A CRITICAL EDITION:

POEMS BY THOMAS HOCCLEVE

in HM 744

(formerly the Ashburnham MS)

a MS in

The Huntington Library
San Marino, California

by

WILLIAM ROBERT TREMAINE

B.A., University of Western Ontario, 1961

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF

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We accept this thesis as conforming to the
required standard

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

April, 1968
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Department of English

The University of British Columbia
Vancouver 8, Canada

Date 26 April 1968
Frontispiece: f. 37r.
ABSTRACT

Of the minor poets of the 15th century, those who claimed Chaucer as their teacher and their master, Thomas Hoccleve is perhaps one of the most interesting, not because of his abilities as a poet, which were in the main mediocre, but for the vivid picture he gives us of his own life and times. Hoccleve spent all his working life as a scribe in the office of the Privy Seal. In the introductory pages of this edition, Hoccleve's life and works are discussed at length, and some conjecturing is done as to his relation with Chaucer, of whom Hoccleve claimed to be a willing, if somewhat dull student who "lerned lite or naght."

His poetry is put in its historical setting, and his borrowings from Chaucer in literary forms and subject matter are discussed. His borrowings from Chaucer were extensive, but his imitation of the master is mechanical, and usually uninspired. We are, however, indebted to Hoccleve for having had a portrait of Chaucer painted and inserted in the margin of his own Regement of Princes. The authenticity of the portraits is discussed in the introductory pages.

In language, of which there is a brief consideration given, Hoccleve was an East-Midlander. His dialect has many similarities to that of Chaucer, and of the London area as a whole. The MSS of Hoccleve's poetry which have come down are all quite consistent in
dialect features, which has led to it being postulated that the MSS were all written, or copied by the same man, and that that man was Hoccleve. An examination here tends to support the argument that the MSS were written by the same person, but whether or not that man was Hoccleve is beyond the scope of consideration for this paper.

The MS HM 744, from the Huntington Library in San Marino, California, has never been edited in full before. The transcription given in this edition includes all of the Hoccleve poetry from HM 744. The last poem, Lerne to Dye, is incomplete in the MS. It lacks some 300 lines of poetry, and two pages of prose. This lack has been made up from a different edition of the poem, in order that the reader may have a full copy of the work at his disposal. A section of explanatory notes on the poetry, a glossary and an extensive bibliography of Hoccleve material complete the critical apparatus.
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This is the first complete edition of the Hoccleve poetry in HM 744, formerly the Ashburnham MS. Israel Gollancz's edition of 1925 does not include the 672 lines of *Lerne to Dye*, which is the last poem in the MS. He did not transcribe these lines because the whole of the poem had already been printed from another MS by F. J. Furnivall.

There is comparatively little secondary source material on Thomas Hoccleve. The bibliography included here is virtually exhaustive in its listing of articles and books on Hoccleve. The main sources for information about Hoccleve are his own poems. Much of his writing is autobiographical, and the clarity with which he examines his own character, and the honesty with which he faces his own shortcomings and failures, have a definite ring of truth. Whatever documentation is available (Furnivall prints a number of documents concerning Hoccleve in his edition of *Minor Poems,* ) it supports Hoccleve's statements. There can be little doubt, then, that the facts about himself which the poet sets before us are in the main true. It is difficult to imagine that he would offer such a consistently unflattering portrait of himself, throughout over twenty years of poetry, without there being a good deal of truth to it. In the biography section, below, I have taken the essential facts of Hoccleve's life from the poetry, and, where I have been able to do so, I have consulted available secondary sources to build up a coherent and consistent picture of the life he led.
For this edition, I have attempted to render the written script of the MS as closely as possible in type. The accommodations I have made to this end are discussed in the section "A Note on Editing." Textual Notes and a glossary follow the transcript of the MS.

To present the reader with a coherent copy of the final poem of the MS, which is incomplete in HM 744, I have transcribed the remainder of the poem and the closing prose section, which follows line 672 of this MS, from F. J. Furnivall's edition of the Durham MS in Minor Poems.

Finally, I should like to offer my thanks to Miss Jean Preston of the MS Department of the Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California, for providing me with the photo-copy of the MS, and a written description of the MS, which I have printed below. Also, I must thank Professor Meredith Thompson, of the Department of English, University of British Columbia, for his patient assistance as my adviser in the production of this edition, over so long a period of time.
FOOTNOTES

Abbreviations used in this edition.

1. Abbreviations for Hoccleve's major works:

<table>
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<td>Dialog</td>
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<td>EC</td>
<td>Epistle of Cupid</td>
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<td>MR</td>
<td>La Male Regle de Th. Hoccleve</td>
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<td>Regement</td>
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2. General abbreviations:

<table>
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<tr>
<td>EETS, es</td>
<td>Early English Text Society, Extra Series.</td>
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<tr>
<td>EETS, os</td>
<td>Early English Text Society, Original Series.</td>
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<td>MLN</td>
<td>Modern Language Notes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MLR</td>
<td>Modern Language Review</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MP</td>
<td>Modern Philology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NQ</td>
<td>Notes and Queries</td>
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<tr>
<td>PMLA</td>
<td>Publications of the Modern Language Association</td>
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<tr>
<td>Spec.</td>
<td>Speculum</td>
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<tr>
<td>TLS</td>
<td>Times Literary Supplement</td>
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<tr>
<td>UTSE</td>
<td>University of Texas Studies in English.</td>
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A Chronology of the life of Th. Hoccleve

1368-9 Hoccleve born, perhaps in the village of Hockcliffe, Bedfordshire.

Trained for priesthood or law.

1387-8 Enters Privy Seal as Clerk.

1395 (17 Rich. II) granted a corrody at Hayling; ten pounds p.a. In I Henry IV he disposes of it (1399). Also listed as receiving 1/2 share of 40 pounds worth of outlaws goods.

1399 12 November. Ten pound annuity granted for life, or until such time as he should receive a benefice worth 20 pounds p.a.

1400 Chaucer dies. 25 October.

1402 Lepistre de Cupid.

1406 La Male Regle de Th. Hoccleve.

1409 Surrenders 10 pound annuity for a new grant of 13 pounds 6 shillings 8 pence p.a.

1411 Hoccleve marries, after waiting long for a preferrment which never came.

1411-12 Regement of Princes.

1415 Poem against Oldcastle.

1416-17 Hoccleve goes mad. Loses his memory for a time. The distress lasts intermittently until 1421-22. This is the period of his greatest financial distress as well.

1421-22 Complaint and Dialog with a Friend.

1422 Lerne to Dye.

1424 4 July. Corrody granted at Southwick, Hampshire.

1436 Hoccleve dies in late spring or summer.
Hoccleve's Life

1. Date of birth and early years.

Of age am I fifty winter and thre.

So says Thomas Hoccleve in his Dialog with a Friend. In the same poem he refers to

...my lord bat now is lieutenant,
My lord of Gloucestre....

Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, brother of Henry V, was lord-lieutenant of England from June 1421, when Henry returned to France for the last time, until the king's death at Vincennes on 31 August, 1422. The poem was written during this space of time, then, and Hoccleve's birth year can be taken as 1368 or 1369.

Furnivall, in his edition of *Minor Poems*, quotes R. E. G. Kirk, and says that Hoccleve got his name most probably from the village of Hockcliffe in Bedfordshire. But the poet is a Londoner through and through. Furnivall says of him later: "There is so little of the country in Hoccleve's works that he was no doubt a cockney." None of his imagery goes out into the sun and air. He talks little of other areas than those in close compass to the Strand, where he had rooms, and the office of the Privy Seal, where he worked for so long.

Between his birth and the time he is first mentioned in public records, about 1387 or 1388, nothing is known of Hoccleve. We may surmise with a fair degree of certainty, and with the support of one
or two statements from his poems, that he was reasonably well-educated.
To be a scribe in the office of the Privy Seal would require a knowledge
of French and Latin -- a knowledge Hoccleve exhibits. He was, says
Miss Lucy Toulmin Smith, "like Chaucer, probably bred to the law." She
bases her judgement on the fact that Hoccleve lived at Chesters Inn in
the Strand, as he tells us himself at line 5 in the Regement of Princes.
Chesters Inn was one of the inns of Chancery, where young men were
trained to the law. On the other hand, Furnivall thinks that the poet
was raised to be a priest. Hoccleve himself supports Furnivall:

I whilom thoght have been a preest

The fact that Hoccleve received two corrodies, or pensions paid from
parishes, adds further strength to Furnivall's argument. In any event,
his position as a scribe was probably achieved under the patronage of
someone of influence, as was his receipt of his first corrody in 1395.

In 1387 or 1388 Hoccleve entered the Office of the Privy
Seal as a scribe. In Regement he says

In the office of the prive-seal I wone;
To write there is my custume and wone
Unto the seel, and have twenty yere
And foure, come Estren, and that is nere.

Regement was translated for Henry, Prince of Wales, in 1411 or 1412, just
before his accession on 21 March, 1412. Subtraction gives us the rough
date of 1387 or 1388. Hoccleve was 19 or 20. The dates coincide with the
first mention of Hoccleve in the public records. Furnivall quotes from
Privy Council Proceedings and Ordinances, 1386-1400 (ed. Nicholas, 1834,
vol. I, 88), where Hoccleve is named with three others as "clers en l'offise du prive seal." Because Hoccleve is mentioned in the same document with Sir John Clanvowe, who died before the end of April, 1390, the date of the document can be established as between 1386 and 1390.8

Hoccleve must, at the beginning of his career, have had some patron to look after his interests. Who, of the many he had during his lifetime, cannot be determined. But it must have been an important person, for in 1395 (17 Richard II) he received a corrody at Hayling.9 In the same year he is listed with three friends as being in receipt of 1/2 share of forty pounds worth of outlaws goods.10

But Richard was not to be long on the throne; and, whoever this early patron was, there seems to have been a later falling from favour. Hoccleve resigned the corrody at Hayling in 1399, as soon as Henry IV came to the throne -- the resignation was undoubtedly a demonstration of trust in and loyalty to the new king. It seems to have been an effective demonstration, for in the first six weeks of Henry's reign Hoccleve was granted his first annuity (on 12 November, 1399). The grant was ten pounds per annum for life, or until such time as Hoccleve was granted a benefice paying twenty pounds. Furnivall prints a transcript of the document ordering this grant.11

Hoccleve was always to have some trouble collecting the money due him from this grant, and from a subsequent grant given on 17 May, 1409, which raised his annuity to thirteen pounds, six shillings, eight pence. The financial worry later contributed to his physical and mental breakdown.
2. His life prior to 1412.

Saintsbury says of Hoccleve that "...his autobiographical confidences make him a sort of English, and crimeless Villon." From his earliest days at the Privy Seal Hoccleve enjoyed the high life. He tells us, in *La Male Regle de Th. Hoccleve*, writing about 1406, that for

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.XX. ti wyntir past continuellly
Excesse at borde hath leyd his knyf with me.
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He was a member of a dining club in the Temple. One of his jocular poems to Sir Henry Somer, in the Phillipps MS (now HMLl1), is evidence of both his membership in the club, and of his life as a *bon vivant*. The dedicatory lines of the poem identify the club as "La Court de bone compaignie." And his poetry is full of passages decrying his excesses.

He drank too much, he tells us first in *La Male Regle*:

```
The outward signe of Bachus and his lure,
bat his dore hangith day by day,
Excitith folk to taaste of his moisture
So often bat a man can nat seyn nay.
For me, I seye, I was enclyned ay
Withouten daunger thidir for to hye me.
```

He chased the girls:

```
I dar nat telle how bat the fresshe repeir
of venus femel lusty children deere
...
At Poules Heed me maden ofte appeere
To talke of mirthe & to disporte & pleye.
```
Indeed, among the taverners and those who might feed other of his desires, who was better known:

Wher was a gretter maister eek than y,
Or bet aqweyntid at Westmynstre yate,
Among the tauerneres namely,
And Cookes, when I cam eerly or late?\(^{17}\)

He was a spendthrift, and vain too, as he explains in the passage in *La Male Regle* about the boatmen. When he came to the waterside they would vie with one another in praising him, calling him "maister Hoccleve." They pleased his vanity, and he paid them over-well:

For riot paieth largely euermo,
He styntity neuere til his purs be bare.\(^{18}\)

Intemperate and vain, Hoccleve was also somewhat faint-hearted. He tells us in *La Male Regle* that he was shy, and though he liked the company of the girls at Paul's Head Tavern, "of loues aart yit touchid I no deel." And he was fearful of fighting: "I was so ferd with any man to fighte,/ Cloos kepte I me."

The self-portrait that emerges from Hoccleve's autobiographical passages is consistent. Vain he may be; prodigal he may be; somewhat cowardly he may be; but he is totally human. He is an ordinary man gifted with some small ability to tell of himself and his time. This he does with a candid vitality. Eleanor Prescott Hammond puts it best when she says of him, "in studying Hoccleve we study someone who was very little of a writer, but a good deal of a man."\(^{19}\)
3. His marriage and changes in his character.

He lived his riotous life while he waited for a benefice; but none came.

"By proces" indicates that it was just a matter of course that he should marry. It suggests that Hoccleve came to it as a drifter. The rakehell of his younger days still found that it irked him to be married: "to bynde me where I was at my large," but slowly, resignedly, by default almost, he took on the responsibility of it.

He may have married a shrew. In the Dialog with a Friend, when the friend asks, "Thomas, how is it twixt thee and thy feere?" there is some suggestion that all is not, or has not been well, for Hoccleve answers

...What list yow ther-of heere? 
My wyf miget haue hokir and greet desdyn 
If I shold in swich cas pleye and soleyn.21

Yet in his later life, when his health had failed him, there is also the suggestion that she was good to him. In Jereslaus' Wife, in the Minor Poems, Hoccleve says
In (al) the world so louynge tendrenesse  
Is noon as is the loue of a womman  
To hir chyld namely & as I gesse  
To hire housbonde also, wher-of witnesse  
We weddid men may bere if pat us lyke  
And so byhoueth a thank us to pyke.  

There is little more in his poetry to show us his wife, and there is no mention at all of children. But the effect his marriage seems to have had on his poetry is marked.

Before his marriage about 1412, he is the gay member of a Temple dining club, a would-be rake, and a certain spendthrift. His poetry reflects this. When he is upbraiding himself for his excesses, and swearing he will change (he swears he will change in two separate poems written about six years apart), there is still a wistfulness in the detail of the telling. His most vivid passages are those in which he describes the very excesses he wishes to eschew. After 1412, however, he changes abruptly. He writes the Regement of Princes for Henry V, in which he resolves to reform again. He follows this with the Complaint of the Virgin before the cross. Some of the religious verse at the beginning of the Hoccleve section of HM 744 is written about this time. In 1415 he writes his poem Against Oldcastle, in which he attacks the heretic who earlier had been a patron. The attack suggests some deep seated fears may have been plaguing Hoccleve; some deep felt guilts which make his religious poems, conventional though they may be, so powerful in their statement of his own sincere sense of sin. His fears may have arisen from his constant living on the edge of penury with prison not far off. The sense of responsibility brought on at his
marriage, and the realization that he might not be able to live up to it, would add to the unease. And finally the heresy of Oldcastle, a former patron, and his later execution might have driven Hoccleve frantic lest he be considered to be in league with the heretic. Whatever the reasons for the change, it can be dated fairly accurately. The man-about-town became the sombre moralist. And as the pressures increased the sombre moralist broke down.

4. His patrons and his money problems.

Hoccleve had many patrons. Furnivall lists Henry IV, Henry V, Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, Edward Duke of York, the Duchess of York, the Duke of Bedford, John of Gaunt, the Lord Chancellor, Sir Henry Somer, the Countess of Westmorland, Lady Hereford, Robert Chichele, Sir John Oldcastle (before his heresy), and Maister Carpenter, town clerk of London. Many of the patrons are named for one extant poem only, indicating that Hoccleve may have been "trying them on" as patrons, attempting to get money from them at least once, with a view to establishing it on a regular basis. At least one of his patrons, Maister Carpenter, is named in the dedicatory line of a poem only after a previous name has been scratched out. To some few he sent more than one poem: Henry V and Sir Henry Somer, for example; but most often he approaches a patron only once. If what he tells us about himself is true, he may have lacked the necessary charm and social grace to gain continued patronage. Too, his abilities as a poet were mainly mediocre.
Hoccleve's inability to get continuing patronage, and his spendthrift attitude and considerable vanity, left him from an early date on the brink of penury. When his annuities get into arrears about 1413 or 1414, he is frightened that he may go to prison for debt:

...but the flood of your rial largesse
Flowe vp on vs gold hath in swich hate
...the scantnesse
Wole arte us three to trotte vn-to Newgate.25

This fear is almost certainly one of the contributing factors in his later madness.

All but a few of his poems have patrons named in dedicatory lines, and presumably were composed for some money consideration. Some, such as the example quoted above, ask directly for assistance. Others avoid the direct request: for example the humorous roundels in HM 744, in which the poet bemoans his poor condition, and in which a personified "Lady Money" upbraids him for his wastefulness. Other groups of poems rely on flattery of the patron to achieve their end. Examples of this latter type might be the poem to "Meistre H. Somer," or the one "mys en le livre...de Duc de Bedford," in which he praises Bedford as the "rial egles excellence," and characterizes himself as a "humble cler."26

But, patronage was never consistent. In his Complaint27 Hoccleve cries that his prosperity and good fortune have long since deserted him.
Written in his old age, the Complaint makes it clear that the poet feels as if everyone were out to cheat him of what little money he may have left. At this time he has already been through the period of his madness. The number of references to money in these post-madness poems, Dialog with a friend and Complaint, are many. The fact that the references are often irrelevant to the rest of the poem shows how much the problem plagued him. Lack of continuing patronage, coupled with the prodigality of his youth would have meant, as he grew older, that he could no longer fool himself into believing himself to be a gentleman forever. And, with Newgate a threat, it is little wonder that he lost control.

5. Hoccleve's Madness

Some time in 1416 Hoccleve went mad for a time. He lost his memory when he was struck with a "wylde infirmytie." His memory came back, he tells us when he writes his Complaint, five years ago at "all halwe messe." But he found that all his friends had deserted him: "with me to deale hadden they no dysdayne." He apparently shut himself away, and went only irregularly to the Privy Seal. Several times his clerk, John Welde, is shown to have collected money owing to Hoccleve, which would indicate, perhaps, that Hoccleve was incapacitated.

The date of his madness can be fairly accurately determined. As was shown in the discussion of Hoccleve's date of birth and early
years, the date of the Dialog with a friend and the Complaint, which is connected to the former poem, can be set after June of 1421, because of the reference to Gloucester as "Lord Lieutenant." The five years from "all halwe messe" of 1421 would give 1416 as the probable date for his madness. It is interesting to note that Hoccleve documents printed by Furnivall show that his financial distress reached a peak about this time. And finally, it is the period of Oldcastle's escape from the Tower, and his condemnation. (Oldcastle is captured and executed a year later). As has been pointed out before, Hoccleve's connection with Oldcastle may have caused him some worry when his former patron became an avowed and condemned heretic.

There is one further suggestion as to the cause of Hoccleve's madness. In the Complaint there is a vivid stanza on drunkenness which mimics closely the symptoms of madness that the poet has earlier described:

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

Right so thowghe my witt were a pilgrime,
and went(e) fer fro home, he cam agayne.33

It is not too far fetched to conclude that drunkenness may have been a contributing cause to his "loss of memory." The past record of carousing, which he admits in earlier poems would support this possibility.
6. His later years, and his Last Poems.

After his madness, Hoccleve shut himself up for long periods of time. His friend in the Dialog rides him because the poet has not been seen about for almost three months. And Hoccleve admits too that he avoided people for fear that they would ridicule him as they had done soon after his recovery from his madness. Now, however, after long inactivity, Hoccleve tells us he wants to write some more poetry. He is anxious to right the wrongs he had done to women in the writing of his Epistre de Cupid so long ago. His friend chides him to it:

Thow woost wel on wommen, greet wyt & lak
Ofte haast thow put; be waar lest thow be qwit.34

So he translates two tales from the Gesta Romanorum, which are included in the Durham MS. These tales are Jereslaus' Wife, and the Tale of Jonathas and Fellicula.35

Finally, he says he will translate the Scite Mori, part of the Horologium of Henry Suso, a fourteenth century German mystic. He tells his friend that he has seen a Latin treatise:

in latyn have I sene a small tretis(e)  
whiche 'lerne for to dye' I-callyd is  
...  
And that have I purposed to translate.36

When the translation is finished, Hoccleve goes on to tell his friend, "I nevar thinke / more in englyshe aftar be occupied." I will write no more. He translates Lerne to Dye in 1422 or 1423, and, apparently true to his word, he writes no more.
By this time he is ageing, short sighted, and in ill health. He only waits for some pension. At last on 4 July, 1424, it comes. He is granted

...sustenance yearly, during his life, in the priory of Southwick, Hampshire, as had been held previously by Nicholas Mokkynge, late master of St. Lawrence in the Poultry. 37

Perhaps his last years were reasonably secure with the income from the corrody at Southwick. So we may hope.

7. The date of his Death.

Until recently Hoccleve was assumed to have died at a very old age -- in his eighties -- about 1450. This date was established on the basis of a poem "To my Gracious Lord of York," 38 in which Hoccleve makes mention of Prince Edward. The Edward referred to was assumed to be the young Prince Edward, son of Richard, Duke of York. This Edward was born in 1442. Because the prince's tutor, a "Maister Picard," is mentioned, it was further assumed that the prince would have to have been at least six years old. Consequently the date for the poem was set at 1448 to 1450, and Hoccleve's death, for the purposes of neatness, was assumed to have occurred soon after. The gap between Hoccleve's last poem in 1421 or 1422, and 1448, was such as to raise some doubts, but no evidence for Hoccleve's death could be found, and the matter had to stand there.
In 1937 H. C. Shulz took up the matter of this late poem and the date of Hoccleve's death. He concluded that the poem to "My Lord of York" was written to Edward, Duke of York and son of Edmund Plantagenet, who held the title from 1402 to his death in France in 1415. Such a conclusion, Shulz claimed, was more in keeping with the paleographical evidence which indicated that the Phillipps MS, in which the poem is found, was all copied about the same time. Yet no proof for a date of Hoccleve's death was found to substantiate Shulz' claim that Hoccleve probably died about 1430.

In 1951, however, reasonably firm evidence was discovered. H. S. Bennett, writing in the Times Literary Supplement, indicated that he had established almost certainly that Hoccleve died in 1437, and probably the summer of that year.

The Calendar of Close Rolls (C.C.R.) for 1435 to 1441, says Bennett, shows that on 18 August, 1437, a corrody was given to Alice Penforde and Thomas Baker, to be held at the Priory of Southwick, Hampshire. This is the same Priory to which Hoccleve had previously been given a corrody on 4 July, 1424.

Bennett makes it clear that Hoccleve did not hold a corrody there concurrent with Penforde and Baker. After examining the Calendar of Patent Rolls for the Priory in question, Bennett found that in October of 1336 a judgement was passed limiting Southwick to only one corrodian. There is no further record that this was changed, and there is no reason to assume that Hoccleve held the corrody concurrently with the people mentioned in the C.C.R. for 1435 - 1441. Therefore, Bennett
argues, we can assume that Hoccleve died, leaving the corrody vacant, not later than the summer of 1437.

He was 68 or 69. The Ballad "To my Lord of York" can now be established as having been written in the period 1402 to 1415, in accordance with the paleographical evidence Shulz brought forward earlier. And we can establish more than just a likelihood that Hoccleve's last poem was Lerne to Dye, written about 1422.
FOOTNOTES

1. F. J. Furnivall, ed., The Minor Poems of Thomas Hoccleve, EETS, es, 61 (London: 1892). The two quotations are from lines 246, and 533-4. Further references to this edition will be referred to simply as Minor Poems.


6. F. J. Furnivall, ed., The Regement of Princes, EETS, es, 72 (1897). The quotation is from lines 802-05. The work will be referred to hereafter simply as Regment.

7. Minor Poems, x.

8. Ibid.


10. Ibid.


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<td>Minor Poems, Balad to Somer is at page 59; ballad to Bedford at 56.</td>
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35. In Minor Poems, 140, and 215, respectively.


38. Minor Poems, 49.


Hoccleve's Knowledge of Chaucer

If our only interest in Hoccleve were in his poetry, any mention of him might long ago have ceased. But in Regement of Princes, the beggar says to the poet:

\[
\text{bou were aqueynted with Chaucer pardee;  
God saue his soule, best of any wyght.}^1
\]

Our interest quickens. Hoccleve has in his poetry several stanzas expressing grief at Chaucer's death. As the fifteenth century wears on almost every poet offers some lines expressing grief at the death of Chaucer, and claiming acquaintance with him. But, of them all, Hoccleve's claim is the most likely to be valid. The Privy Seal Office was nearly opposite Chaucer's house on the site of Henry VII's Chapel in the Abbey. This must have ensured that Hoccleve would see Chaucer, at the least, from time to time.\(^2\)

Hoccleve claims Chaucer was his teacher, and he a willing, if somewhat dull student:

\[
\text{My dere maistir -- God his soule quyte! --  
And fadir Chaucer, fayn wolde han me taght,  
But I was dul, and lerned lite or naght.}^3
\]

There is a certain genuine ring to these lines, if only in the confession that Hoccleve lacked the wit to learn much from Chaucer. The claim of tutelage is probably poetic licence, but the sincerity of the grief is real enough.
But welaway, is is myn hert(e) wo,
That be honour of the Englyssh tonge is deed
Of which I wont han conseil and reed. 

Alias! my worthi maister honorable
This landes verry tresor and richesse!
Dethe, by thi deth hath harme irreparable
Vnto vs doon....

(Death) mighte han taryed hir vengeance a while
Til that some man had egal to the be.
Nay, lat be þat! sche knew wel þat þis yle
May never man forth brynge lyk to the.

He could have known Chaucer. Of all the followers, the likelihood is strongest with Hoccleve.

Hoccleve's poetry imitates many of Chaucer's verse forms and subject matter. He even mimics Chaucer's ironic style in *Lepistre de Cupid*, which is transcribed in the edition of the MS HM 744, below. Hoccleve's copying of verse forms and subject matter is discussed at greater length in the section on poetry, verse forms and prosody.

Furnivall thinks that because Hoccleve refers so graphically to Chaucer's death bed in *Regement*: "þi bed mortel," he calls it at line 1966, that Hoccleve may have been with Chaucer when he died, or at least with him during his last days. There is no direct evidence to support this, but the fact that Hoccleve's place of work was so close to Chaucer's house makes it possible. He may indeed be the student he claimed to be.
The Chaucer Portraits

Because of his love for and his imitation of Chaucer, we are indebted to Hoccleve; but our indebtedness goes further, for Hoccleve has left us two portraits of Chaucer. They are included in two copies of the *Regement of Princes*: Harleian MS 4866, and Royal MS 17, D. vi. This is the ultimate tribute of the student; drawings prompted by a genuine reverence and respect; prompted by a desire to keep Chaucer alive in everyone's mind. He says:

\[
\text{Albough his lyfe be queynt, be resemblaunce} \\
\text{Of him hæp in me so fressh lyflynesse,} \\
\text{bat to putte othir men in remembraunce} \\
\text{Of his persone, I haue heere his lyknesse} \\
\text{Do make, to þis ende, in sothfastnesse,} \\
\text{bat þei þat haue of him lest bought & mynde,} \\
\text{By þis peynture may ageyn him fynde.}^{8}
\]

The expression "do make" indicates that Hoccleve is not claiming to have done the paintings himself. Rather he is telling us that he caused them to be done, or had them done for the reason given in the stanza quoted. M. H. Spielman thinks that it was probably an illuminator-artist at the Privy Seal, who was commissioned to do them. The portraits are similar, as can be seen by examining the reproductions which Spielman prints, but the best of the two is the 3/4 length portrait in the Harleian MS 4866. The other portrait is full length, but not as well executed. The line is rough and hurried in it, though it does bear a reasonable similarity to the 3/4 length painting.\(^9\) The 3/4 length painting, says Spielman, is the one considered most
trustworthy, even though it is admittedly a painting from memory. The other, full length painting, despite resemblances to the first, is amateurish, and may have been done much later than the copying of the MS.

Of the Chaucer portraits which have come down, Hoccleve's portraits are now believed to be closest in time to Chaucer himself. Two other portraits, the Fairfax Murray, or Seddon portrait, and the portrait in the BM Additional MS 5147, were thought to be contemporary with the Hoccleve paintings, but, according to Speilman, this is now doubtful. The larger (19 by 14 inches) Seddon portrait is believed to be a third hand reproduction of the Hoccleve portrait in Harl. 4866, because the pose and coloring are similar. It is believed to date from the latter half of the fifteenth century. The portrait in BM Addit. 5147 has the date 1402 on it, but Speilman thinks this is spurious, and that the picture cannot date earlier than the reign of Elizabeth I.

Though artistically they may not, then, be the best of the Chaucer portraits -- the miniature in the Ellesmere MS and the Seddon Portrait are probably the most beautiful of the many -- those which Hoccleve has left may well be truest to their original. And, in any event, the paintings are a sincere tribute, earning Hoccleve a place in literary history which he might not otherwise have had.
FOOTNOTES


5. Regement, 11. 2080-83.


11. Speilman, 10.
Hoccleve's Poetic Forms and Prosody.

1. His Borrowing from Chaucer.

Ten Brink is probably correct in saying that Hoccleve "comes nearer to the great model than almost any of the poets" of the period. And it is true that Hoccleve does show vitality if not originality in his dialogue, or when he is discussing himself, either wishfully describing his youthful hell-raising, or woefully decrying his selfishness, or sincerely begging absolution through "Christes modir deere."

He has a sense of humour at times, but there is a strong streak of didacticism in his poetry which stifles most of the reader's smiles before they are begun. For the most part his imitation of Chaucer is mechanical, and I cannot agree with ten Brink that "everywhere we can trace the influence of the master without being able to call it mere imitation." Nothing of Hoccleve's verse forms is original. All the forms he uses were used by Chaucer before him, and he mimics them well, as we shall see.

Hoccleve takes the Rhyme Royal stanza from Chaucer. Chaucer first used it in English in his "Complaint unto Pity." Parlement of Foules, Troilus and Criseyde and the Prioress's Tale are three of his major poems in which it is used, and from which Hoccleve could have drawn. But, unlike Chaucer, Hoccleve uses the Rhyme Royal stanza in almost all of his poetry; he all but does it to death. What for Chaucer had been a plastic form becomes, for Hoccleve, static and unyielding, and composed most often, one imagines, by simple finger counting. All of Hoccleve's major
poems: Lepistre de Cupid, Mother of God, Regement of Princes, Lerne to Dye, are in Rhyme Royal. All of the poems in HM 744 except the three roundels are in this form.

In a few poems Hoccleve does use other verse forms and rhyme schemes, but here too he draws from the master. The eight line stanza of La Male Regle and the Poem Against Oldcastle, rhymed a b a b c b c, is found in The Monk's Tale, and the shorter poems Fortune and The Former Age. Hoccleve's use of it is uninventive.

There are one or two poems in decasyllabic nine line stanzas, of which his Balade to my Gracious Lord of York is an example. The rhyme scheme here is a a b a a b b a b. In this form he is following the example Chaucer sets in Anelida and Arcite.

In the roundels in HM 744 and the Phillipps MS, now HM 111 in the Huntington Library, Hoccleve was not innovating either. He had several examples from Chaucer, of which Merciles Beaute may have been one.

Hoccleve wrote virelais as well. W. W. Skeat, in "Hoccleve's Rhymes and Chaucer's Virelais," points out that the Phillipps MS item IV, Balade to the King, has a much more intricate rhyme scheme than had previously been noted. The basic rhyme scheme of the poem is a b a b b c b c, in five eight line stanzas. But, Skeat notes that in the whole poem there are only three rhyme sounds. These are "al," "-ee," and "-ay." The simple rhyme scheme in varying order is the essential point of the virelay, says Skeat. Chaucer, in the Legend of Good Women admits he wrote virelais:

He made...the Parlement of Foules, and I gesse And al the love of Palamon and Arcite
Of Thebes...
And many an ympne for your halydayes
That highten balades, roundels, virelayes;

Only two of Chaucer's virelays have come down to us. Both of them are in
Anelida and Arcite, lines 256 to 271, and 317 to 332. Skeat lists several
other of the poems from the Phillipps MS as virelays -- Balade on the
Removal of the Bones of Richard II to Westminster, 1413; Balade to my
Lord the Chancellor are two. It is highly probable that Hoccleve learned
the form from Chaucer, and, as Skeat concludes

It seems...a most interesting fact that,
though we have not got many of Chaucer's
eight line virelays, we know precisely
how they all went.5

Hoccleve does not experiment with verse forms, then. He
takes them from Chaucer, hardly varied, and it is mainly the Rhyme Royal
he uses. He is the first of the fifteenth century poets to emulate
Chaucer, and he does so fairly accurately, if mechanically. As other
poets enter later, the forms are distorted. As Miss E. P. Hammond says
in comparing Hoccleve and Lydgate, and the statement might well be
applied to all of the poets of the century following Chaucer's death,
"neither man understood Chaucer's rhythm, but they misunderstand very
differently."6

2. His Prosody.

In general Hoccleve is uninventive in his prosody. He uses
most of the conventions common throughout Middle English poetry. His
meter is almost solely iambic pentameter. Because of the machine-like quality of his rhythms, some critics have accused him of counting his syllables on his fingers.

In HM 744 there are only a small number of the 1814 lines of the MS which are irregular, and, as has been pointed out, these irregularities were common throughout Middle English poetry. First of all, there is the "headless" line, the line beginning with a strong stress rather than the usual weak one. For example:

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
  & & & \\
  & & & \\
  & & & \\
  & & & \\
  & & & \\
\end{array}
\]

God and man withouten wo or duresse

There are some examples of the broken stress line, in which a syllable usually expected to be under the heavy stress of the foot appears under the weak.

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
  & & & \\
  & & & \\
  & & & \\
  & & & \\
  & & & \\
\end{array}
\]

And dim my look and as heuy as leed

With Hoccleve this is apparently a common line fault. It bears out what Saintsbury says of him: "so long as he can count ten syllables by his fingers he is content."\(^7\)

Saintsbury goes on to discuss Hoccleve's use of final \(-e\).

You have to value the final \(-e's\) in a manner that was in all probability at the time quite obsolete and unnatural, in order to get even the test of the fingers answered.\(^8\)

He further says that Hoccleve uses or rejects the final \(-e\) "as he chooses."
On the whole Saintsbury's analysis is not true. Hoccleve uses the same
criteria for pronouncing or silencing the final -e as had been in use
throughout the Middle English period. In general, but by no means
rigidly, the final -e was pronounced before a consonant and silenced
before a following vowel or h-. In a line like "Of wommen be it prose
rym or vers," the -e of "prose" is syllabic, whereas in lines like

And seen how deeth his bowe hath for me bent
And for our gilt sende us contricioun

the -e of "bowe," and of "sende" would be silenced.

As I have said, the final -e "rule" was never rigidly applied
in Middle English poetry, and although Hoccleve does follow the rule
fairly carefully throughout HM 744 (and indeed throughout the other MSS
of his poetry), there are many instances in which the rule is not
applied. An example might be in Hoccleve's line

In mete and drynke I delyte me

where the -e of "drynke," coming at a syntactic break in the line,
is pronounced. The pronunciation of the -e final at such a break in
the line was not at all uncommon in poetry of the period.

The final -e at the end of a line, the standard feminine
rhyme of Middle English poetry, was apparently still pronounced under an
additional weak stress. Lines with final -e are not generally rhymed
with lines lacking it, but there are six lines in the MS where this occurs;
for example the rhyme words for the lines VIII. 125/127/128 "I-soght"
- "noght" - "broghte." Occurrences like this are few, and they may be scribal errors rather than an indication that the -e was unpronounced.

Some eleven syllable lines in Hoccleve cannot be reduced no matter how the final -e may be valued. Examples are very few in number, and it seems that the poet attempts to correct, or smoothe over the irregularity by grouping the irregular lines in rhyme couplets or triplets, so that where one irregular appears, it is followed by another, or sometimes two, in a rhyme group. For example:

VII. 99/101

Tho yeeres past and his soule was betaght
Who serueth our lady leesith reighte naght

Hoccleve, then, is not a prosodic innovator. The devices he uses are quite common to the period. His meter is definitely mechanical. Because he varies his iambic pentameter line very little, his verse has a monotonous regularity. He does not understand the ebb and flow of Chaucer's rhythms, and consequently, when he imitates them, he imitates only feebly. His own estimate of his verse shows he realizes this only too well:

...how unconnyngly
My book is metrid; how raw my sentence
How feeble eek been my colours:....
A note on spelling in rhyme words

There are some spelling irregularities in Hoccleve's rhyme words which deserve some comment.

Words of French origin vary in their last syllable, in which there may or may not be a -u-. For example "-ance/-aunce," "ion/-ioun," "-or/-our/-ur." These spellings are common to most of Middle English poetry. The variants of one form may rhyme with each other, which indicates that forms with the -u- and forms without the -u- were pronounced the same.

Forms in -e rhyme with both forms in -ie, and forms in -ee. But, words in -ie are never rhymed with words in -ee. Examples are: XI. 534/536/537 hie - prophecie - be; III. 1/2 dietee - be. It is understandable that words in -ie and -ee should not rhyme, but the fact that both forms are rhymed with forms in -e, when the -e is under heavy stress in the foot, may indicate some closer pronunciation between the three in this dialect than has been assumed.

In forms in which -i- varies with -e- in grammatical suffixes (-ith,-eth; -ist/-est; -id/-ed) the -i- forms do not rhyme with the -e- forms. See the language section for a discussion of these forms in relation to dialect characteristics.
FOOTNOTES


2. *loc cit.*


Hoccleve's Poetry in Its Historical Setting

By comparison with other poets of the fifteenth century, the volume of Hoccleve's poetry is slim. Where his contemporary, Lydgate, produced tens of thousands of lines of poetry, Hoccleve writes about twelve thousand lines at most. He has three longer works, two of which are printed below, in the transcription of HM 744 -- *Lepistre de Cupid* and *Lerne to Dye* total some 1400 lines, while the *Regement of Princes*, his longest work, runs to almost 6000 lines. Two other poems are of moderate length: *Poem Against Oldcastle*, and *Mother of God*. The latter poem is considered the best of Hoccleve's religious poems. The rest of his poetry is made up of a number of religious lyrics, and occasional poems, most of which were intended as begging poems to patrons whom he thought might be able to obtain him his arrears in annuities.

As his volume of poetry was limited, so too were Hoccleve's sources. His longer works are translations from fairly well known French or Latin sources. The one tale akin to some of the Canterbury Tales, *The Virgin's Sleeveless Garment*, which appears in HM 744, and which was long mistaken for one of Chaucer's own, has a Middle English original dating about 1200, as well as several Latin versions from which Hoccleve could have drawn.

*Regement of Princes* is put together from *De Ludo Scachorum*, of Jacobus de Cessolis, from the *Secreta Secretorum*, and from the *De Regime Principum* of Egedio Colonna. In this poem, however, Hoccleve adds almost 2000 lines of personal dialogue, in which he discusses his
life, his varying social sins, and his work as a scribe at the office of the Privy Seal.

_Lepistle de Cupid_ is translated from a poem by Christine de Pisan. He adds some definite allusions to Chaucer's _Legend of Good Women_, but he does not acknowledge the earlier source at all.

_Lerne to Dye_ had a Latin original in Henry Suso's _Horologium_, to which Hoccleve adds some material from the Sarum Breviary. He tells us in his _Dialog with A Friend_ that he had access to a Latin copy of this poem.

His other poetry is original in composition, if not in subject matter. Occasional poems, like the _Poem Against Oldcastle_, or the poem celebrating the return of Henry V to England, which is printed below, were prompted by the happenings of the moment. The religious poems, of which there are five examples in HM 744, have their origins in a genuine religious feelings, but their execution is unoriginal. The personal sources for the long autobiographical poems, _La Male Regle_, and the _Complaint_ and _Dialog with a Friénd_, are the most interesting, because he draws incidents from his own life. They have a vividness which the rest of his poetry lacks.

In assessing the merit of Hoccleve's poetry, we tend, of course, to compare him with Chaucer, which is probably unfair, for then Hoccleve is shown as a very weak poet indeed. If, however, we compare him with other poets of the fifteenth century, he stands out better.

Lydgate, whose volume of poetry over a broad range of subjects is phenomenal, is prolix, and Hoccleve, by comparison, spare. He has the virtue which the good monk of Bury St. Edmund's lacks -- he knows how to
tell a story with some economy. Benedict Burgh, who was a later follower of Lydgate, affects a more archaic style than Lydgate himself, in his Secreces of Old Philosophres, but Hoccleve's diction is, in contrast, clear, and natural. He speaks the language of his time.

Osborne Bokenham, in his Legendys of Hooly Wummen, is rough and unpolished in his line, whereas Hoccleve's careful syllable counting, mechanical though it may be, at least retains some of the "maister's" rhythms. Ashby, Bradshaw, and Hawes, whose extant works are scant in comparison with even Hoccleve's, come at the end of the century, and it is difficult to offer any worthwhile comparisons with Hoccleve. The language, or at least the graphic representation of it, was in process of change; subject matter was becoming secularized; and the further in time we get from Chaucer, the weaker we find the prosodists.

The Scottish Chaucerians bear some comparison with Hoccleve. On the whole, the few: James I of Scotland in his The Kingis Quair, Henryson in his fables and The Testament of Cresseid, and the clerics Dunbar and Douglas, are considered by many critics to be more original followers of Chaucer. They followed the verse forms and rhythms of Chaucer better than their English counterparts, and their subject matter was more original. It can be seen, of course, that Hoccleve's subjects were different than those of the Scottish writers. They were all attempting to emulate Chaucer's forms and meters, and the Scots do it better.

Hoccleve's poetry, then, is of his own time. His subjects are the conventional subjects. His religious poetry is pedestrian, and his translations are fairly straightforward. But, in contrast with other writers of the period, his personal confessions and dialogue are
exciting. His characters are not far removed from real people: inquisitive and gossipy, rakish or reverent, or somewhat pathetic in their meek humanity. Here is Hoccleve's value. He shows himself, vain perhaps, but unadorned, and he shows us the life of his time with a candor totally unlike so many of his contemporaries whose works have come down, who draw unhuman characters in weak classical landscapes. Hoccleve shows us real people, and for that we must be grateful.

The Poems of HM 744

To these general comments on Hoccleve's poetry in a historical setting can now be added a consideration of the poems in HM 744. There are thirteen separate poems in the MS, of which the first five are religious lyrics. There follows a short prolog, and then the tale of The Virgin's Sleeveless Garment. Lepistre de Cupid is next, followed by the occasional poems: Balade to the King, and three roundels. The last poem in the MS is Lerne to Dye. It is incomplete, missing about 300 lines of poetry and three pages of prose. The full text of Lerne to Dye can be found in F. J. Furnivall's edition Hoccleve's Minor Poems, where it is printed from the Durham MS.

The first four poems of the MS form a separate group of themselves, and are undoubtedly intended to appear together in the order given. The titles of the poems make up a benediction: Invocation to the Father, To the Son, Honour and Glory, To the Holy Spirit, To the Blessed Virgin. Carelton Brown, in his Religious Lyrics of the Fifteenth Century, prints a number of groups of poems gathered together in just this order.
These poems may have been inspired by a genuine religious spirit in Hoccleve, but they are mundane in feeling and in expression. Unlike the religious poems of the previous century, the very formality of structure and rhyme scheme tend to dampen rather than heighten the effect. No real fervour is conveyed by these poems. They are an exercise merely. The rhymes are standard, and the ten syllable rhythm uninterrupted, which makes the continual request to "reewe on us wrecches ful of wo" merely repetitive.

The fifth poem in the MS stands alone. It is a poem of praise to the Virgin. Like the first four poems in the MS, this one is formalized and uninspired. Carleton Brown points out that poems to the Virgin, of which this might be a typical example, were written in very large numbers during the fifteenth century. His characterization of them applies very well to this Hoccleve poem:

These expressions of devotion, it must be said, when compared with those of the preceeding century, show a certain loss of fervour, and tend to become formal exercises.  

Meter and rhyme vary not at all. And, while we may not doubt Hoccleve's religious sincerity, sincerity is not enough to sustain the poem.

Hoccleve has a number of poems to the Virgin. The best is Mother of God, which Furnivall prints in Minor Poems. They are within the tradition of the "Mary cult" which grew up in the twelfth and early thirteenth century, and gathered great impetus in the fourteenth and fifteenth, as is indicated by the great numbers of poems and legends.
produced during this period. The Virgin came to be revered as "the mother of God," and was revered almost as much as was God himself. As Hoccleve says at line 103, "In thee, next god, is al þat us may saue." This is the cult full blown. Of all the new testament characters, Mary, the mother, is perhaps the most understandable, and hence the one that the simple devotee can most associate himself with.5

The next poem in the MS, the Prolog and Tale of the Virgin's Sleeveless Garment, shows us another facet of the Mary cult: the miracle legend. Briefly, the tale is told of a monk who, one day while he is at prayer, sees the Virgin appear in a garment without any sleeves. The monk is taken appropriately aback, and when he enquires of the Virgin why she has no sleeves, she replies that he must repeat his Ave Marias 150 times, rather than just the 50 times that he was used to doing. After each group of ten Aves, he is further instructed to add one Pater Noster. The monk accepts this rather incongruous answer to a perfectly straightforward question, because the Virgin adds that, if he prays as he is told, she will return to him in a week's time.

To this place, thee to glade and conforte

Dutifully the Monk does as he is bidden, and the Virgin appears to him the following week in a beautiful dress "with sleeves longe and wyde." Because he did as she had asked him, the Virgin tells the Monk, he will be rewarded with both earthly honours and heavenly grace. And so he is: he is made Abbot of the monastery at St. Gyles, and is assured a place in heaven when he dies seven years later.
This legend enjoyed a certain amount of popularity. There are several Latin sources for the poem, according to Miss Beverly Boyd. Miss R. W. Tryon, in "Miracles of Our Lady in Middle English Verse," points out that Hoccleve could have drawn his tale from the miracle legend "How Our Lady's Psalter Was First Found," which is in the Vernon MS, Minor Poems, edited by F. J. Furnivall. This version is in 250 lines, compared with Hoccleve's 150, but the plot and some of the wording are so close to Hoccleve's version that a connection between the two can be strongly argued.

Arthur Beatty, in A New Ploughman's Tale, says that miracles which turned on the assiduous repetition of a prayer were common. Miss Boyd says that the custom of reciting a large number of Aves, especially numbers of 150 (the number of psalms in the psalter), or multiples of 150, was known as saying "our Lady's Psalter," of which there were a number of different legends. Hoccleve's version may be considered typical of these legends which honour the Virgin. He says himself:

```
...to bat lady free
we do service, honour and pleaseance
And to bat ende, heere is a remembrance.
```

Hoccleve's version of the legend is one of his better poems. It is enlivened by dialogue which makes it more than just a frame for teaching the psalter of our Lady. The monk addresses Mary, and she answers him in an interesting give and take. Especially delightful is the monk's astonished address to the Virgin, made with no preamble, when she first appears to him:
O goode Lady, by your leve  
What garnament is this, and hath no sleeve?

He is too taken aback by her appearance to praise her, but must first satisfy his curiosity as to why she appears so dressed.

Dialogue, as has been pointed out, is Hoccleve's forte. He could draw from Chaucer for examples of natural conversation, but he could also, as Carleton Brown seems to feel, be drawing from the vitality of burgeoning drama of the period.11

Lepistre de Cupid was written in 1402. This date is definitely established at line 476 of the poem. Cupid tells us that he has written the poem in May, but of course, this part of the date need not be taken literally. The month, but not the year, is in Hoccleve's source, L'epistre au dieu d'amours, by Christine de Pisan.

The poem is in the form of a letter from Cupid to "alle tho bat to our deitee been sogettes," in which Cupid complains at length that England is the worst place of all for men eager to deceive and take advantage of defenseless women. And, he adds,

Clerkis
...han maad bookes of hir (women's) deffame
In which they lakken wommenes weke
And speken of hem greet repreef and shame.

The clerks, and men generally, says Cupid, should reform their treatment of women, or they will be visited with extreme punishment. Men should remember that the Virgin was a woman, and treat all women as they would her. Men are the real deceivers, not women. Not even Eve was really deceitful, and no more should men defame them in word or action.
It is interesting, in this poem, to see Hoccleve attempting to blend (as his source did) Classical and Christian mythology -- courtly love and Christian morality. But, where Gower, in *Confessio Amantis* "manages...to combine the roles of a courtly love poet and a Christian moralist," Hoccleve, who alludes to Gower at at least one point in the poem, fails in the attempt. He is, in matters religious, somewhat guilt-ridden, and consequently heavy-handed.

The *Epistle* is intended as an ironic defence of women, rather than a serious treatment. Hoccleve later felt some guilt, which he tells us about in his *Dialog with a Friend*, about the fact that the *Epistle of Cupid* had made women angry, rather than pleased them. There is a good deal of irony in, for example, Hoccleve's mention that women carp at being defamed by the Bible. Women are prepared, he is suggesting, to set aside even the infallibility of the Bible.

There is a liveliness in the early part of the poem, when Hoccleve introduces some imagined dialogue between the various deceivers of women. The puns are coarse and jocular, as the seducers enliven their conversation with everyday expressions. But, when the poet tries, late in the poem, to add religious sanction to the classical mythology, he fails. The poem becomes a hodge-podge of didacticism which is only lessened when the Christian imagery is dropped, and the classical asserts itself once more.

The *Balade to King Henry V* is the poem which dates the MS HM 744 with some certainty. The general content of the poem is uninteresting.
Hoccleve wrote a number of such poems purely to attempt to better his finances. A number of these begging poems are printed in Minor Poems, and this one is similar to them. It is full of blatant praise, but empty of any indication of real feeling.

In the matter of the dating of the poem, and the MS, it does have some interest. At line eight, Hoccleve refers to Henry V as "heir and Regent of Fraunce," that (at line 14) "twyxt to Remes (realms) han knyt up the pees." These two lines set the date before which the poem could not have been written. The date: 1420 or 1421.

In 1420, Henry concluded the treaty of Troyes with France, and to seal the treaty married Katherine, daughter of the King of France. Holinshed has it thus:

After a few daies they fell to councell in which at length it was concluded that King Henrie of England should come to Trois and mari the ladie Katharine; and the king hir father after his death should make him heir of his realme, crowne and dignitee. It was also agreed, that King Henrie, during his father in lawes life, should in his stead have the whole gouernment of the realme of France as regent therof...13

Duly the treaty was signed on the 10th of June, 1420. In 1421, on the 6th of January, Henry and Katharine returned to England, eventually arriving in London. The arrival in London is undoubtedly the occasion for this production: "Welcome be your famous excellence."

The MS is generally assumed to have been copied over a short period of time. The catch phrases indicating gatherings of the MS show that all the poems are related, and none are later inserts. The Balade
appears in the middle of a gathering, so it can be assumed that it was copied at the same time as other poems in the MS.

The fact that the dedication to the poem includes the words "que dieu pardoint," indicates that when the poem was copied in the MS the king was dead. The French phrase is the equivalent of "God save his soul." Henry died on 31 August, 1422, at Vincennes, in France, where he had returned in June of 1421. So the poem was copied in HM 744 sometime after this date. How long afterward cannot be definitely stated, but, if this MS is a holograph, as some critics claim, and Hoccleve left the Privy Seal in July of 1424, it was probably copied between 1422 and 1424.14

In the MS transcription, I have grouped the three roundels together as item X. The first two poems are related, being a statement and a response between two speakers. The third can stand alone. I will discuss the poems with this in mind.

In the Complaint to Lady Money, and its companion La Reponse (of Lady Money to Hoccleve), we see a humour Hoccleve shows rarely. He is dealing with a personal, every-day problem, and, here, as in La Male Regle, with such subjects he does his most lively and vigorous writing.

In the Complaint to Lady Money, Hoccleve illogically complains that because he was so sympathetic and let Lady Money out of his purse when she was imprisoned there, she should not now leave him in the dire position in which he finds himself. In La Reponse, Lady Money, typically characterized as an unfeeling female, tells Hoccleve that his complaint is worthless. She was, she insists, while Hoccleve held her, not treated at all as befitted her "high dignitee." His excesses made her thin and
faded, and therefore she will not come back to him. If, she reasons, Lords obey her (and it is presumably Hoccleve's own money that the Lords now have at their disposal), why should she pay any attention to a poor wretch like Hoccleve.

The third poem, Hoccleve's *Praise of His Lady*, is his most humorous poem. It is in the roundel form, and undoubtedly draws on a long tradition of serious poems praising the lady. The fine poem *To Alysoun* shows us the standards of beauty of the time, for example. But Hoccleve takes the conventional beauty points and turns them about, much as Shakespeare does in the sonnet "My mistress' eyes are nothing like the sun." Hoccleve's roundel lacks the turn-around couplet which makes the sonnet so touching, but the sustained humour of it makes it an effective poem nonetheless.

Conventionally Hoccleve begins by saying that he may well rejoice in his lady's beauty, but as he proceeds to describe her, the beauty fades quickly: black hair and eyes, when brown were the acme of beauty; clay-like bulgy cheeks, where fair fine skin was usually praised. Add to this the large nose that Cyrano-like juts out to prevent the rain from entering her mouth, and a wide mouth, too, it is -- "nothyng scant" -- and the caricature is almost complete. Her parrot voice, when a voice "ever so sweet, gentle and low," was and is to be praised, and a body "shape as is a foot bal," round out this photo-negative of feminine beauty of the period.

The last poem in the MS is *Lerne to Dye*. It was written, as
has already been pointed out, about 1421 or 1422. In this MS the poem is incomplete, with only 672 of the 938 lines of poetry appearing. A catch phrase: "The blake faced," appears at the bottom of the last leaf in this MS. The whole poem is printed in Furnivall's edition of Minor Poems, from the Durham MS.

The Poem opens with Sapientia, or Knowledge promising to show a disciple how to learn to die, how to live, how to receive knowledge like a sacrament, and how to love and honour her "with an herte clene and pure." The disciple promises to be diligent in learning these four things, and Knowledge conjures up the image of a man about to die. The disciple and the image of the dying man then enter into a conversation, with the image taking the major part. He describes all the various torments he feels as he is dying; torments over his lack of opportunity for repentance of sins. This is followed by a description of the torments he sees awaiting him after he has expired. The MS breaks off at this point.

The sources of Hoccleve's poem are positively identified by Benjamin Kürtz, in three papers. Hoccleve himself pointed the way in his Dialog with a Friend:

in latyn have I sene a small tretise
whiche 'lerne for to dye' I-callyd is:

... 
And that have I purposed to translate
If god his grace lyst ther-to me lene.

His Latin original was the Horologium Sapientiae. The author was a fourteenth century German mystic, one Henry Suso. The second chapter
of this work is the *Ars Sciendi Mori*, and it was this chapter which formed the source for most of the poetry in *Lerne to Dye*.

Kurtz points out that it is doubtful that Hoccleve knew the whole of the *Horologium*. But, the second chapter was very popular, and Kurtz cites several MSS to which Hoccleve might have had access.\(^{16}\)

Suso's *Horologium* is not the only source for the poem, although it is certainly the only source for that portion of it which appears in HM 744. Kurtz draws attention to the second last stanza of the poetry portion of *Lerne to Dye*, where Hoccleve says he will conclude the poem with

\[ ...\text{the } ix.\text{e lesson which is rad} \]
\[ \text{In holy chirche up-on all halwen day.} \]

The last stanza of the poetry is a paraphrase of the "fourth and fifth sentences of the ninth lesson for the first of November, in the Sarum Breviary."\(^{17}\) The Latin, which Kurtz prints side by side with Hoccleve's last stanza of poetry, reads

\[
\text{Consideremus ergo inclitam urbis}
\]
\[
\text{illius felicitatem, in quantum}
\]
\[
\text{considerare possible est: comprehendere nullus sermo sufficiet.}\(^{18}\)
\]

Hoccleve paraphrases:

\[
\text{How greet ioie and blisse is shapen to hem}
\]
\[
\text{bat so shuln passe hens vp to the Citee}
\]
\[
\text{Callid celestial, Ierusalem.}
\]
\[
\text{Aftir our might and possibilitee}
\]
\[
\text{Let us considere al thogh it so be,}
\]
\[
\text{That for to comprehende bat gladnesse,}
\]
\[
\text{Verraily no wit may, ne tonge expresse.}
\]
The prose section which follows, then, begins at the sixth sentence for the breviary and follows the lesson word for word. Kurtz goes on to point out that part of the second last, and all of the last paragraphs of prose have no corresponding Latin in the breviary. Kurtz feels that this last is Hoccleve's own invention, and that it is "slovenly" in comparison with the material taken directly from the breviary. In reading this last section, one is forced to agree with Kurtz. Hoccleve's terseness seems forced, and the description strained as he contrasts the pains of Hell in this last paragraph with the pleasures of the new Jerusalem which have gone before. The reader is left with the impression that the poet simply rushed through the final paragraph to round off the description and end the work as quickly as possible.

On the relation of Hoccleve's poem to its source, Kurtz shows that Hoccleve omits the translation of some 900 words of his original, and yet his poem is still twice as long as the material he draws from. Generally speaking, says Kurtz, Hoccleve's translation technique is as follows: he "attempted a simple expression of the Latin idea in the first three lines of the stanza. The last four lines then being too little space for the development of any new idea, he was forced to augment the Latin idea with invention or repetition." For example, here is the Latin original

\[
\text{Eya vos omnes qui adestis, qui meam}
\text{miseriam videtis, qui flore ivventutis}
\text{adhuc gaudetis,...me miserum respicite.}
\]

Hoccleve's stanza is as follows. The translation from the Latin is
underlined, the remainder of the stanza is the poet's own invention:

O alle yee bat heere been present
Yee bat floure in youthes lusty grennesse
And seen how deeth his bowe hath for me bent
And tyme conuena[n]e han to redresse
bat youre unruly youthes wantonnesse
Offendid hath -- considereth my miserie
The stormy seson folwith dayes merie.21

This example, which Kurtz gives, is, he says, one of the better of
Hoccleve's augmentings of his original, and despite the fact that the
greater part of the poet's additions are merely line filler, Hoccleve
does improve on his original at times, "by bringing fresh phrases of
personal revelation, especially of remorse and fear."22

Improvements over his original in the description of personal
revelation should not be surprising. As we have seen, Hoccleve writes his
most vivid poetry, with the most sincerity and depth of feeling, when he
is speaking of himself, and, in Lerne to Dye, much of the dying man's
self-denigration is powerful because Hoccleve is inadvertently talking of
himself.
FOOTNOTES


14. On HM 744 as a Hoccleve holograph, see the note below on the scribe of the MS, and see also H.C. Shulz, "Thomas Hoccleve, Scribe," in Speculum 12 (1937), 71 - 81.


20. Kurtz, *PMLA* 40. 256


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Old English</th>
<th>East-midland&lt;sup&gt;1&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th>London&lt;sup&gt;2&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th>Chaucer&lt;sup&gt;3&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th>Hoccleve&lt;sup&gt;4&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th>OE</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>e æ</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>naæcod</td>
<td>nakid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>an+i</td>
<td>an</td>
<td>an</td>
<td>en</td>
<td>en</td>
<td>þencan</td>
<td>thinken</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ea+r</td>
<td>er/ar</td>
<td>er/ar</td>
<td>ar</td>
<td>ar/er</td>
<td>eart</td>
<td>art (pr.2s &quot;be.&quot;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ea+l</td>
<td>-old</td>
<td>-old</td>
<td>-old</td>
<td>-old</td>
<td>eald</td>
<td>old</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>æ1</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>E,e,E</td>
<td>E,(e)</td>
<td>E,e</td>
<td>e,E</td>
<td>dæd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>æ2</td>
<td>E,e</td>
<td>E,(e)</td>
<td>E,(e)</td>
<td>E,(e)</td>
<td>E,(e)</td>
<td>dæl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y</td>
<td>i,e</td>
<td>i,e</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>i,u,e</td>
<td>i,(e)</td>
<td>fyrian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y</td>
<td>i,e</td>
<td>i,e</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>i,u</td>
<td>i,e,(u)</td>
<td>lystan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eo</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>leoma</td>
<td>lemes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eo</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>ceorfan</td>
<td>kerfe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ea</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>leac</td>
<td>leekte</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>1</sup>The OE chart and the chart of the East Midlands are from H.C. Wyld, *A Short History of English* (London, 1927), 139.

<sup>2</sup>Wyld, op cit., 137.

<sup>3</sup>Wyld, op cit., 141.

<sup>4</sup>Wyld, op cit., 141.
Language of the MS

1. **Phonology.**

The chart on the opposite page, built up from material in H.C. Wyld's *A Short History of English*, is included to illustrate the relationship between Hoccleve's dialect and those of Chaucer, London, and the East-midlands. The chart gives only the salient features of the dialects as they developed from OE. The symbols, with one exception, are those of Wyld. They are phonetic, not graphemic. I have used E and E to represent Wyld's symbol for the long and short "slack -e-" sound. Brackets, as in Wyld, represent very rare instances of a particular sound.

Some brief annotations of the chart follow.

a. \( \ae^1 \) -- Hoccleve's E for this OE sound is probably rare. I was unable to find any positive examples of it in this MS. It represents a South-west development from the OE, rather than a Midland development.

b. \( \ae^2 \) -- Here the E is expected, but \( \bar{e} \) is not. As Wyld indicates, the occurrence of the latter sound is rare. Again, in this MS I have been unable to find any definite examples of \( \bar{e} \) as a development of the OE \( \ae^2 \).

c. ea -- Wyld indicates that the development of the short ea in Hoccleve was a long sound \( \bar{e} \). I have accepted Wyld's analysis because I have been unable to find any examples in this MS in which the short ea develops into a short \( e \).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>East-midland¹</th>
<th>London</th>
<th>Chaucer</th>
<th>Hoccleve²</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pr. 3s NE</td>
<td>-es, -ys</td>
<td>-øp</td>
<td>-øp</td>
<td>-øp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-øp</td>
<td>-es, -is.</td>
<td>-øp</td>
<td>-eth, -ith</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pr. pl NE</td>
<td>-en, -yn, -ys, -s</td>
<td>-en, -yn</td>
<td>-øp, -en</td>
<td>-e(n)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pr. p. NE</td>
<td>-and(e)</td>
<td>-end(e), -and(e)</td>
<td>-inde, -ende</td>
<td>-inge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p.p. NE</td>
<td>-e(n)</td>
<td>-e(n)</td>
<td>-e(n)</td>
<td>-e(n)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3pl pn. N.G.D.</td>
<td>he, bey; here, beir; his, es</td>
<td>he, later bey; here; his, is, es</td>
<td>hie, hi, he; thei; her; hie; here; hem.</td>
<td>thei; her; hie; hem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s pn. A. masc.</td>
<td>his, es</td>
<td>his, is, es</td>
<td>his, is</td>
<td>No his</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>she, sche, sho.</td>
<td>she, scae, sge</td>
<td>heo; later she</td>
<td>she</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s pn. N. fem.</td>
<td>No i-</td>
<td>No i-</td>
<td>(i-)</td>
<td>(i-)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹Chart from H.C. Wyld, Short History of English, 139.
²Wyld, op cit., 141, for chart of London, Chaucer and Hoccleve.
2. Accidence.

The pronoun and inflectional chart on the opposite page is again from Wyld, *A Short History of English*. It illustrates concisely the relationship between Hoccleve's dialect and that of the East-midlands, London, and Chaucer. Some annotations follow.

a. pr. 3s -- Hoccleve's inflections -eth, and -ith follow the usage of the SE Midlands. It is of interest that an examination of Hoccleve's poetry shows that the -i- varying with the -e- occurs most often under the following conditions:

- after -p, -b, -t, -d, -k, -s, -sh, -ch
- the vowel of the inflection is -i-
- after any other consonant the vowel of the inflection is -e-.

There are only one or two examples in this MS where an -e- occurs in the inflection when an -i- might be expected. The same variation occurs consistently in the preterit marker -- -id/-ed -- under the same conditions outlined above. The variation is also apparent in the pr. 2s of the indicative. It will be illustrated clearly in the verb paradigms which follow below.

b. pr. p. -- The -ynge form of the present participle in Hoccleve is seen also in the NE Midlands. It is a Northern form, which here can be seen to be slowly moving into more southerly areas.

c. 3pl pn.N. -- The form "they" is another Northern form which gradually extended into the southern areas. It appeared first in the NE Midlands,
later moving into the SE.

d. 3pl pn. G. and D. -- Hoccleve retains the more southerly forms for the genitive and dative of the plural pronouns, although their Northern counterparts have already made their appearance in the NE Midlands at this time.

e. 3s pn. N. fem. -- The form "she" is another Northern dialect form which slowly extended southward during the Middle English period, replacing the Southern "heo." This latter form is still apparent here in the London dialect.

One other feature of the Northern dialect areas which is not illustrated on the chart is the use of -eth (-ith) for the imperative plural. Hoccleve preserves this usage.

Hoccleve's dialect is essentially East-Midland, then. It can be seen that some of the features of the more Northern dialects which Hoccleve displays are fairly common to the London and East-Midland area as a whole by this time. With London the cultural cross-road, the extension and adoption of Northern forms, which have been discussed, would be facilitated. None of the forms Hoccleve uses are used by him in isolation from the rest of his dialect area.


In Hoccleve's dialect there are only two case forms: an unmarked form, and an inflected form for the genitive and the plural. The inflection is -es, and sometimes -s. For example: genitive, III.
"hertes filthy privitee," and plural, II.67 "feendes blake."

The symbol "yogh," which I have rendered -3, is used twice in the MS, both times as a plural indicator to pluralize "seruant," rather than as it was ordinarily used, as a semi-vowel, much like the initial sound in modern "yes," or to indicate a velar spirant, as in "thur3." The symbol occurs at I.43 and V.83.

3.b. Pronouns.

The following paradigms illustrate Hoccleve's use of pronouns. Where no example is found in the MS the space has been left empty.

**SINGULAR**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1st</th>
<th>2nd</th>
<th>masc.</th>
<th>3rd fem.</th>
<th>neut.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>I/y</td>
<td>thow</td>
<td>he</td>
<td>she(e)</td>
<td>it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>my</td>
<td>thy</td>
<td>his</td>
<td>hir(e)</td>
<td>her(e)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>me</td>
<td>the(e)</td>
<td>him</td>
<td>shee</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reflexive</td>
<td>me/</td>
<td>my+</td>
<td>self</td>
<td>him</td>
<td>him+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<p>| | | | | |</p>
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<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PLURAL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1st</th>
<th>2nd</th>
<th>3rd</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>we</td>
<td>ye(e)</td>
<td>they</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>our(e)</td>
<td>your(e)</td>
<td>hir(e)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>us</td>
<td>yow</td>
<td>hem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reflexive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>hem/ hem-self</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The form "hir(e)" is used more often in the MS than the form "her(e)" for 3s fem. Gen.

3.c. Verbs.

The Present System

The paradigm below illustrates the verbal inflections for the present system in HM 744. I have given examples from the MS to illustrate each section.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indicative</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>S. 1. -e/ --</strong></td>
<td>...I delyte me,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I look on every side.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>We knowen weel.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>To thee we make our</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>inucacion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>We knowen weel.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>To thee we make our</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>inucacion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>We knowen weel.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>To thee we make our</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>inucacion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2. - ist/ -est/ -st</strong></td>
<td>Of galle thow taastist.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Thow me with thee drawest.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Thow...berst the keye.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>We knowen weel.</td>
</tr>
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<td>To thee we make our</td>
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<td></td>
<td>inucacion</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>3. -ith/ -eth/ -th</strong></td>
<td>He faste him speedith.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>..in woman regneth al</td>
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<td>the constance.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Repreef of here he spekth.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Pl. -e(n)</strong></td>
<td>We knowen weel.</td>
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<td>To thee we make our</td>
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<td>III.29</td>
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<td>P2 -eth/ -ith</td>
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<td>-ynge</td>
<td>III.65</td>
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The Preterit System

a. Former OE Weak Verbs.

There is a general preterit marker for verbs in this class, which is apparently conditioned by phonetic environment. The form is: -d/-t/-id/-ed. To the verb stem plus one of these forms of the preterit marker are added other inflections shown in the paradigm.
Indicative

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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>-e/</td>
<td>XI.311 I herde it naght.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>VI.146 I perisshid.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>II.38 I synned greuously.</td>
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<tr>
<td>2s</td>
<td>-ist/-est</td>
<td>II.65 Thow suffridist for our sake.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s</td>
<td>-e/</td>
<td>VII.18 He observered wel.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>VII.36 She...seide.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>-e(n)</td>
<td>VIII.198 They...betrayden Adam.</td>
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Subenctive

No examples

Past Participle

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I.71 Whan his body scourgid was....</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>II.39 Thow greued were....</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The preterit marker is conditioned by phonetic environment.

If the stem ends in a simple vowel, -d is the preterit marker. Where the present stem vowel is long, and shifts to short in the preterit, and the stem ends in a voiceless consonant, -t is the preterit marker. In most other cases the marker is -id, or -ed. The phonetic conditioning which governs the occurrence of -e or -i, has been outlined above, in the discussion of dialect. The analysis, it may be pointed out is tentative, and holds for MS HM 744 alone, at present.
b. Former OE Strong Verbs.

In this MS the following inflections are added to the preterit form of strong verbs:

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<td>I.40</td>
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<tr>
<td>2s --</td>
<td>IV.12</td>
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<tr>
<td>3s --</td>
<td>I.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p en</td>
<td>VIII.254</td>
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</table>

Subjunctive

No examples

Past Participle

- e(n)

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>II.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII.37</td>
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</tbody>
</table>


There are some traces of adjective inflection remaining in Hoccleve's language. An -e is sometimes found where an adjective might be expected to be "weak." For example: "our firste modir." But there are more exceptions to the rule than there are regular examples. There is an inflectional contrast between singular and plural adjectives, however, which is followed more regularly. For example: "Sharpe thornes" contrasted with "penaunce sharp and hard."
The Scribe of the Hoccleve MSS

F. J. Furnivall, in his edition of the *Minor Poems*, argues that the three Hoccleve MSS, HM 744 (the Ashburnham MS), HM 111 (the Phillipps MS), and the Durham MS are all in the same hand. In postscript, however, he retracts his statement on the ground that the number of "carelessnesses" in the MSS made it unlikely that Hoccleve wrote them.¹

In "Thomas Hoccleve, Scribe," H. C. Shulz takes up the argument. He concludes, from paleographic evidence, that the three MSS could indeed have been written by the same man, and that man is Hoccleve. He compares the handwriting in the MSS of poetry with one other MS, the British Museum Additional MS 24062. A marginal note in this latter MS assigns a good deal of it to the hand of Thomas Hoccleve. The hands of all four MSS are quite close, and hence the three MSS of poetry could well have been done by Hoccleve himself.

Shulz further argues that the mistakes that Furnivall had seen in the three MSS can be explained away as common scribal errors, and need not be considered as strong evidence for or against the MSS having been copied by the same man. Neither Furnivall nor Shulz lists these errors. For this edition of HM 744, however, I have made note of a number of the errors in this MS in the textual notes section following the transcript of the MS.
Description of the MS HM 744

Miss Jean Preston, of the Department of Manuscripts at the Huntington Library, provided the main portion of this description in a letter to the writer dated 5 March, 1964. The description is as follows.

a. Contents

<table>
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<td>Table for determining Easter Day. Made 1386.</td>
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<td>4r-10r</td>
<td>Isidore of Seville, Consilia, English.</td>
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<tr>
<td>11v</td>
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<tr>
<td>12v</td>
<td>The eight ghostly dwelling places of the soul.</td>
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<tr>
<td>13v-23r</td>
<td>Wycliffe, commentary on the ten commandments. &quot;All cristien men shuld holde Goddis byddynges.&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>23v</td>
<td>Wycliffe, the seven works of mercy bodily.</td>
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<td>24v</td>
<td>On keeping the commandments, incomplete.</td>
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<tr>
<td>25r</td>
<td>Hoccleve, poems in English.</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

b. Collation

The MS HM 744 is in four sections, with a total of 68 leaves. Section one has two gatherings of 12 leaves each. Section two has three gatherings of eight leaves each; section three one gathering of four leaves; and section four two gatherings of eight leaves.

The text frame in the section up to the Hoccleve poetry is six inches by four inches, with ruling in ink. In the Hoccleve section
the frame is six and one quarter inches by four inches, and the ruling is in plummet. There are blue initials with red pen decoration in the first gathering of the MS, and in the Hoccleve section. In the Hoccleve part the initials are rendered in a different shade of blue, however.

Part one, up to the Hoccleve section, is in four different hands, Miss Preston reports, while the poetry in the second part is a Hoccleve autograph.

The two separate parts of the MS are bound together in "contemporary limp leather," Miss Preston writes in her letter.

Provenance of HM 744

De Ricci's Census of Medieval Manuscripts in the United States and Canada¹ gives the following provenance for HM 744:

Owned ca. 1500 by Thomas Fyler. -- N. 142 in a sale ca. 1850; the Earl of Ashburnham coll. (appendix, n. 133); his sale (London, 1899, n. 81) to Leighton; George Dunn sale (London, 1913, I, n. 518) to Maggs; Sir Israel Gollancz coll. -- cf. Fr. J. Furnivall, EETS, es, LXI (1892), pp. xxvi-xxix, facs; Carleton Brown, Register of Middle English Verse, I, p. 468.

The MS has been in the Henry E. Huntington Library in San Marino, California, since the mid 1930's.
FOOTNOTES

A Note on the Editing of the MS

In HM 744 the Hoccleve section runs from folio 25r to folio 68v. In the top right hand corner of each page of this transcript I have put the folio number from which it is taken. The poems in the MS I have assigned Roman numerals from I to XI. The three roundels are related, and I have grouped them all under X, numbering them separately C.i, X.ii, and X.iii. I have added line numbers at regular intervals throughout each poem, and each poem has a separate series of line numbers.

I have represented the letter "thorn" with b-, as in "pat."

I have represented "yogh" with -ʒ, as in "seruantʒ." There are only two occurrences of this letter in the MS.

The letter -u- is used in this transcript according to Middle English usage to represent both vocalic -u- and consonantal -v-. Similarly, the letter -i- is used to represent the letter -i-, and also the letter we would now write as j-.

I have expanded shorthand forms used by the scribe, and underlined those letters which I have supplied.
THE TEXT

HM 744
I. Inuocacio ad patrem.

1. To thee we make our e inuocacion
Thow god, the fadir, which un-to us alle
Art euermo, for our sauuaacion,
Reedy to heere vs whan we to thee calle
In any cause bat may happe & falle,
As fer as sowmeth in-to Rightwisnesse,
which excede nat may thy blissfulnesse.

2. ffor thow, fadir, art trouthe and veritee;
Thyn owne sone bat same is also;
And, syn it so is, what may bettre be,
If bat a man shal to the trouthe go,
Than preye thee, withouten wordes mo:
ffadir of heuene, in thy sones name,
fforyeue our giltes, and releesse our blame.

3. ffadir and sone yee been knyt for euere,
So sadly bat no thyng bat man may thynke
Or speke you may unbynde or disseuere.
Than, fadir lat our preyere in thee synke,
And of thy pitous mercy yeue us drynke,
In tokne bat there is no variaunce
Betwyxt yow two bat been but o substance.
4. O fadir god, king of eterne glorie,  
with herte repentaunt, we thee byseeche  
That thow have of thy sone swich memorie  
That thy pitee be no thyng for to seeche  
Our sorwes for to augmente or to seeche:  
But bat by him thyn ire asswagid be,  
By cause bat thyn owne sone is he.  

5. ffor often, by the intercession  
Of sones, is the fadirs wratthe appesid.  
And they bat for hir gilt were in prison,  
In yren bondes greuously disesid,  
Deliured been, and of hir bondes esid,  
bat sholde han ronne in-to dethes sentence,  
hadde nat be the sones reuerence.  

6. And nat oonly yit grauntid was hir lyf,  
But ouer bat han had encrees of grace:  
The sones eek weren so ententyf,  
bat of hir fadirs kowden they purchace  
So greet loue, withynne a litil space,  
Vnto the gilty folk of which I spak,  
bat of good lordshipe hadde they no lak.
7. Thus, fro servant3voidith malencolie
Of lordes at hir sones good instaunce;
Almighty fadir of the heuenes hye,
we thee byseeche þat of our greuance
Thou vouche sauf to graunte us allegeance,
At instance of thy blessid sone and deere,
And in thy loue make us shyne cleere.

8. The kay of grace grante us for to take,
þat we may maken our confessioun
vn-to thy name, and of our bondes blake
vnbownden be, thurgh our contritioun;
And aftir be of swich conditioun
As þat may lyke un-to thy deitee,
And othir nat, we preyen, moot it be.

9. And us, whom þat our dissertes manace
The mortel sentence, to lyf restore
By preyer of thy sone, and sende us grace
Thy lawes keepe & wirke aftir thy lore;
And oure offenses, þat stike in us sore,
with herte careful bewaille and wepe,
Er our careyne in to the eerthe creepe.
10. whom shul we preye our mene for to be,
But thy sone, on the crois bat starf and dyde
ffor our trespas and oure iniquitee;
bat sit preyyng for vs on thy right syde?
he is the lamb, bat, with his woundes wyde,
Before his tormentoures heeld his pees
ffor al his grief, al were he giltelees

11. ffor, whan his body scourgid was & bete,
And al byspet was his blessid visage,
ffor aght they kowde rebuke him or threte,
he kepte him coy; he owtid no langage;
Ther mighte no thyng chaungen his corage,
But his torment he took in patience,
And dyde for our trespas and offense.

12. ffadir, byholde, of thy benignitee,
And of iustice, we requeren this:
bat syn thy sone, by the wil of thee,
Dyde to wynne bat was thyn and his,
ffor to redresse bat bat was amis,
Considere it, and reewe on us tendrely,
Syn thou art callid fadir of mercy.
13. he is \textit{pat} meek and spotles Innocent
\textit{pat}, for our gilt, to dye no thyng dradde;
which to his deeth was maad obedient,
And in his torment ful greet deylt hadde,
Remembrynge how we synful folkes badde
Redempt sholde be, thurghe his passioun,
Out of the daunger of the feend adoun.

14. Thy godhede him made our nature take,
And were a man of flessh and blood & boon;
And on the crois he dyde for our sake,
\textit{pat} tendre, louyng lord; to vs echoon
Swich a louer was ther neuere noon.
fforgete our giltes & remembre hem noght,
Mercyful lord, putte al out of thy thoght.

15. Lat thy loue ay to us endure & laste.
The gracious yen of thy magestee
we thee byseeche on thy sone thow caste;
Shewe thy mercy and thyn hy pitee,
which \textit{pat} may thoght, spoken, ne writen be:
And on thy sone preeue hit heere in deede;
Beholde his sydes and see how they bleede.
16. his giltless handes, how they stremen, see,
with blody stremes, and bat we han wroght
Ageyn thy wil; fadir we preyen thee
fforyeve it us, and reuolue in thy thoght
how deere bat thy sone hath us boght;
At gretter prys ne mighte us no man bye,
Than for our giltes and our synnes dye.

17. his feet and handes with nayles been perced;
See whiche annoyes hath our redemptour.
All his tormentes may nat be reherced
By noon enditour, ne by translatour,
Ne no wight elles, for so many a stour,
And so greuous, soufford he for our synne,
bat to telle al, mannes wit is to thynne.

18. with sharpe thornes fadir, wel thow woost,
Coroned was thy sone & sore pyned,
And woundid to the herte, and yald the goost;
An harder deeth may nat been ymagyned.
his fressh colour, bat whilom was beshyned
with swich beautee bat it wolde al thyng glade,
wax wan and dusk and pale, and gan to fade.
19. Beholde thy sones humanitee,
And mercy haue on our seek feeblenesse;
Beholde his toren membres, fadir free,
And lat our substance in thyn herte impresse;
Thynke on thy sones peyne and heuynesse,
As I before spoken haue & seid,
And unbynde us that been in synnes teid.

ffadir and lord of mercy on us reewe,
that for our synnes stynken in thy sighte;
Thow graunte us grace uices to escheewe,
And of our pynful birdon thow us lighte;
Ageyn the feend encouraghe us to fighte,
And stifly graunte us in thy cause stonde
And flitte nat, whan we take it on honde.

II. Ad filium/ Honor et Gloria

1. O blessid chyld Iesu, what haast thow do,
that for us shuldist souffre swich Iewise?
Louynge chyld, what stired thee ther to,
That thow woldest be treted in swich wyse?
what causid thee to take that empryse?
what was thy gilt, and thyn offense, I preye,
And cause of deeth and dampnyng eek, I seye?
2. I am the wounde of all thy greuance;
   I am the cause of thyn occisioun;
   And of thy deeth dessert of thy vengeance.
   I am also verray flagicioun;
   I causid thee thy greuous passioun;
   Of thy torment I am solicitour,
   Thow goddes sone, our lord & Sauueour.

3. 0 goddes secree disposicioun,
   And wondriful and priuee iugement,
   fful merveillous is thy condicioun!
   The wikkid man synneth, the good is shent;
   The gilty trespaceth, the Innocent
   Is beten; & the shrewe dooth offense,
   The meek is dampted in his innocence.

4. The peyne bat the wikkid man disserueth,
   The giltelees receiueth patiently;
   The lord, his servant in his gilt, preserueth
   ffro punysshyng, & bieth it deerly
   him-self; & bat the man dooth wikkidly,
   God keepith him fro punisshyng & teene,
   And al bat charge him list for him susteene.
5. fforo whenne, blessid sone of god, fro whenne Descendid is thy greet humilitee? Whens comth the loue we feele in thee brenne? fforo whens, eek, is procedid thy pitee; And fro whens growth thy benignitee? Whens strechith thy loue and affeccioun; fforo whens is sprongen thy compassioun?

6. I am he bat wroght haue synfully, And thow, giltless, took up on thee the peyne. I dide amis; I synned greuously, ffor which thow greeued were in euery veyne. Thy louyng charitee nat list desdeyne To bye our gilt, thogh thow were innocent, But on the crois souffriddist thy torment.

7. I woxe am prowd, thow keepist thy meeknesse; My flessh is bolned, thyn is woken thynne. Myn herte is wrappid in unbuxumnesse, And thow, buxum, our soules for to wynne, Boghestest deere our corrupt & roten synne. My lust obeied un-to glotonye, But thee list nat thee to bat lust applie.
8. I was vanysshid by concupiscence,  
for to eten of the unleefull tree;  
And for my lust and inobedience  
Thy feruent loue & parfyte charitee,  
O blissfull chyld, to the crois ladden thee:  
where as bat I took the deffendid thyng,  
Thow deidest for me, Iesu, heuene kyng.  

9. In mete & drynke I delyte me,  
And on the gibet took thow greet duresse:  
Betwyxt tho two is greet dyuersitee.  
Taastid haue I the fair apples swetnesse,  
Of galle thow taastist the bittrenesse:  
Eeue me gladith, with a lawwhyng ye,  
And weepyng up on thee reewith Marie.  

10. O Kyng of glorie, thow beholde & see  
what peynes thow suffriddist for our sake!  
And syn bat we so deere costed thee,  
Thow keepe us fro the might of feendes blake!  
Lat nat thy charitable loue asslake;  
And graunt us grace thee to loue & drede;  
And yeue us heuene whan bat we be dede!
III Ad Spiritum Sanctum.

1. Now holy goost of the hy deitee,
   Loue and holy communicacioun
   Of fadir and sone, blessid thow be.
   O thow benign consolacioun
   Of heuy folk; o, our sauuacioun;
   O tendre hertid, cause of al quieete,
   Our bittreness torne al in to sweete.

2. And, by thy mighty uertu, we thee preye
   pat oure hertes filthy priuetee
   Thow vouche sauf to clense and washe aweye;
   Thurgh thy mercy ther make thyn entree,
   O holy goost, there enhabyte thee,
   And the dirk halkes of oure soules lighte
   And glade with thy firly lemes bright.

3. And oure hertes, whiche by long roghnesse
   welkid been, & forgoon han hir uigor
   By enchesoun of excessyf drynesse,
   Dewe habundantly with thyn holsum shour;
   Our soules lurkyng sores and langour,
   with thy brennyng dart and thy loues broond
   Visite and helpe; our helthe is in thyn hoond.
4. Kindle eek and qwikne with thy lyfly lemes
   Our slouthy hertes of uertu bareyne;
   Our soules perce with thy shynyng bemes.
   To thy godhede thow us knyttete and cheyne.
   The riuer of thy lust lat on us reyne.
   Of worldly sweet uenym souffre us nat taaste,
   Ne our tyme in this world mis spend and waaste.

5. O god we thee byseeche thow us deeme,
   And our cause fro wikkid folk discerne!
   Thow graunte us grace thee to plese and qweeme,
   And to thy wil & pleasaunce us gouerne.
   Our seekly freeltee beholde and concerne,
   And reewe on our brotil condicioun,
   And for our gylt sende us contricioun.

6. wher thow makist thyn habytacioun
   we knowen weel, and fully leeuuen we.
   Thow for fadir and sone a mansiou
   Makist, in whom thee list herberwe thee:
   fful happy and ful blissid man is he,
   ffor his spirit may reste sikirly,
   Vnabassht of the feend our _enemy.
7. Come on, confort of our soules seeknesse,
   And ay reedy in our necessitee;
   Of wowndes leche; helpere in distresse!
   O come now foorth strengthe of our freelltee,
   Clensere of our gylt and iniquitee,
   Releueere of hem bat doun slippe and slyde,
   Ground of meeknesse & destroyour of pryde!

8. Of fadrelees children  O fadir free;
   Of widwes esy Iuge; and hope and trust
   Of poore folk; and in aduersitee
   Refuyt and helpe; helpe us, for so thow must!
   Of our soules rubbe away the rust.
   Thy grace to receyue make us able,
   And kythe in us thow art merciable.

9. O lodesterre; of shipbreche seur port;
   O oonly helthe of our mortalitee;
   O holy goost, cause of al our confort;
   Singuler honur of alle bat be;
   Telle us to whom recours haue may we
   But un-to thee, bat with thyn holsum breeth
   Maist saue us alle fro theternel deeth!
10. O holy goost, lyke it to thy goodnesse,  
To our ayynge meekly, condescende.  
Mercy haue on our synne & wikkidnesse,  
And fro the feendes malice us defende.  
To fadir, sone, and to thee we commende  
Our soules, hem to haue in gouernance.  
O Trinitee haue us in remembrance!  

IV. Ad beatam Virginem  

1. Worsshipful maiden to the world, Marie;  
Modir moost louynge un-to al man kynde;  
Lady to whom al synful peple crie  
In hir distresse, haue us in thy mynde.  
Thurgh thy benigne pitee us unbynde  
Of our giltes, bat in thy sones birthe  
To al the world broghtest the ioie & mirthe.  

2. To whom shal I truste so sikerly  
To axen help in my necessitee  
As unto thee, thow modir of mercy?  
ffor to the world mercy cam in by thee:  
Thow baar the lord of mercy, lady free,  
who may so lightly mercy us purchace  
Of god thy sone as thow, modir of grace?
3. Lady, right as it is an impossible
   bat thow sholdest nat haue in remembrance
   why thow baar god; so it is incredible,
   To any wight of catholyk creaunce,
   Thee nat to reewe on our synful greuaunce:
   ffor thy, lady benigne and merciable,
   Vnto thy sone make us acceptable.

4. O god, bat maad art sone unto woman
   ffor mercy, & thow woman, which also,
   By grace, art maad modir to god & man,
   Outhir reewe on us wrecches ful of wo,
   Thow sparyng, and thow preyyng; dooth so,
   Or elles wisse us whidir for to flee
   To hem bat been mercyfullere than yee.

5. If it so be, as wel I woot it is,
   That so greuous is myn iniquitee,
   And bat I haue wroght so moche amis,
   So smal my feith, so slow my charitee,
   And lord, so unkonnynge is, unto thee
   And thy modir, my lewed orisoun,
   So imparfyt my satisfaccioun,
6. That neither of my giltes indulgence,
   Ne grace of helthe, in no maner wyse
   Disserued haue I for my greet offense:
   Lo, that meene I, that is my couetyse,
   That, where as my dissert may nat souffyse,
   The grace of mercy of yow bothe tweye
   Ne faille nat, that is it that I preye.

7. Mercyful lord, haue upon me mercy!
   And lady, thy sone unto mercy meeue.
   with herte contryt preye I thee meekly;
   Lady thy pitee on me wrecche preuee.
   Bisyly preye, for I fully leeue
   ffor whom thow preyest god nat list denye
   Thyn axynge, blessid maiden Marie.
V. Item de beata virgine

1. Syn thow, modir of grace, haast euere in mynde
   Alle tho bat up on thee han memorie,
   Thy remembrance ay oghte our hertes bynde
   Thee for to honure, blisful qweene of glorie.
   To alle cristen folk it is notorie
   bat thou art shee in whom bat al man kynde
   May truste fully grace and help to fynde.

2. what wight is bat, that with angwissh and wo
   Tormented is, if he preye un to thee
   him to deliure and to putte him ther fro,
   Thow ne uoidest his aduersitee
   Thurgh preyre of thy wowndid charitee?
   And thogh bat preye may his tonge noght,
   Yit help is he thurgh cry of hertes thoght.

3. The oyle of thy mercy flowith eueremore;
   There in noon ebbe hath dominacion;
   That licour our wowndes greuous & sore
   Serchith, and is our ful curacion;
   That is the kay of our sauuacion;
   And syn bat ther of is so greet plentee,
   And thow so liberal, glad may we be.
4. Al bat the heuene of the eerthe takith,  
And bat the eerthe by heuene's moistnesse  
Doun shed foorth bryngith, thy vertu it makith;  
So art thou ful of vertuous richesse,  
Sterre of the see, whos shynyng brightnesse  
The dirke soule of man makith to shyne,  
And him preserueth hooly fro ruyne.

5. Thow cause of al our ioie, of lyf the tree  
bat fruyt of helthe baar perpetuel;  
God, in the rynde of our mortalitee,  
In thy body him lappid euerydel;  
And his hynesse enclyned, woot I wel,  
Vn to the valeys of our lowlynesse,  
Our firste gilt with his blood to redresse.

6. The whyt flees of thy wombe uirginal,  
Of which the gowne of perpetuel pece  
was maad, withouten mannes werk at al:  
honur and thank be to it endeles!  
ffor thy sone in his passion douteles  
It into purpre hath for man kynde died,  
ffor bat him list with us to been allied.
7. Thow worthy art un to the sonnes light
   Be likened, and preferred for to be
   The cleernesse of the moone shynyng bright.
   ffor as an heuenly morwen thy bountee
   Eternel day hath gete us, lady free,
   That dirknesse of our soule away hath chaced,
   And out of thraldam freedam us purchaced.

8. Thow art shee which bat strengthest hertes chaaste
   with a sad and constant perseverance.
   what bat we iustly preye is sped in haaste,
   Swich is thy grace & helply purueance.
   To keepe us fro the feendes destourbance,
   Thow mennes hertes fyrest with the hete
   Of feith and charitee, as Clerkes trete.

9. And sooth it is, o heuenes Emperice,
   bat thow, for us, beforne the rightwisnesse
   Of God thy sone, as our mediatrice,
   Preyest of custumable bisynesse.
   Cesse thow nat, syn, for our wrecchidnesse,
   Our Redemptour thee hath in bat office
   Ordeyned for to pourge us of our vice.
10. Right as among the membres of a man

Only his ye is perceptible of light,
In swich maneere, o thow blessid womman,
Among uirgynes alle, haast the might
Only to shitte in thee, as it is right,
Theternel glorie of goddes magestee,
ffor thy clennesse and thyn humilitie.

11. If bat the feend wynd of temptacioun

Putte in oure hertes, or floodes of pryd,
Or othir uicious excitacioun,
Our soules fro thy sone to dyuyde,
Swich aduocatrice art thow for our syde,
That our tempestes may no whyle laste;
At thy preyere al styntid is as faste,
To god so acceptable is thy preyere,
The feendes malice hurte us may but smal.
Syn thow with us art, Crystes modir deere,
wel may the feend abasht been in his cheere,
Thy servant, bat so often sythe assaillith,
And thurgh thyn help his labour naght auailith.
By thee thy sone graunteth foryeunesse
To synful men; to laboreres, reste;
To hem pat been in peril, sikirnesse;
To seek men, helthe; swich right as hem leste.
Of creatures alle, o thow the beste,
ffeith among freendes grauntid is by thee,
And betwyxt foos, pees and tranquillitee.

To hem pat in diseese and angwissh be,
Grauntid is also consolacioun;
In thynges pat been doutous, certaintee;
Solace and ioie in tribulacioun;
In exyl, reconsiliacioun;
In perissshyngge, sikir hauene and port:
Thus artow every where al our confort.

Syn swich power to thee committed is,
pat soule of man is as thee list it haue:
Amende at ourg axynge that is amis;
Of duetee we wole it axe and craue.
In thee, next god, is al pat us may saue;
Thow, as thee list, his herte mayst enclyne,
And he consentith wel pat thow it myne.
16. Thy sone hath boght our soules at swich prys, 
bat derrere might no thyng han be boght: 
And he a chapman is nat so unwys, 
Thogh bat we synful been in deede & thoght, 
Our soules lightly leese he thoght it noght. 
he mercy weneth neuere at thyn instance, 
ffor why, we thee preye of continuance.

17. Our Redemptour, by thee modir of grace, 
Grauntith honour, ioie and eternitee; 
Let see the mercy of thy sone embrace 
Preeue thee swich as thow art wont to be, 
And thanne of grace seur ynow been we 
ffor euere, or this hath been the bysynesse 
To purchace of our gilt foryeuenesse.

18. And now to stynte of bat helply custume 
bat un to man kynde is so profitable: 
No wight on him can taken or presume; 
The kynde is nat for to be changeable, 
But is vertu to be constant and stable; 
And so thow art, lady, withouten faille; 
we doute it naght, no do foorth thy travaillaume.
19. Lady in whom al vertu hath his reste,  
Modir of mercy, modir of pitee,  
Of al bountee thow verry cofre & cheste,  
Deffende us fro the feendes sotiltee,  
bat us nat greeue his greet iniquitee;  
Thy tendre loue upon us wrecches preue  
bat been the sones exyld of Eeue.

20. Un to thy blissid sone us reconsyle,  
ffer to bat ende and un to bat entente,  
As thow wel woost, in to this wrecchid yle,  
ffer our behoue, his fadir him doun sente;  
In mannes loue, how feruently he brente  
his passion witnesse bere may;  
Remembere on bat, and preye for us aye.
VI. Item de beata virgine

1. Who so desirith to ye and conquere
The blisse of heuene, needful is a gyde
him to condue, & for to brynge him there;
And so good knowe I noon, for mannes syde,
As the roote of humblesse & fo to pryde,
That lady of whos tetes virginal
Sook our Redemptour, the maker of al.

2. Betwyxt god and man is shee mediatrice,
ffor oure offenses mercy to purchace.
Shee is our seur sheeld ageyn the malice
Of the feend, bat our soules wolde embrace
And carie hem un to bat horrible place
wher as eternel peyne is and torment,
More than may be spoke of, thought, or ment.

3. Now, syn bat lady noble and glorious
To al man kynde hath so greet cheertee,
That in this slipir lyf and perillous,
Staf of confort and help to man is shee,
Conuenient is bat to bat lady free
we do service, honour & plesance;
And to bat ende heere is a remembrance.

Explicit prologus )
& incipit fabula )
VII. (The tale of the Virgin's sleeveless garment)

1. There was, whilom, as bat seith the scripture,
   In ffraunce, a ryche man and a worthy,
   That god and holy chirche to honure
   And plese enforced he him bisily;
   And un to Crystes modir specially,
   bat noble lady, bat blissid virgyne,
   ffor to worsshipe he did his might & pyne.

2. It shoop so bat this man had a yong sone,
   Un to which he yaf informacion
   Every day to haue in custume, and wone
   ffors to seye at his excitation,
   The angelike salutacion
   .L. sythes in worsship and honour
   Of goddes modir, of uertu the flour.

3. By his fadres wil, a monk afterward
   In thabbeye of seint Gyle maad was he;
   where as he in penance sharp & hard
   Obserued wel his ordres duetee,
   Lyuynge in uertuous religioustee;
   And on a tyme, him to pleye and solace,
   his fadir made him come hoom to his place.
4. Now was ther, at our ladyes reuerence,
A Chapel in it maad and edified,
In to which the monk, whan conuenience
Of tyme he had awayted & espied,
his fadres lore to fulfille, him hied;
And .L. sythes, with deuout corage,
Seide Ave Marie, as was his usage.

5. And whan bat he had endid his preyeere
Our lady, clothid in a garnement
Sleeuelees, byfore him he sy appeer:
where of the monk took good auisament,
Merueillynge him what bat this might han ment;
And seide, "o. goode lady, by your leeue,
What garnament is this and hath no sleeue?"

6. And she answerde & seide, "this clothynge
Thow hast me youen, for thow euery day
.L. sythe Ave Maria seyynge,
honured hast me; hens foorth, I the pray,
Use to treble bat by any way,
And to every .x: the. Ave ioyne also
A pater noster; do thow euene so.
7. "The firste .L.\textsuperscript{1} wole I bat seid be
In the memorie of the ioie and honour
That I had whan the Angel grette me,
which was right a wondriful confortour
To me whan he seide the Redemptour
Of al man kynde I receyue sholde;
Greet was my ioie whan he so me tolde

8. "Thow shalt eek seyn the seconde, .L.\textsuperscript{2}.t\textsuperscript{y}.
In honur and in mynde of the gladnesse
That I had whan I baar of my body
God and man, withouten wo or duresse.
The .iij.\textsuperscript{de}. .l.\textsuperscript{ty} in thyn herte impresse,
And seye it eek, with good deuocioun,
In the memorie of myn Assumpcioun,

9. "Whan bat I was coroned queene of heuene,
In which my sone regneth, and shal ay."
All this was doon bat I speke of and meene,
As the book seith, up on an halyday.
And than seid our lady, the glorious May,
"The next halyday wole I resorte
To this place, thee to glade and conforte."
10. And ther with al fro thens departed shee,
The monk in his deuocion dwellynge;
And every day Ave Maria he
Seide, aftir hir doctryne & enformynge.
And the next haliday aftir suynge,
Our lady, fresshly arraied and wel,
To the monk cam, beynge in pat Chapel.

11. And un to him seide, "beholde now
how good clothyng; and how fressh apparaille
That this wyke to me youen hast thow;
Sleeues to my clothyng now nat faille;
Thee thanke I, and ful wel for thy trauaille
Shalt thow be qwit heere in this lyf present,
And in pat othir whan thow hens art went.

12. "Walke now, and go hoom un to thabbeye
whan thow comst. Abbot shalt thow chosen be.
And the couent teche thow for to seye
My psalter, as byforn taght haue I thee;
The peple also thow shalt in generaltee
The same lassoun to myn honur teche,
And in hyre hurtes wole I been hir leche.
13. "Vij.° yeer lyue shalt thow for to do
   This charge, & whan the yeeres been agoon
   Thow passe shalt hens, & me come un to:
   And of this doute haue thow righte noon.
   By my psalter shal ther be many oon
   Saued, and had up to eternel blisse,
   bat, if bat nere, sholden there of misse."

14. Whan shee had seid what bytid hire to seye,
   Shee up to heuene ascendid up and sty.
   And soone aftir, Abbot of bat Abbeye
   he maad was, as bat tolde him our lady.
   The Couent and the peple deuoutly
   The monk enformed and taughte hir psalteer,
   ffor to be seid aftir bat vij°. yeer.

15. Tho yeeres past; his soule was betaght
   To god: he heuene had un to his meede.
   who serueth our lady leesith right naght;
   Shee souffissantly qwytith every deede.
   And now heer aftir the bettre to speede,
   And in hir grace cheerly for to stonde,
   hir psalteer for to seye let us fonde.

   Explicit.
VIII. Lepistre de Cupide.

1. Cupido, un to whos commandement
   The gentil kynrede of goddes on hy,
   And peple infernal, been obedient,
   And the mortel folk seruen bisyly;
   Of goddesse Sitheree sone oonly;
   To alle tho that to our deitee
   Been sogettes, greetynges senden we.

2. In general we wole that yee knowe
   that ladyes of honur and reverence,
   And othir gentil wommen, han I-sowe
   Swich seed of conpleynte in our audience,
   Of men that doon hem outrage & offense,
   that it oure eres greeueth for to heere,
   So pitous is the effect of hir mateere.

3. And passynge alle londes, on this yle,
   That clept is Albioun, they moost conpleyne;
   They seyn that there is croppe and roote of gyle,
   So can tho men dissimulen and fynne,
   with standyng dropes in hire yen twyne
   whan that hire herte feelith no distresse,
   To blynde wommen with hir doublenesse.
hir wordes spoken been so sighnyngly,
And with so pitous cheere and contenance,
That every wight bat meeneth trewely
Deemeth bat they in herte han swich greuance,
They seyn so importable is hir penaunce,
bat, but hir lady list to shewe hem grace,
They right anoon moot steruen in the place.

"A lady myn," they seyn, "I yow ensure,
Shewe me grace, & I shal euere be,
whyles my lyf may lasten & endure,
To yow as humble in euery degree
As possible is, and keepe al thyng seccree,
As bat your seluen lykith bat I do,
And elles moot myn herte breste on two."

fful hard is it to knowe a mannes herte,
ffor outward may no man the trouthe deeme,
whan word out of his mouth may ther noon sterte;
But it sholde any wight by reson qweeme,
So is it seid of herte, it wolde seeme,
O feithful womman ful of Innocence,
Thow art betrayed by fals apparence!
7. By proces, wommen meeued of pitee,
   Weenyng al thyng were as bat tho men seye,
   Graunten hem grace of hir benigneitee,
   ffor they nat sholden for hir sake deye;
   And with good herte sette hem in the weye
   Of blissful loue, keepe it if they konne:
   Thus othir whyle been the womman wonne.

8. And whan the man the pot hath by the stele,
   And fully of hire hath possessioun,
   with bat womman he keepith nat to dele
   Aftir, if he may fynden in the toun
   Any womman his blynde affeccion.
   On to bestowe, foule moot he preeue:
   A man, for al his ooth, is hard to leeue.

9. And for bat euery fals man hath a make,
   As un to euery wight is light to knowe,
   whan this Traitour the womman hath forsake,
   he faste him speedith unto his felawe;
   Til he be there, his herte is on a lowe;
   his fals deceit ne may him nat souffyse,
   But of his treson tellith al the wyse.

Is this a fair
10. Is this a fair auant? is this honour
A man him/self to accuse & diffame?
Now is it good confesse him a traitour,
And brynge a woman to a sclaudrouss name,
And telle how he hir body hath doon shame?
No worship may he thus to him conquere,
But ful greet repreef unto him and here.

11. To here nay yit was it no repreef,
ffor al for pitee was it pat shee wroghte;
But he pat breewid hath al this mescheef,
pat spake so fair & falsly inward thoghte,
his be the shame, as it by reson oghte,
And unto here thank perpetuel,
pat in a neede helpe can so wel.

12. Al thogh pat men, by sleighte & sotiltee,
A cely, symple, and ignorant woman
Betraye, is no wondir, syn the citee
Of Troie, as pat the storie telle can,
Betrayed was thurgh the deceit of man,
And set a fyre, & al doun ouerthrowe,
And finally destroyed as men knowe.
13. Betrayen men nat Remes grete and kynges?
what wight is bat can shape a remedie
Ageynes false & hid purposed thynges?
who can the craft, tho craftes to espye,
But man, whos wil ay reedy is tapplie
 To thyng bat souneth in to hy falshede?
wommen be waar of mennes sleighte, I-rede.

14. And furthermore, han the men in usage,
bat, where as they nat likly been to speede,
Swich as they been, with a double uisage,
They procuren for to pursue hir neede.
he preyeth him in his cause proceede,
And largely him qwytith his trauaille:
Smal witen wommen how men hem assaille.

15. To his felawe an othir wrecche seith,
"Thow fisshist faire, shee bat hath thee fyrid
Is fals and inconstant & hath no feith.
Shee for the rode of folk is so desyride,
And as an hors fro day to day is hyrid,
That whan thow twynnest from hir compagnie,
An othir comth, and blerid is thyn ye.
16. "Now prike on faste, & ryde thy iourneye; whyl thow art ther, shee behynde thy bak So liberal is, shee can no wight withseye, But qwikly of an othir take a snak; ffor so the wommen faren al the pak: who so hem trustith, hangid moot he be! Ay they desiren chaunge & noueltee."

17. where of procedith this, but of enuye? ffor he him selfe here ne wynne may, Repreef of here he spekth, and villenye, As mannes labbyng tonge is wont alway. Thus sundry men ful often make assay ffor to destourbe folk in sundry wyse, ffor they may nat accheuen hire empryse.

18. fful many a man eke wolde for no good, bat hath in loue spent his tyme & usid; Men wist his lady his axyng withstood, And bat he were of his lady refusid, Or waast & ueyn were al bat he had musid; wherfore he can no bettre remedie, But on his lady shapith him to lie.
19. "Evry woman," he seith, "is light to gete; Can noon seyn nay if shee be wel I-soght, who so may liefer han with hire to trete, Of his purpos ne shal he faille noght, But on maddynge he be so deepe broghte, bat he shende al with open hoomlynesse bat louen women nat, as bat I gesse."

20. To sclaudre women thus, what may profyte? To gentils namly, bat hem armen sholde, And in deffense of women hem delyte, As bat the ordre of gentillesse wolde: If bat a man list gentil to be holde, Al must he flee bat is to it contrarie: A sclaudryng tonge is ther to Aduersarie.

21. A foul uice is of tonge to be light, ffor who so mochil clappith, gabbith ofte. The tonge of man so swift is, and so Wight, bat wan it is areisid up on loft, Reson it sueth so slowly and softe, bat it him neuere ouertake may: Lord so the men been trusty at assay!
22. Al be it bat men fynde o womman nyce,
Inconstant, rechelees, or uariable,
Deynous, or proud, fulfillment of malice,
withoute feith or loue, & deceuyable,
Sly, qweynte, & fals, in al unthrift coupable,
wikkid and feers, & ful of crueltee:
It folwith nat swich alle wommen be.

23. whan bat the hy god angels formed hadde,
Among hem alle whethir ther was noon
bat fownden was malicious & badde?
Yis, men wel knowen ther was many oon,
bat, for hir pryde, fil from heuene anoon.
Shal man therfore alle angels prowde name?
Nay, he bat that susteneth is to blame.

24. Of .xij. apostles, oon a traitour was;
The remanaunt yit goode were and treewe;
Thanne if it happe men fynden, par cas,
O womman fals, swich is good for teschewe
And deeme nat bat they been alle untreewe.
I see wel mennes owne falsnesse
hem causith wommen for to truste lesse.
25. O, every man oughte han an herte tendre
    Un to woman, & deeme hire honourable,
whethir his shap be eithir thikke or sclendre,  
Or he be badde or good; this is no fable;
Every man woot, bat wit hath resonable,  
Bat of a woman he descendid is:
    Than is it shame speke of hire amis.

26. A wikkid tree good fruyt may noon foorth brynge,  
    ffor swich the fruyt is as bat is the tree:
    Take heede of whom thou took thy begynnynge!
Lat thy modir be mirour un to thee;  
honure hire, if thou wilt honured be;
Despyse thou nat hire in no maneere,  
Lest bat ther thurgh thy wikkidnesse appere.

27. An old proverbe seid is in englissh:
    Men seyn bat brid or foul is dishonest,
what so it be, and holden ful cherliss
bat wont is to deffoule his owne nest.
Men to seye of wommen wel, it is best,  
And nat for to despise hem, ne depraue,  
If bat hem list hire honour keepe and saue.
28. Ladyes eek conpleynen hem on Clerkis,  
\[bat\] they han maad bookes of hir deffame,  
In whiche they lakken wommennes werkis,  
And speken of hem greet repreef and shame,  
And causelees, hem yeue a wikkid name;  
Thus they despysid been on every syde,  
And sclaundred and belowan on ful wyde.

29. The wikkid bookes maken mencion  
how they betrayden, in special,  
Adam, Dauid, Sampson, & Salomon,  
And many oon mo; who may rehercen al  
The tresoun \[bat\] they haue doon & shal?  
who may hire hy malice comprehende?  
"Nat the world," Clerkes seyn, "it hath noon ende!"

30. Ouyde, in his book callid Remedie  
Of loue, greet repreef of wommen writith,  
Where in, I trowe, he did greet folie;  
And every wight \[bat\] in swich cas delitith.  
A clerkes custume is, whan he endyttith  
Of wommen, be it prose, rym, or vers,  
Seyn they be wikke, al knowe he the reuers.
31. And bat book scolers lerne in hir childhede,  
ffor they of wommen be waar sholde in age,  
And for to loue hem euere been in drede,  
Syn to deceyue is set al hir corage.  
s. libri  
They seyn, peril to caste is auantage,  
Namely swich as men han in be trappid,  
ffor many a man by wommen han mis happid.  

32. No charge, what so that the Clerkes seyn:  
Of al hir wrong wrytyng do we no cure;  
Al hir labour and travaille is in ueyn,  
ffor, betwyxt us & my Lady nature  
Shal nat be souffred, whyl the world may dure,  
Clerkes, by hire outrageous tirannye,  
Thus upon wommen kythen hir maistrye.  

33. Whilom, ful many of hem were in our cheyne  
Tyd, and lo, now, what for unweeldy age,  
And for unlust, may nat to loue atteyne,  
And seyn bat loue is but uerray dotage;  
Thus for bat they hem self lakken corage,  
They folk excyten by hir wikked sawes,  
ffor to rebelle ageyn us and our lawes.
34. But maugree hem pat blamen wommen moost,
Swich is the force of oure impressioun,
pat sodeynly We felle can hir boost,
And al hir wrong ymaginacioun.
It shal nat been in hire elleccioun,
The foulest slutte in al a toun refuse
If pat us list, for al pat they can muse;

35. But hire in herte as brennyngly desyre,
As thogh shee were a duchesse or a qweene.
So can We mennes hertes sette on fyre,
And as us list hem sende ioie & teene.
They that to wommen been I-whet so keene,
Our sharpe strokes how sore they smyte
Shul feeie and knowe, & how they kerue & byte.

36. Pardee, this greet Clerk, this sotil Ouyde,
And many an othir han deceyued be
of wommen, as it known is ful wyde;
what no men more, & pat is greet deyntee,
So excellent a Clerk as pat was he,
And othir mo pat kowde so wel preche,
Betrappid wen, for aght they kowde teche.
37. And trusteth wed it is no meruaille,  
    ffor wommen kneewen pleynly hire entente;  
    They wiste how sotilly they kowde assaille 
    hem, and what falsode in herte they mente;  
    And tho Clerkes they in hir daunger hente;  
    with o unym an othir was destroyed,  
    And thus the Clerkes often were anoyed. 

38. This ladyes, ne gentils, nathelees  
    weren nat they bat wroghten in this wyse;  
    But swiche filthes bat weren uertulees,  
    They qwitten thus, thise olde Clerkes wyse:  
    To Clerkes for thy lesse may souffyse  
    Than to deprauw wommen generally,  
    ffor honur shulen they gete noon therby. 

39. If bat tho men, bat louers hem pretend,  
    To wommen weren feithful, goode, & treewe,  
    And dredden hem to deceyue and offende,  
    wommen to loue hem wolde nat escheewe;  
    But euery day hath man an herte neewe;  
    It up on oon abyde can no whyle:  
    what force is it swich oon for to begyle?
40. Men beren eek the wommen up on honde,  
_\textit{bat}_ lightly and withouten any peyne
They wonne been; they can no wight _\textit{withstonde},
_\textit{bat}_ his disese list to hem conpleyne:
They been so freel, they mowe him nat restreyne;
But who so lybith may hem lightly haue,
So been hire hertes esy in to graue.

41. To Maister John de Meun, as I suppose,
Than it was a lewde occupacioun,
In makynge of the Romaunce of the Rose;
So many a sly ymaginacioun,
And _\textit{perils}_ for to rollen up and doun,
So long _\textit{procees},_ so many a sly cautele,
_ffor to deceyue a cely damoisele._

42. Nat can We seen, ne in our wit _\textit{comprehende},
_\textit{bat}_ art, and peyne, and sotiltee may faille
_ffor to conquere, and soon make an ende,
whan man a feeble place shal assaille,
And soon also to venquisshe a Bataille,
Of which no wight dar make resistence,
Ne herte hath noon to stonden at defense.
43. Than moot it folwen, of necessitee,
Syn art askith so greet engyn & payne,
A womman to deceyue what she be;
Of constance they been nat so barreyne
As bat some of tho sotil Clerkes feyne;
But they been as bat wommen oghten be,
Sad, constaunt, and fulfillid of pitee.

44. how frendly was Medea to Iason
In the conqueryng of the flees of gold!
how falsly qwitte he hire affeccion,
By whom victorie he gat, as he hath wold!
how may this man for shame be so bold
To falsen hire, bat from deeth & shame
him kepte, and gat him so greet prys & name?

45. Of Troie also the traitor Eneas,
The feithlees man, how hath he him forswore
To Dido, bat Queene of Cartage was,
bat him releued of his greeues sore?
what gentillesse mighte shee do more
Than shee, with herte unfeyned, to him kidde?
And what mescheef to hire of it betidde!
46. In our legende of martirs may men fynde,
who so bat lykith ther in for to rede,
That ooth noon, ne byheeste, may men bynde;
Of repreef, no of shame, han they no drede;
In herte of man conceites treewe arn dede:
The soile is naght, ther may no trouthe growe;
To womman is hir uice nat unknowe.

47. Clerkes seyn also ther is no malice
Unto wommannes crabbid wikkidnesse.
O womman, how shalt thow thy/self cheuyce,
Syn men of thee so mochil harm witnesse?
Yee strah! do foorth! take noon heuynesse;
Keep thyn owne, what men clappe or crake,
And some of hem shuln smerte, I undirtake.

48. Malice of wommen? what is it to drede?
They slee no men, destroien no Citees;
They nat oppressen folk, ne ouerlede;
Betraye Empyres, Remes, ne Dukees;
Ne men byreue hir landes, ne hir mees,
ffolk enpoysone, or howses sette on fyre;
Ne fals contractes maken for noon hyre.
49. Trust parfyte loue and enteer charitee, 
fferuent wil and entalentid corage,
To thewes goode, as it sit wel to be,
han wommen ay of custume & usage;
And wel they can a mannes ire asswage
with softe wordes, discreet & benigne:
what they been inward, shewith ouwtward signe.

50. wommannes herte to no creweltee
Enclyned is; but they been charitable,
Pitous, devout, ful of humilitie,
Shamefast, debonaire and amiable,
Dreadful, and of hir wordes mesurable.
what womman thise hath nat, per aventure,
ffolwyth nothyng the way of hir nature.

51. Men seyn oure firste modir, nathelees,
Made al man kynde leese his libertee,
And nakid it of ioie; doutelees,
ffor goddes heeste disobeied shee,
whan shee presumed to ete of the tree
which god forbad bat shee nat ete of sholde,
And nad the feend been, no more shee wolde.
52. Thenyous swellyng \(\textit{bat}\) the feend, our fo,
had un to man in herte for his welthe
Sent a serpent, and made hire to go
To deceyue Eeue; and thus was mannys welthe
Byreft him by the feend, right in a stelthe.
The womman nat knowyng of the deceit:
God woot, ful fer was it from hir conceit.

53. wherfore, We seyn, this good womman Eeue
Our fadir Adam ne deceyued noght.
Ther may no man for a deceit it preewe proprely, but if \(\textit{bat}\) shee in hir thoght
had it compassid first or it was wroght:
And for swich was nat hire impression,
Men calle it may no deceit by reson.

54. No wight deceyueth but he it purpose:
The feend this deceit caste & nothyng shee:
Than is it wrong for to deeme or suppose
\(\textit{bat}\) shee sholde of \(\textit{bat}\) gilt the cause be;
wytith the feend, and his be the maugree,
And for excusid haue hire Innocence,
Sauf only \(\textit{bat}\) shee brak obedience.
55. Touchynge which, ful fewe men ther been,
    Vnneneth any, dar We saufly seyn,
    ffro day to day as men mowe wel seen,
    But bat the heeste of god they disobeye:
    This haue in mynde, sires, We yow preye;
    If bat yee be discreet and resonable
    Yee wole hire hólde the more excusoble.

56. And wher men seyn in man is stidfastnesse,
    And womman is of hir corage unstable,
    who may of Adam bere swich witnesse?
    Tellith on this: was he nat changeable?
    They bothe were in a cas semblable,
    Sauf willyngly the feend deceyued Ecue;
    So did shee nat Adam, by your leeue.

57. Yit was bat synne happy to man kynde;
    The feend deceyued was for al his sleighte;
    ffor aght he kowde him in his sleightes wynde,
    God, to descharge man kynde of the weighte
    Of his trespas, cam doun from heuenes heighte,
    And flessh and blood he took of a uirgyne,
    And souffred deeth, man to deliure of pyne.

    And god fro whom
58. And god, fro whom ther may no thyng hid be,
   If he in womman knowe had swich malice,
   As men of hem recorde in generaleee,
   Of our lady, of lyf reparatrice,
   Nolde han be born; but for bat shee of uice
   was uoide, and of al uertue, wel he wiste,
   Endowid, of hire_ be born him liste.

59. hire_ hepid uertu hath swich excellence,
   bat al to weyke is mannes facultee
   To declare it, & therfore in suspense
   hir due laude put moot needes be;
   But this We Witen verraily, bat shee,
   Next god, the best freend is bat to man longith:
   The keye of mercy by hir gordil hongith.

60. And of mercy hath every wight swich neede,
   bat cessyng it, farwel the ioie of man.
   Of hir power it is to taken heede;
   Shee mercy may wole, & purchace can;
   Displese hir nat, honureth bat womman,
   And othir wommen alle for hir sake;
   And but ye do, your sorwe shal awake.
61. Thow precious gemme, Martir Margarete,
    Of thy blood dredist noon effusion!
    Thy martirdom ne may We natforgete;
    O constant womman, in thy passion
    Overcam the feendes temptacion,
    And many a wight converted to thy doctrine
    Un to the feith of god, holy uirgyne.

62. But undirstondith: We commend hir noght
    By encheson of hir uirginitee;
    Trustith right wel, it cam nat in our thoght;
    ffor ay We werrie ageyn chastitee,
    And euere shal, but this leeueth wel yee:
    hir louyng herte and constant to this lay,
    Dryue out of remembrance we nat may.

63. In any book also wher can yee find
    bat of the wirkes or the deeth or lyf
    Of Ihesu spekth or makith any mynde,
    bat women him forsook for wo or stryfe?
    wher was ther any wight so ententyf
    Abouten him as wommen? pardee, noon!
    Thapostles him forsooken euerichoon;
64. wommen forsook him noght, for al the feith
Of holy chirche in wommen lefte oonly.
This is no lees, for thus holy writ seith;
Look and yee shulf so fynde it hardly,
And therfore it may prueued be ther by,
That in womman regneth al the constaunce,
And in man is al chaunge & variaunc.

65. Now holdith this for ferme, & for no lye,
bat this is treewe & iust commendacioun
Of wommen is nat told for flaterie,
Ne to cause hem pryde or elacioun,
But oonly lo for this entencioun,
To yeue hem corage of perseuerance
In uertu, & hir honur to enhaunce.

66. The more uertu, the lasse is the pryde;
Vertu so noble is, and worthy in kynde,
bat uice & shee may nat in feere abyde;
Shee puttith uice cleene out of mynde;
She fleeth from him, shee leueth him behynde;
O womman, bat of uertu art hostesse,
Greet is thyn honur & thy worthynesse!
67. Than thus we wolen conclude and deffyne:
   we you commaunde, our ministres echoon,
   bat reedy been to oure heestes enclyne,
   bat of tho men untreewe, our rebel soon,
   Yee do punisshement, & bat anoon;
   Voide hem our Court, & banisshe hem for euere,
   So bat ther ynne they ne come neuere.

68. ffullfyllid be it cessenyng al delay.
   Look ther be noon excusacion.
   writen in their the lusty monthe of May
   In our paleys, wher many a milion
   Of louers treewe han habitacion,
   The yeer of grace, ioyeful and iocounde,
   .M.CCCC. and secounde.

Explicit epistola
Cupidinis.

"Ceste balade ensuante feuste faite pur
la bien venue du tresnoble Roy. H. le. v^t.,
qui dieu pardoint hors du Roialme de
ffraunce, cestassauoir sa dareine venue."

- 118. -
IX (Balade to King Henry V.)

1. Victorious cristen Prince, our lord souerein,
   Our lige lord ful dred and douted, we
   Your humble and buxum liges treewe seyn
   Right thus unto your rial dignitee:
   Henri the V. the welcome be yee!
   welcome be your famous excellence,
   Swerd of knyghthode, & flour of sapience!

2. Yee been welcome heir and Regent of ffraunce,
   Our gracious kyng, the ensaumple of honur;
   Right feithfully, with hertes obeissance,
   welcome be yee, worthy Conquerour,
   which, no peril eschuyng, ne labour
   In armes knyghtly han yow put in prees,
   And twyxt two Remes knyt han up the pees!

3. Your worthynesse excedith & surmountith
   The prowesse of kynges & princes alle:
   \ffame so seith, thus al the world acountith.
   what may we seyn, or what may we yow calle?
   we can for noon aart \hat may happe or falle
   Your worthy deedes, as be oghte, preise,
   They been so manye, and so mochil peyse.
4. Ignorance is un to us swich a fo,
If we dilate sholde, and drawe along
Your prys and thank, we kowden nat do so:
To litil seyn we sholde, & do yow wrong,
Nat on our willes, but wittes along:
And syn bat ther to oure inteligence
Souffysith nat, we keepe moot silence.

5. But souerein lord, lige, as we seide aboue,
   welcome be your excellent hynesse;
   with al our spirites, and hertes loue
   More welcome than we can expresse;
   Your hy presence is tresor & richesse
   To us ful greet, for why, to us echone,
   welcome be your peereles persone.

Cest tout

Cy ensuent trois chaunceons, lune conpleynante a la dame monoie, & lautre
la reponse dele a cellui qui se conpleynt, & la tierce la commendacion de ma dame.
X. Three Roundels

i) Complaint to Lady Money

Wel may I pleyne on yow, lady moneye,
hat in the prison of your sharp scantnesse
Souffren me bathe in wo and heuynesse,
And deynen nat of socour me purueye.

whan hat I baar of your prison the keye,
Kepte I yow streite? Nay, god to witnesse!
wel may I pleyne...

I leet yow out; o now of your noblesse
Seeth unto me; in your deffaute I deye!
wel may I pleyne...

Ye saillen al to fer, retourne I preye;
Conforteth me ageyne this Cristemesse,
Elles I moot, in right a feynt gladnesse,
Synge of yow thus, & yow accuse and seye:
wel may I pleyne....
ii) La response

Hoccleue, I wole it to thee knowen be,
I lady moneie, of the world goddesse,
bat haue al thyng undir my buxumnesse,
Nat sette by thy pleynte risshes three!

Myn hy might haddest thow in no cheertee,
whyle I was in thy slipir sikirnesse.

Hoccleue, I wole...

At instance of thyn excessif largesse,
Becam I of my body delauee.

Hoccleue, I wole...

And, syn bat lordes grete obeien me,
Sholde I dreede of thy poore symplexesse?
My golden heed akith for thy lewdesse.
Go, poor wrecche, who settith aght by thee!

Hoccleue, I wole....

Cest tout
iii) Hoccleve's praise of his lady.

Of my lady wel me reioise I may:
hir golden forheed is ful narwe & smal;
hir browes been lyk to dym reed coral;
And as the ieet hire yen glisten ay. 4
hir bowgy cheekes been as softe as clay,
with large iowes and substancial;
Of my lady...
hir nose a pentice is, hat it ne shal
Reyne in hir mowth, thogh she up rightes lay. 8
Of my lady...
hir mowth is nothyng scant, with lippes gray;
hir chin unnethe may be seen at al;
hir comly body shape as a foot bal;
And shee syngith ful lyk a papejay. 12
Of my lady...

Cest tout

Aftir our song, our mirthe and our gladnesse,
Heer folwith a lessoun of heuynesse:

Syn alle etc.
XI. Lerne to Dye

Hic incipit ars utilissima sciendi mori/ Cum omnes homines etc.

1. Syn alle men naturally desyre
   To konne o eterne sapience,
   O universel Prince, lord and Syre,
   Auctour of nature, in whos excellence
   Been hid alle the tresors of science;
   Makere of al, and bat al seest and woost,
   This axe I thee, thow, lord of mightes moost:

2. Thy tresor of wisdam, and the konnynge
   Of seintes opne thow to me I preye,
   That I there of may have a knowlechynge;
   Enforme eek me, & un to me bywreye,
   Syn thow of al science berst the keye,
   Sotile materes profounde & grete,
   Of whiche I fervently desire trete.

3. "O sone myn, sauoure nat to hie,
   But dreede herkne, & I shal teche thee
   Thyng bat shal to thy soule fructifie;
   A chosen yifte shalt thow haue of me:
   My lore — eternel lyf shal to thee be;
   The dreede of god, which the begynnyng is
   Of wisdam, shalt thow leere, & it is this:
4. "Now herkne a doctrine substancial:
ffirst how lerne die telle wole y;
The second how bat a man lyue shal;
The .iiij. de how a man sacramentally
Receyue me shal wel and worthyly;
The .iiiij. e. how with an herte clene and pure
That a man loue me shal & honure."

5. "Tho thynges .iiij. good lord haue I euere
Desired for to knowe, & hem to leere;
Un to myn herte there is no thyng leuere;
A bettre thyng can I nat wisshen heere;
But tellith me this, this feyn wolde I heere,
what may profyte the lore of dyynge,
Syn deeth noon hauyng is, but a pryuyng?

6. "ffor shee man reueth of lyf the swetnesse."
"Sone the art to lerne for to die
Is to the soule an excellent swetnesse,
To which I rede thow thyn herte applie;
There is noon aart bat man can specifie
So profitable, ne worthy to be
Preferred aartes alle, as bat is shee."
7. "To wite and knowe that man is mortel
   It is to commune un to folkes alle;
   that man shal nat lyue ay heer, woot he wel;
   No trust at al may in his herte falle,
   That he eschape or flee may dethes galle;
   But fewe that can die, shalt thow seen:
   It is the gifte of god best that may been.

8. "To lerne for to die is to haue ay
   Bothe herte and soule redy hens to go,
   that whan deeth cometh for to cacche hir pray,
   Man rype be the lyf to twynne fro,
   And hire to take and receyue also,
   As he that the comyng of his felawe
   Desirith, and ther of is glad and fawe.

9. "But more harm is, ful many oon shalt thow fynde
   that ageyn deeth maken no purueance;
   Hem lothen deeth for to haue in hir mynde;
   That thoght they holden thoght of encombrance:
   worldly swetnesse sleeth swich remembrance;
   An syn to die nat lerned han they,
   ffro the world twynne they wolde in no wey.
10. "They mochil of hir tyme han dependid
   In synne, and for thy, whan, unwaarly, deeth
   Up on hem fallith and they nat amendid,
   And shal from hem byreue wynd & breeth,
   ffor shee unreedy fynt hem, whan shee sleeth,
   To helle goon the soules miserable,
   There to dwelle in peyne perdurable.

11. "Deeth wolde han ofte a brydil put on thee,
   And thee with hire led away she wolde,
   Nadde the hand of goddes mercy be;
   Thow art right mochil un to bat lorde holde,
   bat for thow wrappid were in wynnes olde,
   he sparid thee; thy synnes now forsake,
   And un to my doctryne thow thee take.

12. "More to thee profyte shal my lore
   Than chosen gold, or the bookes echone
   of philosophres; & for that, the more
   fferently sholde it stire thy persone,
   Undir sensible ensaumple, thee to one
   To god; & thee the bettre for to thewe,
   The misterie of my lore I shal thee shewe.
"I looke on every side bisly,
But help is noon; helpe & confort been dede.
A uois horrible of deeth sowynyng heere y,
bat seith me thus, which encreceth my drede:
'Thoy die shalt; resonn noon, ne kynrede,
ffrendshipe, gold, ne noon othir richesse
May thee deliure out of dethes duressse.

"Thyn eende is come, comen is thyn eende;
It is decreed, there is no resistence.'
Lord god, shal I now die & hennes weende?
whether nat chaunged may be this sentence;
O lord, may it nat be put in suspence?
Shal I out of the world so soone go?
Allas, wole it noon othir be than so?

O deeth! o deeth, greet is thy crueltie!
Thyn office al to sodeynly doost thow.
Is ther no grace? lakkist thow pitee?
Spare my youthe, of age rype ynow
To die am I nat yit; spare me now!
how cruel bat thow art! on me nat kythe!
Take me nat out of the world so swythe!
22. when the disciple this conpleynpte had herd,
he thoght al þat he spake nas but folie,
And in this wyse hath un to him answered:
"Thy wordes freend, withouten any lie,
þat thou hast but smal lerned, testifie;
Euene to alle is dethes iugement;
Thurgh out the world strecchith hir paiement. 154

23. "Deeth favorable is to maner wight;
To alle, hir self, shee delith equally.
Shee dreedith hem nat þat been of greet might,
Ne of the old & yonge hath no mercy;
The ryche and poore folk eek certeynly
Shee sesith; shee sparith right noon estaat:
Al þat lyf berith, with hir chek is maat. 161

24. "fful many a wight in youthe takith shee,
And many oon also in middil age,
And some nat til they righte olde be;
wendist thow han been at swich auantage
þat shee nat durste han paied thee thy wage,
But oonly han thee spared & forborn,
And the Prophetes deid han heer beforne?" 168
13. "Beholde, inward, the liknesse and figure
Of a man dyyng, and talkyng with thee."

The disciple of bat speche took good cure,
And in his conceit bisyly soghte he
And ther with al considere he gan, and see;
In him self put the figure and liknesse
Of a yong man of excellent fairnesse,

14. Whom deeth so ay ransakid hadde & soghte,
That he withynne a whyle sholde die;
And for his soules helthe had he right noght
Disposid; al unreedy hens to hie
was he, & therfore he bygan to crie
with lamentable uois, in this maneere,
That sorwe and pitee greet was it to heere:

15. "Enuyrond han me, dethes Waymentynges,
Sorwes of helle han compaced me.
Alas eterne god! o kyng of kynges,
wher to was I born in this world to be;
O, alas, why in my natiuitee
Nad I perisshid? o the begynnynge
Of my lyf was with sorwe and with wepynge,
16. "And now myn ende comth; hens moot I go with sorwe, waylynge, & greet heuynesse.  
O, deeth, thy mynde is ful of bittir wo 
Un to an herte wont unto gladnesse,  
And norisshid in delicat swetnesse;  
Horrible is thy presence, & ful greuable,  
To him bat yong is, strong, & prosperable.  

17. "Litil wende I so soone to han deid.  
O cruel deeth, thy comynge is sodeyn!  
fful unwaar was I of thy theefly breid;  
Thow haast as in awayt up on me leyn;  
Thyn hour was un to me ful uncerteyn;  
Thow haast up on me stolen, and me bownde;  
Eschape I may nat now my mortel wownde.  

18. "Thow me with thee drawest in yren cheynes,  
As a man dampned wont is to be drawe  
To his torment; outrageous been my peynes.  
O now, for sorwe, and fere of thee, & awe,  
with handes clight, I crie & wolde fawe  
wite the place whidir for to flee;  
But swich oon fynde can I noon, ne see.
"Or as an arwe shot out of a bowe
Twynneth the eyr, which foorth with redily
Agayn is closed, that man may nat knowe
wher that it paste, no wight the way sy.
Right so, syn that I born was, fare haue y
Anoon rightes I styntid for to be,
And tokne of uertu shewid noon in me.

"I am consumed in my wikkidnesse;
Myn hope is, as it were, a wolle loke
With the wynd blowe away for his lightnesse;
Or smal foom, that disparpled is and broke
With tempest; or as with wynd waastith smoke;
Or as mynd of an hoost, that but a day
Abit, and aftir passith foorth his way.

"ffor why my speeche is now in bittirnesse,
And my wordes been ful of sorwe and wo;
Myn herte is plonngid deepe in heuynesse,
Myn yen been al dymme, & dirke also.
who may me graunte that I may be so.
As I was whan I beautee hadde, & strengthe,
And had beforne me man y a yeeres lengthe,
34. "In which I the harm mighte han seen beforne, bat now is on me falle? I yaf no charge Of the good precious tyme; I haue it lorn. But as the worldly wynd bleew in my barge, fforth droof I ther with, and leet goon at large; Al loos the bridil of concupiscence, And ageyn urent made I resistence.

35. "My dayes I despente in Vanitee; Noon heede I took of hem, but let hem passe, Nothyng consideryng hir preciousste, But heeld my self free born as a wylyde asse; Of the aftirclap in sighte had no man lasse; I ouer blynd was; I not sy, ne dredde, with what wo deeth wolde haaste me to bedde.

36. "And now, as fisshes been with hookes caght, And as bat briddes been take in a snare, Deeth hath me hent; eschape may I naght. This unwaar woful hour me makith bare Of my custumed ioie and my welfare; The tyme is past, the tyme is goon for ay, No man reuoke or calle ageyn it may."
25. Than spak thymage, answerynge in this wyse:
"Soothly thow art an heuy confortour:
Thow undirstandist me nat as tho wyse:
They bat continued han in hire errour,
Lyuyng in synne un to hir dethes hour,
worthy be damned for bat they han wroght;
And how my deeth is, they ne dreede noght."

26. "Tho men ful blynde been, & bestial;
Of bat shal folwe aftir this lyf present,
fforsighte swiche folk han noon at al.
I nat bewaille dethes iugement;
But this is al the cause of my torment:
The harm of undisposid deeth I weep;
I am nat reedy in the ground to creepe."

27. "I wepe nat bat I shal hennes twynne,
But of my dayes I the harm bewaille
ffruytles past sauf with bittir fruyt of synne;
I wroghte in hem nothyng bat mighte auaille
To soules helthe; I dide no travaille
To lyue wel, but lened to the staf
Of worldly lustes; to hem I me yaf."
28. "The way of trouthe I lefte, & drow to wrong;  
On me nat shoon the light of rightwisnesse;  
The sonne of intellect nat in me sprong.  
I weery am of my wroght wikkidnesse;  
I walkid haue weyes of hardnesse  
And of perdition; nat kowde I knowe  
The way of god; wikkid seed haue I sowe.  

29. "Allas, what hath pryde profyted me,  
Or what am I bet for richesse hepynge?  
Alle they as a shadwe passid be,  
And as a messager faste rennyng,  
And also as a ship þat is sailynge  
In the wawes and floodes of the See,  
whos kerf nat fownde is, whan passid is shee.  

30. "Or as a bird, which in the eir þat fleeth,  
No way fownde is of the cours of his flight;  
No man espie can it, ne it seeth,  
Sauf with his wynges the wynd softe and lighte  
he betith, and kuttith their with the might  
Of swich stirynge, & foorth he fleeth his way,  
And tokne aftir þat no man see ther may.  

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37. "So short was not that tyme that is goon,
   But of goostly lucre and wynnynges
   Mighte haue in it purchased many oon,
   Excedyng in value alle eerthely thynges
   Incomparably; but to his wynges
   The tyme hath take him, and no purueance
   There in made I, my soule to auance.  

38. "Alias, I caytiff, for angwissh and sorwe
   My teeres triklen by my cheekes down;
   No salt watir me needith begge or borwe,
   Myn yen flowen now in greet foysoun.
   Alias this is a sharp conclusioun!
   Though I the tyme past conpleyne & mourne,
   ffor al my care wole it nat retourne.  

39. "O my lord god, how laach and negligent
   Haue I been! why haue I put in delay
   And taryynge myn amendement?
   Wher to haue I dissimuled? weleaway!
   Alias, so many a fair and gracious day
   Haue I lost, and be fro me goon & ronne,
   That mighte in hem my soules helthe han wonne.
40. "Myn hertes woful waymentacions,
who can hem telle, or who can hem expresse?
Now fallen on me accusacions
wondirly thikke of my wroght wikkidnesse;
In flesshly lust and ydil bysynesse
I leet my dayes dryue foorth and slippe,
And nat was scourgid with penaunces whippe.

41. "Why sette I so myn herte in vanitee?
0, why ne had I lerned for to die?
why was I nat ferd of goddes maugree?
what eiled me to bathe in swich folie?
why nadde reson goten the maistrie
Of me? Why? for my spirit was rebel,
And list nat undirstande to do wel.

42. "O alle_ yee bat heere been present,
Yee bat floure in youthes lusty grennesse,
And seen how deeth his bowe hath for me bent,
And tyme conuenable han to redresse
bat youre unruly youthes wantomnesse
Offendid hath -- considereth my miserie:
The stormy seson folwith dayes merie.
Let me be your example, and your mirror,

Lest you slip into my plot miserable;
with God despends of your days the flour;
If you me follow, into peril semblable
You enter shall; to God you enable,
In holy works your time occupy,
And while time is, your vices mortifie.

"Alas, o youthe, how art thou fro me slipt!

O God eterne, I un to thee conpleyne
The wrecchidnesse in which I am clipt!
lost is my youthe; I smerte in every veyne
The gilt that wrought hath my synful careyne;
O youthe, thy fresshnesse and iolitee
hatith thy soothes to be told to thee.

"No lust had I to doon as I was taught;

There of had I ful greet desdeyn and hokir;
when men conseilled well, I herde it nght:
Nat so moche as by an old boote or cokir
Sette I ther by; in to myn hertes lokir
Entre mighte noon hoolsum disciplyne;
No wil had I to good conseil enclyne.
46. "Lord god now in a deep dych am I falle;  
In to the snare of deeth entred am y;  
Bet had it been than it had thus befalle,  
Neuere han be born of my modres body,  
But there in han perisshid utterly:  
ffor I despente in pryde and in bobance  
The tyme lent to me to do penance."

47. To which answerde the disciple tho:  
"Lo we die alle, and as watir we slyde  
In to the eerthe, which pat neuermo  
Retorne shal; but on a sikir syde  
we standen alle, for god nat wole hyde  
his mercy fro man; who so list it craue,  
Be repentaunt, and mercy axe, and haue.

48. "God haastith nat the gilt of man to wreke,  
But curteisly abydith repentaunce.  
heere me now what I shal seye and speke:  
ffor pat thow hadst offendid do penaunce;  
Torne un to god with hertes obeysaunce;  
Axe hym mercy, which is al merciable,  
And saued shalt thow been, this is no fable."
49. Thymage of deeth answarde anon to that:

"How spekist thow man? shal I me repente?
Shal I me torne? o man, ne seest thow nat?
Ne takist thow noon heede ne entente
Of dethes angwisshes, bat me tormente
And oppressem so greuously and sharpe,
That I not what to do, or thynke, or carpe?"

50. "As a partrich, bat with the hawk is hent,
And streyned with his clees, so is agast
That his lyf ny from him is goon and went,
Right so my wit is cleene fro me past,
And in my mynde is ther no thoght ne cast,
Othir than serche a way how deeth eschape;
But I in veyn ther aftir looke and gape;

51. "Nat wole it be, for deeth me doun oppressith.
The twynnynge of my lyf ful bittir is,
bat hurtith me greuously and distressith;
fful holsum had it been to me or this
Penance han doon for bat I wroghte amis,
whyles my tyme was in his ryppnesse,
ffor bat had been the way of sikirnesse.
52. "But, he \underline{bat} late to penance him takith, 
whether he verraily or feynyngly
Repente, he not uncertain it him makith: 
wo is me \underline{bat} my lyf so sinfully
I ledde, and to correcte it lachid y:
Ageyn my soules helthe haue I werreied, 
That for it haue no bettre purueied.

53. "Allass to longe hath been the taryngge 
And the delay of correcion:
A good purpos withoute_begynnynge; 
A good wil withouten operacioun;
Good promesse and noon execucioun
ffoorth dryue amendes fro morwe to morwe, 
And neuer doon \underline{bat} causith now my sorwe.

54. "O, morwe, morwe, thow haast me begilt! 
0, whethir this miserie nat exceede
Al worldly wrecchidnesse, allass my gilt,
wel worthy is it \underline{bat} myn herte bleede,
And with angwisshe_ and wo him fostre & feede.
See how my dayes ny arn slipt me fro:
.xxx.\( \text{ti} \) yeer of myn age away been go;
55. "fful wrecchidly, god woot, haue I hem lost,
And al myn owne self is it to wyte;
So good a pilere was I neuere, or post
Un to my soule, as o day me delyte.
In vertu or aght wel to god me qwyte,
As bat I mighte haue doon or oghte;
By aght I woot, I neuere aftir bat soghte.

56. "Lord god, how shamefully stand I shal
At the doom beforne thee and seintes alle,
wher I shal arted be to rekne of al
bat I doon haue and left; whom shal I calle
To helpe me? o how shal it befalle?
My torment and my wo me haaste & hie
hens for to twynne, as blyue shal I die.

57. "O, now this day more ioie and gladnesse
I wolde haue of a litel orisoun
By me seid, with hertes deuout sadnesse
As they angelyk salutacioun,
Thanne I wolde haue of many a millioun
Of gold and siluer; foule haue I me born,
And folyly bat sy nat this beforne.
58. "When I mighte haue it seen, than wolde I naght;
how manye houres haue I lost pat neuer Retorne shuln? how mochil haue I wroght Ageyn my self? my lust was to perseuere In vicious lyfe, & from it nat disseuere;
I lefte pat good was & necessarie.
Un to my soule, and dide the contrarie.

59. "More than was neede or expedient
Un to the help of many othir wight Entended I; I was ful inprudent;
I took noon heede to my self aright;
By soules profyt gette I nat but light.
whan tyme was, fynde cowde I no tyme
Me to correcte of myn offense & cryme.

60. "But now feele I pat, un to the gretnesse
Of merites celestial, had been bet
My wittes han kept with soules clennesse,
Than pat left, with herte corruptly set,
And ageyn deedes vertuous y whet.
helpe me mighte any mannes prayeere,
Thogh .xxx:ti yeer he preyd had for me heere.
61. "O herkneth now; herkneth now alle yee
    bat heere been and seen my wrecchidnesse!
The tyme as bat ye seen now faillith me;
My freendes preide I bat they sum almesse
Of thabundance of hir goostly richesse
And wirkes goode wolden to me dele,
In my greet neede, for my soules hele,

62. "And eek in releef and amendement
Of my giltes; but hire answer was nay:
They seiden, ther to youen our assent
wole we nat, in no manere of way,
Lest it us and yow nat souffyse may.
On euery paart thus am I destitut;
ffynde can I no socour ne refut.

63. "O god benigne! o fadir merciable!
Beholde and reewe up on thy pacient!
To me, thyn handwerk, be thow socourable;
That I greetly haue erred & miswent
Me wel remembrith, this tyme present.
Allas, why stood I in myn owne light
So foule? o lord, now me helpe of thy might!"
64. "How grete richesses spirituel,
And heuenly tresors, had I been wys,
Mighte I han gadrid, and nat dide a del.
O good lord god! o lord of paradys!
fful leof to me now were, & of greet prys
Of satisfaccion, the leeste deede;
Righte dereworthe were it in this neede.

65. "O now the leeste crommes, bat ther falle
ffro the lordes bordes & tables down,
Refresshe wolden me right wel with alle;
But noon fynde I of swich condicioun,
bat yeue me wole any porcioun;
I haue espyd the freendshipe is ful streit;
Of this world it is mirour of deceit.

66. "Reewe eek on me yee alle & pitee haue,
And whiles your force and vigour may laste,
And han eek tyme, or yee be ny your graue,
In to bernes of heuene gadereth faste
Tresor celestial, bat atte laste
Yee may receyue, whan bat yee shuln twynne
ffrom hens, the blisse bat shal neuere blynne.
67. "And beeth nat voide of vertu, ne empty,
when þat the deeth an othir day to yow
Approche shal, as yee may see þat y
Am voide of deedes vertuous right now."
ffreend, quod the disciple, I see wel ynow
Thy torment and thy greuous passion,
Of which myn herte hath greet compassion;

68. "And by almighty god I thee coniure
þat thow me yeue reed how me to gye,
Lest þat I heer aftir, par aventure,
In to lyk peril haaste may & hye
Of undisposid sodein deeth, and drye
The wo which I considere þat thee vexith,
Wherthurgh myn herte sore agrysed wexith."

69. Than spak thymage, the best purueance
And wit is haan verray contricioun,
In strengthe & hele, of the mis gouernance
Of thy lyf, and plener confessioun
Make of thy gilt, and satisfaccion,
And asseeth do, and alle vices leue,
That heuenes blisse mighten thee byreue.
70. "And so, with al thyn herte, is it the beste
keepe thee foorth, as þat thow this day right
Or to morwe, or this wike at the ferthestest,
Sholdest departe fro this worldes light;
And ther withal enforce thow thy might,
As I shal seyn, in thyn herte to thynke,
And thow shalt it nat reewe ne forthynke.

71. "Caste in thyn herte as now thy soule were
In purgatorie, and hadde pyned be
.x. yeer in a fourneys brenynge there,
And this oonly yeer were grauntid thee
ffor thy help; so beholde often and see
Thy soule, in the flaumbes of fyr brenynge,
with a wrecchid voiis thus to thee cryynge:

72. "Of alle freendes, thow the derwortheste,
Do to thy wrecchid soule help and socour,
þat is al desolat; purchase it reste;
See how I brenne! o reewe on my langour!
Be for me so freendly a purueiour,
That in this hoot prison I no lengere
Tormentid be; lat it nat thus me dere.
73. "The worldes fauour cleene is fro me went; 
   fforsake am I; frendshipe I can noon fynde;  
   Ther is no wight, pat to the indigent  
   Puttith his helply hand; slipt out of mynde  
   I am; in peynes sharpe I walwe and wynde;  
   And of my wo ther is no wight pat recchith;  
   Nat knowe I frendshipe, or to whom it strecchith."

74. "Men seeken thynges pat to hem self longe,  
   And leuen me in the flaumbes vengeable.  
   O good freend, lat me nat thus pyne longe!"  
   To which the disciple, with cheere stable  
   Seide, thy lore were profitable,  
   who so it hadde by experience  
   As thou haast, ther to yeue I may credence.

75. "But thogh thy wordes sharpe & stirynge seeme,  
   To many a man auaille they but lyte;  
   They look a paart and list take no yeeme  
   Un to the ende which mighte hem profyte;  
   Yen they haan & seen nat worth a myte;  
   Eres also, and may nat with hem heere;  
   They weene longe for to lyuen heere.
76. "And for they, undisposid deeth nat dreed,
fforsighte at al han tho wrecches right noon
Of the harm _bat_ ther of moot folwe neede;
They demen stande as sikir as a stoon,
But wel I see by thee so moot I goon;
They shul han cause it for to dreede and doute,
Or _bat_ hir lyues lighte be fully outhe.

77. "whan dethes message comth, sharp seeknesse,
freendes and felawes hem haaste & hie
The seek man to conforte in his feeblesse,
And al thyng _bat_ good is they prophecie;
They seyn, thogh thow seek in thy bed now be,
Be nat agast, no dethes cruel haast thow,
_ffor_ this thow shalt eschape wel ynow._

78. "Thus bodyes freendes been maad enemys
To the soule, for whil seeknesse greaueth
The man continually, yit so unwys
_Is he _bat_ his enformours he wel leeueth;
He hopith to been hool, and he mescheueth;
where as he wende haan recouered be,
Undisposid to die, sterueth he._
79. "Right so thyn herkneres and thyn Auditours,
Tho pat greet trust haan in mannes prudence,
Nat list hire peynes putte, or hir labours,
To execute thyn holsum sentence;
Thow mightest as weel keepe thy silence,
They by thy wordes yeuen nat a leek."
To which thymage thus answerd & speeke

80. ffor thy, whan they in dethes net been hent,
whan sodeyn wrecchidnesse hem shal assaille,
whan deeth as tempest sharp & violent
with woful trouble hem shal vexe & travaile,
They shuln crie aftir help, and there of faille,
ffor they in hate sapience hadde,
And despised my reed, and heeld it badde.

81. "And right as now ther been but fewe fownde,
pat of my wordes compunct wole hir lyf,
Correcte ne amende in no stownde,
Nat may to hem auaille my motyf;
But they hir synnes usen ay foorth ryfe,
And haan no lust fro synnes hem withdrawe,
No more than they neuer hade herd my sawe.
82. "Right so for the malice of tyme, and lak
Of goostly loue, and for thiniquitee
Of the world, vertu is so dryue a bak,
pat fewe to the deeth disposid be
So weel pat list this worldes vanitee
leue, and for desir of lyf pat shal euere
Endure coueiten hens to disseuere. 574

83. "But whan deeth on hem stelith, with hir darte,
They unredy, wounded in conscience,
Nat oonly goon hens whan they hens departe,
But they with a manere of violence
Been hent away, so pat ful greet prudence
They wolde han holde it han deid as a man,
And nat as a beest, pat no reson can. 581

84. "If of this commun peril thenchesoun
Thee list to knowe, I wole it now expresse:
The desyr of honoures out of resoun;
The body bathynge in worldly swetensse,
Eerthely loue; and to greet greedynesse
In muk hepynge, blynden many an herte,
And causen folk into tho perils sterte. 588
85. "If thou desyre the perils to flee
Of undisposid deeth, my conseil heere:
This heuy plyt in which thou seest now me
Revolue ofte in thy mynde, and by me leere
ffor to be waer; if thou in this maneere
wilt do, it shal be thy greet auantage,
And see thee at thy last passage.

86. "It shal un to thee profyte in bat hour
That oonly die shal it nat the gaste,
But deeth eek, as end of worldly labour
And begynnynge of blisse ay bat shal laste,
Abyde thow shalt, and desire faste
with al thyn herte it to take & receyue,
And al worldly lust leye a paart & weyue.

87. "Every day haue of me deep remembrance;
In to thy herte let my wordes synke;
The sorwe and angwissh and greuous penance
which thow haast seen in me, considere, & thynke
That of peril thou art ful ny the brynke;
Remembre on my doom, for swich shal thyn be,
Myn yistirday, and this day un to thee.
88.  "Looke up on me, and thynke on this nyght ay
whiles thow lyuest, o how good blessid
Art thow, Arcenius, which pat always
This ilke hour haddist in thyn herte impressid,
That man as in an holy writ is witnessid,
which, when god comth & knokkith atte yate,
wakyng him fynt he blessid is algate;

89.  "Blessid is he pat thanne fownden is
Redy to passe, for he blisfully
Departe shal, and truste right weel this,
 Thogh deeth assaille, and vexe greuously
The good lyuere, or slee him sodeynly,
how so he die, he gooth un to pat place
where as confort is refresshynge and grace.

90.  "He shal be purged cleene & purified,
And disposid the glorie of god to see;
Angels shuln keepe him, & he shal be gyed
And led by Citeins of the hy Contree,
And of the court of heuene up taken be;
And of his spirit shal been the bsynge
In to eternel blisse the entrynge.
91. "But alias, where shal my wrecchid goost
This nyght become? whidir shal it go?
what herbergh shal it haue, or in what coost
Shal it arryue? who shal receyue it? who?
O, what frendshipe shal it haue tho?
O soule abiect, desolat and forsake,
Greet cause haast thow for fere & wo to quake!

92. "Wherfore I hauyng of my self pitee,
Amonges heuy wordes I out shede
Teeres in greet habundance & plentee;
But nat auailith me, it is no drede,
hens foorth wepe and compleyne & crie & grede,
ffor in no wyse chaungid it be may;
Al man kyndes fo stoppid hath my way.

93. "In hidles, in awayt as a leoun,
he hath leyn, and my soule led hath he
In to the pit of deeth al deepe adoun.
O my lord god, this sharp aduersitee
To stynte of speeche now compellith me,
I may no more hens foorth speke & bewaille,
My tonge, and eek my wit so now me faille.
94. "Ther is noon othir, I see wel ynow
The tyme is come as blyue I shal be deed;
See how my face wexeth pale now,
And dim my look, and as heuy as leed
Myn yen synk eek deepe in to myn heed,
And torne up so doun, and myn handes two
wexen al stif and stark, & may nat do.

95. "Prikkynges of deeth me wrecche conpace;
Stirtmeel gooth my pous, & elles naght;
Mortel pressures sharply me manace,
My breeth begynneth faille, and eek the draght
Of it fro fer is fet and deepe kaght;
No lengere I now see this worldes light,
Myn yen lost han hire office & might.

96. "But now I see with myn yen mental
Thestat al of an othir world than this;
I am ny goon as faste passe I shal.
O my lord god, a gastful sighte it is!
Now of confort haue I greet lak & mis;
horrible freendes, and innumerable,
Awayten on my soule miserable.

The blake faced
APPENDICES

Notes
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I Inuocacio ad patrem: 140 lines
II Ad filium/ Honor et Gloria: 70 lines
III Ad spiritum sanctum: 70 lines
IV Ad beatam Virginem: 49 lines

The poems form a single group. They do not appear in any other MS. All four are in rhyme royal.

I Inuocacio ad patrem

26 The dash is inexplicable in this line. A similar mark in Lepistre de Cupid, appears at line 434, where a word has been left out. As it is this line scans properly, and there is no other MS against which to check the reading.

43 "seruant3:" The pluralizing suffix "-3" is used only twice in the MS. The other appears at line 83 in Poem V, where it is also used to make the plural of "seruant."

II Ad filium/Honor et Gloria

The title of the poem appears at the bottom of f 28r, while stanza one appears at the top of f 28v. The title is in two lines, and is slightly ornamented.
III Ad spiritum sanctum

"heuy folk" = earthly people, mortals.

"lodesterre" = lodestar. Polaris, the north star; the mariner's guide.
"...of shipbreche seur port..." = sure haven (port) against the dangers of shipwreck.

"meekly" modifies "axynge," rather than "condescend."

IV Ad beatam Virginem

The Latin superscriptions are added to clarify the references of "thow," here used twice. The first "thow" refers to God, the second to the Virgin. In the photocopy it is difficult to tell whether the Latin is in a different hand or not.

The catch phrase at the bottom of the leaf: "syn thow Modir," marks the end of the first gathering.

V Item de beata Virgine

140 lines: ababb cc.

The poem does not appear in any other MS.
"starre of the see:" reference to the Virgin as Stella Maris, star of the sea. For a discussion of the many Stella Maris poem groups, which make the development of the name clear, see Evelyn Faye Wilson, The Stella Maris of John of Garland, No. 45 of the Medieval Academy of America (Cambridge, Mass: 1946).

"seruant3:" see note to I.43.

VI Item de Beata Virgine

VII The tale of the Virgin's Sleeveless Garment

VI, the Prolog to the tale: 21 lines


The prologue and tale exist in three MSS. HM744 is probably the oldest, according to Beverly Boyd in "Hoccleve's Miracles of the Virgin," UTSE, 35 (1956). The other two MSS are R.3.21, Trinity College (c.1442-1483), and MS 152, Christ Church, Oxford. In the latter MS the tale is ascribed to Chaucer's Ploughman, the MS being one of the copies of the Canterbury Tales. MS R.3.21 is described by M. R. James in The Western Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge (Cambridge: 1901), and MS 152, Christ Church, is described by J. M. Manly and Edith Rickert in The Text of the Canterbury Tales (Chicago: 1940).
VI Item de Beata Virgine

The T. Marleburgh of the dedication opposite line one of the prologue is unknown.

VII The Tale

"scripture:" here just a written work, not biblical writing necessarily. The word had not strictly taken on the more restricted meaning it has now, referring to the Bible alone.

"L." = 50. All numbers in the MS are given in the Roman fashion.

"thabbeye of seint Gyle:" a reference to the Rhone monastery which stood on the site of the present day Saint-Gilles, Provence. St. Giles was a hermit who made his hermitage in a wood near the mouth of the Rhone. He may have lived sometime before the ninth century. In the legends St. Giles dreaded temporal prosperity. The Rhone monastery was an important place of pilgrimage in the middle ages, and the saint was one of the most popular of the period, as over 160 churches dedicated in his name in Europe and England attest.

"halyday." Not just "holy-day," but probably a Saturday, which was the day of the week dedicated to the Virgin. The line "...at our ladyes reverence..." would indicate that the
Virgin's first appearance evidently took place on a Saturday as well (see line 21ff.).

VIII  
Lepistre de Cupid

476 lines: ababb cc

Hoccleve's Letter of Cupid exists in more MSS than does any other of his shorter poems. There are nine MSS of it:

HM 744
Durham MS. University Lib. V.ni.13
Phillipps MS 8151, now HM 111 in the Huntington Library, San Marino California.
Selden MS, B24.
Fairfax MS, 16.
Bodley 638 B.
Tanner 346 T.
Digby 181 D.

MSS Selden, Fairfax, Bodley, Tanner and Digby are in the Bodleian. In the latter four of this group Lepistre de Cupid is in company with Chaucer's Parliament of Foules and Lydgate's Complaint of the Black Knight.
"Sitheree." A form of Cytherea, one of the names for Venus or Aphrodite. The name is given to an Aegean Island, where Venus is supposed to have been born from the sea. She is the mother of Cupid in mythology.

"citee of Troie." Hoccleve's sources were probably not too arcane. The Troy legends were becoming more and more popular. His ultimate source was probably, as was Lydgate's for his Troy Book, Guido di Colonna's Historia Trojana. Hoccleve's note at line 84, "as men knowe," attests to the fact that the legends were common knowledge.

"ordre of gentillesse:" the courtly love order of chivalry. Hoccleve may have in mind a poem called The Court of Love, once attributed to Chaucer, which in part deals with the "statutes of love," that sets out rules paralleling those of a chivalric order. In Trinity College, Cambridge MS R.3.19; the authenticity of this poem is discussed by Eleanor Prescott Hammond in Chaucer, A Bibliographical Manual (New York, 1908), 418-19.

"Whoso mochil clappith grabbith ofte." The person who talks a lot talks a lot of nonsense.

The reference is to the Fall of the Angels. The subject was probably the exemplum of many a sermon Hoccleve heard.
The meaning of the adage is clear. The adage is still with us in modern English. Both Hoccleve's and the modern one are coarse, but have a certain explicit charm as well.

The fact that all the people mentioned are biblical characters shows that Hoccleve is taking a somewhat ironic view of the whole problem of the deceiving of women. Given the Bible's infallibility the fact that women carp at being defamed in it is ironic, and, Hoccleve further insists, typical of women. "Wikkid" is the operative word for the stanza's irony. There may not be the height of irony intended that a modern reader might see, however. On the freedom with which people of the period referred to Biblical characters, see F. N. Robinson, Works of Chaucer (Cambridge: 1933), 720, a note to line 555 of the Squire's Tale.

"Ouyde" = Ovid. The work referred to is his Remedia Amoris.

"that book:" the Bible.

"They seyn:" the books say. The Latin superscription draws the reader's attention to the fact that "they" refers to "books."

"My Lady nature:" In Parliament of Foules Nature sits on a "hil of floures," before which the birds gather to choose their mates. Cupid is nearby, forging and firing his arrows
"some for to sle, and some to wounde and kerve." The alliance between the god of Love and the goddess of Nature, which Hoccleve is suggesting here, is probably drawn from Chaucer's work.

233-40 "Swich is the force....qweene:" Cupid's idea of punishment for these errant clerks is deft. Unless they change their ways, he will force each of them to accept an inverted love potion, which would make a man take the "foulest slutte" in any town as a lover, and imagine her to be a duchess or a queen.

246-52 "Pardee...kowde teche." Ovid and the other subtle clerks, for all their knowledge, were deceived. The phrase, "by women," remains unsaid.

260-66 "This, ladyes...gete noon therby." The syntax here seems garbled. I would translate the stanza as follows:

These ladies, not gentles, nonetheless, were not the ones that did this, but such filths that were virtueless (were the ones) that treated these old, wise clerks in this way. As for clerks, it might be better not to speak ill of women generally, for they will get no honour thereby.

The antecedent for "this" at the beginning of the stanza is difficult to determine.

Hoccleve seems too fainthearted to continue his tirade against the Clerks he has been maligning in jest. The
irony he has developed to this point breaks down because of his faint-heartedness. In an effort to reverse himself before he gets more deeply embroiled in his charges against the Bible and the classics, he reverts to the uninspired didacticism which characterizes so much of his religious poetry.

"beren ...up on honde:" to accuse falsely, or persuade falsely.

"Maister John de Meun:" author of the greater part of Roman de la Rose. The satire against women enjoyed considerable popularity. Here Hoccleve takes the author to task for the inordinate length of the poem composed just "for to deceyue a cely damoiselle."

"Medea...Iason:" Like Chaucer, rather than like Gower, Hoccleve makes of Jason a more villainous character, in order to show Medea in a more sympathetic light. It is Legend of Good Women, rather than Confession Amantis that Hoccleve has in mind.

"Eneas...Dido:" House of Fame and LGW both absolve Dido, as Hoccleve does here, and place all the blame on Aeneas' treachery.
"our legende of martirs:" A reference, almost certainly, to LGW. "Our legende" because, in Chaucer's poem, Cupid, through Queen Alceste, dictated that Chaucer should write LGW to the god's specifications in expiation for his sins in producing earlier anti-feminist writings:

Thow shalt...yere by yere,
The moste parte of thy tyme spende
In makynge of a glories legende
Of good wymmen, maydenes and wyves
That weren trewe in lovyng al hire lyves.

(481-85)

"our firste modir:" Eve.

"sent a serpent and made hire go:" Notice that the serpent is feminine, as indicated by "hire."

The absolution of Eve of the guilt of original sin is unorthodox. The blame is shifted to Adam. The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church (London: 1957), points out that the absolution of Eve was accepted because her name in Latin, "Eva," when reversed was "Ave," the first word by which the angel addressed Mary when she was told that she would bear Jesus.

The shift to a serious religious tone at this point is quite abrupt. The attempted wedding of the courtly love theme and Christian morality is a failure. The light tone which has gone before is lost.
"Martir Margarete:" The reference is to the legend of St. Margaret of Antioch, reputed to have lived about A.D. 300. Legend has it that she was taken, as a maiden, by a Prefect of Diocletian as a mistress. She resisted the Prefect's advances and was imprisoned and tortured. She was finally beheaded, but she steadfastly guarded her virginity to the end. Hoccleve undoubtedly knew of the legend through an ME source. Seinte Marherete, an ME life of the saint, appears in the Katharine Group of three lives of saints, and two homilies.

"we commende hir noght/ By encheson of hir uirginitiee."

Hoccleve, or rather Cupid, must regain his dignity as god of love. He cannot commend the saint for her virginity, but for her constancy. The argument here, like the argument of the Wife of Bath in the prologue to her tale, skirts the edges of heresy, almost belittling the powerful cult of the virgin. To have Cupid advocate virginity is impossible. The attempt at union of the classic and Christian themes now becomes weaker and weaker.

The medieval ambivalence toward virginity and chastity can be seen very well here. The worship of virginity was almost a concomitant of the worship of the Virgin. At the same time the desire for procreation was strong. For another statement of this ambivalence, see the prologue of the Wife of Bath's tale. Her arguments are more cogent.
The dash in this line represents some sort of correction, to make the line scan more exactly. The Durham MS, which Furnivall edits in *Minor Poems* has

Dryue out of my rem(embrance)/I ne may

The "my" and the "I" of the Durham MS argue for a dropped "our" in the MS here.

The reference here is to the devotion to Jesus of Mary Magdalene and the other Mary (as she is known to distinguish her from Mary His mother) during and after the crucifixion, when the Apostles all deserted Him.

"our ministres echoon:" I, Cupid, command that each one of you women become my ministers, is what the god of love now says. His specific command for duty follows: the women are to banish forever any man who does not obey Cupid's command to honor women and refrain from deceiving and seducing them.

The poem's date of composition is fixed by the final line. May as the month of composition need not be taken literally. It is the conventional month for love, the month for rebirth, when love, joyfully, could be carried on out of doors once again.
IX Balade to King Henry V

35 lines: ababb cc

This poem appears only in this MS

14 Reference is to the Treaty of Troyes: 10 June, 1420.

X Three Roundels

a. Complaint to Lady Money

b. La Response (of the Lady)

c. Hoccleve's praise of his lady.

The roundels do not appear elsewhere. Schematically the rhyme scheme is as follows, with the bracketed section indicating the recurrence of the first four lines intact:

(abba)/ ab(abba)/ ba(abba)/ abba(abba).

a. Complaint to Lady Money

Following this line the scribe uses braces and a marginal notation to show the reprise of the first four lines of the poem after lines 6, 8, and 12. I have indicated this in my transcription simply by printing the first three words of the repeated section.

7-8 "I leet yow...I deye!" The inversion makes the meaning difficult here. I would translate the two lines:
I let you free. Now, because of your nobility, look after me. Without you I (will) die.

"Christmesse." Christmas, of course. The poem, or the series of three, is probably a Christmas reminder to some patron to remember poor Thomas.

b. La Reponse

"risshes three." three rushes. Something of very little value.

c. Hoccleve's Praise of His Lady

For the ideals of feminine beauty which Hoccleve is satirizing here, see the much earlier poem "To Alisoun."

"pentice." a penthouse, not, however, in the modern meaning. The reference here is to a roughly attached, slant-roofed out-building, usually against the wall of a larger, more substantial structure, and added after the larger building has been completed. From the Latin appenditium, "a small sacred building dependent upon a larger church." (NED)

"papejay." a parrot.
XI Lerne to Dye

672 lines: ababb cc

The poem exists in seven MSS. The incomplete copy in HM 744 may be the oldest. For a discussion of this see B. Kurtz, "The Relation of Hoccleve's Lerne to Dye to its source," PMLA 40 (1925), 255. The other MSS in which the poem appears are

Bodleian 1504.
Bodleian 3441 (missing stz as. 1 - 3)
Bodleian 27627
Harleian 172
Royal 17,D.vi
Durham V.iii.9

1 The Latin inscription in the heading is the first line of the poem in translation. The Latin given by Gollancz at the end of that portion of HM 744 edited by him does not appear anywhere in this MS. Gollancz gives: Salomon Extrema gaudij luctus occupat, &c. But he prints it as if it were in the MS.

15 The marginal inscription indicates the speaker. The first speaker is Knowledge, Sapientia. The marginal inscriptions are contemporary with the copying, although it is difficult in the photocopy to be certain if the hand is the same or not.

29 The Disciple speaks first at this point.
Stanza 13, at f 56r. At this point the MS is bound wrongly. The full page containing leaves 55r, 55v, and 58r, 58v is bound inside that containing the leaves 56r, 56v, and 57r, 57v, with the result that the proper stanza order is broken. I have corrected the order of stanzas, and have numbered them continuously, but, I have put in the brackets the numbers of the stanzas as they appear in the MS, so that anyone wishing to do so may reconstruct the stanza order of the wrongly bound gathering. Numbers outside the parentheses, then, indicate the proper order of the stanzas; numbers in the brackets indicate the actual order of stanzas in the MS as it is now bound. Furnivall, Gollancz and H. C. Shulz all point out this error in binding the MS.

Sapientia asks the Disciple to imagine a man dying. This image becomes so vivid that it begins a dialogue with the Disciple. This dialogue continues to the end of the MS.

The pronoun references here may be a bit unclear. "He thoght..." = the Disciple. "...he spake..." = the Image of the dying man.

"with hir chek is maat:" Literally: Death checkmates everyone. Compare some of Chaucer's chess imagery: for example, The Book of the Duchess, 618-619: "For fals fortune hath played a game atte ches with me."
219 "wolle lok:" a piece of carded wool, stretched out, or pulled out and made very thin and light.

253 With stanza 37 regular stanza numeration and page order is established again.

312 "old book or cokir:" something of very little value.

323 The Latin inscription in the margin translates the first line of the Disciples speech.

338-9 The Image is imitating the Disciples wailings -- ridiculing him -- before a further exhortation.

-- The Latin inscription at this line, and in a number of places which follow, differs from that provided by Furnivall in his edition of the Durham MS. He gives

    Quis est/hic sermo/quem loquer-/is
    'debo penitere;/debo me/ conuertere?'
    Nonne vides/augustias &c.

These differences in the Latin might be the crucial factor in determining if Hoccleve were indeed the scribe of the MSS. If the Latin is in the same hand as the body of the MS is could be determined whether the Latin is from Hoccleve's source (which it may very well be), or a re-translation into Latin of the English line. Also, the relationship between the Latin of the Durham MS and that of HM 744 should be determined.
Because both MSS are considered to be Hoccleve autographs, the relationship between the Latin inscriptions is important, especially as they appear to be in the same hand as the poetry of the MSS. Wherever the Latin inscriptions differ, I have supplied the inscription from the Durham MS in these notes.

The Latin inscription is a translation of part of the line.

The "he...him" construction I interpret as some form of reflexive, and the whole passage I would translate as follows:

The person who comes late to making penance, whether he makes it truthfully or falsely, he is not (cannot be) certain in himself that his penance is going to be effective.

-- The Latin inscription opposite this line in the Durham MS is

Qui autem/tarde penitencie/ se committit/
dubius erit/quia nescit/ utrum vere vel/
ficte penitent/

"XXXti yeer:" Kurtz believes _Lerne to Dye_ was written in 1420-21, therefore the 30 year reference is not to Hoccleve's own age, despite his tendency to similar forms of autobiography elsewhere.

The inscription here differs from that in the Durham MS. The Durham MS has
Vere nunc/cognoui quod/ ad magnitudinem/
premiorem plus/ michi contuliset/ solici-
cita custodia/ cordis &c.

437-9 "To me, thyn....tyme present:" The syntax is distorted a bit here. I would translate the passage as follows:

To me, your handiwork, give sustenance (despite the fact) that I have greatly erred the deviated (from your commandments). Remember me now.

471 A reflexive construction: "Show me how to conduct myself."

491 "Caste in thyn herte:" Imagine.

493-5 ".x. yeer in a fourneys...this oonly yeer were graunted thee for thyn helpe:" I have not been able to find any doctrinal authority for this, but the line seems to indicate that one year in ten would be granted as a respite from the flames of Hell if the sufferer could have someone pray for him. There is a reference to a similar sort of respite being granted, in Shaw's St. Joan, in the final act:

JOAN: Be you a saint?

SOLDIER: Yes, lady, straight from hell.

DUNOIS: A saint, and from hell!

SOLDIER: Yes, noble captain: I have a day off every year, you know. That's my allowance for my one good action.
The Latin inscription is different in the Durham MS. Furnivall gives

O amicorum omnium dulcissime succurre

The symbol in the middle of the line is the Latin shorthand notation for "etc." This symbol only appears once in the body of the MS, the usual symbol being "&." The Durham MS has "and."

"For they in hate...badde:" I translate as "They held Knowledge in contempt and despised my advice, which they thought was bad."

"Arcenius:" Reference to Saint Arsenius (c. A.D. 400). Records show that this saint had several characteristics which had undoubted appeal to Hoccleve. He deliberately lived in great poverty, after leaving the court of Emperor Theodosius. He had the "gift of tears," and was noted for his self-deprecation. He was also noted for his strict self-discipline, a trait Hoccleve might well envy. The last four lines of this stanza are a reference to the habit the saint had of spending all of Saturday night in devotion, prayer and watching, until Sunday morning. His latter years were lived in Egypt as a hermit, and reputedly, he died about 449-50.

"do:" here means "move," or "work."
The Durham MS inscription is shorter, than the one here;

Puncture mortis/ amarissime me/ circumdant etc.

"freendes:" scribal error. The Durham MS shows "feendes," which is undoubtedly the correct reading.

With the catch phrase "The blake faced," HM 744 breaks off. The break off is at the end of a gathering. A later hand has added, very faintly at the end of the page: "14 stanzas more." In fact the complete poem has 38 more stanzas plus two and one half pages of prose. To complete the poem, for this edition, I have copied Furnivall's edition of the Durham MS from line 673 to the end of the prose section.
A note on the Glossary:

1. Verbs are indicative unless otherwise noted.

2. For verbs in the present, person is indicated for the singular in all cases, but for the plural only if there may be some doubt.

3. For verbs in the past person is only given if there may be some doubt.

4. Nouns are indicated plural where there may be some doubt; otherwise, they are singular.

Language Abbreviations

AF. Anglo-French
Ar. Arabic
L. Latin
ME Middle English
OE Old English
OF Old French
ON Old Norse
Grammatical Abbreviations

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aartes: n. pl. (OF ars - L. artem) arts. XI.42.

abiect: a. (L. abjectus) brought low, abject. XI. 636.

abit: v. 3s. (OE abidan) waits, remains. XI.224.

afterclap: n. (after + clap) unexpected blow when defense is dropped. XI.243.

agast: v. pa. (OE gæstan) frightened, terrified. XI. 538.

akith: v. pr. 3s. (OE acan) aches. X.ii.11.


assay: n. (OF assai) test of fitness of a person, test of virtue. VIII.147.

asseeth: n. (OF a(s)set) ammends, compensation. XI.482.


auisament: n. (OF a(d)-visement) deliberation, consultation, a warning. VII.32.

baar: v. pa. (OE beran) bore, gave birth to. IV.12.

belowen: v. pr. pl. (OE bylgian) usually with "on," bellow, shout against. Fig. slander. VIII.196.


blynne: v. inf. (OE blinnan) stop, cease. XI.462.

bobance: n. (OF bobance) boastfulness, arrogance. XI.321.

bolned: v. pa. (ON bolgna) swollen, puffed up. II.44.

bowgy: a. (OF bouget - leather pouch or wallet) bulging. Fig. like a stuffed pouch. X.iii.5.


brotill: a. (OE v. breotan) brittle, easily broken. Fig. fickle, inconstant. III.34.

buxumnesse: n. (ME buhsum, OE v. bugan - bow) pliancy, submissiveness, graciousness. II. 45.

can: v. inf. cowde, kowde: pa. s. kowden: pa. pl. can. could.

caste: v. inf. (ON kasta) cast or throw dice or lots. VIII.215.
castes: n. pl. (ON kasta) strokes of fortune. VIII.88

cauetele: n. (OF caustele - a precaution) crafty device, strategem. VIII.286.
cely: a. (OE gesælig) innocent, defenseless. VIII.79.

chapman: n. (OE ceapmann) merchant, purchaser. V.108.

cheertee: n. (OF chiërte) dearness in price, dearth. X.ii.5.

chek: (OF *eschek) chess term -- check. XI.161.

cheuyce: v. pr. (OF chevise) succeed. As a reflexive -- take care of oneself. VIII.325.

clappe: v. pr. sub. s. (OE clapplian) make a noise. VIII.328.

clappith: v. pr. 3s (same as above etym.) Fig. prate, nag. VII.142.


cokir: n. (OE cocer - a quiver) leather casing for the legs usually high and laced. XI.312.

concerne: v. pr. imp. (L. concernare) perceive, behold. III.33.

concupiscence: n. (L. concupiscentia) vice, esp. sexual vice, desire. II.50.

conpunct: v. p.p. (L. compunctus) pricked, stung. Fig. (conscience) stung. XI.562.

coueiten: v. pr. pl. (OF cuveitier) desire, want. XI.574.

crabbid: a. (OE crabba -- a crab) disagreeable, irritable. VIII.324.

creaunce: n. (OF creance) belief, trust. IV.18.

crake: v. pr. (OE *cracian) to croak, utter a harsh grating cry. VIII.328.

croppe: n. (OE cropp) head of a herb or flower. VIII.17.

cure: n. (OF cure - care) care, attention. VIII.219.

customable: a. (OF custumable) habitual. V.60.
D

deffaute: n. (OF defaute) want, scarcity. X.i.12.
deynous: a. (OF desdeignous) disdainful, proud. VIII.150.
delauee: a. (OF deslave) washed away, worn away. X.ii.12.
dereworth: a. (OE deor + wube - dear + worthy) worthy of high estimation. XI.448.
dessertes: n. pl. (same as above for etym.) desserts. I.57.
dym: a. (OE dimm) dim, dark. X.iii.3.
disparpled: v. pa. (OF desparpelier) scattered, dispersed, sprinkled. XI.221.
duetee: n. (AF duete) duty. V.102.

elleccioun: n. (OF election) election, a formal choosing. VIII.236.
empryse: n. (OF emprise) enterprise, undertaking. II.5.
ENCHESOUN: n. (OF encheson) occasion, cause, reason. III.17.
enformours: n. pl. (L. inform- + -er) instructor. XI.543.
everydel: n. (OE æfre + dæl) every part, the whole. V.32.
exyl: n. (OF exilier) an exile. V.96.

F

fable: n. (OF fauble) a tale. Fig. a foolish or ridiculous story. VIII.172.
faste: adv. (OE faeste) fast. V.77.
fawe: a. (OE v. faegnian) glad, well pleased. XI.56.
filthes: n. pl. (OE fjylb) filthy or foul persons. VII.262.
fyrid: v. pa. (OE fyrian) fired, kindled. Fig. filled with passion. VIII.100.
fisshist: v. pr. 2s (OE fiscian) fish, cast about. VIII.100.
flagicioun: n. (L. flagitium - shameful crime) a criminal, wicked person. II.11.
flees: n. (OE fleos) wool, fleece. V.36.
flitte: v. imp. s. (ON flytja) depart, go away. I.140.
forthynke: v. pr. sub. 2s (OE forbencan) despair. XI.490.
foysoun: n. (OF foison - popular) a plentiful supply. XI.263.
freedam: n. (OE freo + dom) freedom.

gabbith: v. pr. 3s (OF gabber, ON gabba - to mock) lies, tells lies. VIII.142.
gentils: n. pl. (OF gentil) people of gentle or noble birth. VIII.260.
gete: v. inf. (OE gietan) get, obtain. VIII.127.
gye: v. inf. (OF guier) conduct, lead. XI.471.
glade: v. inf. (OE gladian) to make glad. III.14.
grede: v. imp. (OE gædan) cry out, wail. XI.642.

H
halkes: n. pl. (OE healh, and Nom. pl. halas) corner
hepynge: n. (OE v. heapian) accumulation. XI.240.
herberwe: v. imp. s. (OE herebeorgian) give shelter to, protect. III.39.
heuy: a. (OE hefig) heavy. Fig. earthly. III.5.
hidles: n. pl. (OE hydels) hiding places. XI.645.
hokir: n. (OE hocor) scorn, contempt. XI.310
hoost: n. (OF oste, hoste. L. hostis - stranger) a guest. OED quotes Gower and others for this sense. XI.223.
I/Y

ye: n. s. (OE eage) eye. II.62.

ieet: n. and a. (OF jaiet) hard black form of coal. Fig. black. X.iii.4.

iewyse: n. (OF juise, L. judicium) judgement, sentence, penalty. II.2.

infernal: a. (OF infernal) of the underworld or spirit world. VIII.3.


iowes: n. pl. (Perhaps from OE ceowan - chew) jaws.


K

kay: n. (OF kay) key. I.50.

kerfe: n. (OE cyrf - a cutting) fig. the furrow made in water by a ships keel. XI.203.

kidde: v. pa. (OE cythan) confessed, declared. VIII.314.


L


lachid: v. pa. (OF lacher) lash, scourge. XI.362.

lappid: v. pa. (ME c. 1200) in compound bi-lappe) enfold, swathe. V.32.

laude: n. (L. laudum) decision, judgement. VIII.410.


leche: n. (OE lae ce) leek. Fig. Something of little value. XI.552.

leiser: n. (OF leisir) leisure. VIII.129.


leof: a. (OE leof) dear, beloved. XI.446.

list: v. (OE lystan) impersonal, with pronoun - to choose or please to do something. II.28.

loke: n. (OE loc) lock or tuft of wool. XI.219.
lykith: v. pr. 3s (OE lician) wants, pleases. VIII.279.

M


maat: n. (Ar. shah mata - the king is dead) in chess (check)-mated. XI.161.


manace: v. sub. s. pr. (OF manacer) threaten. 1.57

maugree: n. & prep. (OF maugre) n. spite, ill will. prep. in spite of, notwithstanding. VIII.376.

mees: n. (AF menage - corruption of menage) dwelling house. VIII.334.

mescheueth: v. pr. 3s (OF meschief) suffers. XI.544.

moot: v. aux. (OE motan) must. VIII.28.

mowe: v. pr. sub. pl. (OE motan) may. VIII.278.

muk: n. (ON myki - dung) muck, dung. Fig. and ironic muk-hepyng amassing of

N

nakid: v. pa. (OE nacod) stripped, bared. VIII.353.

ne: negative particle

nered: ne were were not

ny: adv. (OE neah) near, close. XI.377.


O

occisioun: n. (OF occision) slaughter, killing. II.9.

oost: n. (OF oste, hoste) host, hosteler. Fig. in "mynd of an oost" a memory short as an innkeeper's XI.223.

owtid: v. pa. (from OE a. utera - outer) uttered. 1.74.

P

papejay: n. (F. papagei) popinjay, parrot. X.iii.12.

pentice: n. (OF apentis) outbuilding with sloping roof and projecting eaves. Fig. and ironic at X.iii.7.

peril: n. (OF peril) peril danger. VIII.115.

pyne: n. (OE pin) pain, toil, effort. VIII.7.

pot: n. (OE pot) pot. VIII.50.

pous: n. (OF pous) pulse. XI.660.


preewe: v. imp. (OF prover) show, demonstrate. IV.46.

proces: n. (OF proces) in by proces at length, in the course of time. VIII.43.

prowd: a. (OE prut) proud, arrogant. II.43.


reewe: v. imp. (OE hreo-wan) on take pity on. I.83.

refuyt: n. (OF refuite) refuge. III.53.

reyne: n. (OE regn) rain. X.iii.7.

remedie: n. (OF remedie) remedy, cure. VIII.204.

remes: n. pl. (OF reaume) realms. VIII.85.

requeren: v. pr. pl. (OF requerre) ask, request. I.79.


rynde: n. (OE rind) outer surface, skin. Fig. the outer nature of a person as contrasted with their soul. V.31.

deur: a. (OF sure) sure, secure, safe. III.57.

shipbrecehe: n. (OE scibryce) shipwreck. III.57.

shittle: v. inf. (OE scyttan) to enclose, shut in, contain. V.68.

shoop: v. pa. (OE scieppan) arose, came about. VII.8.

shuln: v. pr. pl. (OE sculan) shall. VIII.329.

sikir: a. (OE sicor) secure, safe. XI.326.

sikirly: adv. sikir + ly see sikir.

sythes: n. (OE sib) times, as in 50 times. VII.13.

sleightes: n. pl. (ON slægb) skills, cunning acts. VIII.395.

slipir: a. (OE slipor) slippery, unreliable. VI.17.

snak: n. (etym. uncertain) short time, snatch. Fig. perhaps from a snap or bite as of a dog. VIII.109.

socour: n. (OF sucurs) help, aid. X.1.4.

socourable: a. socour + able. see socour. XI.437.


sotiltee: n. (OF soutilite) cunning, subtelty. V.130.

souffissantly: adv. (OF suffissance) sufficiently. VII.102.


stele: n. (OE style) steel (handle). VIII.50

stifly: adv. (OE stif) resolutely. I.139.

styrntid: v. pa. (OE styrtan) cut short, stopped. V.77.

stired: v. pa. (OE styrian) moved, roused emotionally. II.3.

stirtmeel: adv. (from OE styrtan + mæl) fitfully, irregularly. XI.660.

strah: n. (OE streaw) straw. Fig. something of little value. VIII.327.

streit: a. (early ME stregt) straight. Fig. honest, virtuous. XI.454.

sueth: v. pr. 3s (AF suer) follows, pursues. VIII.145.

suynge: v. pr. p. (AF suer) following. VII.65.

swythe: adv. (OE swibe) quickly, swiftly. XI.147.
tapplie: v. contracted to + apply. VIII.89.

teene: n. (OE teona) harm, injury. II.27.


thabbeye: n. contracted the + abbey. VII'.16.

thaftirclap: contracted the + aftirclap. See aftirclap.

thewe: v. inf. (OE theawian) to instruct in manners or morals. XI.83.

thewes: n. pl. (OE theawas) customs, habits. VIII.339.

twynnest: v. pr. 2s. (OE a. twinn) separate. VIII.104.

vnabassht: v. pa. (OF esbair) unabashed, bold. III.42.

vnbuxummesse: n. obstinacy. see buxum. II.45.


vse: v. pr. imp. (OF user) comply. XI.565.

vanysshid: v. pa. (OF vai- ncre) vanquished. II.50.

venym: n. (OF venim) poison. Fig. any malign quality. III.27.

waymentacions: n. pl. (OF waymenter) cries. XI.274.

weyue: v. pr. sub. (early ME weyven) forsake, relinquish. XI. 602.

werreie: v. pr. sub. (OF werreier) make war. VIII.431.


wight: a. (ON vight - skilled in arms) agile, active. VIII.143.


wone: n. (OE ge-wuna) habit, custom. VII.10.

wrecche: n. (OE wraec) poor wretch. IV.46.

yald: v. pa. (OE gieldan) yielded, gave up. Fig. died. I.122.

yeeme: n. (OE gieme) with take + yeeme - take notice, give thought to. XI.521.
The bibliography is divided into four sections. The first three list MSS, editions of Hoccleve, and criticism. Section four lists other works consulted.

Although Hoccleve is noted and discussed in a large number of period histories of literature, it was not thought necessary to include a list of these works. Only those literary histories which were immediately helpful in the preparation of this edition are cited.

1. Manuscripts of Hoccleve Poetry

The first three MSS listed here contain the bulk of Hoccleve's work. The remaining MSS contain individual pieces, usually one of the longer works, and sometimes some shorter poems as well. Where it can be determined, the works contained in these MSS are given.
Durham MS III.9.

HM 111 (Huntington Lib., California), formerly the Phillipps MS 8151.

HM 744 (Huntington Lib.), formerly the Ashburnham MS.

BM Addit. MS 24062. Privy Seal documents in Hoccleve's hand.

Egerton MS.

The following MSS contain copies of the *Regement of Princes*.

- Harleian MS 4866.
- Sloane MS 1212.
- BM MS Royal 17.D.VI.

The following MSS contain copies of the *Epistle of Cupid*.

- Durham MS V.ii.13.
- Selden MS B24.
- Fairfax MS 16.
- Bodley 638 B.
- Tanner 346 T.
- Digby 181 D.

The following MSS contain copies of *Lerne to Dye*.

- Bodleian 1504.
- Bodleian 3441.
Bodleian 27627.
Harleian 172.
Durham V.iii.9.

2. Editions of Hoccleve's Works.


Gollancz, Sir Israel, Hoccleve's works II: The Minor Poems in the Ashburnham MS Addit. 133. London, 1925 (for 1897), EETS, es, 73.

3. Hoccleve Criticism


---------, "Date of Hoccleve's Dialog," Anglia 40, pp. 370-3.


---------, "The Relation of Hoccleve's Lerne to Dye to its Source," PMLA 40 (1925), pp. 252-75.


---------, "Hoccleve and the Poems from Deguilleville," Nation (NY), 26 September, 1907, p. 280.


4. Other Works


Tryon, Ruth Wilson, "MIRACLES OF OUR LADY IN MIDDLE ENGLISH VERSE," *PMLA* 38 (1923), pp. 308-88.


