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\(^{1}\text{MS. be be}\)

1058 The benefits of a King’s being blessed, wise, true, and just.

1062 If a wise man sees a King do wrong, he must show him, by stories, what harm ‘ll come of it.

1078 Honour good men, and your folk ‘ll love you.
So ye shal gete lounely beneuolence,
And stande in grete loun bi this wise prudence, 1083
Causyng many oon to be vertuous,
Eschewing many a werke vicious. 1085

Bone discrecniounis est, & fortis animi & laudabi[li]s
suidei, qui tolleret adversitates cum venerint; quia qualis
sit homo in prosperitatibus, non probatur; Confortare
igitor ex eo quod frater est tibi, et eo quod dominus te
absolut a pestibus, et que tibi contulit non abneges
dona; hec Aristotiles.

(156)

It is of goode and noble discrecioun, 1086
And of right stronge soule & laudable,
And right of a goode feithful entencioun,
That can suffer aduer[si]lise greueable.
That a man is, he is not prouable
In prosperite, ne in felicite.
So goddes yefte forsaken wol not be.

(157)

Liberalitas est concedere indigenti & merenti iuxta
possibilitatem donantis; quia qui ultra possibilitatem
concedit, liberalis non est, sed vere vastator; et qui non
indigenti concedit, non est acceptus, sed est velud qui
aquam spergit in mari; hec Aristoteles.

Liberalite is a graunt to ned[i]
And to al maner people deseruyng,
After his power there to be redy.
To graunt ouer his power is wastyng.
And who that to [un]ned[y] wolbe graunting,
Is not accepted as for man witty,
As wastyng water in the see, gilty.

Bonitatum Inicia Insipida sunt. Fine tenus vero sunt
Dulcia. & prauitatum principia du[l]cia; fine tenus
vero sunt amara; hec Plato.

(158)

Two thinges haueth alway in mynde,
The begymnyng of goodenesse is bittyr,
The ende is right swete, of natural kynde.
The begynnyng of shrediiesse\(^1\) is swetter,
But the ende is of bitternesse the gretter. \(1104\)

So of goode begynnyng is goode endyng,
And of shreudenesse cometh II concludyng. \(1106\)

Ex consuetundinibus, vnamquamque rem quidam malam reputant, quidam bonam, preter fidelitatem quam reputant omnes bonam; hec Plato.

(159)

Sum men reputen of consuetude

Every thinge goode, & sum Il, by nature.
But every man trouthe for goode wol conclude,
And longest wol laste & eke best indure,
And to every man metest & moost sure;
Therfore kepith euer fidelite,
In eschewyng sclaunderous enormyte. \(1113\)

Bonorum bonitatem inuicem bonos cogit diligere;
malorum tum malicia in alios inuicem cogit odire. Nam videre potes quo
eridicus veridicum diliget, et fidelis fidelem. Mendax vero
abominatur mendacem, et latro latronem capit nullam cum eo, cubiens propter
iniquitatem societatem habere; hec Plato.

(160)

The goodnesse of people\(^2\) compellith
Goode folkes to be [to]gider lovely;
The malice of evil men Rebellith,
And makithe theime to lyve odiously.
Treve men and faithful loue their lyk sadly;
Lyers and theves haten iche other,
And the toon wolde fayne vndoe the tother.

Sis legalis committenti se tibi, & fidelis ci qui tui gerit fiduciam, et eris securus vitandi malum finem; & propter veritatem et legalitatem, honorabunt te tui amici; et propter omittendum quo
d profuit, complebitur tua bonitas; hec Socrates.

(161)

Be laulfal to eueryche man committing
Hym self to you bi any submission,
And be faithful to iche man you trustyng,
And ye shul please god in your direction,
And be suer of billed\(^1\) conclusion.

A[nd] for trouthe a noble legalite,
Of your free[n]des ye shul worshipd be.

Non potes reuocare quod dixisti nec quod fecisti;
ergo providias ante tibi; hec Socrates.

(162)

Suche a man may nat reuoke his saying,
Ner that he hath doon with his honeste;
He hathe grete cause to make prouidyng
Before, while he is at his libert.

For thing doon or saide a-yenst equite,
Purchaseth vilany & dishonoure,
Makyng many a man thersyre to loure.

De tribus quibusdam esse pietas; quorunm unus est
bonus, qui est in Regimine mali et iste est\(^2\) dolorosus
semper super eo quod videt et audit; et alter est sen-
satus gubernatus per prauum, qui semper est in labore
et tristique. Tertius est liberalis, quem oportet petere\(^3\)
ab auaro, quia est in magna angustia; hec Socrates.

(163)

Ther bene thre thinges right meche piteus:

A goode man to be longe in Regiment
Of an II man, whiche is right dolorous;
A wytty man to be in gouvernment
Of a shrewe,\(^4\) disposed to il entente;
A liberal man, of the couetous
To aske often meche money plentuos.

Incedunt male negocia hominum, cum bonum con-
silium fuevit in eo qui non audiatur; & Arma in eo qui
non utitur; & Divicie in eo qui non expendit; hec
Socrates.

(164)

Thre thinges be in a right simpul knot;

First, goode couesil in hym that is not herde;

\(^1\) registered \(^2\) MS. ist. \(^3\) MS. peterere.
\(^4\) A wicked man, not fem. as in the next century.
III. *Dicta philosophorum.*

And armour in hym that vsith it not;
And Richesse in hym that kepith it herde:
Of thes thre thinges ye may be a-ferde,
But ye bestowe theim aftur their nature,
Wisely, manly, and godly in mesure.

Sequaris bona opera, & discerapienciam a melioribus
qui fuerint tuo tempore, vitas laqueum quem mulieres
parent viris, qui est impeditor & disturbator sapiencie,
et facit assequi malum statum; hec Socrates.

(165)

Also I wolde thre thinges ye shul kepe:
Folowe goode werkes, lerne wisdam of the best,
In love of women wade nat over depe;
Thus ye shul kepe you pesebly in rest,
In goode werkes, wisdom, & lif honest,
And come to grete glory and noble fame
Thurgh youre goode liffe & vnblemished name.

Non ponatis dona vestra nisi in locis propriis, quia
plures simplices exhibent non indigentibus, sicut exhi-
bere debere7it indigentibiis; hec Socrates.

(166)

Yeve your yeiftes conueniently
To men nedy & truly deseruyng,
Not scatering your goode rechelesly,
But after merites, withoute wastyng,
Tendryng your folkes in your rewardyng;
Wherof people wol haue Joy & comfort,
And of your high estate make goode report.

Melior est cognicio quam Ignor[na]cia / quia per cog-
nicionem vitat quis cadere in ignem; et per ignoranciam
facit mergere in profundum; hec Omerus.

(167)

Better is goode knowlege than Ignorance.
By knowlege, men eschewe in fire to falle;
By ignorance, men have no wise substance,
From depnes of drownyng helpe to ealle.
So goode & wise knowlege\(^1\) is best of al,

\(^1\) MS. knowlege.
III. *Dicta philosophorum.*

Who that nought knowithe, little can provide,
Nor helpe sike when necessite betide.  

Iste mundus domus est mercacionis; & est infortunatus ille qui recedit ab eo cum perdicione; hec Omerus.  

This world is but an house of merchandise.  
He is unfortunat, that vnwisely
Departith with losse in vntrifty wise,
Sithe he may wynne heuen advisely,
Whiche is the most best merchandise justly.  
Al the merchandise in this world is nough[t],
But at last to heuen he be brought.  

Mansuetudo eloquii auert tedium; hec Omerus.  

A feire speker with swete mansuetude
Refreynethe grete noyes & displeasance,
Where rigorous Speche, vengeable & rude,
Subvertithe al polletique ordenance.
Therfore he that spekith wele in vsance,
Bothe in hym selfe & many other easithe,
And Almyghty Jesu hertly pleasith.  

Non extollat[ur] quis nobilitate habita diuiciis aut
dominio et voluntas dicta et opera equentur; & sic assecurabit deus cum & procedentes ab eo Successores suos; hec hermes.  

Who that wol not exalte hym for Richesse,
Or for grete honnour or dominacion,
And kepe wille, speche & werke in evenesse,
God wol bring hym to exaltacion,
And his Successours by nominacion,
And theim assure in grete nobilitie,
For their goode gouernance & equite.  

Error sapientis est sicut fraccio nauis, quod cum submergitur ipsa, facit submergi multos; hec hermes.  

1 MS. illi.
III. Dicta philosophorum.

(171)
Therror of a wise man is in lykenesse
As brekyng of a Shippe in his drownyng,
Brynging many a man to bitternesse.
So do the wise man grete troble bringing
When he is in error, for men weyng
That a wise man guydeth, & nought eschape,
And al is holden wisdum & no lape.

Prout decet Regiam dignitatem populum sibi commissum esse obedientem ei, sic decet vt sit Rex studiosus circa statum corum prius quam circa statum summ, quia sic est ipse penes eos, sicut anima penes corpus; hec Hermes.

(172)
As it semeth the kinges dignite
To hauve of his people obedience,
Right so is accordynge of equite
That the kinge do daily trewe diligence
To tendre thair astate with his prudence,
Rather than his owne; & euen for why
They bene hym so nygh as sowle & body.

Qui incedit cum mundo secundum sui dispositionem non est requirendus ad danda consilia, quia non dabit nisi arbitrio voluntatis, pro eo quod illius qui non mutatur munium est amor intellectualis, et mutantis cum est Amor voluntarius; hec Socrates.

(173)
A worldly man in disposition,
Folowyng the worldly daily in his mynde,
May not be of faithful entencio
To yeve trewe & iust counsel in his kynde.
For aftur his wille he wol hym selfe finde,
And every thinge determen wilfully,
Aye[n]ste Reason, & eke vnskilfully.

Si volueris quod non erret tuus filius vel servus, Id queres quod est extra naturam; hec Pitagagoras (siv).

ASHBY.
III. Dicta philosophorum.

Don't expect that your son or servant 'll never go wrong.

Yef ye haue in your hert a.volunte
To¹ your sonne or servaunt er not foly,
Ye must be in that liberalite
To seke a thing a-ye[n]st nature truly;
For no man can be se perfite Iustly,
But he is at somme tymse fallible,
And at summe tymse right goode & credible. 1218

Securior est homo ex silencio quam ex multi-loquio, quia per locuciones potest incedi in errores. hoc non contingit scienti quid loquitur, sed ignorans errat qui loqui vult profite aut diminute. Et commodum tacendi est magis commodo loquendi. Et dampnum loquendi magis est damnum tacendi. Et sensatus cognoscitur ex multa taciturnitate, & ignorans ex multa loquacitate. Et qui per se non tacet, cogitatur tacere per alium, & minus appreciabatur. Et qui tacet donec ad loquendum inducatur, est melior eo qui loquitur, donec tacere mandetur, loquio est in posse hominis donec donec (sic) loquitur, & deinde cuadit a posse Ipsius. Et si homo loquitur, cognoscitur si est perfectus aut diminutas; et si tacet, dubitatur qualis sit. Et qui vult loqui, prins consideret aspiciat suum verbum; quia melius est quod ipse suspiciat quam alter. Et eloquium tuum audietur, ergo nitaris recte pronunciare, aut taceas. Et qui tacet, scrutatur eloquia aliorum. Et qui dolet, ex eloquio assecuratur, quod sit percussus; hec Socrates.

To profit, to be stille is more profit
Thanne to speke; & harme to speke more damage
Thanne te be stille, & grettir discomfit.
To speke litil, is knowen a man sage;
To speke meche, is knowen a man in Rage. 1223
Whan a man spekith, his wit is knowen,
To be stille, doubt is how it² shal be blowen.

Utere bonis moribus & diligeris, et licet sis turpis, pulcritudo morum superabat sanctificationem² figurarum. Hec Socrates.

¹ MS. is it. ² MS. sanctificationem. ³ MS. sanctificatione.
Man vsing goode maners, shal be Loued
Amonges goode men & honourable;
And thauyli be foule and diffigured (sic),
The beaute of his maners commendable
Shal overcome al other Reproneable.
And his figure in Recommendacion
Shal be had, and in Laudacion.

Qui amore mundi suam animam replet, tribus replet
cam, scilicet, paupertate quam nunquam vitabit, vt di-
nicias contingat; & fiducia, que nunquam peruenit ad
finem; et impedimento¹ sine expeditione. Hec Soerates.

Who that wolbe worldly, & it lounyge,
Thre defaultes he shal haue euermore:
In grete pouerte, for Riches sekyng;
In truste, whiche shal neuer come to end therf[or]e;
And in gre[t] impediment more & more,
Whiche shal neuer haue expedition.
This is sothe, with-oute any question.

Non est paciens qui tam gravatus est quam tollerare
potuit, & sustinuit illud; sed ille qui gravatus est
ultra possibilitatem sui nature, et sustinuit illud; hec
Pitagoras.

Thus ye shal knowe a man in pacience,
Dat is greued ayenst possibilite
Of nature, and it sufferith with prudence.
But he that is greued in aduersite,
And may wele bere it in his freilte,
In no wise may be clept pacient
By this descriptioณ or Jugement.

Non quiescatis vestris operibus in optimendis magnis
delectacionibus, quia sustinere non poteris aduersitatem
cum venterint; hec Pitagoras.

¹ MS. impedimentum.
III. *Dicta philosophorum.*

(179)

Don't live luxuriously, or you'll not be able to bear adversity.

Kepe neuer your body delectably, Not in softe lyinge, ne delicacye, For ye may nat suffre reasonably Aduersite, ne it fortifie, Ner in no manner wise it justifie. Therfore be nat meche ouer curious In delicacie, ne delicious.

Don't live luxuriously, or you'll not be able to bear adversity.

Adquesce tuis auribus, nam propter ea, Habuisti duas aures, & os vnnum, vt plus audias quom loquaris; hec Diogenes.

(180)

You have 2 ears and 1 mouth, that you may listen, and not talk too much.

Every man hathe oon Mouthe & two cres, To thentente that he sholde here more\(^{1}\) thanne speke. To speke meche, many people-is deres; To here many things, & to be meke, Right meche wisdam & wertue it dothe seke. So, in litil speche & right meche heryn, Many grete vertues is conquering.

Non confidas in mundolo, quia numquam soluit quod promissit predecessoribus; & idem faciet tibi. Hec Socrates.

(181)

Trust not in the World, for it does not fulfil its promise.

Lete never\(^{2}\) man putte in ful confidence In the world, for he maketh no p[ay]ment Of his promisse, but so in negligence

[MS. imperfect.]

\(^{1}\) MS. more more. \(^{2}\) MS. nerver.
a, a. 21/258, one
abydy, v.i. 17/145, abide
Active Policy of a Prince, p. 12—41
advisinesse, 17/137, 31/577, due consideration
alther, our, 8/229, 16/119, of us all and, conj. 54/268, if
antiquaile, n. 75/724, oldness, age
appliable, a. 24/367, 28/474, 87/984, attentive, submissive
aprent, v.t. II/329, assign, impute
asliby, George, put into the Fleet Prison, 1/8; plunderd, I/20-1; his name, 2/29; at Henry VI’s court, 3/58; Writer to the Signet, 3/64; his ‘Reflections’ written in prison, a.d. 1463, II/337-8; prays God for help, his English is so bad, p. 14
ass-head, n. 30/564, stupid
associe, v.t. 72/645, associate
assurance, n. 44/40, 48/130, security
awaken, p.pl. 20/234, kept alive?
awakyn, v.i. 1/19, pounce
bad, a. 3/77, destitute, poor
be for but, conj. 38/590
bear the bell, 33/645
benevolence, n. 36/738, good will
bill of complaint, 31/577
billed, a. 94/1129, registered
blabber, n. 77/772, teller of secrets
blabbyng, n. 32/624
blessedly, adv. 79/795
blondryng, pl. 14/26, blundering
blustering, pl. 1/3
blyyn, v.i. 8/235, cease
bringing-up, n. 2/22, 79/809, nurture
butts for archery; every town to have, 31/572
buxom, a. 41/899, obedient
castigation, n. 12/347
cast me, vb. 4/96, design
censuytye, 6/171, sensuality
change of high estates, 18/169
chargeable, a. 27/455, responsible
Chaucer, 13/1
childred = children, 71/631
clarified (metal), p.pl. 5/142; (from sin), 8/234
cloth-making needs revival, 29/527
coarted, 64/482, forst
commonalty not to be trusted, 40/870
complacence, n. 27/453, gratification
conable, a. 82/881, fit, proper
conceite, n. 36/737, favour
confidende for confidence, n. 68/582
conectour, n. 34/673, contriver
constance, n. 34/676, constancy
consuetude, n. 52/482, forst
commonalty not to be trusted, 40/870
cronicle, i.p. and n. 18/151, 155, 25/392; 26/437
crook, n. 26/407, trick
delate, 14/54, dilate, spin out
demert, demeryt, n. 5/121, 136, demerit
departith, v.t. 29/514, separates
dependour, n. 78/791, dependence, want
dere, n. 14/49, injury
deres, v.i. 100/1256, injures
derogacion, n. 91/1073
desert, n. 5/123, deserving
despeccion, 78/782, contempt
devoid, v.t. 19/191, slunt, dismiss
deynous, a. 39/813, disdainful

Dicta Philosophorum, p. 42—100
dilapidation, n. 23/316
disclaundre, v.t. 27/438, disrepute
discuss, v.t. 2/28, beat out, search out
disguised, a. 39/843, hypocritical

displeasure, a. 49/135

disseuere, v.t. 53/244, dissec, separate

dissever, v.t. 22/292, separate

dissimile, v.t. 51/183, dissemble
doer, good, 48/128, benefactor
doon-to, p.pl. 48/131, treated
draught, n. 2/22, 28/471, education
dronklowe, a. 72/646, drunken
dronkship, n. 59/373, drunkenness

dud, v.t. 18/157, dudde, pl. 19/210, did
due, a. 25/393, rightful
dysease, n. 2/34, 6/149, mishap, ill

dyseasyd, p.t. 3/31, troubled, injured

Edward IV, 16/92
egression, n. 13/16, exit, death
elevate, a. 18/164, exalted

einhaunced, p.pl. 40/891, 55/284, 58/339, exalted

english, n. 13/3, 5, E. language

—, v.t. 13/21, 14/37, translate into E.
etremete, v.t. 16/107, intermeddle

equivolent, a. 33/657, of equal force

erudicion, a. 48/129, doctrine

exaltatat, v.t. 32/614, exalt, glorify
executor, n. 22/303, performer, carrier out

exemplification, n. 91/1076
exorn, v.t. 86/953, adorn

fair wife, a. 6/167
falseness, a. 19/200
felle, a. 64/487, cruelty
fere, v.t. 49/140, frighten
fernein, a. 66/529, fervent, burning
fitting, a. 59/361, suitable
Fleet Prison, 1/8
foolship, n. 49/149, 52/225, folly
formacion, 13, 5, making, writing
formal, a. 29/321, due
fresh, a. 39/843, frank

frivolly, adv. 31/581, frivolously

geasen, n. 85/943, scarcity
Gloucester, Humfrey, Duke of, 3/61
go where he go, 19/201
God's law and will, 20/239, 240
Gower, 13/1

grauntynge, n. 35/724, giving, bestowing
gre, n. 9/252, 10/279, ease, pleasure

greable, adj. 4/104, agreeable, pleasing

gregueable, a. 92/1089, grievous, painful

grogynge, a. 6/154, grudging, guiding, n. 37/775, 39/330, 51/177, 71/644

handlyng, n. 2/25, hands
Henry VI and his Queen, 3/60, 16/94/5

hynde, v.t. 57/329, hinder

ie, n. 39/857, eye
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