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A DIALOGUE BETWEEN
REASON AND ADVERSITY

F. N. M. DIEKSTRA

A DIALOGUE BETWEEN REASON
AND ADVERSITY

PROMOTOR: PROFESSOR DR. G. STORMS

A DIALOGUE BETWEEN REASON AND ADVERSITY

A LATE MIDDLE ENGLISH VERSION OF PETRARCH'S
DE REMEDIIS

EDITED FROM MS. II VI.39 OF THE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY,
CAMBRIDGE WITH AN INTRODUCTION,
NOTES AND GLOSSARY AND THE ORIGINAL LATIN TEXT

PROEFSCHRIFT

ter verkrijging van de graad van doctor in de letteren
aan de katholieke universiteit te Nijmegen,
op gezag van de rector magnificus Dr A Th L M Mertens,
hoogleraar in de faculteit der geneeskunde,
volgens besluit van de senaat in het openbaar te verdedigen
op 8 maart 1968, des namiddags te vier uur, door

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geboren te Groningen

Te Assen bij

VAN GORCUM & COMP N V. - DR. H. J. PRAKKE & H. M. G. PRAKKE

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To my wife
To my parents

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PREFACE

Of the treatise edited in this work there are no earlier editions. It has passed unnoticed in a single version in MS. Ii.VI.39 in the University Library, Cambridge, which is mainly known for its version of the *Cloud of Unknowing*.

In an article in *Dominican Studies*, I (1948) Dr. Doyle of Durham University had noted it in passing as a unique little piece in a collection for religious with contemplative interests. He suggested to me the editing of this treatise, which seemed promising from the point of view of language and style. It is full of proverbs, maxims and terse phrases, which mark it out as one of the more lively items among the common run of Middle English devotional texts, though it has no special literary distinction.

After some time I found that the treatise was an adaptation of part of Petrarch's Latin treatise *De Remediis Utriusque Fortunae*, which made it worth-while to study the nature of the early reception of this Petrarch text in England and the wider issue of the impact of humanistic writing on the later Middle Ages. Apart from Chaucer's use of Petrarch in the *Clerk's Tale* and the *Canticus Troili* this is the earliest adaptation of any of Petrarch's works in England.

I have attempted to pay equal attention to the literary affiliations and to the linguistic features of the treatise. The introduction includes a discussion of the sources, the literary genres of dialogue and consolation and a discussion of Petrarch's reception in England in the 14th and 15th centuries. In the language section I have paid especial attention to syntax and style. The glossary aims at completeness.

My deepest debt of gratitude is that to Dr. Doyle, who suggested the subject and provided leads and information at several stages of the work. My acknowledgements are also due to Professor McIntosh of

Edinburgh University and to Professor Samuels of Glasgow University for their generous help with the dialectal intricacies. It is further a pleasure to thank Professor Dobson of Jesus College, Oxford and Professor Roberto Weiss of University College, London for answering some of my queries.

As for financial help I wish to express my thanks to the Netherlands Organization for the Advancement of Pure Research (Z.W.O.) for a grant enabling me to do part of my research in English libraries, and for a grant covering the costs of publication. Finally I wish to thank the Curators of the University of Nijmegen for leave from teaching duties during my stay in England.

The promptness and accuracy of Dr. F. Aarts and Drs. P. v. d. Eeden in reading the proofs have been a great help.

ABBREVIATIONS

AF	Anglo-French
Angl.	Anglian
Bohn	H G Bohn, <i>A Hand-Book of Proverbs</i> , London, 1855
CF	Central French
CHEL	Cambridge History of English Literature
CMS	Central Midland Standard
De Cons.	De Consolatione Philosophiae
D R F	De Remedus Fortuitorum
Du	Dutch
Ecclus.	Ecclesiasticus
E.E.T.S. E.S	Early English Text Society, Extra Series
E.E.T.S. O.S	Early English Text Society, Original Series
EME	Early Middle English
ep	epistula
Ep.Mor.	Epistulae Morales
F	French
Fl.Doct.	<i>Flores Doctorum</i> by Thomas Palmeranus
Ii	MS Ii VI 39 in University Library, Cambridge
Jordan	R Jordan, <i>Handbuch der mittelhenglischen Grammatik</i> , I Teil: Lautlehre, Heidelberg, 1925 Zweite verb Aufl. by H Chr Matthes, Heidelberg, 1934
L	Latin
LOE	Late Old English
Luick	K Luick, <i>Historische Grammatik der englischen Sprache</i> , Leipzig, 1914-40 (repr Oxford-Stuttgart, 1964)
LV	Later Version
ME	Middle English
MED	<i>A Middle English Dictionary</i> by F. H Stratmann, new ed. by H Bradley, Oxford, 1891
Migne	J. P. Migne, ed <i>Patrologia Latina</i>
ML	Medieval Latin
MMED	<i>Michigan Middle English Dictionary</i> , ed H Kurath and S. M Kuhn, 1952-
Must.	T F. Mustanoja, <i>A Middle English Syntax</i> , Helsinki, 1960

ODP	<i>Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs</i> , ed W G Smith, 2nd rev ed by Sir Paul Harvey, Oxford, 1952
OE	Old English
OED	Oxford English Dictionary
OF	Old French
OI	Old Icelandic
OIr	Old Irish
ON	Old Norse
ONF	Old Northern French
P L	Patrologia Latina
RES	Review of English Studies
SATF	Société des Anciens Textes Français
t , T	tome
TPS	Transactions of the Philological Society
ULC	University Library, Cambridge
Ven	The Venice edition of Petrarch's Latin Works, 1501
Visser, H S	F Th Visser, <i>An Historical Syntax of the English Language</i> , Parts I and II, Leiden, 1963 and 1966
Visser, More	F Th Visser, <i>A Syntax of the Language of St Thomas More</i> , Parts I-III Louvain, 1946-56
WS	West Saxon
Yrksh Wr	<i>Yorkshire Writers</i> , ed C Horstmann, 2 vols , London, 1895

INTRODUCTION

A. THE MANUSCRIPT

A. DESCRIPTION OF THE MANUSCRIPT

In the *Catalogue of the Manuscripts preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge* the treatise edited here is described as: 'A dialogue, in English, unfinished. *On the Evils of Life*, between *Adversite* and *Resoun*'. As the text has no title in the MS, I have decided to refer to it as *A Dialogue between Reason and Adversity*.

The treatise is, as far as I have been able to ascertain, unique and is extant in MS. Ii.VI.39 of the University Library, Cambridge. This MS is a duodecimo on parchment, originally in paper boards, but since 1935 bound in two volumes and is entitled *Varia Theologica*¹. It is made up of several sections of the same small dimensions (5 × 3 ins.) but of varying dates ranging from the 13th to the 15th centuries and of no necessary connection. The treatises on leaves 67-188, however, belong together and contain the work of contemplative religious compilers. This portion, in which the *Dialogue* comprises ff. 177^b-188^b, is written in a small and neat hand of the early fifteenth century² which Dr. Doyle describes as a 'cursiva (anglicana) formata'. See p. [11]. Nothing is known of the history of the MS before it came to the University Library of Cambridge in 1715 with the Moore Collection,

¹ Apart from the description in the ULC Catalogue of MSS, a draft description in the handwriting of M. R. James is available in the MS Room of Cambridge University Library. Part of the contents—ff. 67-188—have been described by Dr. A. I. Doyle, 'A Prayer attributed to St. Thomas Aquinas', *Dominican Studies*, Vol. I (July 1948), 229-238.

² According to Dr Doyle, *art. cit.*, p. 232 and Ph. Hodgson, *The Cloud of Unknowing*, E.E.T.S. 218, p. xiii, note; late fourteenth according to Horstmann, *Yrksh. Wr.* I, p. 162 and Helen Gardner, *RES*, IX, p. 145.

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in which it is no. 126¹. Nor is anything known about the time when the several sections were put together.

There are 248 leaves, gathered in eights. Various leaves are missing: the second quire of section III lacks 1-7, section VII lacks 1-2, section IX lacks one folio. The lines to a page vary from 26-32, written in single columns. Paragraph marks are in blue and red with conventional filigree work.

CONTENTS: Four flyleaves from a book of lecture notes, probably logical or mathematical, almost illegible (14th century?).

Section I

1. ff. 5-64. *LIBER PLATEARII, de Passionibus et eorum curis*, in an early 13th-century hand. Begins: 'Amicum induit'... ends: ...'fistule truncatur'. Printed at Venice: Joannes Platearius, *Expositio in Antidotarium*, 1589. On ff. 65 and 66 receipts in several hands; a list of medical terms in three columns; a charm to stanch blood. At the bottom of fol. 66^a is written in a fifteenth-century hand *magister iohannes clastun, magistri mei* and on fol. 66^b *petri durant*; at the bottom of fol. 67^a is written *ser thomas colman* in an early 16th-century hand. Only the last name belongs to the portion of the MS that contains the *Dialogue*.

Section II

2. ff. 67-71. The beginning of the *MANIPULUS FLORUM* or *Flores Doctorum* of Thomas de Hibernia (Thomas Palmeranus), a collection of wise sayings excerpted from patristic and classical authors and arranged under alphabetical headings: *abstinentia, abusio, acceptio personarum, accidia, adjutorium, adventus, adulatio*, etc. This extract stops at *amor*. Though the arrangement and most of the items are obviously based on Thomas Palmer's work, there are some entries which must have been incorporated later. Thus under *accidia* there is a quotation from Suso's *Horologium Sapientiae* which the thirteenth-century Thomas Palmer cannot have known. First printed in Venice, 1550 and frequently since.

3. ff. 71-74. *A TRETIS OF MAYNDENHOD*. Begins: 'Sister we

¹ E. Bernard, *Catalogi Librorum Manuscriptorum Angliae et Hiberniae*, Oxford, 1697, no. 9312 (Vol. II, pt. 1, p. 364).

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greten ȝow of inward herte'... ends: 'charite wiþ long abidingnes'. This is also extant in ULC MS li.VI.55 (there addressed to a 'suster in crist').

Section III

4. ff. 75-120^b. *Here begynnyth a bok of contemplacioun the wich is clepid DE CLOWDE OF VNKNOWYNG in þe wich a souzle is oned with God.* One of the earliest copies and according to the latest editor, Ph. Hodgson, closely related to and perhaps copied from MS. Harley 674, the basis of the critical edition. Begins: 'God vnto wom alle hertes ben open'...; ends: ... 'of contemplacioun, deo gr.'

5. ff. 120^b-122^b. *Here beginneþ A SERMOUN OF SEYNT AUSTIN how man is maad to þe ymage & þe liknes of god his makere.* A translation of a pseudo-Augustine sermon printed by Migne among the works of St. Ambrose under the title: *De Dignitate Conditionis Humane* (T. XVII, col. 1105-1108) but also known under the title *De Creatione* and *De Imagine et Similitudine*. The sermon also appears in ULC li. VI.55 and Harley 2330 (both early 15th century) and is related, together with three other pseudo-Augustine treatises, to the Wycliffite Scriptural translations, according to Dr. S. L. Fristedt, *The Wycliffe Bible*, Part I, Stockholm, 1953, pp. 43ff.

6. ff. 122-133. *Here beginneþ a book þat Richard of Seynt Victore maad vp þe historie of Joseph & of his XII sones and is callid BENIAMYN.* This is an abridged version of Richard of St. Victor's *Benjamin Minor*.¹ At the foot of fol. 133 and continuing half way down the *verso*, a copy of the first third of a prayer attributed to Thomas Aquinas, abandoned by the scribe when he saw he could not fit it all on the same quire, and written in full ff. 163-165. Begins: 'O pou merciful lord god I besече þe'...; ends: '...and in my trespassing'.

Section IV

7. ff. 134-157. *HUGO DE CONSCIENCIA.* This is an extract, the beginning and the end coinciding with the original, of the third book

¹ ed. C. Horstmann, *op. cit.* I, pp. 162-172 and modernized by J. E. G. Gardner, *The Cell of Self-Knowledge*, 1925, pp. 3-33. Ed. Ph. Hodgson, *Deonise Hid Diuinite*, etc., E.E.T.S., O.S. 231, pp. 12ff. The Latin text is in Migne T.CXCVI.

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of Hugo of St. Victor's *De Anima*, printed in Migne among the works of St. Bernard of Clairvaux under the title: *De Interiori Domo seu de Consciencia Aedificanda*. (T. CLXXXIV, col. 507) Begins: 'Domus hec in qua habitamus'...; ends:'quam terrestrium occupatione'. At the foot of fol. 157 in the same hand, very minute, part of an English poem on the *sixteen points of Charity*, extant in one other MS.¹ Begins: 'Man among þi mirþe þis haue in mynde'... ends: '...as me wantip charite'. On f. 144^b there is a 16th or 17th-century inscription 'Simon Ball is the oner of this'.

Section V

8. ff. 158-162. *SANCTUS ALREDUS DE VERA AMICICIA*. An adaptation of the third book of Aelred of Rievaulx's dialogue *De Spirituali Amicitia* (Migne, T. CXCV, col. 659), long attributed to St. Augustine, which may have been the main reason for its medieval popularity. The dialogue as it is preserved in li.VI.39 is also extant in Trinity College, Dublin, MS 432 (D. 4.18), ff. 134-136 and has been edited by A. Hoste, *Cîteaux*, X, 1959, pp. 268-276. Begins: 'est enim ait regressus ad amicum'... ends: ...'cum deus fuerit omnia in omnibus'.

9. ff. 162^b-163^b. *BERNARDUS DE DIGNITATE SACERDOTUM*. Not by St. Bernard but by a Brother Bernard of the late 13th century at earliest (cf. *The Threefold Gift of Christ by Brother Bernard*. Transl. & ed. by a religious of C.S.M.V., London, 1954). Begins: 'O quantum dignitatem contulit vobis deus'; ends:'omnibus dico vigilate. etc.'

10. ff. 163^b-165. *ORATIO THOME DE ALQUIN* (in English), a translation of a Latin prayer attributed to Thomas Aquinas which enjoyed considerable vogue beyond the Middle Ages. Ed. by Dr. A. I. Doyle (see above) who prints the Latin and the English text. Begins: 'O pouȝ merciful lord god'... ends: ...'of gladnesse þat neuere schal haue ende. Amen'.

Section VI

11. ff. 166-177. *LIBER DE DOCTRINA DICENDI ET TACENDI*

¹ MS. Lambeth 853, ed. F. J. Furnivall, *Hymns to the Virgin & Christ*, etc. E.E.T.S., 1867, pp. 114-117.

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ab Albertano Causidico Brissiensis de hora sancte agathe compositus et compilatus. Begins: 'Inicio et medio ac fine mei tractatus...' Ends: 'ad eterna gaudia nos faciat peruenire, amen'. This is only the first book. The whole treatise was printed for the first time in 1490 and frequently since.

12. ff. 177^b-188^b. *A DIALOGUE BETWEEN REASON AND ADVERSITY* edited below. Fol. 179^b has later scribbles in English: 'And for me in the name of god amen'. The same occurs on fol. 189.

Section VII

13. ff. 190-196. In another hand. *SCALA CLAUSTRALIUM que dicitur Scala Celi* Auctore Adamo Carthusiensi (the latter words added by Bishop Tanner). Ascribed variously to St. Augustine and St. Bernard, but now generally ascribed to Guigo II, prior of Grande Chartreuse, who wrote it shortly after 1150. Printed by Migne among the works of St. Bernard under the above title and in the Appendix Volume to the works of St. Augustine under the title *Scala Paradisi*.¹ Begins: 'Cum die quadam corporali manuum labore'... ends: ... 'delicatus est. sponsus est. nobilis est'. This is immediately followed on fol. 196 by a prayer beginning: 'Domine sancte pater eterne deus propter tuam largitatem'.... and one beginning: 'Omnibus consideratis'. On fol. 197 follows a rhythmical prayer beginning: 'O crux frutex saluificus vino fonte rigatus'... ends: .. 'eterne vite status. Amen'. This occurs also in MS. Thornton, ed. Horstmann, *Yrksh. Wr.* I, p. 382, there ascribed to St. Bonaventura.²

Section VIII

14. ff. 198-213. *TRACTATUS DE XII UTILITATIBUS TRIBULACIONIS*. Ascribed by Tanner to Adam Scotus of Dryburgh but printed by Migne among the works of Peter of Blois (T. CCVII, col. 989).³

¹ It is also extant in a ME version in three 15th-century MSS entitled *A Ladder of Foure Ronges* in MS Ii VI 33, MS Douce 322, and MS Harley 1706; cf. Appendix B to Ph Hodgson's edition of *Deomise Hid Druumte*, E E T S O S 231.

² See Mone's *Hymn Latini Medii Aevi* I, p. 150, 'Planctus Bonaventurae de Christo'

³ For the English version from MS Rawl C 894 cf. Horstmann, *Yrksh Wr.* II, pp. 391-406

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On fol. 213^b follows a hymn to the Virgin beginning: 'Sponsa ioseph...' Fol. 214^b-217 are blank but for scribbles.

Section IX

15. ff. 218-240. In a late 12th or early 13th-century hand *HIERONYMUS CONTRA IOVINIANUM*. Begins: 'Satis habundequie christiane pudicie'... ends:'omnia vincit amor et nos cedamus amori'. Containing Lib. I, capp. 41-49; Lib. II, capp. 6-14; Lib. I, cap. 28; Lib. II, ult. cap. The treatise is printed in Migne, *P.L.*, t. XXIII, col. 211 ff.

Some notes in a 13th-century hand follow on fol. 240^b, among which the explanation of the word Rome.

Section X

Then seven leaves in various hands and two flyleaves. Fol. 241. *The Miracle of St. Augustine at Compton*. Begins: 'In pago oxenfordensi est villa cummeton (VI m. dist. a wudestok)'. Ed. Horstmann, *Nova Legenda Anglie*, I, p. 100 (abridged from Joh. Brompton's *Chronicon*).

Fol. 241^b has instructive notes, 'Si vis scire qualiter hore diei cognoscuntur' and others. Fol. 242. Gloss on the Gospel of St. John: 'In principio erat verbum'. Fol. 243. Another gloss: 'Cum audieritis prelia et sediciones'. Fol. 243^b. Stories and notes for sermons. Fol. 244^{a-b}. A list of Latin words used in two or more senses. Begins: 'Augustus. ti. to. cesar uel mensis habeto'... ends: ...'est bubo uolucris. est morbus bubo sub auo apostema'. On the same fol.: 'Femineis uerbis nec equo qui pascitur herbis', etc. With French equivalent: 'Chial pu de regaine e a parole feminine'. At the bottom a distich on the Herods.¹ Fol. 245. Gloss on the Apocalypse of St. John: 'Signum magnum apparuit in celo', etc. Fol. 245^b: On the masses on Christmas Day: 'Sacerdos in die natalis ter celebrat'... Then a reference to the Dial of Ahaz and half way down the folio a sermon: 'Rex est hodie et cras moritur'... continuing up to 248^b.

B. USE OF THE VOLUME, PROVENANCE AND DATE

As has been noted above, the sections of the MS are of different dates and the binding together of the various portions may have been

¹ Also in MS. Arundel 507, ed. Horstmann, *Yrksh. Wr.* I, p. 424.

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determined mainly by the similar small size of the leaves.¹ But the above survey of the contents at any rate shows that part of the MS formed quite a typical collection for religious with contemplative interests.² The portion in the one hand suggests contemplative religious compilers and the other 14th and 15th-century Latin portions (the *Scala Claustralium* and *De xii Utilitatibus Tribulationis*) confirm this impression.³ As to the original ownership, the nature of some of the treatises, especially the *Cloud*, *Benjamin Minor* and the *Scala Claustralium*, suggests a religious house rather than seculars, but by the sixteenth century the ownership may have changed. The names 'magister iohannes clastun' and 'ser thomas colman' show at least clerical use of the volume, as one might expect. ('Ser', which is the English for 'Dominus', was used of secular priests, 'Magister' might be a religious).

The English sermon of Augustine (No. 5) is from a translator who had also been engaged on the Wycliffite Bible translations (see above, p. [5]). This is no evidence of unorthodoxy on the part of the owners. The presence of the *Cloud* and *Benjamin Minor* is equally significant of their tastes and sources. In the *Dialogue* the bible quotations do not show dependence on the Wycliffite translations.

As we shall see, the inclusion of the *Dialogue* in this volume, in spite of its 'humanistic' source, is no exception to the pronounced devotional character of the rest of the treatises. The abrupt ending of the text would suggest that the copyist had a fuller version in front of him. On the other hand, most of the treatises in the MS are extracts or compilations and Petrarch's treatise may never have been completely translated. One explanation of its unfinished state might be found in the nature of the topics discussed by Petrarch in the sections immediately following the point where the scribe⁴ stopped. These subjects—the heavy burden of a large family, money problems, gambling, law-suits, the burden of unchaste, barren and ill-tempered wives—would evidently be out of place in this collection.

¹ E. Ph. Goldschmidt, *Medieval Texts and their First Appearance in Print*, London, 1943, p. 95, observes that the prime consideration in the binding of MSS was the size of the leaves, next that of subject-matter.

² The *tretis of maydenhod* is addressed to women religious.

³ The format of the volume is that of a small prayerbook and would have enabled the owner to carry it easily with him.

⁴ but not necessarily the author.

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As for provenance, the MS affords no other clue than the names inscribed on fol. 66^a, 66^b, 67^a and 144^b, which do not seem to be definitely identifiable. Only the names of Thomas Colman and Simon Ball occur in the portion that contains the *Dialogue*, the former in a sixteenth-century hand, the latter in a 16th or 17th-century hand. There was an early 14th-century Cambridge master by the name of Johannes Clastun, which is too early, and two in *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, ed. Venn, with the name Thomas Colman, both from Peterborough. One was a priest at Peterborough who was buried in 1589 at Cambridge, the other was ordained deacon at Peterborough and was rector of Brent Eleigh, Suffolk from 1625-42. These would fit the right area, roughly, which the analysis of the language indicates, but are on the late side. Emden lists two Cambridge graduates by the name of Colman, who are of approximately the right period. One, who as Emden notes was possibly the same as Th. Colman, was bachelor of canon and civil law and was vicar of Herne Hill, Kent till 1514 and vicar of S. Nicholas at Wade, Kent from 1514 till his death in 1517. The other Colman—whose Christian name is not known—was admitted to Cambridge in 1497. Peter Durant does not occur in the lists of Oxford and Cambridge graduates by Venn and Emden. The D.N.B. too, is silent about Simon Ball. The analysis of the language offers no obvious location either and even then it should be remembered that a well-defined type of language might be used by a scribe working elsewhere in the country. The ownership of Bishop Moore would fit the Eastern English provenance which the language suggests, since he was bishop of Norwich and other books of his are from that half of the country.

In default of any internal or external evidence in the text or the rest of the MS that might point to a particular author, no suggestion can be made as to authorship. It seems reasonable, however, to assume that he was a religious.

The date when Petrarch finished his *De Remediis* is quite exactly known: 4 October 1366.¹ The date of MS.Ii.VI.39 is given variously as late fourteenth or early fifteenth century (see above p. [3]). According to Dr. Doyle the testimony of the handwriting, especially the simple *a* and the occasional use in the MS of a secretary *s*—a new form of continental origin, not the usual sigma shape—seems to support early

¹ See E. H. Wilkins, *Petrarch's Later Years*, Cambridge, Mass., 1959, p. 108.

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fifteenth rather than late fourteenth century. Indirect evidence can be derived from Miss Hodgson's assertion that the *Cloud of Unknowing* in MS. Harley 674 (early 15th century) was the model for the *Cloud* in our MS. As this version of the *Cloud* was written by the same scribe who wrote the *Dialogue*, the latter must surely be later than 1400. However, these datings are based on examination of the script only without corroboration from other evidence, and one generally has to allow a possibility of a third of a century of error owing to the length of a scribe's career. The language, too, has some fifteenth-century developments and I would prefer to settle on a date in the first quarter of the fifteenth century.

C. NOTE ON THE LETTER SHAPES

N.B. Line references are to the reproduction of fol. 182^b and 183^a of the MS.

The hand is described by Dr. Doyle as a 'cursiva (anglicana) formata', with—mainly—unlooped uncial *d*, secretary *s* as well as sigma *s* finally and—mainly—simple *a*. The retention of looped *b*, *h*, *k*, *l*, long *f* and *s* and other features make this still basically a cursive script, but it is written with a degree of care, separating and stiffening of many letters which grades it as formalized. In the older nomenclature it would be called a 'semi-cursive' script.

Apart from capital A (182^b/7) there are two shapes of the letter *a* namely the simple *a* (182^b/1), which is used almost throughout, and the occasional *a* (not found on the reproduction but it occurs e.g. on 185^b/11).

There are three types of *s*, the long *s* (182^b/1) and, in final position, the usual sigma shape (182^b/1) which occasionally alternates with the secretary *s* which looks like an 8. This latter variety is not exemplified in the *Dialogue*, but it occurs in the Latin treatises, e.g. ff. 134 and 158. Note also the final *s* at the end of 182^b/18 and 19.

There are three types of *r*, the long *r* (182^b/5), the latin *r* (182^b/1) and the 2-shaped *r* used in the neighbourhood of *o* (182^b/1). Occasionally this 2-shaped *r* has a tag descending below the line (182^b/13 and bottom line).

i has usually a fine slanting hairstroke (182^b/3).

y is dotted and has an upward stroke (182^b/4). It is thus well distinguished from *þ* which is like the OE *wynn* (182^b/2).

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The yogh (*ȝ*) is used initially for the front spirant and medially where it has often no phonic value (*spiriȝt*, *whiȝs*). The respective territories of *ȝ* and *g* are not consistently distinguished. *g* is generally used for (*dȝ*) and for the back stop, but note *hygnesse*, *higȝe*, *reygnede*.

e, especially at the end of a line, has a variant which slides on its back, lengthening its final loop till it is almost closed (183^a line 5 from bottom).

Unlooped (uncial) *d* is predominant; less frequently, looped *d* is found which looks like the number 8 (183^a/1).

The vertical of *t* rises only slightly above the crossbar which makes the *t* occasionally liable to confusion with *c*. Occasionally the upward loop of *t* reaches the crossbar, e.g. in *hit* (182^b/20).

D. PUNCTUATION MARKS

The punctuation is to some extent meaningful as it is semi-rhetorical and indicates how the treatise was intended to be read. There are three devices which call for some comment: the paragraph mark (¶), the inverted semicolon (:) and the point (.). The paragraph mark is used at the beginning of a new dialogue and to introduce either of the interlocutors. The point and the inverted semicolon are devices to guide the reader's intonation and are to be regarded as a guide to the proper movement of the treatise rather than as a grammatical punctuation. Originally a liturgical notation to mark modulations in the pitch of the voice, this type of punctuation made its contact with the English vernacular through the homily, already in the late Old English period¹ and was extensively used in devotional literature.

The point is used as an indication to the reader to momentarily suspend the voice, thus often giving more weight to what follows. The point will sometimes be placed where modern punctuation uses a comma but not necessarily, as in these examples:

He hap openyd to þe. þe ocasion of vertu 3/8.

Comytte þe cure of thi bodi. to þe souereyne leche 9/32.

Among pi progenitours. pou schalt haue alle þe hole preisinge 13/8.

¹ Cf. P. Clemoes, *Liturgical Influence in Late Old English and Early Middle English Manuscripts*, Occasional Papers 1. Department of Anglo-Saxon (Cambridge, 1952) p. 16.

A. THE MANUSCRIPT

The inverted semicolon or *punctus elevatus* denotes that the reader should slightly raise the pitch of his voice, the rising inflection indicating that the sense-unit is not complete, although it may appear so. For example:

Þe same god þat wrougte þis maistries in Joseph: kan zeue þe sich a grace in þi lordes sigt: þat... þou schalt no lengere kepe þe cloistre of bondache 25/30.

Who so hath non of hem: is not only pore: but a verrey wrecche 31/36.

It is also often used to mark parallelism of sentence members:

As þou art pore of money: be pore of spiryzt 35/25.

Whanne cornes tymen not: wepith þe frangeleyn. 29/3.

Sometimes absence of punctuation obscures the sense as in:

Mightiboned men þat be dulwitted in þe naturel ordere of men kepen þe lowest degre 7/13.

where a point after *dulwitted* might have helped.

E. EDITORIAL PRACTICE

Abbreviations are expanded throughout and marked in italics. The paragraph mark and the *ampersand* (printed &) have been retained. I have introduced capitals, question marks and paragraph divisions where modern practice requires them, but I have preserved the significant punctuation of the text in accordance with what is said in the preceding section. Corrections made by the original scribe are silently adopted but footnotes give the MS reading. Letters or words supplied without the authority of the MS are printed within round brackets and the MS readings recorded in footnotes. The few letters or words in the MS that require emendation have been omitted in the text but are duly recorded in footnotes. A double diagonal bar is placed in the printed text at the end of each MS folio and the number of the new folio appears in the margin. Initial *ff* is reproduced *F*, *w^t* is reproduced *with*, *i* and *j* are treated as in the MS, but have been capitalized in proper names and, in the case of *j*, when it is used for the pronoun. Thus the words for 'jewel' and 'evil' are spelled alike *juel*.

The following marks of abbreviation deserve notice: 9 above the line stands for *-us* in *copious*, *glorious*, but for *-es* (*-is*) when used for

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the plural of nouns; *-us* for the latter forms only once occurs in full. *u* above the line stands for *u*, *ur* in *likerous*, *doctour*, *nature*, also in *pedur*, but *-ur* never occurs in full¹ for usual *-er*. In the case of *p*, though this is often transcribed *par*, I have preferred to transcribe *per* for the sake of convenience and consistency, but there may be a phonological significance. See p. 58. The stroke over a letter regularly indicates omission of a letter (mostly a nasal) but it is often meaningless, especially after final *g*. Similarly the crossed *ll* is sometimes used for *lle(s)*, but sometimes need not be expanded at all. The habit of the scribe of inserting space in words like *a zens*, *a ferd*, *with drawe* has been reproduced.

As regards the Latin text of Petrarch, this is taken from the edition of Petrarch's Latin Works published at Venice, 1501, fol. 93^r-97^r (according to the numbering in ink in the B.M. copy). In order to present a readable text, abbreviations are silently expanded; the spelling of *u* and *v* has been regularized according to modern usage. I have corrected occasional obvious misprints, but recorded them in footnotes, marked *Ven*.

The passage from Boethius is taken from the edition by H. F. Stewart and E. K. Rand in the Loeb Classical Library, pp. 178-180. The *u* when used for the consonant is transcribed *v*.

¹ *-ur* occasionally occurs in full in other parts of the MS, e.g. fol. 128^a.

B. SOURCES OF THE TEXT

I. PETRARCH'S 'DE REMEDIIS UTRIVSQUE FORTUNAE'

The dialogue is a translation or rather a cursory paraphrase, with additions and omissions, of the first ten dialogues of the *De Remediis Utriusque Fortunae* of Petrarch. The rubrics presented are the following:

Dialogue

I	<i>De Deformitate Corporis</i>	VI	<i>De Obscena Origine</i>
II	<i>De Imbecillitate</i>	VII	<i>De Servitute</i>
III	<i>De Adversa Valitudine</i>	VIII	<i>De Paupertate</i>
IV	<i>De Ignobili Patria</i>	IX	<i>De Damno Passo</i>
V	<i>De Originis Obscuritate</i>	X	<i>De Tenui Victu</i>

The division into chapters in the Latin text does not correspond exactly to that of the English text. The first two dialogues have been compressed into one (without heading), which thus deals with the deformity and weakness of the body. The chapter of *pouerte* in the English text comprises dialogues VIII and IX of the Latin text. This latter fact derives authority from certain MSS and printed editions where *De Damno Passo* was not entered as a separate dialogue but was one with the preceding and entitled *De Paupertate et Dampno*. (Thus e.g. *MS Harley 2570*, *MS Lansdowne 781* and similarly in the first edition of the *De Remediis*, Basle 1474). The English text, then, presents the following chapter headings:

1. (No heading)	5. of birthe in leccherie
2. of siknes	6. of bondache
3. of vnnoble cuntre	7. of pouerte
4. of pore birthe	8. of feble fare

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a. *Nature of Petrarch's Work*

The '*Remedies Against Varying Fortune*'—according to one of his latest biographers 'the least amiable of Petrarch's works'¹—is divided into two parts. In the first book, *the Remedies against Prosperous Fortune*, it is demonstrated that everything that is generally regarded as valuable and conducive to happiness is in reality worthless and miserable, whereas in the second book, *the Remedies Against Adverse Fortune*, it is explained that what is generally regarded as affliction and misfortune should from the Christian philosopher's point of view be regarded as a help to secure salvation.

The work is dedicated to the consolation and edification of Azzo di Correggio, tyrant of Parma, a figure with an abominable historical record but whose colourful life must have attracted Petrarch, who obviously saw more in him than a common adventurer. He kept a life-long interest in him and on Azzo's death he addressed letters of consolation to his widow and children. Azzo was well qualified to appreciate the subjects offered to his contemplation as he had ample experience of the wayward nature of Fortune, having suffered bad health, exile, favour and loss of friends, bereavements and the sudden fluctuations of Fortune causing his deposition and banishment.

The work, which was started in 1358, was not yet finished when Azzo died in 1362 and Petrarch continued working on it till 1366, including in it, as it would seem, many of his own pet aversions and prejudices.

To each book he prefixed a long introduction setting forth the plan of the work. In the epistolary introduction to the first book Petrarch surveys the general misery of man's life. Man is oppressed from all sides and subject to the most various vicissitudes so that he is tossed hither and thither like a tennis-ball. Nature has provided all other living creatures with a wonderful kind of remedy, namely a certain ignorance of themselves, but man is not only afflicted by the troubles of the present but equally by his past and future cares so that he has continually to fight as it were a three-headed Cerberus. He concludes that it would almost have been better for us to have lacked Reason altogether since we are apt to turn this heavenly power against ourselves. Any man who seriously considers his own life should admit,

¹ Morris Bishop, *Petrarch and his World*, p. 329.

B. SOURCES OF THE TEXT

Petrarch observes, that 'its beginning is blindness, its progress toil, the end sorrow and the whole course error'.¹

The purpose of the book is to guide man's mind in the effort to conquer the influence of Fortune. The only remedy is to resort to philosophy, namely to the writings of excellent moralists. Taking as a starting-point the *De Remedius Fortuitorum* of Seneca (to which he refers as a well-known work), Petrarch observes that Aristotle and Seneca have written that it is more difficult to counter Adversity than Prosperity, but Petrarch with due diffidence ventures to put forward his own view that prosperous Fortune is more difficult to bear than adverse Fortune.

It is for this reason that he is offering his Remedies against prosperous Fortune. He has seen many who were equal to the blows of Adversity but of those who were able to bear riches, honours, power, he has never yet seen any.² Finally he explains the device of the

¹ Nor did Petrarch in some of his other works definitely commit himself on the side of confidence in human powers to cope with the difficulties of life in this world Cf *De Vita Solitaria* (translated by Jacob Zeitlin, Urbana, 1924, p. 101). 'For man is not only a base and unclean animal but furthermore . . . pernicious, unstable, faithless, inconstant, fierce and bloody, unless by the rare grace of God he puts off his bestiality and puts on humanity, in short, he learns to make himself a man out of a common creature'

Cf also the following passage from *Suum Secretum*, where through the mouth of Augustine, he depicts the miserable state of man: 'Behold him naked and unformed, born in wailings and tears, comforted with a few drops of milk, trembling and crawling, needing the hand of another, fed and clothed from the beast of the field, his body feeble, his spirit restless, subject to all kinds of sickness, the prey of passions innumerable, devoid of all reason, joyful today, to morrow sorrowful, in both full of agitation, incapable of mastering himself, unable to restrain his appetite, at once greedy and timid, disgusted with what he has, longing after what he has lost, discontented alike with the past, present and future, full of pride in his misery, and aware of his frailty, baser than the vilest worms, his life is short, his days uncertain, his fate inevitable since Death in a thousand forms is waiting for him at last' (translated by W H Draper as *Petrarch's Secret or the Soul's Conflict with Passion*, London, 1911, p 70-1)

² This observation was not so revolutionary. It is actually a common 'topos of the exordium', to begin a work by stating one is going to write 'things unattempted yet in Prose or Rhyme' (cf Curtius, p 85ff) The same thought is found in Boethius, *De Consolatione*, Bk II, Prose VIII. '*Etenim plus hominibus reor adversam quam prosperam prodesse fortunam*' The *Prick of Conscience* quotes St. Gregory to the same effect. '*Si omnis fortuna timenda est,*

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dialogue form he employs. It illustrates how the four passions of the mind, Hope, Joy, Fear and Sorrow, brought forth at simultaneous twin births by the sisters Prosperity and Adversity, assail the mind of man. It is owing to the power of reason which governs the chief castle, that man's mind is saved from their attacks.

Then in 122 dialogues follows an astonishing catalogue of the most various things generally regarded as subjects for congratulation. Long life, beauty, strength, and health are condemned as worthless. Good memory, eloquence, esteem, wisdom, and religion attain their only merit when put into the service of ethics. True freedom is in the grave. The fine arts, aesthetic pleasures, love of woman, books, the fame of one's country, victory, peace are unmasked by Petrarch with a truly Saturnine keenness. Any sort of luxury is held up as something to be despised. People who enjoy the possession of peacocks, pigeons, bees, monkeys or even elephants and camels are presented with some drawback to gall their enjoyment. The theatre is degenerate and immoral. The visual arts can never equal the beauty made by God in nature. Family life is a complete débâcle, etc.

Book II arrives at the same conclusions but approaches them by the opposite method by showing that all the misfortunes which adversity bestows, far from being sources of anxiety, should really be valued as blessings in disguise or rather as welcome exercises for death. In the preface to the second book Petrarch states that of all the things he ever read or heard nothing took more firmly root in his mind than Heraclitus' dictum that all things originate in discord (*omnia secundum litem fieri*). He then illustrates with a wealth of examples—which is a 'tour de force' in itself—how in all nature strife, discordance and contrariety are rampant. Destruction and strife manifest themselves in plants and beasts and equally in the life of man. But it is not only external strife, there is also internal contention; man is divided against himself and everyone witnesses continual warfare with himself in the secret chamber of his mind, so that he is never able to direct his whole strength to one course, but is drawn now this way now the other. Having thus made clear what he thinks are the real affections causing man's unhappiness, Petrarch apologizes for the use of the word

magis tamen prospera quam adversa'. (ll. 1311.f.). It is quoted as a common maxim in the *Romance of the Rose*, (English version, ed. F. N. Robinson, 11.5409ff.).

B. SOURCES OF THE TEXT

Fortune in the title and in the work itself. It should be clear to anyone, he says, that he ascribes no authenticity to Fortune (as St. Jerome says, there is neither Fortune nor Fate) but he merely uses the term as it is normal usage and for the benefit of the general reader.¹

More than in the first book the reader is struck by the quizzical nature of Petrarch's arguments. It is very well to unmask smug prejudices, as he does in the first book, but he now takes upon himself to explain away human misery and it is clear that in the 132 dialogues of the second book he will have difficulty in doing this consistently.

At times Petrarch's reasoning borders on paradox and he indulges in frequent absurdities, at any rate in the eyes of a modern reader.

It is difficult to say whether Petrarch was being consciously funny when Ratio replies to Dolor's complaint that he has lost his wife: 'In the sense in which one loses the fever or the itch, sometimes loss is a sort of gain'. The consolation offered the blind is that one should be content with one's memory of the sun; if however one has never seen it, the desire of a thing unknown should grieve one the less. An occupant complaining of his cramped abode is 'consoled' with: 'If your house is small, think of your grave'.

For a further discussion of this aspect of the *De Remediis* I refer the reader to p. [46], where I deal with the 'Consolatio'.

b. *The De Remediis A Humanistic Influence? Its Reception in England and on the Continent in the 14th and 15th Centuries*

Petrarch is mostly hailed as the first humanist. It would therefore be tempting to deduce that the English adapter of Petrarch regarded his effort as a tribute to Humanism in England. But it is in fact a work like the *De Remediis* which serves as a reminder of the many ties with which Petrarch was still bound to the Middle Ages. He has the adventurousness of the modern when he resolves on making the ascent of Mont Ventoux, but when he reaches the top, he starts reading his

¹ Petrarch expresses himself to the same effect in *Rerum Senilium*, VIII, 3 and in *Epistulae Familiares* (a letter to his friend, Pierre de Poitiers, in 1362). Marcel Françon in an article entitled 'Petrarch, Disciple of Heraclitus', *Speculum*, XI, (April 1936), pp. 265-271, asserts (with special reference to *De Remediis*) that under the influence of Heraclitus Petrarch transformed the trite conception of Fortune into 'a profound view of the world'. See also K. Heitmann, *Fortuna and Virtus*, which concentrates on the *De Remediis*.

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copy of St. Augustine's *Confessions* and in typically medieval fashion reflects on the vanity of worldly desires.¹

It has been stressed² that caution is needed in assessing the value of Petrarch's works as humanistic influences. Everything depends on the way these influences were assimilated. The Italian writers could be read for a long time without any awareness of the change in standards for which they stood. "Some of Petrarch's and Boccaccio's Latin treatises are typically medieval productions; besides, by the end of the fourteenth century both these authors had acquired an authoritative status analogous to that enjoyed by such medieval writers as, for instance, John of Salisbury or Walter Burley... Jean de Montreuil considered Petrarch a '*devotissimus, catholicus ac celeberrimus philosophus moralis*'. "³

In MS Arundel 334 maxims extracted from the *De Remediis* occur grouped together with maxims from St. Bernard and Boethius, where the company in which he finds himself is equally significant of Petrarch's reputation as a moralistic writer. Jean Daudin, who made a French translation c. 1378, recommends the work as a storehouse of moral doctrine (cf. p. [23], note 1).

This falls in with Petrarch's reception in England as witnessed in Chaucer. It is significant that of all Petrarch's works Chaucer should pick out the story of Griselda as fit for adaptation and inclusion in the *Canterbury Tales*. Nowadays not many seem capable of a sympathetic understanding of the story, our expectation of psychological profundity, dramatic intensity and life-like characterisation standing in the way.⁴ But the medieval mind made much of it. Petrarch singled it out of all the *Decamerone* for especial praise and he thought it worthy of putting into Latin.⁵

There is however no point in asserting that Petrarch's *De Remediis*

¹ Cf W Dilthey, *Weltanschauung und Analyse des Menschen seit Renaissance und Reformation*, Gesammelte Schriften, Leipzig und Berlin, 1914, II Band, p. 20

² Cf Roberto Weiss, *Humanism in England during the Fifteenth Century*, 2nd ed., Oxford, 1957, p. 22, and J. Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages*, (Pelican Books) pp. 324-25.

³ Weiss, *op. cit.* p. 22 and note.

⁴ Cf D. W. Robertson, Jr., *A Preface to Chaucer*, Princeton, 1963, p. 276

⁵ His interest in the story was a moralistic one as he points out in his letter to Boccaccio, (translated in J. H. Robinson, *Petrarch*, New York and London, 1908, pp. 196-198), explaining that his object in re-writing the tale was not that his readers should imitate the example of this wife, but that they should

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is either 'medieval' or 'humanistic'. Petrarch has been bandied backwards and forwards as a missile in the combat between the 'renaissancists' and the 'medievalists' but such discussions necessarily bog down in the unsolved question how either period should be defined. It is interesting, however, to compare the attraction of the *De Remediis* with that of an equally influential work, the *De Contemptu Mundi* of Innocent III. Both works stress the renunciatory and ascetic tendencies so frequently thought typical of the medieval period. The *De Contemptu Mundi* sweeps away this world in favour of the next with a complete single-mindedness, but Petrarch's 'spernere mundum' is not quite so wholehearted.

From the nature of the *De Remediis* it is evident that he was not so much interested in writing a book of edification preaching other-worldliness, as in producing a handbook of the philosophy of life in the tradition of the stoic philosophers¹ (cf. for instance Bk. II, dialogue xviii which is in the 'cynical' *consolatio* tradition). In his detailed observation of human conduct, and in his constant tendency to observe, reflect and generalize, Petrarch implies a recognition of the importance of worldly values; he wants to come to terms with life in 14th-century Italy. One cannot help noticing that many of his arguments in favour of renunciation are pseudo-arguments defending now his own preferences and dislikes, now what he feels he ought to despise or applaud as a good Christian teacher.² Körting³ stresses the dual nature of

be inspired to emulate her constancy. '*Anyone, it seems to me, amply deserves to be reckoned among the heroes of mankind who suffers without a murmur for God, what this poor peasant woman bore for her mortal husband*'. Far from being human persons Griselda and the Marquis represent Patience or Constancy and a testing agent, and apart from the folktale basis many biblical overtones have been pointed out. (Cf. J. Speirs, *Chaucer the Maker*, p. 154 and E. Salter, *Chaucer: The Knight's Tale and The Clerk's Tale*, p. 42 ff., where it is referred to as a religious fable). Its appeal is also illustrated by Petrarch's story in the same letter that one of his friends burst into tears on reading the story because his capacity for goodness was touched.

¹ Cf. W. Dilthey, *op. cit.* p. 21. 'Er wollte der originale Lebensphilosoph seiner Zeit sein'.

² A. D. Deyrmond, *The Petrarchan Sources of La Celestina*, London 1961, finds book II much weaker than book I and suggests Petrarch did not put his heart in the work, the direct response, emotional as well as intellectual which appears in book I, being gone (p. 51); but the greater number of medieval transcripts of Book II does not confirm this verdict for the Middle Ages.

³ *Petrarca's Leben und Werke*, Leipzig, 1878, pp. 558 ff.

INTRODUCTION

Petrarch—the Christian ascetic and the humanist—and demonstrates in the *De Remediis* Petrarch's failure to blend satisfactorily the Stoic and the Christian solutions. In fact he calls the *De Remediis* a production imparting a completely unchristian pessimism and nihilism.

And indeed, Petrarch's most definite pronouncements (see p. [17]) would place him definitely among the dour Stoic type of philosopher. Dilthey (*op. cit.* p. 22f.) has a similar view. He stresses Petrarch's insistence on 'ratio' and 'virtus' in the tradition of Seneca but not without a lingering look at the doctrines of Augustine. He imputes Petrarch's pessimism to the conflict between his courageous determination to trust in Reason, and the half-hearted attempts to rekindle a decaying trust in the old securities which expected to find 'tranquillitas animi' in surrender to divine assistance.

One of the difficulties is the discrepancy between the professed theme of the work and Petrarch's private convictions which are frequently out of harmony. The plan and the conception of the work compel him to deny the values of the goods he chooses to discuss and conversely to praise their corresponding opposites, but there are many instances in which the arguments of one dialogue weaken or contradict those of another. Petrarch's arguments are double-edged and it is evident that Petrarch often had to rationalize what he did not support himself, for instance his negative attitude towards art, books, fame. Similarly his eulogy on the beauties of nature, of which he shows the most sensuous awareness in his description of the juices of plants, of flowers, colours, tastes, sounds, views of hills, shady woods, leisure of the countryside, etc., contradicts the renunciatory line of the argument, which is to denounce the value of art.¹

The manipulations with which he denies values to the 'goods' of life and ascribes virtue to the 'evils' of life sometimes look like the sleight of hand of a conjuror. There is no doubt that many of the arguments are arguments to silence the opponent in the tradition of the stoic philosophers and the medieval schools, an exercise of which Petrarch acquits himself with obvious enjoyment. This gives the work a sphinx-like character and may qualify Körting's view that it sets forth a cynical denial of any values whatsoever. It should be clear, at any rate, that Petrarch's asceticism is of a different order than the otherworldliness preached, for instance, by Innocent III—an impres-

¹ For Petrarch's view on poverty, which in his later years did not agree with that expressed in the *De Remediis* cf. p. [62].

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sion only strengthened by the triumphant display of his intoxication with the Classics.

To the fourteenth century the *De Remediis* must have seemed a treasurehouse of consolation and edification, in 'sentence' only equalled by Seneca and Cicero.¹ It kept away from systematic theology, dogma, doctrinal niceties, original sin, the sacraments and other theological specialities. Petrarch cites the Bible and the Fathers of the Church, but also the Latin Classics and it seems that Petrarch's greatest interest in the work was to show off his profane reading, often adducing a wealth of citations to illustrate a point which to convince did not need a single one. The additional attraction of the gloss of modernity must have been mainly the unrivalled knowledge of classical anecdote² and also his authoritative cynicism which must have appeared extremely unorthodox. Adrianus Carthusianus in a preface to an abridgement he made of the work remarks that if anything in the work should displease or offend the reader it is not himself who is to blame but Petrarch.³

Petrarch himself valued his philosophical and moralistic writings far above his vernacular writings, expecting that his fame with posterity would be that of a moral philosopher. There is evidence that many of his contemporaries held the same opinion.⁴

¹ In the preface to his translation (c. 1378) of the *De Remediis* Jean Daudin specially recommends it as a work 'habondant en tout fruit de doctrine morale...'. He cites at length the authorities incorporated in Petrarch's work for additional praise. Cf. L. Deslisle, 'Anciennes Traductions Françaises du Traité de Pétrarque sur les remèdes de l'une et l'autre fortune', *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris, 1891, pp. 273-304.

² Körting, *op. cit.*, p. 464, suggests that Petrarch must have been collecting these scraps of information from his wide reading with the industry of a bee. But much, too, is of course derived from florilegia, esp. Valerius Maximus.

³ 'Preterea si quid in hiis (libris) inventum fuerit, quod lectorem offendat, si tamen aliquis attingere dignetur, vel quod ducat in errorem, quod honestatem non sapiat, vitam non instruat, virtutem non excitet, vel quod non edificet ad salutem, id noli esse meum protestor humiliter, revocans ac poscens correctionem'. (Preface to the printed ed., Cologne, 1470).

⁴ Of the Latin works it was the *De Remediis* which enjoyed the greatest popularity, being the earliest work of Petrarch to be printed, (Basle, 1474) and the work which for centuries required the most new editions. But time has not confirmed this verdict. Though it was printed 20 times in the period 1470-1650, in the last 300 years there seems to have been no need of a new edition, the latest edition dating as far back as the 17th century. There is no critical edition. Today the work is mostly cited as an illustration of the medieval side

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The *De Remedius* enjoyed at once an enormous vogue. Before it was finished, the German Emperor Charles IV invited Petrarch to bring the work and read out passages to him. Its popularity continued for centuries after it was written. Numerous manuscripts copied it, selected maxims found their way into devotional manuscripts, translations appeared in all the principal European languages,¹ various adaptations were made² and its influence is evident in a number of other works.³

As the dialogue of *Aduersite and Resoun* is not a literal translation, it would be unprofitable to search for the Latin text which the adapter used. Most of the manuscripts of the *De Remedius* in England are from the fifteenth century or later. One 14th-century manuscript is known:

of Petrarch (cf p [19] and note). Zeitlin (*The Life of Solitude by F. Petrarch*, Urbana, Illinois, 1924) remarks 'Of the *De Remedius Utriusque Fortunae* one may remark without a sigh that it had its day and ceased to be' (p. 15).

¹ Czech 1501, French 1523 (by Nicole Oresme or, more probably, Jean Daudin) and 1660, German 1532 (bk. I by Peter Stahel, bk. II by Georg Burckard Spalatinus, with a preface in verse by S. Brant), 1539 and 1551 (by Stephan Vigilius), 1596, 1604, 1620, 1637. A translation by Niclas von Wyle of dialogues 25 (de infamia) and 18 (de uxore amissa) of bk. II, entitled *Tröstung in Widerwartigkeit* is published among his other translations in the Bibliothek des Litt. Ver. Stuttgart, Italian 1549, 1589, 1863, 1867, Spanish 1510, 1513, 1516, 1518, 1523, 1533, Dutch 1606. There is one English translation by Thomas Twyne *Physicke against Fortune* (1579). One other book purports to be a translation of Petrarch's *De Remedius*, namely Mrs. Dobson's *Petrarch's View of Human Life*, 1791 and 1797, but this bears hardly any resemblance to the original.

² About 1410 Adrianus Carthusianus, a monk of the Carthusian convent of Geertruidenberg, Holland, made an adaptation comprising about one-third of the length of the original. The arrangement in chapters is abandoned and the names of the disputants have changed into 'tiro vanitatis' and 'cultor virtutis'. This adaptation served Dirck van Herxen, rector of the Brotherhouse of Zwolle from 1410-1457, as a model to write some *Remedia sive consolationes contra quedam aduersa spiritualibus accidentia*, a dialogue between Vecors and Consultus. It formed part of his *Devota Exercicia*, an 'anthology' of edifying treatises. According to his own testimony, he had also recourse to Petrarch's treatise and he supplemented the text with subjects adapted to the contemplative interests of the brothers under his guidance. See below p. [30]. Johannes Pinicianus made an adaptation in Latin distichs which was often incorporated into translations and Latin editions, as if they were by Petrarch. Albrecht von Eyb (1420-1475) gives a highly condensed summary of the second book in Latin.

³ e.g. Fernando de Roja's *La Celestina* and Johannes von Saaz's *Der Ackermann von Boehmen*.

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MS CCCC 40, which once belonged to John Blodwell, Dean of St. Asaph's c. 1429-33. (See note by M. R. James in the catalogue of the MSS preserved in Corpus Christi College Cambridge). Though beautifully executed, the text is inferior, abounding as it does with wrong sentence divisions, omissions, faulty spellings of classical proper names, etc., and it could hardly be the copy which served the adapter, as in various instances he shows the better readings.

The following is a brief survey of further manuscript evidence of the early reception of Petrarch's *De Remediis* in England. Master John Newton, treasurer of York Cathedral from 1393, left a copy of the *De Remediis* together with many other books to the Cathedral Chapter in his will of 1414 (*Testamenta Eboracensia*, ed. J. Raine, Surtees Society, 1836). In 1440 Robert Alne, 'Parson' of the Choir at York and officer in the ecclesiastical court there, in his will of this date, besides bequeathing several books to the Cathedral Church and other places, made a special grant to the University Library Cambridge of works of Thomas Aquinas, Aristotle, Boethius, Richard Rolle, Thomas of Hoveden and also Petrarch's *De Remediis*, which Mr. John Otryngham, Master of Michaelhouse in Cambridge was to retain during his life.¹ Some other fifteenth-century manuscripts in English libraries containing the *De Remediis* or adaptations of it are:

British Museum, MS. Harley 2570	: 'flosculi' only, no dialogue form
MS. Harley 1883	: the adaptation of Adrianus Carthusiensis
MS. Harley 3579	: complete
MS. Additional 10, 342	: complete
14, 808	: book II only
27, 336	: the adaptation of Adrianus Carthusiensis
MS. Arundel 334	: 'Sententiae quaedam ex Petrarcha, Bernardo et Boethio desumptae'
Bodleian Library, MS. Rawlinson 455	: extracts from both books
All Souls College, Oxford, MS. 91	: complete (owned and later donated by James Goldwell, bishop of Norwich)
Peterhouse Library, MS. 271	: complete (in two French hands)
Cambridge University Library, MS. Ll.V.21	: the adaptation of Adrianus Carthusiensis

¹ Charles Sayle, *Annals of Cambridge University Library 1278-1900*, Cambridge, 1916, p. 19.

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MS. Ll.V.21 is in a Low-Countries script, but was acquired for Norwich Cathedral Priory by a monk who was sacrist in 1444.

The catalogue of the Augustinian Friars of York has an addition by a late 15th-century hand listing the 32 'libri magistri Johannis Bukwode' (who does not occur in the lists of Oxford and Cambridge graduates by A. B. Emden). Among these MSS Petrarch's *De Remediis* is listed as no. 345.¹

In an unidentified library catalogue in B.M. Harley 2268 of the mid-fifteenth century the compiler (apparently a Northern Englishman) has noted, f. 114^b 'Franciscus P. de remediis utriusque fortune in librario maioris ecclesie'. It is not certain, however, whether this Petrarch was in England in the first quarter of the fifteenth century, the period which concerns us. Other items in the catalogue show that much was collected abroad at the councils of Constance and Basle.

Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester owned three manuscripts of the *De Remediis*; one was presented by him to Oxford in 1439, another in 1444 and the third is now in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.²

As is evident from the associations of some of the manuscripts listed above, the relatively wide circulation of the *De Remediis* in England and elsewhere does not necessarily point to humanism. In the first quarter of the fifteenth century—the period roughly to which our treatise is most probably to be assigned—we must not expect to find any literary circles in England engaged on humanistic pursuits such as existed in Italy. Humanistic interests developed slowly and were dependent on isolated patrons like Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester or on the leisured pursuits of prominent prelates like Bekynton and Adam de Moleyns.³ The real beginnings of English humanism date from the second half of the fifteenth century. The circulation of the Latin works of Petrarch in England from the second half of the fourteenth century does not imply that they exerted humane influence. They were appreciated for their lofty moral tone, the 'many fressh stories'⁴ and because of their style. The first impact of Italian humanism was,

¹ M. R. James, *The Catalogue of the Library of the Augustinian Friars at York in Fasciculus Ioanni Willis Clark dicatus*, Cambridge, 1909, pp. 2-96. James notes that nine-tenths of the MSS were subsequently lost including the Petrarch.

² R. Weiss, 'An Unnoticed Manuscript of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester', *Bodleian Library Record*, V (1955) 123-4.

³ On Gloucester, Bekynton and Moleyns see Weiss, *Humanism in England*.

⁴ Lydgate, see p. [28] and note 2.

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significantly, not that of its spirit but that of the letter. The first thing that was grasped was the possibility to improve one's style, not the notion that one was confronted with a movement which would completely transform cultural values. Beaufort and Gloucester, the first fifteenth-century patrons of letters, were first of all desirous to enhance the prestige of their chanceries by employing as their secretaries Italian humanists like Poggio, Frulovisi and Decembrio. English men of letters too, when confronted with humane letters, seemed at first mainly anxious to devote their efforts to the cultivation of an elegant epistolary style which could compete with the correspondence which reached them from the Curia and the chanceries of Italian princes. To acquire a position at the chancery of a high official it was no small asset if one could boast the literary qualifications to conduct correspondence in accordance with the canons of classical Latin. The pursuit of *belles lettres*, in short, became a key to preferment.¹

In the fifteenth century several English students attended Italian universities to continue their studies after taking their degrees at Oxford or Cambridge. But this did not necessarily mean that they fell at once under the spell of humanism. Even William Grey, who attended the lectures of Guarino da Verona in Ferrara—from 1445 onwards—, though he proved receptive to humanistic studies, kept theology as his main interest. Many others returned to England with their scholastic outlook unchanged.²

Before Poggio came to England in 1418 it is quite impossible to find any traces of humanism in England.³ To be sure, Englishmen visited Italy and doubtless came into contact with Italian humanists. But the real nature of the cultural innovations seems to have escaped them. Chaucer's diplomatic missions to Italy were not without effect on his literary development, but did not promote humanistic studies.⁴ Richard de Bury is known to have met Petrarch as early as 1330 when he was sent as envoy to the pope at Avignon. Petrarch described him

¹ Weiss, *Humanism in England*, p. 75.

² Weiss, p. 84.

³ Weiss, pp. 7, 11f. On the term 'humanism' and the innovation humanistic studies represented as compared with medieval studies of the Classics see Weiss, introduction, pp. 1-5 and the various studies of P. O. Kristeller.

⁴ The *Canticus Troili* in book I of *Troilus and Criseyde* is a fairly close rendering of Petrarch's Sonnet 88, 'S' amor non è', and one is of course familiar with Chaucer's adaptation of the Griseldis story in *The Clerk's Tale*.

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as *vir ardentis ingenii, nec litterarum inscius*¹ and their common love of books must have provided them with many points of contact. Bury, however, could not follow Petrarch in all his interests. He remained unquestionably a schoolman, who held that knowledge was pre-eminently a weapon for the defence of the faith. Incidentally, it must be through visitors like him—or Italian officials in England—that the humanistic works found their way across the Channel. Bury died, however, in 1345, twenty-one years before Petrarch finished his *De Remediis*, which excludes him as the channel through which the work first reached England.

Other fourteenth-century scholars like Walter Burley or, later in the century, Thomas Walsingham, the chronicler of St Albans, though interested in classical literature, were still fettered by their medieval attitudes. Their Latin writings can hardly be credited with more than superficial humanistic influences. An English Augustinian friar, known as Thomasius de Anglia or Thomas de Clifton, was teaching in Florence in 1395. According to Weiss, *English Miscellany*, 9 (1958), p. 19, his interests were the new nominalist dialectics rather than humanism. Towards the end of the 14th century Adam Easton, bishop of Norwich, had brought manuscripts from Italy.

In the fifteenth century Lydgate shows familiarity with Petrarch's *De Remediis* in the *Prologue* to his *Fall of Princes*² but nothing leads us to assume that Lydgate's knowledge of Petrarch was anything else but superficial or that his appreciation of the Classics was 'humanistic'.³ It is suggested that humanistic influence was evident in the circle of John Seguarde—or Seward—(fl. 1414), centered in London, who practised the art of letters 'in not quite the old way'.⁴ Poggio's influence activated the humanistic interests of at any rate two Englishmen who were employed at the household of Henry Beaufort simultaneously with Poggio. They were Nicholas Bildestone and Richard Petworth. Bildestone's anxiety to read Petrarch and his

¹ *Epistulae Familiares*, III, 1, quoted in CHEL, I, p. 216.

² Lines 257-68, ed. H. Bergen, E.E.T.S. E.S., 122, pt II, p. 476.

³ F. Brie, 'Mittelalter und Antike bei Lydgate', *Englische Studien*, 64 (1929) 261 ff.

⁴ V. H. Galbraith, 'John Seward and his Circle', *Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies*, I, London, 1943, p. 86; but see Weiss, *Humanism*, p. 7.

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attempts to acquire Petrarch's Latin works¹ show his interest in the new literature.

Duke Humphrey's association with Italian humanists originated in his personal contacts with collectors and envoys sent to England by the Roman Curia. Piero del Monte, papal collector in England from 1435 to 1440, in particular, exerted great influence on the Duke and guided his interests in books and personalities. It was to a large extent through Humphrey's repeated donations of parts of his library to the University of Oxford that humanistic studies could advance there. Besides the three manuscripts of the *De Remediis* referred to above, Duke Humphrey possessed some of Petrarch's other Latin works including the *De Vita Solitaria* and the *Rerum Memorandarum*.

As for Cambridge humanism, the only humanistic work registered in the Cambridge University Library Catalogue, compiled in 1473² is the *De Remediis*,³ the other authors being classical writers well-known during the Middle Ages. The St. Catharine Hall Catalogue drawn up in 1475 includes four modern Italian entries, these being two copies of Petrarch's *De Remediis*, Bruni's *Ethics* and Decembrio's *Republic*.

John Whethamstede, abbot of St. Albans from 1420 to 1465, acquired a taste for humanism—but kept an abominable, turgid Latin style. He is known to have visited Italy in 1423 where he met humanists and probably inspected the very important Visconti Library at Pavia, which contained Petrarch's collection of manuscripts.⁴ Though appreciated highly for his classical scholarship by his contemporaries he remained fundamentally unaffected by modern influence. Of Petrarch he knew the *De Viris Illustribus*.

Richard Bole, secretary to Grey, presented among other books Petrarch's *Secretum* to Balliol College Oxford, which was copied in 1450.

Another Latin work of Petrarch which is found in a considerable number of manuscripts is the *Historia Griseldis*. In MS. Cotton Vespasian E. XII and in MS. Royal 8.13.VI it is found among a number of medieval moral treatises.

It is not necessary to extend this account beyond the first half of the fifteenth century. The general picture afforded by the accomplishment

¹ In Rome during the year 1424, Weiss, p. 19.

² Printed in Henry Bradshaw, *Collected Papers*, Cambridge, 1889, pp. 16-54.

³ Probably the copy left by Robert Alne, cf. p. [25] above.

⁴ Weiss, p. 32 and note 8.

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of individuals and the type of Petrarch manuscripts available in England is consistent in showing a preference for his Latin moralistic works, among which the *De Remediis* is conspicuous. Moreover, the medieval company in which the *De Remediis* finds itself in most of the early manuscripts and the well-known medieval authorities with whom he was associated bear witness to the fact that in the period that concerns us Petrarch was received as a moralistic writer. It was quite well possible for medieval readers to appreciate his *De Remediis* without even knowing of the existence of his *Canzoni* and *Trionfi*, on which his fame with posterity rests.

A comparison with Petrarch's early reception on the continent presents a similar picture. In the Netherlands, for instance, Petrarch's reputation was at first that of a moralistic writer, who deserved a place beside the Fathers of the Church. Petrarch texts appear among devotional manuscripts in monastic libraries, in particular the moralistic works *De Vita Solitaria*, *De Otio Religiosorum*, *De Contemptu Mundi*, *Historia Griseldis* and the pseudo-Petrarchan *Septem Psalmi Poenitentiales*.

Presumably the oldest mention of Petrarch in The Netherlands is a reference to the *De Remediis* in a treatise entitled *Somnium Doctrinale* (c. 1400) of Arnoldus Roterodamus (van Geilhoven), a monk interested in humanism.¹

Among the Brethren of the Common Life Petrarch's ascetic works found an easy acceptance. It is not difficult to see why. His works breathed the same spirit of renunciation and the same moralistic pre-occupation which they valued in the patristic treatises. Petrarch's ideal of creating a harmony between scholarship and faith must have roused the sympathy of the more educated adherents of the *Devotio Moderna*.² Among them Willem Vornken, rector of the Windesheim Chapter in the first half of the fifteenth century counted the *De Vita Solitaria* among his favourite literature. Dirc van Herxen (1381-1457), rector of the Brotherhouse of Zwolle,³ made use of Petrarch's *De Remediis*—or Adrian the Carthusian's version, see p. [24], n. 2—in his *Devota Exercicia* (1492) in an adaptation for the inmates of the Zwolle

¹ See Catharina Ypes, *Petrarca in de Nederlandse Letterkunde*, Amsterdam, 1934, pp. 5 ff.

² Ypes, p. 7.

³ On Dirc van Herxen see P. H. J. Knierim, *Dirc van Herxen (1381-1457), Rector van het Zwolsche Fraterhuis*, Amsterdam, 1926.

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community. Beside the more Petrarchan subjects such as slander and tax-levies, van Herxen introduces such subjects as the distractions while praying, and impatience with regard to laxness and disobedience of those entrusted to the care of the brothers. Familiarity with Petrarch's *De Vita Solitaria* appears from van Herxen's *Speculum Iuvenum*.

Dionysius Carthusianus († 1471) cites in his works from Petrarch's *De Vita Solitaria*. The *De Remediis* is cited in *Specula omnis status humanae vitae* in two passages pleading for the study of letters, which should provide man with moral guidance (cf. *De Remediis* II, dial. 145: 'de scriptorum fama'). He further cites from II, dial. 7 in his discussion of obedience.

In this connection it is interesting to note the analogous reception of the Griseldis story in The Netherlands. The Griseldis story became known here through the Latin version of Petrarch rather than through Boccaccio's version. It is extant in a number of 15th-century translations, which are all included in collections of edifying literature. The spread of the story was to a large extent dependent on the moral interpretation given to it. In a version edited by J. H. Gallée¹ a long ending is tagged on, which provides the poem with a spiritual interpretation, as is expressly stated in the title. In a perfect allegorical interpretation—four and a half pages in print—the virtue of patience becomes the main content of the poem. The germ of this interpretation had been provided by Petrarch himself in the letter prefixed to his Latin version, in which he stated that the story typifies man's obedience before God. But the elaboration of it seems to have been the condition on which the work became acceptable reading for nuns and brothers.

A Dutch translation of the pseudo-Petrarchan *Historia de Arono et Marina*, entitled *Teghen die strael der minnen*² is equally provided with a moral interpretation. In this case the subject-matter is hardly edifying, but the moral tag manages to turn a dangerous subject into a spiritual parable.

It would seem then, that in The Netherlands as in England, the introduction of Petrarch texts points to humanistic interests, but the

¹ 'Een Nedersaksische novelle van Griseldis. Griseldis histori mit eynre geestelike bedudenisse', *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsche Taal- en Letterkunde*, 4 (1884) 1-44.

² ed. R. Pennink, *Twee uit het latyn van pseudo-Petrarca en Petrarca vertaalde middelnederlandse novellen*. Zwolse Drukken en Herdrukken. Zwolle, 1965.

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adaptations show that they were received under definite conditions with a firm desire to neutralise non-devotional elements. It is possible that travelled Englishmen and Dutchmen of humanistic tastes brought the Latin materials from Italy, which were then given this hybrid form in religious communities, to occupy the minds of brothers, monks and nuns at mealtimes.

c. The Translation and its Relation to the Original

We have seen that the nature of the reception of the *De Remediis* in England and the audience for which it was designed, explain the fact that the 'Father of Humanism' should find himself adapted for use in a devotional manual. The manner in which the translator dealt with the work points the same way. A 'consolatio' has been turned into a 'contemptus mundi'.

The translation is by no means a close one. For comparison I print the Latin text¹ facing the English text, with the corresponding passages in italics. Thus one can witness the translator skimming through his original, sometimes omitting entire passages and adding other matter, sometimes summarising a passage by a proverb or a maxim (see *Style and Proverbs*, p. 70ff.).

One of the features of Petrarch's work is the dignified tone and the authority with which he introduces his readers to the fantastic and heroic world of antiquity. Now Petrarch's 'tour de force' in illustrating the most out-of-the-way topics with quotations and analogues from the classics found no echo in the translator. Of all the classical analogues in Petrarch the adapter takes over only the ones which would be familiar to a medieval audience. Where such is not the case he either omits the entire passage or cites an analogous example from the bible or from saints' legends. For instance in the first dialogue, *De Deformitate Corporis*, Petrarch illustrates his point, that beauty often stands in the way of virtue, by citing the case of Helen of Troy: if nature had made Helen or Paris deformed, Troy would still stand. Further he quotes the case of the beautiful youth from Thusca (borrowed from Valerius Maximus) who, having discovered that his beauty was a

¹ The *De Remediis* is not readily accessible. In default of a critical edition I have used the rather scarce Venice edition of 1501, which offers the best text. The Basle editions of 1554 and 1581 are more generally accessible, but are marred by misprints and general careless press-work.

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cause of bad reputation, voluntarily maimed his face. In the English version nothing of this is mentioned, but instead the biblical analogue of Tamar and Amnon is cited: *hadde Thamar David is dowter ben a fouzl leyth damesele. behap Amoun here broþur. hadde here not oppressed*, with further conventional matter on the foolishness of women's toilet and Augustine's authority for the future splendour of the body at the resurrection.

Even in war a tall and well-shaped body is not a necessary requirement, says Petrarch. The great general Marius did not muster tall but strong-chested soldiers. Our author has instead the biblical illustration of the prophet Samuel, who was advised to forgo the tall stature of Eliab and to elect the little David king of Israel. Similarly, the paragons of strength, Milo and Hercules, appear as Josue, Judas Machabe, Ector and Arthour, who belong to the 'Nine Worthies' familiar to the Middle Ages. The result is that the general effect of the first dialogue is very much like the discussion of the transitoriness of beauty in a work like *The Book of Vices and Virtues*.¹

To illustrate the fame of those who are 'of vnnoble cuntre' the case of Ruth is presented, while Lucifer is a case of one unworthy of his noble origin. In dialogue four 'of pore birþe' a longish passage is interpolated contrasting dame Fortune with dame Grace in favour of the latter, who enables children of men to become heirs to the crown of heaven. When Petrarch illustrates how slaves may rise in the social scale through their personal abilities, he takes the case of Terence's rise to fame as a writer of comedies. The English author prefers a biblical analogue and takes Daniel's interpretation of King Nabuchodonosor's dream and the story of the captivity of Joseph and his later royal status. In the chapter on poverty he inserts a eulogy on Job's patience in poverty. Consequently, Dr. Doyle's impression of the dialogue—before he was yet aware of the ascription to Petrarch—that it was 'in a common medieval convention' still seems a fair enough verdict.²

It should be clear that the alterations introduced by the translator are not in any way due to ignorance or 'simplicity'. We have to do here with an intelligent work of an independent author who manipulated

¹ ed. W. Nelson Francis, E.E.T.S. O.S. 217, pp. 79-80.

² A. I. Doyle, 'A Prayer attributed to St. Thomas Aquinas', *Dominican Studies*, Vol. I (July 1948), p. 233.

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the Petrarchan original skilfully to attain his own ends. Admittedly, he can hardly have been familiar with all the events and personalities Petrarch presents, and he may have preferred to omit what he did not understand. On the other hand, the quality of the translation shows a sure treatment of the Latin treatise. What he left out clearly did not interest him sufficiently, or rather did not suit his purpose of adapting Petrarch to an audience of religious. If he was writing for nuns or monks, his treatment is not narrowly pietistic. He extols literary fame, nobility and freedom as valuable goods—though he insists that they shall be subject to the conditions of virtue. His style is easy and assured and he has some flashes of wit and verbal puns which are independent of Petrarch. He freely picks his way through the original, succinctly compressing the moral wisdom, and goes off on his own when he thinks fit. In these cases his language is rich in terse sayings and pithy expressions. The string of maxims beginning at 9/6 are all his own. At a stage where it suits the argument, he interpolates a passage from Boethius' *De Consolatione Philosophiae* (see below p. [37]). More than once, when Petrarch is silent about a Christian authority for one of his dicta, the translator supplies it explicitly, which may indicate that he knew the source independently or was in a position to check it (see e.g. note to 23/35).

He also quotes authorities not mentioned by Petrarch, as e.g. Aristotle's dictum that there are servants of two kinds, servants according to nature and servants according to the law, 21/5. He supplies the names of St. Peter, of St. Paul and of Pernylle, which Petrarch, for some reason, does not mention. The comparison of a poor man to a naked wrestler is not in Petrarch, but occurs in a bible commentary, cf. note to 27/25. Similar cases occur more frequently, as can be seen in the Notes. It should be noted, that the *Flores Doctorum* of Thomas Palmeranus may have provided some of the quotations. See e.g. note to 19/5. Part of this florilegium of biblical and classical authorities is extant in the manuscript (item five), written in the same period. This is, however, no necessary indication that this copy was available to the author.

The dialogue form, which already has an unconvincing pretence of liveliness in Petrarch, did not inspire the translator to any new effort. The English version abandons many of the frequent interpellations of Adversity and gives full rein to Reason as the moral teacher.

A suggestion as to why the translator (or copyist) stopped after the

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eleventh dialogue is ventured above, p. [9]. There is no evidence that the adapter had recourse to a French version, though there was one by Jean Daudin, canon of the Sainte-Chapelle, translated round the year 1378.¹

II. SENECA'S 'DE REMEDIIS FORTUITORUM'

Properly speaking this is not a direct source of the English text, but I include a few remarks because it is the source which inspired Petrarch's *De Remediis*.

In the Preface to book I Petrarch professes to have been inspired to write his work by a 'libellus' by the hand of Seneca dealing with adverse fortune. This is a reference to the *De Remediis Fortuitorum* of Seneca. He adds that he has no desire to emulate the achievement of Seneca—though this is obviously his aim—but he wishes to do for his friend Azzo what Seneca did for his friend Gallio, in other words to write a consolatio.

Seneca's work has the following lemmata:

1. De morte	11. De impotentia
2. De decollatione	12. De amissione pecuniae
3. De morte in peregrinatione	13. De amissione oculorum
4. De morte in iuventute	14. De amissione liberorum
5. De morte sine sepultura	15. De naufragio
6. De aegrotatione	16. De rapina latronum
7. De maliloquio malorum	17. De inimicis
8. De exilio	18. De amissione amicorum
9. De dolore	19. De amissione uxoris.
10. De paupertate	

All these subjects are also found in Petrarch's work but in random order. Petrarch's work is of much larger scope and Seneca's work is in comparison not more than a skeleton frame. In Haase's edition of 1853 it comprises only 12 pages.²

Whether it is genuinely Senecan is a matter of dispute. Lipsius (1615) notes that a blind man must see that it cannot be by Seneca,

¹ See L. Delisle, 'Anciennes Traductions Françaises du Traité de Pétrarque sur les Remèdes de l'une et l'autre Fortune', *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris, 1891.

² L. *Annaei Senecae Opera Quae Supersunt*, Vol. III, Lipsiae, 1853, pp. 446-457.

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but Haase (1853) is definite in admitting it as authentic. There is no doubt at any rate that in the Middle Ages it was generally accepted and respected as a work of Seneca.¹

In some catalogues of manuscripts Seneca's *De Remediis Fortuitorum* is occasionally confused with Petrarch's *De Remediis Utriusque Fortunae*. Thus MS. Additional 27,336 (Adr. Carthusiensis's version) has the entry: *liber de remediis fortuitorum* and MS. Harley 3346 has *Liber de Utriusque Fortunae Remediis* whereas it refers to Seneca's work.

Its influence seems to have run largely parallel with that of Petrarch's work. There are numerous medieval manuscripts; just as in the case of Petrarch's *De Remediis*, Seneca's *De Remediis* was his first work to be printed (Cologne, 1470); its influence was still alive in 1547 when Robert Whytton published an English translation.² A certain Val. Boltz produced a German translation in 1552. In Dutch there is a medieval (14th-century) adaptation called *Dit syn Seneka Leren*, a dialogue between a father and his son.³

The relation between Seneca's and Petrarch's *De Remediis* was strengthened by the fact that some 14th and 15th century MSS incorporated additions drawn from Petrarch in the text of Seneca's *De Remediis Fortuitorum*. Thus even Haase in his edition of 1853, probably under the impression of producing something new, added to the text a number of *Additiones* which occurred in one of the MSS he used, thus perpetuating the medieval confusion.⁴

As for the occasional presentation of the work in dialogue form (mostly between Sensus and Ratio) I refer the reader to the discussion of the *Dialogue* (p. [38]).

¹ e.g. by Tertullian (± 250) in his *Apologeticus*, Guillaume de Conches (± 1150) in his *Moralium Dogma*, Jacobus Magnus (± 1400) in his *Sophologium*, Vincent of Beauvais (± 1240) in his *Speculum Historiale*, and Walter Burley (± 1300), who inserts a large extract of it in his *De Vita et Moribus Philosophorum*

² ed. R. G. Palmer, *Seneca's De Remediis Fortuitorum and the Elizabethans*, Chicago, 1953

³ ed. W. H. D. Suringar, *Dit syn Seneka Leren*, Leiden, 1895

⁴ Already there Haase suggests that they are possibly not Senecan, but by an imitator 'ut videatur Petrarcha aliquis', a supposition he later elaborated in an article added to the *Index Lectionum in Univers. Litter. Vratislaviensi per hiemem a. 1859 habendarum*. But in the later editions of 1872 and 1892 no alteration was made in the text

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III. BOETHIUS 'DE CONSOLATIONE PHILOSOPHIAE'

In the dialogue of *pouerte* there is an interpolation from the *De Consolatione*, Bk II, Prose II, namely the well known passage where philosophy addresses Boethius in the style and manner of Fortune. This is obviously the standard reference to the fickle nature of Fortune. The same passage is also paraphrased by e.g. Thomas Usk,¹ *The Roman de la Rose*,² in Chaucer's poem *Fortune* and by Machaut.³

Petrarch's text, which itself leans heavily on Boethius, may have given the cue. Referring to Fortune he writes: 'Non tibi fecit iniuriam' where Boethius has: 'Quam tibi fecimus iniuriam?' at which point the English adapter chose to make his own adaptation of Boethius, curtailing the text in the same free manner as he did with Petrarch's. I print the Latin text in between Petrarch's for comparison.⁴

As for the occasional brief digressions not found in Petrarch or Boethius⁵ there is no one single source and there is no great profit in trying to hunt their sources.

Wherever I have identified a source or found an analogue I have mentioned this in the *Notes* but it should be realized that an analogue or source does not imply direct borrowing. In an age of compilation and endless regard for 'authorities' quotations freely circulated and one has to be content to note the conventionality of the idea. As might be expected these additions strengthen the devotional nature of the treatise.

¹ The Testament of Love, Bk. I, Ch. X, ed. W. W. Skeat, *Chaucerian and Other Pieces*, Oxford, 1897, pp. 43 ff.

² In the discussion on friendship, Engl. version ll. 5201 ff. and 4353 ff.

³ *Remède de Fortune*, ll. 2613 ff., ed. Ernest Hoepffner, *Oeuvres de Guillaume de Machaut*, Anciens Textes Français, Tome II, Paris, 1911.

⁴ The text used is that edited by H. F. Stewart in the Loeb Classical Library, London, 1962, pp. 178-180.

⁵ Dr. Doyle drew my attention to the permeating influence of Boethius in the English text. Apart from the instance quoted, it is clear that the English author had a knowledge of Boethius which is independent of Petrarch.

C. LITERARY GENRE AND THEME

A. THE DIALOGUE FORM

The dialogue form in Petrarch's *De Remediis* is not elaborated to any credible proportion—and in *Reason and Adversity* even less so. Dolor's part is restricted to short plaintive utterances, often repeated in similar phrasings, which are refuted in detail by a pontificating Ratio, whose part dominates the whole. The dialogue form as a literary composition is a familiar device in the Middle Ages, but it was used only in a few conventional applications and with a very narrow conception of its powers.¹ 'Dialogue' is as vague an indication of contents as 'Summa', 'Sermo' or 'Speculum'. The Platonic type of dialogue, typically conveying the illusion of creative conversation and inviting the reader to join in a quest for truth, is scarce; the verse debate (*débat*, *estriſ*, *altercatio*, *conflictus*) is mostly a *jeu d'esprit* fostered by the dialectic of the schools; but the most frequent type is the didactic dialogue. Most medieval dialogues are a schoolmaster's device to facilitate instruction² or a moralist's vehicle to impart edification.

In many cases what might equally have been a prose treatise or sermon appears in the form of a dialogue with no more functional reason than is expressed in Wyclif's dictum: 'Locutio ad personam multis plus complacet quam locutio generalis'. Similarly, Wyclif remarks at the beginning of the first chapter of his dialogue *Speculum Ecclesiae Militantis* that he makes use of dialogue because many persons take pleasure in 'loquela dialogi'. The disputations of the

¹ Cf. R. Hirzel, *Der Dialog*, 2 vols., Leipzig, 1895, who sees the medieval and modern dialogue as a dead form in comparison with its great past.

² Bede recommends the dialogue especially for children (Migne, *P.L.* XC, 614) and note also Aelfric's *Colloquy*.

schools were part of the cleric's education and it is natural that this habit which provided so much scope for display of acumen and wit should prove a favourite literary vehicle.

Among the humanists the dialogue, next to the oration and the letter, was the favourite literary genre. Here, too, one often looks in vain for that spirit of improvisation which lends life to the Platonic dialogue. The medieval dialogues are too often expositions of a preconceived theme and the dialogue form is adopted only as a pleasing method.¹ The type is aptly characterised by C. H. Herford² who calls it a variety of monologue, 'a literary hendiadys'. With their uneven distribution of speeches Petrarch's *De Remediis* and the English *Reason and Adversity* show a tendency to this type of expository treatise.

On the other hand, the dialogue form here cannot be viewed apart from the genre of the 'consolatio' of which it often formed a corollary. It is probable that Petrarch adopted the dialogue form in deference to this time-honoured genre which found its most celebrated representative in Boethius' *De Consolatione Philosophiae*. According to P. A. Auer³ the device of dialogue, presenting the 'consolator' as actually addressing the afflicted, is not a mere accidental device, but is itself part of the consolation, essential to the genre as form belongs to subject-matter. Often, however, in the course of such 'consolationes' the dialogue form recedes into the background and the 'consolatio' assumes the form of a moral treatise. This function of the dialogue in the 'consolatio' is not the same as in the classical dialogue between individuals. Many 'consolationes'—Boethius' *De Consolatione* and Seneca's 'consolationes' might be mentioned to start with—have only partially arisen from the need to console others; rather they rise from the need to quiet one's own mind. This gives to these dialogues the character of *interior monologues*, a struggle of thought with thought.

¹ This type had equally its representatives in the classical period, witness such works as Cicero's treatises *De Oratore*, *De Senectute*, *De Amicitia*. Many of Seneca's treatises pass under the name of dialogues without the slightest claim to that title. Aristotle relegated the dialogue to the region of the popularisations of philosophy, for really scholarly writing the treatise was the proper vehicle (Cf. Hirzel, *Der Dialog*, I, p. 373)

² *Studies in the Literary Relations of England and Germany in the Sixteenth Century*, Cambridge, 1886, p. 23

³ *Johannes von Dambach und die Trostbücher vom 11 bis zum 16. Jahrhundert*, Münster i. W., 1928. In *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie und Theologie des Mittelalters*, XXVII, 1-2, pp. 260f

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As E. Merrill shows,¹ Boethius' dialogue *De Consolatione* inherits traits from the Platonic dialogue in its drawing out of thought by skilful questioning, but the limiting of the speakers to two and the fact that these speakers in some sense represent two conflicting tendencies in the writer's own mind, shows a trend towards the distinctly medieval debate. The disputation is transplanted to the inner man and becomes a conflict of opposing passions and personified abstractions. This device satisfied the desire to objectify one's inner motives and gratified the medieval tendency to give allegorical shape to psychological conflicts. Augustine's *Soliloquies* belongs to this type of dialogue. In Petrarch's *Suum Secretum* or the conflict of the Soul with Passion, two sides of Petrarch's character are opposed; the one, his everyday self, represented by Fransiscus and the other, his conscience, the critic, by Augustinus. The dialogue is an introspective exploration of his inner motives. Petrarch's *De Remediis* might have belonged here, if the work had been true to Petrarch's pretensions in the Prologue to Book I. Actually, the dialogue here is a purely formal device, used without exploiting its possibilities. This had its influence on the work as a whole. Petrarch has no consideration for unity of content or for a coherent structure. By having Dolor and the other figures utter ever new complaints, he is free to pass easily from one topic to another and to include any subject which comes to his mind: the frogs that pester him, the itch, bad smells, anything.

More directly, the dialogue form may have been suggested to Petrarch by the form which Seneca's *De Remediis Fortuitorum* assumes in some 14th and 15th century MSS.² Whether the original text of Seneca implied a distribution to two interlocutors is uncertain (it certainly is absent in some MSS), but the form of the text which offers alternately threats like: *Morieris! Decollaberis! Exulabis!* and lamentations like: *Aegroto! Pecuniam perdidisti! Amisi liberos!* would lend itself to adaptation into dialogue. This is at any rate the case in the quotation from the work in Guillaume de Conches' *Moralium Dogma*,³ where the interlocutors are Timor and Securitas, or Homo and Securitas or Fiducia and Securitas. Walter of Burley in his *De*

¹ *The Dialogue in English Literature*, Yale Studies in English XLII, New York, 1911, pp. 15 ff.

² e.g. MS. Harley 2268.

³ Guillaume de Conches, *Moralium Dogma Philosophorum*, ed. J. Holmberg, Uppsala, 1929.

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*Vita et Moribus Philosophorum*¹ makes a point of including part of the *De Remediis Fortuitorum* as a consolation in adversity to his readers. Here the disputants are Sensus and Ratio. In various manuscript versions of Seneca's work² the disputants are Gallio and Seneca, Nero and Seneca, or 'Sensus conquerens et Ratio confortans', demonstrating the triumph of reason over emotion in the Stoic tradition. In the 14th-century Dutch adaptation in verse the dialogue is between a father and a son.³

In another branch of literature, the theological and devotional works in Latin of the medieval divines, similar disputants are found, as there are Augustine's *Soliloquies* between Ratio and Augustine, Ambrose's *Dialogus Animae Conquerentis et Rationis Consolantis*, Adam Scotus of Dryburgh's *Soliloquium de Instructione Animae* between Ratio and Anima⁴ and Isidore of Seville's *Synonyma de Lamentatione Animae Peccatricis* where the disputants are Homo and Ratio. Here, just as in Seneca's work, Homo complains of injustice, exile, poverty, humiliation, etc., and Ratio teaches how to bear this with equanimity.

The prime example of a dialogue between Fortune and Man is Boethius' *De Consolatione Philosophiae* which has influenced nearly all writers remotely dealing with the subject. I need only mention Machaut's *Remède de Fortune* (± 1342) primarily based on Jean de Meung and Boethius,⁵ *L'estrif de Fortune et de Vertu* by Martin le Franc (after 1447); *De Consolatione Rationis* of Petrus Compostellanus (mid 12th century), the *Controversia Hominis et Fortunae* (13th century) and the *Elegia de Diversitate Fortunae et Philosophiae Consolatione* by Henricus of Settimello (± 1193). Examples can be multiplied⁶ but it may suffice to note the universality of the works, which, taking their cue from Boethius, explore the workings of Fortune in dialogue form. The *De Remediis* owes indeed quite as much to Boethius as to Seneca's *De Remediis Fortuitorum*.

¹ Walter Burley, *De Vita et Moribus Philosophorum*, ed. H. Knust, 2 vols. Stuttgart, 1886.

² e.g. in MS. Harley 2268 and MS. Harley 3436.

³ ed. W. H. D. Suringar, *op. cit.*

⁴ Instructions for those who have newly adopted the religious life but are still troubled by worldly temptations. Ed. J. P. Migne, *P.L.*, T. CXCVIII, 843-872.

⁵ The editor, Hoepffner, notes that Petrarch evidently did not know this work. *Op. cit.*, p. XVIII, note.

⁶ See H. R. Patch, *The Tradition of Boethius*, New York, 1935, Ch. IV, Imitations and Influence.

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B. THE INTERLOCUTORS

1. *The Four Affections*

Petrarch's original conception of the dialogue form seems to have been quite definite,—the struggle of the Emotions with Reason—and is expressed in the Prologue to Book I:

'Sic autem ad legendum venies quasi quatuor ille famosiores consanguineae passionibus animi. *Spes* seu *cupiditas* & *gaudium* *metus* & *dolor* quas due sorores equis partibus prosperitas & adversitas pepere hinc illinc humano animo insultent. Que vero arci presidet ratio: his omnibus una respondeat clypeoque et galea suisque artibus & propria vi. sed celesti magis auxilio circum frementia hostium tela discutat'

and further in the Prologue to the second Book:

'Quenam tandem illa passionum quatuor tempestas ac rabies? *Sperare* seu *cupere* & *gaudere*, *metuere* & *dolere* que rerum inter scopulos procul a portu miserum alternis flatibus animum exagitant '

The four affections referred to by Petrarch as 'famosiores' are the 'unreasoning passions' of the Stoics. Ultimately derived from Plato's *Phaedo*, the idea is found e.g. in Cicero, Horace, St. Jerome, St. Augustine and Boethius. Virgil's verse *hinc metuunt, cupiuntque, dolent gaudentque* was especially influential. Petrarch knew it, as is evident from his copy of Virgil where he glossed this passage with a reference to Augustine's discussion of it in the *De Civitate Dei*, Bk. XIV.¹ In Guillaume de Conches's *Moralium Dogma* we find the doctrine of these four passions elaborated into an all-round psychological analysis of the mind with further subdivisions into the various mixtures possible:

'Ad hoc notandum est, quod quatuor sunt affectus seu passionibus in homine, de quibus Boethius

Gaudia pelle
Pelle timorem
Spemque fugato
Nec dolor adsit (*De Consol. Liber I, Metr. VII*)

Hi quatuor affectus debent taliter ordinari. primo dolor, secundo gaudium, tertio timor, quarto spes, nam dolor et gaudium debent esse sibi conjuncta, quia dolor sine gaudium nimium deiecit, gaudium sine dolore nimium extollit. Similiter timor et spes debent esse conjuncta, quia timor sine spe inducit desperationem, spes sine timorem facit praesumptionem. Dolor ergo et gaudium sunt

¹ See Klaus Heitmann, *Fortuna und Virtus, Eine Studie zu Petrarca's Lebensweise*, Cologne and Graz, 1958, p. 127

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duae molae, inter quas debemus semper verti Aliae duae sunt timor et spes; et nota, quod dolor et gaudium sunt de praesenti, timor et spes de futuro, item dolor et timor tantum de malo, secundum cum quarto ambo de bono, item primo cum secundo, quia ambo de praesenti, tertium cum quarto, quia de futuro Isti quatuor affectus errant, nisi quatuor virtutibus dirigantur. Fortitudo ergo necessaria est contra dolorem, temperantia contra gaudium, prudentia contra timorem, iustitia autem contra spem' ¹

This describes the plan of the *De Remediis* even better than Petrarch himself does. The four affects are misguided dispositions of the mind and can be regarded as illnesses (*aegritudines*) according to the Stoic view and as sins in the Christian view. Petrarch associates them with the seven deadly sins in *Suum Secretum* as was commonly done from early Christian times onwards. Only Reason is able to subject these affects to his rule with the assistance of the four cardinal virtues Temperance, Fortitude, Justice and Prudence. *Spes* is probably best translated by 'cupidity', *gaudium* as 'elation', *dolor* as 'dejection', and *metus* as 'anxiety'. The ruthlessness and consistency with which Petrarch denies all values to the 'goods' and attributes value to the 'evils' of life is characteristic of the Stoic conception of reason and the passions, and is Stoic rather than Christian in emphasis.

2. *The Figure of Ratio*

Petrarch evidently concentrated on Ratio's part at the cost of Dolor and the other disputants. Only once, in dialogue 114 of the second book, is Dolor allotted more than his usual one-line utterance. He complains that Ratio's arguments are plausible in the schools and celebrated in books, but that they are not able to give assistance on the rack, or to climb into the beds of the sick; they are more easily spoken and written than practised. To many modern readers this sole outburst must seem to come rather late in the day and one might feel disappointed that even this complaint of Dolor is not given a fair chance. Reason is indeed a most longwinded bluestocking, whose advice is too rationalistic for modern taste. But this view is different from the prevailing medieval conception of Reason and the implications it had to the medieval mind. In modern everyday usage the term has lost much of its wider

¹ Quoted from Thor Sundby (ed.), *Della Vita e delle Opere di Brunetto Latini*, Appendice Terza: Gualteri ab Insulis liber qui dicitur Moraliū Dogma, Firenze, 1884

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meaning and often bears the connotation of merely the dry logical faculty and a regrettable absence of emotion: 'the heart' is often favourably contrasted with 'the head'. But in medieval references the emphasis is the other way round. Reason is the faculty through which man can rule his life and it is favourably contrasted with his emotions, through which he is at the mercy of events. Seneca, the great authority for the Middle Ages, says that Reason should rule the passions. Reason in his conception follows nature. It is only when man strays away from nature that he is compelled to be a slave to all casual chances.¹ Cicero declares that 'virtue can best be summed up as right reason'.² Seneca says similarly that virtue is nothing else but right reason.³ St. Augustine writes: 'Reason rules the passions and other vicious parts of the soul.'⁴ Alanus de Insulis contrasts reason with lust: 'The one dishonours man, the other mightily transfigures him into a God'.⁵ The fact is that Reason is nearly always linked with virtue.⁶

Man's life was regarded as a perpetual struggle of the lower elements against the higher, or of reason against the senses; it was a conflict in which the victory of reason resulted in virtue, defeat in sin. By many writers this conflict was depicted allegorically as one between 'Sensus and Ratio' or 'Reason and Sensuality'. Virtue could only be achieved by coercion and repression of the passions by Reason. Both Christian asceticism and Stoicism had this conception, but interpreted it differently. Thus Reason could act as the stoic agent that could affect an internal adjustment between two extremes of feeling—a result achieved only by a few very wise men—and, in a more Christian spirit, it could be viewed as one of the gifts of partial divinity in man, 'a gleam of God's face'. But in the Christian view Reason could only succeed in its conquest of virtue through the mediation of divine grace.

Reason, when defined as the power to distinguish between good and evil, tended to be equated with conscience. Reason could similarly be equated with the soul. Reason, indeed, was an overwrought term.

¹ *Epistulae Morales*, xcvi.14.

² *Tusculan Disputations*, IV, xv.34.

³ *Epistulae Morales*, lxvi.33.

⁴ *The City of God*, Bk. XIX, Ch. 21 (A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Vol. II, Buffalo, 1887).

⁵ *Placitus Naturae*, Prose III.

⁶ Cf. C. S. Lewis, *The Discarded Image*, Cambridge, 1964, p. 158: 'nearly all moralists before the eighteenth century regarded Reason as the organ of morality'.

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According to R. Hoopes, 'Right Reason' has been 'invoked variously in the history of western thought as a rational concept, a moral principle, and a human faculty. It denotes, in other words, a mode of knowing, a way of doing, and a condition of being'.¹ The strict distinction of scholastic philosophy between Intellectus and Ratio is not a feature of medieval popular or poetic usage. To Thomas Aquinas Ratio refers to the plodding, step-by-step progression by which man deduces one proposition from another, whereas Intellectus is the single uncompounded grasp of an intelligible truth. Thus the contemplation of God was typically a function of the Intellect. In less strict usage Ratio generally meant Rational Soul and as such implied both Intellectus and Ratio. It was the superior faculty by which man was distinguished from the beasts, who have only the Vegetable Soul and the Sensitive Soul. Ratio in this wider sense stood for the moral consciousness and for the contemplation of the truth; it presided with equal validity over the realms of intellect and morality.

Petrarch voices a sceptical feeling towards Reason in the Prologue to book I of the *De Remediis* when he says that so many men turn this power against themselves. But there is no doubt that the plan of the work accepts Ratio as the organ of morality, 'the force of our heavenly nature'. In the same Prologue Petrarch says he is going to demonstrate that Reason overcomes the passions *suis artibus et propria vi; sed celesti magis auxilio*. He states here, consequently, the orthodox view that reason relies on divine grace and thus stresses the Christian view as opposed to the Stoic view. It should be noted, however, that the Stoic element weighs heavier in the *De Remediis* than is here announced by Petrarch. He relies pre-eminently on the power of the intellectual approach and on his rhetorical aptitude. Only when the struggle of life becomes too strenuous, is Petrarch prepared to invoke the auxiliaries of God's grace. Besides, the normal assumption that Reason leads to virtue is subject to some qualification, as virtue in Petrarch is not without its worldly aspects.²

As regards the formal possibilities of the presentation of Reason at war with the four affects of the mind, one would think that Petrarch had found an admirable vehicle to present his conviction that the never-ending cycle of strife, witnessed everywhere in nature, is equally

¹ *Right Reason in the English Renaissance*, Cambridge, Mass., 1962, p. 1.

² On some of the humanists' interpretations of 'virtue' see pp. [59] and [65].

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present in the mind of man. Thus one might have had an exploration into happiness, misery, fear, etc., in which the dialogue form would have been functional in presenting the various passions of the mind struggling for predominance. His ability to present his own inner questionings in a well-balanced dialogue is evident from his *Secretum*. But in the *De Remediis* Spes, Gaudium, Dolor and Timor, rather monotonously, merely serve as a device to introduce a subject for discussion. No retort is ever made to the capable arguments of Ratio. The Stoic conception of the nature of the misguided affects can, of course, never admit a sensible retort to the arguments of Ratio. Ratio is not a partner in the discussion, he is the sole authority. In the words of J. H. Whitfield, the lines of Spes and Gaudium, Dolor and Metus do not provide 'an interlocutor, but a sort of bell-press to start Reason off again'.¹

The effect is the same in the English version. What is thus stressed is the contrast of the blind, unreasoning importunity of *Aduersite*, helpless against the slings of Fortune, and the capable, well-organised figure of *Resoun* who in the role of the preacher provides a wealth of moral maxims.

C. THE 'CONSOLATIO'

Petrarch states that his motive for imitating Seneca's *De Remediis Fortuitorum* was the desire to do for his friend Azzo what Seneca had done for his friend Gallio, that is, to provide him with advice how to seek redress from the blows of Fortune. In this he was impinging on a literary genre which had many analogues in classical and medieval literature, namely the genre of the 'Consolatio'.

The consolatio has an interesting philosophical ancestry and derives ultimately from the Greek 'diatribe', of which it gradually became the most popular representative.² The 'diatribe' was a popular conference on a philosophical theme addressed to a non-specialized audience to assist them in the hardships of life.³ Without exploring the more abstruse subjects of philosophy its aim was to popularise a philosophical

¹ *Petrarch and the Renaissance*, Oxford, 1943, p. 55.

² C. Favez, *La Consolation Latine Chrétienne*, Paris, 1937, p. 10.

³ Cf. E. Albertini, *La Composition dans les Ouvrages Philosophiques de Sénèque*, Paris, 1923, p. 304.

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doctrine and, above all, to propagate a moral. It was *par excellence* a product of the cynic-stoic school. The form it acquired may be regarded as a debased form of the Platonic dialogue. The dialogue which Plato used was too difficult to reach broader layers of the public; the downright dogmatic and didactic treatise was too blatant. The 'diatribe' provided a middle form to supply those interested in philosophy with the necessary teachings in a medium which was sufficiently attractive and suggested a modicum of improvisation and interplay of opinion.¹ The type is characterised by various rhetorical devices which ensured a direct appeal: the use of a familiar and realistic vocabulary, pithy metaphorical language, quotations from favourite authors, proverbs and maxims, and in general a striving after rhetorical effects which would be as many pretexts for applause.²

In the field of practical morality the 'consolatio' became the chief representative of the 'diatribe' and, gradually moving out of the sphere of pure speculation, it naturally adopted many of the characteristics of the sermon and the didactic treatise.

The genre of the consolatio was first practised by Crantor (± 300 B.C.) in his treatise on Sorrow. In Rome it was practised by such famous authors as Seneca (*Ad Helviam de Consolatione*, *ad Polybium de Consolatione*, *ad Marciam de Consolatione* and *De Remediis Fortuitorum*), and Cicero in his *Disputationes Tusculanae*. And, naturally, Boethius' *De Consolatione Philosophiae* belongs here. The genre was, as Favez demonstrates, readily assimilated by Christian authors like Paulinus of Nola, Ambrose, Jerome and Cyprian.³ Later in the Middle Ages the *De Duodecim Utilitatibus Tribulationis* of Petrus Blesensis,⁴ Albertano da Brescia's *Liber Consolationis et Consilii*⁵ and the *Consolatio*

¹ Cf. U. v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Antigonos von Karystos*, Exkurs 3, Der Kynische Prediger Teles, Berlin, 1881, p. 292ff

² P. Wendland, *Philo und die Kynisch-Stoische Diatribe*, Berlin, 1895, p. 3f.

³ Favez, p. 15ff. Recently a case has been made out for taking the OE *Wanderer* and the ME *Pearl* as Christian 'consolationes'. Cf. J. E. Cross, 'On the Genre of the Wanderer', *Neophilologus*, XLV (Jan. 1961) 63-75 and V. E. Watts, 'Pearl as a Consolatio', *Medium Aevum*, XXXII (1963) 34-36

⁴ Also in two medieval English versions: *The Twelve Profits of Tribulation*, *Yrksh. Wr.*, II 45 and 390

⁵ ed. Thor Sundby for the Chaucer Society, London, 1873. This is the indirect source of Chaucer's *Tale of Melibeus*, which, with its wealth of maxims, the dialogue form and the figure of dame Prudence, displays some characteristic features of the 'consolatio'

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Theologiae of Johannes of Dambach (Johannes de Tambaco)¹ show the persistence of the genre, not in the last place through the steady influence of Boethius.

It was especially the Stoic philosophers who preferred to avail themselves of this type of composition. They regarded it as their mission to guide their fellowmen to conquer the hardships of life. It became even a sort of profession. The great houses in Rome had such 'directors of conscience', exercising the delicate functions that are now the domain of the confessor or the psychiatrist. They would offer such a 'consolatio' mostly to serve a specific case—a bereaved father, a husband pestered by a difficult wife, the loss of a friend, or of wealth. In this respect these compositions have the character of letters of condolence and encouragement. On the other hand they would have a more general application and in that respect they would resemble didactic treatises.

The subjects entered for discussion consist invariably of a limited number of recurrent themes, whose treatment acquired a stereotyped form. The same consolations are presented again and again, the most frequent being those concerning death, exile, old age, blindness, loss of possessions, bereavements, etc.² The comfort offered is mostly of the following nature: When we mourn somebody's death we should remember that we might equally well have mourned at his birth: it was then he started to die. When a son has died young we may be comforted by the fact that the number of his virtues will equate what others have achieved in years. Against exile the comfort offered is that the whole world is our fatherland or that our true home is in heaven. If somebody has lost his eyesight he is presented with a catalogue of the evils that are now spared him. If somebody is oppressed by grief, he is told that if his sorrow is acute, it will be brief, if it is long, it will be bearable.

The genre has a pronounced rationalistic character. Worse, many of the arguments make the impression of sophistic exercises. C. Martha

¹ Cf. above p. [39], note 3. Auer's work considers a wealth of 'consolationes' and affords a useful illustration of how widespread the genre was, especially in the later Middle Ages.

² Cicero refers to this type of literary composition in *Disputationes Tusculanae*, III, 81 and Seneca in *Epistulae Morales* 94, while in Ep. 95 he professes the solution of these evils to be his proper mission, regarding the consolatio as a part of ethics.

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notes that the consolations offered are frequently of a surprising feebleness or of a cruel puerility.¹ To cite an example from Seneca who affords consolation to a man who has lost his eyesight: 'Habet et nox suas voluptates'.² In Petrarch the argument adduced to console Dolor in his complaint that he has lost his money is pure sophistry: 'Ut non amisses si tua esset: sic si tua non erat emittere nequivisti'....³ Often wordplay serves to silence the opponent: 'Dolor: Pecuniam perdidisti. Ratio: Bene si te illa non perdidit'.⁴

In *Reason and Adversity* there is the same type of argument. In answering Aduersite's complaint that he is 'oppressed with pouerte', Resoun concludes by saying: 'to pleyne þe þat þou berest heuye: wanne þou berist litil: is a wrong formed pleynt'.⁵ When Aduersite complains: 'Þe charche ob bondage weyith heuy vp on my nekke', Resoun answers: ... 'how mayt þou pleyne þe þat þou art heuy charched sipthen þou gost half void?'

It seems hard-hearted and hardly in good taste to present someone who is in the throes of suffering, with commonplaces and abstruse reasonings which add up to: 'Are you mad to be miserable?' These 'preceptes outrés, pointilleux, inhumains' seem to be an inevitable accessory of the consolatio⁶ and it may be worth while to examine this aspect somewhat more closely. It is exactly in this that the consolatio is true to its philosophical and rhetorical heritage. The rhetorical exercise of countering the objections of the opponent is evident. But to stress this element too much is to approach the 'consolatio' from the outside and to do injustice to the genre as a part of philosophy and ethics. Paradoxically it is not their lack of sympathy which induced the writers of consolations to indulge in what irritates us as an exaggerated degree of rationalism. Rather it is the poignant need for the perspicacity of reason in the chaos of emotions which stimulated them to sharpen their rhetoric and muster all their ingenuity. The conviction

¹ C. Martha, 'Les Consolations dans l'Antiquité' in *Etudes Morales sur l'Antiquité*, Paris, 1883, pp. 135-189.

² *De Remediis Fortuitorum*, XII, 1.

³ *De Remediis Utriusque Fortunae*, Book I, Dialogue xiii.

⁴ *ibid.* Similarly Seneca: 'Pecuniam perdidisti. Et ea quam multos!' *D.R.F.*, XI, 3.

⁵ See text 27/26.

⁶ C. Martha, *op. cit.*, p. 167. He cites a consolatory letter of Descartes to a friend who had suffered the loss of his hand in war and afterwards the loss of his brother, advising him to note the similarity of both experiences and not to be affected by the second loss any more than the first.

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dominating the 'consolatio' is a profound belief in the power of Reason, in the salutary effect of the frequently repeated maxim and the magic of the rhetorically pointed phrase.

The 'consolatio' presupposes as a prime exercise the 'praemeditatio futurorum malorum'.¹ By constantly keeping before his eyes man's mortality the philosopher does not become a pessimist, nor 'accident-prone', but he is concentrating his strength to face disaster well-prepared and lessens the risk of losing his equanimity. He is convinced that without a good dose of rationalism one cannot dominate one's emotions and that the ideal of impassiveness is only achieved by an unconditional adherence to the precepts of Reason.

Concordant with this faith in Reason, and indeed a special aspect of it, is the faith in the power of the word. The word is able to evoke a possibility in a compelling way so that it may become almost magically present. This is the point where the sophists draw upon all their resources of rhetoric. It is as if no sooner than a remedy is formulated it becomes a magic word, whose salutary power we may cling to; as if the more it is repeated, the more it becomes true. This may sound magical, but it is primarily rationalistic in its assumption that there will be a direct correspondence between one's contemplation of the possible and one's experience of reality. The well-phrased consolation can transform our sorrow, divest it of its immediate poignancy and put our individual sorrow in the wider perspective of human misery. The consolatio does not deny the potency of grief. It does not explain away or belittle it. It only refuses to accept the sufferer's presentation of it. The consolatio administers an antidote² and this naturally should activate different faculties from those causing our grief. What should not escape us under the grim aspect of the stoic attitude is the constant concern with happiness. It may appear harsh towards the selfpitying sufferer but it has understood the secret that grief has a purifying effect when viewed as a part of the human condition. Instead of despair the consolatio offers the rule of Reason. Even if the stoic consolatio should go so far as to deny the actuality of suffering, this should hardly be called insensitivity; it is rather the determined counter-movement

¹ See Dr. Corn. Verhoeven, 'Filosofie van de Troost' in: *Rondom de Leegte*, Utrecht, 1966, p. 65.

² C. Martha calls the consolatio a 'pharmacie morale' and it is thus regarded as a kind of psychotherapy.

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against an all too vivid realisation of the disturbing power of the emotions and of the necessity to hold them in check.

Naturally, the demands made on Reason and the word are more exacting, the more the belief in their magic is fading. The occasional sophistries must be seen in this light. They become ridiculous once the force animating them is gone. But originally they were part of the attempt to exorcise the passions. The true stoic must have delighted in them, as the more sophistic they were, the more they marked his advance in subjecting his Emotions to his Reason.

If we are irritated by the commonplaces and cliché's we should take care not to underrate their social value. It is precisely the commonplaces, which, if rightly administered, hold most power to soothe and console. They constitute a common fund of wisdom and it is their truth, tested by generations, that offers an escape from individual misery. The most shocking truths do not seem readily amenable to original formulation and it is the old commonplace which can suddenly be filled with new meaning.

D. THE GOODS OF NATURE, OF FORTUNE AND OF GRACE

It is clear that in the 120 odd lemmata of each of the books of the *De Remediis* Petrarch has expanded his range of subjects considerably beyond the conventional topics the 'consolatio' afforded. It has been suggested that Petrarch like a bad-tempered old gentleman used the work as a storehouse for his own personal dislikes.¹ Though this may be true it should be stressed that the subjects form quite a neat catalogue of the 'Goods of the Body, the Soul and of Fortune', which division was a familiar 'topos' from late antiquity onwards.

The division of the goods into those of the body, the soul and fortune already occurred in Aristotle's *Ethics* and featured frequently in the discussions about the definition of the *summum bonum*. The distinction is found also in Cicero's *De Officiis*, in Augustine's *De Civitate Dei*, in Boethius' *De Consolatione* and in Thomas Aquinas' *Summa Contra Gentiles*. But it seems to have been reserved for the Middle Ages to make a veritable science of the subject.

A particularly elaborate classification is found in the *Moralium*

¹ Morris Bishop, *Petrarch and his World*, London, 1964, 'The *De remediis* is the work of an aging man indulging his insufferable petulance', p. 330.

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Dogma Philosophorum, the work of the epitomator Guillaume de Conches (1080-1150), professor of philosophy and grammar at Paris.¹ He provides the following table with subdivisions:

BONA CORPORIS

dividuntur in:

Pulchritudinem. Nobilitatem. Velocitatem. Robur. Magnitudinem. Valetudinem.

BONA ANIMI

dividuntur in:

Scientias. Virtutes

COMMODA FORTUNAE

dividuntur in:

Opulentiam. Praelationem. Gloriam

Opulentia

dividitur in:

Aedificia. Agros. Clientelas. Peculium. Thesaurum. Ornatum.

This classification, sometimes in slightly different forms, provided a framework for discussions of the seven deadly sins in such works as the *Somme des Vices et des Vertus* of Frère Lorens (1279) and hence in the English *Azenbite of Inwit* and the *Book of Vices and Virtues*.

It is also found in Deschamps² and in Chaucer's *Parson's Tale*, where the subject is treated in connection with the sin of pride. The goods are inspected one by one and warned against as as many sources of that sin.

In the devotional works mentioned above, the three kinds of divine gifts show a different order. The gifts of Grace are added but, in order to preserve the threefold classification, the goods of the body and the goods of the soul have been grouped together as 'goods of nature'. Thus Chaucer's *Parson's Tale* has the following classification:³

¹ J. Holmberg (ed.), *Guillaume de Conches, Moraliū Dogma Philosophorum*, Uppsala, 1929. Formerly the work was attributed to Gualterus ab Insulis, e.g. by Thor Sundby in the 3rd appendix to his *Della Vita e Delle Opere di Brunetto Latini*, Firenze, 1884.

² *Oeuvres*, S.A.T.F., III Pars, T. X, 450.

³ F. N. Robinson (ed.), *The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, Boston, 1957, p. 241.

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I. THE GOODES OF NATURE

1 *goodes of body*

heelee, strengthe, delivernesse, beautee, gentrice,
franchise.

2 *goodes of the soule*

good wit, sharp understondynge, subtil engyn, vertu
natureel, good memorie.

II. THE GOODES OF FORTUNE

richesse, hyghe degrees of lordshipes, preisynges of the
peple.

III. THE GOODES OF GRACE

science, power to suffre spiritueel travaille, benignitee,
vertuous contemplacioun, withstondynge of tempta-
cioun, and semblable thynges.

In this connection it may be noted that the familiarity of the discussions of the three goods in medieval devotional works may have facilitated—and determined the manner of—the adoption of Petrarch's work in the medieval English context.

E. THE HAPPY HUMANIST AND HIS PREOCCUPATION WITH MISERY: PETRARCH'S *DE REMEDIIS* AND THE *CONTEMPTUS MUNDI* LITERATURE

It may seem surprising after reading Burckhardt's¹ appraisal of the Renaissance 'emergence of the individual' and the 'discovery of the world' to find so many humanist writers concerned with an adverse view of the goods of this world and with a decided preference for a retired life '*procul negotiis*'. The question imposes itself how so much antagonism to a lusty, worldly existence could possibly be present in the thought of the humanists, when the time in which they lived provided plentiful examples of boisterous, or calculated pursuit of wealth and pleasure.

The Italian humanists of the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries produced an extraordinarily large number of treatises on

¹ Jacob Burckhardt, *Die Kultur der Renaissance in Italien*, 1860 (many editions).

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happiness, the *summum bonum*, human dignity, fortune and fame, but it is striking that most of these come down on the side of stoic renunciation rather than on contented enjoyment or a sense of achievement. The fact that in our present age peace is a frequently discussed subject does not prove that we live in an age of peace. The same sceptical view is applied to the abundant crop of discussions of happiness in the Renaissance period by C. E. Trinkaus.¹ In his study of the Italian humanists' writings on happiness and the related subjects of nobility and human dignity he comes to the conclusion that 'the happy humanist' is a modern creation and that in reality their philosophy displays 'insecurity, resignation and despair'. These are forceful terms which, however, present a valuable modification of the common emphasis on the humanists as uninhibited and passionate personalities and on their inordinate appetite for enjoyment.² A large number of the humanists stressed the inner antagonism of human nature; they preached contempt of the worldly goods and stressed the need to curb the demands of the senses. The distinctly negative view of man as exhibited in Innocent III's dour work *De Contemptu Mundi* found continuation among the humanists in Conversino da Ravenna's *De Miseria Humanae Vitae*. One wonders, consequently, in how far the *spernere mundum* theme as found in Petrarch's later works presents the same otherworldly asceticism as is found in the works of the medieval divines and whether it is necessary to assume any original humanist contributions in this discussion.

Critical interest in these treatises has not generally credited them with originality or much intrinsic interest. The various opinions agree

¹ *Adversity's Noblemen*, New York, 1940. Some of the works which Trinkaus discusses are: Petrarch (1304-1374) *Secretum de Contemptu Mundi*; Giovanni Conversino da Ravenna (1343-1408) *De Miseria Humanae Conditionis*; Coluccio Salutati (1331-1406) *De Saeculo et Religione*; Francesco Zabarella (1366-1417) *De Felicitate Libri Tres*; Mafeo Vegio (1407-1458) *De Felicitate et Miseria Dialogus*; Leonardo Bruni (1369-1444) *Isagogicon Moralis Disciplinae*; Lorenzo Valla (1407-1458) *De Voluptate ac De Vero Bono Libri Tres*; Poggio Bracciolini (1380-1459) *De Miseria Humanae Conditionis Libri Duo*; Bartolommeo Fazio (1400?-1457) *De Viri Felicitate*; Buonaccorso da Montemagno (1391?-1429) *De Nobilitate* and Matteo Bosso (1427-1502) *De Tolerandis Adversis Dialogus*.

² Trinkaus' book represents the tendency to revise Burckhardt's neglect of the ascetic tendencies of the age, and to consider social forces as factors in the shaping of the humanists' attitudes.

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only in granting them a new interest in aesthetic form and an increased interest in ancient literature. The cultivation of a new lofty style purified from the barbarisms of their medieval predecessors was one major concern of the humanists. After all, the humanistic movement arose in the field of grammatical and rhetorical studies and the humanists were really the successors of the medieval rhetoricians. Their most characteristic contribution was the new perspective they brought to the study of the classics. Instead of looking—in the typically medieval style—for scattered scraps of wisdom, or anecdotes interpreted allegorically, they were able to appreciate the ancient spirit for its inspiration and beauty of form and cull from it the stimulus of moral grandeur.

The humanists also held the chair of moral philosophy. Their professed interest was to be the restorers of learning and introduce the wisdom of the classics as a new vogue, couched in the pure Latin of Cicero. They made it their task to discourse in large terms on human values and man's position in this life, never forgetting beauty of form and elegance of expression. However, in many of them the dullness of the Middle Ages reappears in loftier terms. Their moral philosophy presents little more than exercises in verbose moralising and—in Kristeller's words—'if we try to sum up their arguments and conclusions, leaving aside citations, examples, and commonplaces, literary ornaments and digressions, we are frequently left with empty hands'.¹

Ascetic and otherworldly tendencies have been asserted as fundamental traits of Renaissance thought.² It is especially these treatises on human happiness which support the tendency of some scholars to reject the notion of a clear-cut Renaissance spirit and to stress the powerful medieval affinities of the period. On comparing Petrarch's

¹ P. O. Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought*, Harper Torchbooks, New York, 1960, pp. 17f

² Thus D. Bush, *The Renaissance and English Humanism*, Toronto, 1939, p. 68. 'The classical humanism of the Renaissance was fundamentally medieval and fundamentally Christian' Conversely, L. Thorndike, *Science and Thought in the Fifteenth Century*, New York, 1929, refuses to see anything 'humanistic' in the moral treatises he examines except 'a slight classical coloring in non-essentials' (p. 194).

For a historical perspective of the changing views of the Renaissance see W. K. Ferguson, *The Renaissance in Historical Thought*, Cambridge, Mass., 1948

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De Remediis with Roger de Caen's *Carmen de Mundi Contemptu* of the eleventh century we find many of the same traditional arguments, which have sometimes survived in very similar phrasings.

Thus power is denounced because it entails danger; the poor man is better off because in violent storms he remains unharmed. Riches are denounced because the rich man is perpetually worried by his desire for gain; the poor man on his miserable straw mattress enjoys unperturbed sleep. Precious stones are base ornaments; man, the image of God, has no need of them. One should adorn oneself with virtues to secure honour in the eyes of God. How transient the value of splendid dwellings is should be evident on consideration that one will be buried within the narrow confines of a coffin. The possession of large estates is an encumbrance rather than a source of happiness. One really needs very little to live. Instead of cultivating one's land one might more profitably cultivate one's soul. True nobility is not inherited, it is acquired through virtue. High position is denounced for two reasons: it is not what it seems; the burdens are greater than the profit; fame is short-lived and its possession is insecure. Secondly, the soul is perturbed in striving to retain it. It is better to be a servant than a master. Through his continuous worry the master is worse off than the servant who can regard him as his steward. The possession of health is an unstable good; how can one love what the pest and death can instantly wrench away? Honour, glory and riches are no safeguard against death. Strength is a despicable good; some animals are stronger than man. Youth will turn to decrepit old age. Beauty is transient, it is the enemy of chastity, an obstacle on the road to virtue. Woman is the ruin of man's liberty and rest. Her interest in cosmetics and her toilet arrangements are ridiculous, unnatural and disgusting. If one suffers for the death of one's children it is good to remember that they have died young, before the age of passion in which they might have indulged in sin.

The general line of thought regarding these goods can be summed up in the following argument which can be traced in Augustine's *De Civitate Dei*, Bk. XIX, in St. Thomas' *Summa Contra Gentiles*, Bk. III, pt. I, in Platina's *De Vera Nobilitate* and in the *De Nobilitate* of Buonacorso da Montemagno.

Human happiness is not to be found in the *goods of fortune*, such as money, power, dwellings, and honours, since they are sought for the body or the soul, and bring cares, dangers, and enemies. Nor is it to

be found in *bodily goods*, which are subject to the slightest injury and easily lost. It has to be found, by an internal adjustment, in the *goods of the soul*. But it is not found through the irrational part of the soul, which possesses the power of acuteness and enjoys pleasures, since many animals excel man in acuteness, and since pleasures are often mixed and followed by long and heavy sorrows. It is not found in the exercise of the natural powers of the rational part of the soul such as acumen, memory, boldness of will, because they can be employed for evil purposes. It has to consist, therefore, in the acquired powers or *virtues*. Of these especially efficacious are the speculative virtues culminating in the contemplation of God.

The debate on 'true nobility' which features so largely in these treatises, had been a common *topos* since classical times. It was treated in much the same way and with the same arguments by Seneca in his letters, by St. John Chrysostom in his *Homilies on the Gospel of St. Matthew*, IX, 7, and by the 12th and 13th-century troubadours who, in order to place themselves on the same social level as the great ladies of the courts with whom they were associating, defined nobility as the possession of virtue.¹ The general view in these discussions is that true nobility is not inherited, hence the descent from noble ancestors is no guarantee for the heir, for noble parents have often had wicked children. Nobility depends on personal merit.² Many persons of low birth have become great men, as is witnessed by the example of Cicero, Cato, Socrates and Euripides. On the other hand, the descendants of great families have often been wicked, disgraceful or obscure. Virtue and nobility come only by one's own exertions, since the soul, the seat of virtue, is not inherited and is superior to the body.

In these discussions of nobility the subject of poverty is regularly incorporated and it is demonstrated that poverty and nobility can exist side by side. Poverty—not destitution or beggary, but contentment with very little—is true wealth. Poverty is an easy guest and accords well with virtue and nobility since it removes the more serious obstacles.

Especially when the argument is summarised the sameness of these

¹ See Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, trans. Trask, pp. 179f., where further instances and sources are found.

² The adjective 'noble' nowadays more usually connotes ethical respectability than lofty birth. This spiritualised meaning has gradually grown out of these perennial debates.

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views is striking. The differences become evident when attention is paid to variations in emphasis and details of treatment.

The first difference lies in the totally different audience. Roger de Caen writes for a cloistered company of monks. His arguments extol the monastic life and are coloured by the tactical device not to allow any regret to rear its head for the world they have left. His reasonings prove more than once sophistic and he is not afraid to distort human values.¹ Petrarch does not write for a group of religious specialists, he addresses his fellow-humanists who shared his interest in humane letters and often took an active share in the life of the city. Their focus had changed to a particular and individual preoccupation with their own place in the universe and the moral, philosophical and aesthetic consideration of it all. They explored, and found it worth exploring, the concrete uniqueness of their feelings, their opinions and their surroundings.² Besides, it is unwise to regard these humanist treatises simply as phases in the history of thought in a political and social vacuum. Thus, in spite of what has been said about the conventionality of the themes discussed, it is to be noted that the theme of nobility and the debate of the *vita contemplativa* versus the *vita activa* had acquired a particular urgency in fourteenth-century Italy. It is not that the subject is approached differently or that the arguments change. It is rather that the social environment was peculiarly apt to foster heated debates on the nature of true nobility, man's status in society and the relative merits of his pursuits. In these discussions nobility was virtually treated as the *summum bonum*, as happiness; to prove one's title to it was the justification of the ultimate aim of one's existence.

In Florence, the matrix of early humanism, a new civic wealth had fostered a strong sense of achievement and power among the merchant class. Feudal class stratifications had become less important; social intercourse began to ignore distinctions of caste; birth and origin were of less importance than wealth. The civic society of Florentine merchants had long been conscious of the flagrant contrast between the old ideological notion of power—that of the medieval feudalism of Church and State—and the reality of power of the cities, and took a lively interest in defending their title to nobility. As von Martin, Baron

¹ R. Bultot, *La Doctrine du Mépris du Monde*, Tome IV, 2, Louvain, 1964, p. 71 .

² Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought*, p. 20.

and Martines,¹ among others, have maintained, the humanist circle was closely associated with the ruling class of wealthy citizens.² They shared their ethical and political interests which they supported ideologically by creating a public opinion which accorded with the social situation.³ The manifold relations between the moneyed bourgeoisie and the new intelligentsia originated in their common civic origins and their mutual interests—for the former the new forms of social 'representation', for the latter material and social support.⁴ The humanists who represented the civic attitude, identified nobility with *virtù*, which they interpreted as probity and energy in action and, more particularly, as success in business pursuits. Thus the rich bourgeoisie found a recognition of their economic labours in this new nobility which at the same time they denied the dissipated and wasteful 'nobility'. It was a form of spiritual competition which ran parallel with and supported the economic and political competition.⁵ Poggio in his treatise *De Nobilitate* vents his anti-feudal resentment when he writes that a man is the further removed from true nobility the longer his ancestors have plied the trade of brigands.

Thus the idea of virtue presents a semantic problem here. Instead of stressing the need for reliance on the grace of God, which was and is the principal connotation of 'virtue', the humanists used the word in its original sense of 'manly vigour'⁶ and, in particular, it stressed the notion of 'public merit', and reliance on one's own prudence and cunning. It became the characteristic notion of a society in which fame and the achievement of a spectacular career had become for many a goal of life.

As for themselves, the humanist writers similarly claimed a share in

¹ A. von Martin, *Soziologie der Renaissance*, Frankfurt am Main, 1949, p. 67; H. Baron, *The Crisis of the Early Italian Renaissance*, 2 vols., Princeton, 1955, passim; L. Martines, *The Social World of the Florentine Renaissance*, Princeton, 1963, pp. 267 ff.

² The common alternative view, that the humanists were rootless men of letters, mostly necessitous and forever looking for support and employment is very incomplete and results from a one-sided reading of Burckhardt and Voigt.

³ von Martin, p. 67.

⁴ *ibid.*, p. 73.

⁵ *ibid.*, p. 66.

⁶ Cicero gives *vir* as the etymology of *virtus* in 2 *Tuscul.* xviii. Boethius says *virtus* is so called *quod suis viribus nitens non superetur adversis*, *De Cons.*, IV, Prose vii.

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'nobility' by identifying nobility with *virtus* which here acquired the intellectualised meaning of the pursuit of their own special brand of literary studies.¹ In their own view the practice of virtue was most perfectly exemplified in the life of the humanists, namely the ideal type of philosopher contributing to the common good.

This intellectualising of the idea of virtue is a heritage of stoic and generally of antique philosophy. When one proceeds from the assumption that virtue is determined by knowledge it is the next step to regard the pursuit of knowledge as the pre-eminent moral virtue. Hence the application to study was the best suitable way to live. Just as study contributed to one's own good, eloquence enabled others to share in one's knowledge. The cultivation of eloquence often came close to being considered virtue itself. We have seen the value attributed to eloquence by the *consolatio*. The humanists by equating their rhetorical and philosophical studies with the ideal life saw themselves in the high role of the restorers of learning, as the sages who instructed the public in the virtues of useful citizens. The vindication of eloquence—which had traditionally been associated with moral philosophy or 'civil philosophy'—was at the same time a justification of the social value of the *studia humanitatis* as opposed to the more sterile specializations of contemporary philosophers. Garin has shown how for Petrarch eloquence as literary discipline and philosophy as cultivation of the soul are closely related.² Another humanist, Ermolao Barbaro, could say: *duos agnosco dominos, Christum et litteras*.

In the best humanists the educational and social value of their literary studies seemed to warrant their term *studia humanitatis*. On

¹ Trinkaus finds the humanists' emphasis on equating nobility with their way of life an indication of a feeling of insecurity. They had to convince others that nobility in its 'real' or 'true' sense coincided with their own life—and thus hoped to convince themselves. A similar stress on the humanists' feeling of insecurity is found in E. Fromm, *The Fear of Freedom*, Routledge Paperback, London, 1961. According to him the Renaissance individual was above all concerned with the problem of man's personal adjustment in a hostile world. While in the medieval framework of society man had his proper place assigned to him, the men of the Renaissance had lost the security the medieval social structure had offered. 'The new freedom brought two things to them: an increased feeling of strength and at the same time an increased isolation, doubt, scepticism and—resulting from all these—anxiety' (p. 40).

² E. Garin, *Der Italienische Humanismus*, Bern, 1947, p. 11.

the other hand, with lesser minds, there was the tendency, equally noticeable, to degrade *litterae* to nothing more than rhetoric, the cultivation of which degenerated into ephemeral beauties.

The subject of poverty was subject to many fluctuations of opinion among the Florentine humanists. They sometimes act as the mouth-piece of the Florentine merchant class who in reality took pride in their wealth as the true source of Florentine greatness; sometimes they stress poverty and renunciation as the sole justification of their existence: the wise man's independence of social position and material possessions. This rejection of worldly standards and the substitution of ascetic and otherworldly moral or religious standards has been variously accounted for. According to Trinkaus it indicates a doubtful attitude towards man's condition in this world and was 'clearly a desire and a hope to overcome or transcend the social and material insecurities and the accompanying emotional stress of this life'.¹ But Trinkaus draws copiously from the works of highly placed or wealthy humanists, whose economic independence and social position can hardly be called insecure.² On the other hand, the cultivation of the stoic and apostolic ideal of poverty—at any rate in theory—was a pose assumed by many. Petrarch, for one, had successfully published this image of himself. A humanist, poet, scholar, and restorer of a greater past should also exhibit in his personal character the superior virtues of the ancients, and should be free from envy, greed and search for preferment. After Petrarch this pose became a conventional element in the self-presentation of the humanists who in reality were often openly vain, profit-seeking and greedy. It probably served to induce self-respect and to give a sense of ultimate purpose and moral value to the practice of humanism. It implied that a person such as a humanist, who subordinated his worldly desires to ascetic or otherworldly ends was a superior and more truly human person. Trinkaus calls this their intellectual snobbishness and suggests that in reality the renunciation

¹ Trinkaus, p. 70.

² As Martines has shown, 'nearly all (Florentine) humanists belonged to the ranks of the ruling class' (p. 267); 'In part, in large part, the force of humanism in the Florentine community was the disguised force of the ruling class itself' (p. 270). Though in some cases their stress on poverty and asceticism may have been 'sour grapes' induced by their own necessitous living conditions and lack of support, this can hardly explain the insistence on poverty of a humanist like Salutati, who occupied the Florentine chancellery for a long time.

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of honours and of ambition displays despair of attaining them.¹ In this respect they assumed a decidedly uncivic attitude; as the representatives of the intelligentsia they held themselves aloof from the settled citizens who naturally valued their wealth.²

Petrarch's position with regard to wealth is ambiguous.³ His early years were ruled by the ideal of Franciscan poverty and renunciation in which the classical praise of poverty and the Christian examples seemed to meet and be reconciled. It was in his semi-monastic flight from the world during his stay in Vacluse that these views seemed vital and congenial. But the influence of his splendid career soon caused conflicts, voiced, for instance, in his *Secretum*. His coronation as a poet in the Capitol (1341), his vain endeavours to obtain a priorship in Central Italy and his acceptance of the protection of the Visconti tyrant mark his straying away from the renunciation of fame, worldly riches and social position. On the whole, Petrarch never entirely forswore positions of wealth; he gradually came to adhere to 'the golden mean', for which he could find authority in Cicero and Seneca—the same authorities cited in favour of poverty by his contemporaries.

Petrarch's views underwent within the span of his life the evolution that would continue among the humanists for more than a century after him. Though in the *De Remediis* the aged Petrarch clung to the traditional stoic convictions, it is evident from confidential letters to his friends that he was really converted to his new ideas of the golden 'mediocritas', for which he could find admirable historical examples in his reading. At the end of his life he had come to the position that wealth and poverty made little difference and that everything depended on an internal solution.

Closely allied with the subject of wealth is the discussion of the relative merits of the *vita activa* and the *vita contemplativa*, which took on its own special flavour in Renaissance society. As H. Baron has

¹ This is the very argument with which Augustinus—the interlocutor in Petrarch's *Suum Secretum*—deflates Franciscus' denial that he has entertained thoughts of ambition and honours. 'You mortals renounce many things, not because you despise them, but because you despair of attaining them'.

² In their praise of poverty the humanists often indulged in a political romanticism by contrasting the simplicity and indifference to material needs in the early history of the Roman Empire with its later wealth and degeneracy, cf. *De Remediis*, dialogue ix (p. 32, ll. 31 ff.).

³ See H. Baron, 'Franciscan Poverty and Civic Wealth as Factors in the Rise of Humanistic Thought', *Speculum*, XIII, (Jan. 1938), 1-37.

repeatedly emphasized, it was not until the beginning of the fifteenth century that the civic view came to full fruition in Florence when it heroically defended its freedom against the threat of tyranny. 'The heart of the change since the early Quattrocento is that a revolt has taken place against the ideas of the time when humanistic scholars had been content with a philosophy that compounded medieval ascetic ideals with stoic precepts of the aloofness of the true sage from society and public duties. From the end of the Trecento onwards, the ever-recurring leitmotifs in the humanistic philosophy of life were the superiority of the *vita activa* over 'selfish' withdrawal into scholarship and contemplation; the praise of the family as the foundation of a sound society; and the argument that the perfect life is not that of a 'sage', but that of the citizen who, in addition to his studies, consummates his *humanitas* by shouldering man's social duties, and by serving his fellow-citizens in public office.'¹

In itself the debate on the superiority of the active life as compared with the contemplative life is not a criterion of 'modernity'. Petrarch was able to state the arguments for each effectively, as is evident from his *De Viris Illustribus* and *Africa* on the one hand and the *De Vita Solitaria* and *De Otio Religioso* on the other. To him both could represent the good life. It is really one of those perennial debates in which the humanists, like thinkers in other periods, took different sides. Yet it is instructive to take note of Baron's illustrations of the particular function this debate assumed in the early Quattrocento.

As Baron has said, the humanists, in their study of the classics, at first tended to read only what they thought confirmed their renunciatory views. 'Of the complex world of antiquity they (the 14th-century humanists) recognized only the features akin to the pessimism and renunciation of life which took possession of mankind in the period following the terrible epidemics in the middle of the fourteenth century. Seldom in the course of the Middle Ages has so much been written concerning the 'miseria' of human beings and human life as here at its end, and it was particularly the advocates of Petrarch's humanism who contributed to this literature.'²

The civic view is represented in the writings of Salutati, Poggio and Bruni. Instead of Seneca and the monastic tradition, Cicero is cited in support of the active life, not the aloof stoic sage of the Middle Ages,

¹ H. Baron, *Crisis*, I, pp. 6f.

² Baron, 'Franciscan Poverty', p. 12.

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but the Cicero who combined political and literary activities in a perfect expression of the civic ideal. Similarly, instead of the old theory of the mind-body cleavage—which could disqualify all the claims of participation in active life simply by introducing the mind-contemplation-God progression—the Aristotelian notion was restored to honour that man by his very nature is a social and political being. Decembrio, as a representative of a later generation, criticised the rigidity of Petrarch's views in the *De Remediis* as untenable. Platina now turned to Aristotle's definition of nobility as the combination of old riches and virtues and states that 'nobility consists in having an old family with inherited and acquired wealth'. Poggio in his dialogue on nobility says that nobility combines three factors: old wealth, excellence of blood, and a record of service in public office.

In the company of these writings even Petrarch's admittedly renunciatory works such as the *De Vita Solitaria*, *Suum Secretum* and the *De Remediis* have elements that mark a break with the medieval religious otherworldliness. Petrarch's *De Vita Solitaria*, which was copied so enthusiastically in the monasteries by monks who saw in it the glorification of their mode of life, in reality did not preach the devout quiet life of the cloister, but the refuge from disturbance of the scholar devoted to study, the luxury of intercourse with the beauties of nature far away from the noise of men. It is the flight of the aesthete from the philistines in the city, who enjoys the secluded life of his villa and cultivates his garden. In contrast with Roger de Caen's *Carmen de Mundi Contemptu*, learning is not here counted among the valueless goods. Petrarch is quite express in his view that reading and writing are his major passions.

In the *Suum Secretum* many worldly tendencies can be found. Petrarch's 'rest' is not really God but primarily rest for his overwrought nerves. Though the work is very revealing about Petrarch's personality, it is not a profound religious confession comparable to the depth of Augustine's *Confessiones*. It remains fundamentally a rhetorical exercise¹ and displays Petrarch's fascination with his emotional experiences.

The *De Remediis* presents a system of practical moral wisdom and is typical of the humanists' programme in its combination of rhetoric, history and moral philosophy. Though the actual solution offered is in

¹ See A. von Martin, 'Petrarca und Augustin', *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, XVIII, (1928), pp. 57-96.

nearly all cases renunciatory in spirit, Petrarch's detailed consideration of the worldly goods is worldly in itself and asserts what he denies in his express statements. Though in *Suum Secretum* Petrarch admits he has qualms about his pursuit of classical studies—just like St. Jerome and many other medieval lovers of the classics—the reverse view is evident in the *implied* values he extols in the *De Remediis*. In his discussion of nobility in II, dial. 5, his fascination with classical heroism and personal fame is paramount. He extols the virtues of the Romans as incitements to his compatriots. In this dialogue, after his relation of Ventidius' military successes, he says: 'These are the steps to rise by, these are the degrees unto virtue, whereby men are advanced, not only to glory and higher fortune... but also enthronized within heaven.' This is a far cry from Roger de Caen. In II, dial. 9, he illustrates his dictum that only virtue is the supreme art against all misfortune and poverty with the example of the philosopher Aristippus. When cast by shipwreck on a foreign shore, he immediately won affection and renown through his merits as a scholar, and was provided with all he needed. Virtue and its rewards have a firmly established worldly meaning here.¹

It is interesting to see what the English adapter did with these sections. 'Virtue' in the sense of 'excellence', with the related notions of 'personal or public merit', would not agree with his notion of the prevailing sense of the word (but see OED s.v. *virtuous*). By way of explicit commentary he inserts passages contrasting fortune with grace and thus shows how to him nobility arises from moral excellence and reliance on the grace of God.

It is clear that in Petrarch's ascetic works much of the older period remains by the side of his essential innovations. There are indications that to Petrarch the dour ascetic views were not as vital as they are sometimes made out to be. As so often happens with notions on the brink of being replaced they are stressed with a rigidity which thrusts the door wide open to a change of standards. Depending on the reader, however, it was easy enough in interpreting them to lean to the one side or the other in emphasis. In the England of around 1400, where Poggio could still sneer at barbarous Englishmen, there was as yet no audience for Petrarch's humanistic tastes. This is illustrated by the changes thought necessary in the English version of the *De Remediis*.

¹ See also K. Heitmann, *Fortuna und Virtus*, who notes the ambiguity of Petrarch's conception of 'virtue' (p. 80)

THE TWO TEXTS PARALLEL

¶ Francisci Petrarche poete Oratorisque Clarissimi consolatini operis sui ad Azonem de Remedius utriusque fortune Liber secundus de Adversa fortuna disputans feliciter incipit

¶ DE DEFORMITATE CORPORIS

DIALOGUS I

5

- ¶ Dolor *Egisse mecum nimis illiberaliter naturam queror que deformem genuit* ¶ Ratio *O quot faces extinxit quot occurrit incendius* ¶ Dolor Deformem genuit natura ¶ Ratio *Non dedit quod delectet si quod prosit dedit* satis est mitte querelas ¶ Dolor *Non dedit forme gratiam natura* ¶ Ratio
 10 *Dare noluit quod egritudo corrumperet quod senectus eriperet Dedit forte quod nec mors ipsa contingere audeat* ¶ Dolor *Formam corporis natura negavit* ¶ Ratio *Si formam animi largita est maximū debitor exigui repulsam alta mente despicito et offensam speculi conscientia solare* ¶ Dolor *Invidit natura formam corporis* ¶ Ratio *Non invidit sed erubuit dare quod quotidie*
 15 *minuatur et pereat Vera liberalitas mansuro munere noscitur Putria et caduca arari etiam donant* Forma fugax et fragile nature donum paucis ad utilitatem multis ad perniciem nulli ad salutem veramque gloriam data est
 ¶ Dolor *Forma mihi corporis negata est* ¶ Ratio *Raro admodum forma insignis honestasque uno sub lare habitant* Bene tibi accidit si peiori exclusa
 20 *hospes melior tecum est* ¶ Dolor *Nullum forme decus obtigit* ¶ Ratio *Quid hinc doles aut quid penitus sanctum piūque animo volvis? In quod tibi necessariam aut omnino usui et non potius impedimento esse corporis formam putes?* Multos *forma fecit adulteros castum nullum* Multos per lubrica voluptatum duxit ad infamem mortem qui deformes sine dedecore
 25 *periculoque vixissent Et quid multos dixi? Innumerabiles in discrimen fere omnes in crimen trahit* ¶ Dolor *Cur me deformem genuit natura?* ¶ Ratio *Ut ipse te ornares ac formosum faceres ea forma que tecum esset in senio in grabatulo in feretro in sepulchro essetque tua non nature laus aut parentum* Pulchrius est *pulchrum fieri quam nasci Illud enim casus hoc*
 30 *studii est* ¶ Dolor *Corporis multa deformitas me premit* ¶ Ratio *Deformitas quidem hec apud quosdam infelicitatis quedam portio est Tu crede dicentibus non deformitate corporis fedari animum sed pulchritudine animi corpus ornari* Non te hoc igitur inhonestat aut premit *sed honestandi animi materiam assurgendūque aditum per virtutes aperit* ¶ Dolor *Deformem natura*
 35 *parens genuit* ¶ Ratio *Si deformem Helenam genuisset vel ut viros loquar si deformem Paridem fortasse Ilion adhuc staret* ¶ Dolor *Deformis in luce editus queror* ¶ Ratio *Pauci boni formam corporis amarunt nullus optavit quidam etiam proiecerunt Quod fecisse laudatur ille Thuscus adolescens qui preclari vultus eximiam speciem quam suspectam multis*
 40 *adversamque fame sue senserat et pudicitie aliene illatis sibi sponte vulneribus deformavit quam tibi dissimilis qui id optes quod ille sibi abstulit et quo rari nunquam innocue usi sint* ¶ Dolor *Forma careo* ¶ Ratio *Tutius est caruisse quo in experimentum tui anceps ac laboriosum sepe*

7 *Ven quod occurrit*

177^b // Nature was not my frende *pat* suffrede me to be bore of vnsemeli schap.

¶ RESOUN: Nature was not pyn enemye for *pat* *pou* wantes *pi* delizt he dede it for *pi* *profizt*. Wenne synne wolde asaile *pe* *pi* 5 deformite ofte *withstondip*. Pyn vnsemelynesse is a poole *pat* sleknyb helle brondes. Kynde wolde not ziffe *pe* *pat* *ping* *pat* be siknes myzt be corrupt ne *pat* age myght be neme *pe*. Rote *pinges* & faylynge are ziftes of negardes. He hap openyd to *pe*. *pe* ocasion of *vertu*. For faire fetoured bodi & clennesses of souzle selden nestele 10 *pei* to gedere.

¶ ADUERSITE: Whi was I born so vnschaply?

¶ RESOUN: For *pou* schuldest honoure *pi* self *with* sich a beugte *pat* schulde kepe *pe* fair. *pat* wanne *pi* face schal ronge & alle *pi* lemes schal feblen. *pat* is fairenes of souzle *pat* deth may not quen- 15 chen. *Doow* *pou* were born wonder schaply whi schuldest *pou* be preised? Peynte *pi* souzle *with* *vertues* & panne art *pou* pank worthi. for *pat* is of pyn owne studie. He *pat* wolde be comendid for his schap is semely spoilip nature of his rizt.

¶ ADUERSITE: I ham had in despit be cause I ham vnsemeli.

20 ¶ RESOUN: As noþing *pat* longeþ to man is glorious but *vertu*: so noþing is contemptible in man but synne alone. *With* no shap. *with* no stature is *vertu* at debate. Deformite of bodi defilith not *pe* souzle. but *pe* fairnes of *pe* souzle honoureth *pe* body. Semelynesse made neuere zit man or womman chast. Hadde Thamar David is 25 dower ben a fouzl leyth damesele. behap Amoun here broþur. hadde here not oppressed. Lufly schap of bodi: is lemman to lechery. Seyntes lete but lizt be bodili bewte. For litil worth is *pe* blosme: 178^a but ony frute folwe. //

¶ ADUERSITE: I wolde fayn be faire.

30 ¶ RESOUN: Strife not penne a zeyn kynde lest *pou* be fouzlere. Dese wymmen *pat* peynten hem self *with* crafti wateres. how fouzle *pei* ben to loken vp on: *experiens* schewet. Whanne *pei* of borwed

1. Nature: *capital illuminated*.

9. MS. faire *superscript* between For and fetoured with caret in between.

25. MS. fouzl in margin and caret between a and leyth.

THE TWO TEXTS PARALLEL

- venturus sis. Multis forma nocuit: cunctos exercuit: quosdam post insultus varios mollivit et vinci faciles dedit atque ab honestate transversos in culpam trusit. ¶ *Dolor. Deformis et brevis nimium statura est.* ¶ *Ratio. Non est ut reris prosequendum querelis incommodum longe conspectior est statura: brevis*
5 *expeditior agiliorque.* ¶ *Dolor. Statura perbrevis est.* ¶ *Ratio. Quid vetat: ut in parva domo magnum virum: sic in parvo corpore magnum animum habitare?* ¶ *Dolor. Corpus exiguum est.* ¶ *Ratio. Id scilicet lamentaris quod teipso non es ornatus sed levis et facilis et ad cuncta versatilis.* ¶ *Dolor. Perexiguum est corpus.* ¶ *Ratio. Quis unquam de exigua conquestus est sarcina?*
10 *Iusta hercle dolendi causa quod non pressus mole corporea sed indutus: neque ipse tibi tedio sed usui sis.* ¶ *Dolor. Contemptibili sum statura.* ¶ *Ratio. Ut gloriosum nihil nisi virtus: sic contemptibile nihil nisi vitium. Nullam virtus respuil staturam.* ¶ *Dolor. Exigua corporis statura est.* ¶ *Ratio. Non statu-*
15 *fica: si decora est: sit illa altera qualiscunque: nihil ad rem: Non solum domi sed ne militie quidem nisi magis obesse videretur. Nosti ut Marius summus dux: non longos sed torosos et validos milites eligebat. Id quam feliciter: quam consulto faceret: crebre et ingentes indicant victorie. Habet corporum proceritas maiestatis plusculum non vigoris.* ¶ *Dolor. Brevis est statura.*
20 ¶ *Ratio. Hec non impedit quin vir bonus et magnus esse possis. Insuper et rex si sors tulerit et imperator. Et si enim Africanus Scipio celsus corpore: Julius Cesar statura fuerit excelsa brevi tamen Alexander macedo et Augustus Cesar nec eorum magnitudini brevis obfuit: nec detraxit fame.* ¶ *Dolor. Vellem esse altior et maior.* ¶ *Ratio. Assurge animo cresce virtutibus: maior eris atque*
25 *altior. Hoc utilius hoc facilius incrementum.* ¶ *Dolor. Cuperem esse formosus.* ¶ *Ratio. Disce amare atque optare meliora. Stultum est amare periculum suum: Stultum optare quod nullo studio queri potest. Nempe si contra naturam formosus fieri studeas: nil ultra proficies quam ut deformior videare.* ¶ *Dolor. Formosus esse nequicquam nitor.* ¶ *Ratio. Nitere autem bonus esse:*
30 *Id non frustra enim facies. Hoc inter multa precipuum virtus habet: queri potest: eripi non potest. Cum reliqua in arbitrio sint fortune: nec obstante illa queri valeant nec servari: Sola virtus fortune legibus libera est atque illa obluctante clarius nitet.*

¶ DE IMBECILLITATE

35

DIALOGUS II

- ¶ *Dolor. Natura me genuit imbecillem.* ¶ *Ratio. Ut in putri vagina ensis ferreus: sic in fragili corpore fortis sepe animus latet.* ¶ *Dolor. Imbecillis natus sum.* ¶ *Ratio. Non eris idoneus vectandis oneribus aut arvo fodiendo: sed honestis studiis sed iustis imperiis. Sic in navi robustior quisque remum agit:*
40 *at prudentior clavum regit. Vita quasi navis rerum fluctibus et mundi pelago iactata suos remos habet suumque gubernaculum: A vilioribus repulsus officiis ad nobiliora convertere.* ¶ *Dolor. Imbecillem genuit natura.* ¶ *Ratio. Quid si robustissimum genuisset? An perpetuum robur erat: an non robustior egritudo? Ut sileam casus innumeros qui repente totum hominem debilitant*
45 *atque enervant: Animi robur optabile est: quod nec dies minuit nec fortuna.*

her. feynen hem hornes panne falle bei fro fayrnesse to be liknesse of Lucifer. & forfeten a zen þe lore of Petir & Paule. 3if þou list to be faire: lerne to leue weel. Pyn vnlusti schap þou pleyne on so meche: is lent þe but for a tyme. *With* jinne a fewe daies wole deth
 5 sende his messenger & robbe þe þer of. and 3if þi souzle þenne be clopid in þe garnement of charite. at domes day whan it schal be knyht to þe cors a zen. þi bodi schal be enduet *with* so gret a cler- nesse: hit schal be bryghter seuene siþe panne þe sonne is now. Þenne schal deformite be exiled þer fro for euere. Pus enformeth vs
 10 holy wryt & Austeyn þe doctour.

¶ ADUERSITE: I ham of litil stature.

¶ RESOUN: Pat is no cause of grucching. Litel cors. litil cariage. Þou art no burpen to þi self. Glorious to þe eyze is a long stature. but more swipper is þe schort comynly & more spedi. What for-
 15 bedep a meche man to inhabit a low hows? So may a gret souzle wonen in a schort body. Nouzt I mene þat þe souzle schulde of quantite be gret. but gret of kunnyng of goodnesse & of manhod. Hit harmep not þat þe bee is but a litil thing: his hony & his wex recorden of his vertu.

20 ¶ ADUERSITE: Mi stature is but litil.

¶ RESOUN: Þere inne is no impediment but þat þou mai be a good man. a gret man 3e a kyng. an emperour 3if god wele it suffre.
 178^b Gret Alisaundere was no larche man. 3it þe brefnes of // his bodi hyndirde not his fame. Wanne Samuel was sent in to Bedlem to enoynten on of þe sones of Iesse to gouerne Israel as god hadde
 25 preuyded he was beden be þe lord he schulde not take to þe semblaunt ne to þe altitude of þe stature of Helyab but litil David was ennoynted þat afterward reynede. Þe litilnes of þis David lettid hym in no poynt to haue þe victorie of Goly þat was six cubites
 30 long.

¶ ADUERSITE: Mi desir were to be heyzere.

¶ RESOUN: As þou encresis in age: encrese in vertues. panne þou schalt be verili more. & welde a worthi hygnesse.

¶ ADUERSITE: I ham feble of bodi.

35 ¶ RESOUN: A fyn sweerde is ofte houzsed in a roten schepe. & a strong souzle herbored in a feble bodi. Þou art not apt to turne- mentes or to wrastelinges. Perauenture þou hast abelte to honeste

27. *One or two letters erased before* litil.

THE TWO TEXTS PARALLEL

- ¶ Dolor. Corpore imbecillis sum. ¶ Ratio. *Animum fove atque exerce suis artibus quas meliores esse diuturnioresque non ambigis: Laborem corporis linque ruricolis: nautis: fabris.* ¶ Dolor. Nulle mihi ab origine fuere vires.
- ¶ Ratio. At idipsum non habuisse: quam perdidisse tolerabilius est. Nemp-
 5 si fuissent non mansissent. Nam et Milonis senuerunt vires: et *Herculis* senuissent. Non sic Socratis: non Solonis: non nestoris: non Catonis. Melioribus utere: *Nil potest delectare magnum animum quod non duret.* ¶ Dolor. *Corpusculum imbecille est.* ¶ Ratio. *Si organum inhabitanti animo sufficiens fuerit satis est virium. Corpus nanque propter animi servitium fecisse naturam:*
- 10 Nemo tam corporis servus est qui nesciat id si proprio munere fungitur: Quid accusas seu quid amplius requiris? *Nam qui ingenio fragiles: corpore prevalent hi beluis proxime accedunt: et sepe quod miserum est: aliis serviunt.* Sepe vero quod miserrimum: atque ubi humane miserie summa est: animum ipsi suum servire corpori suo cogunt servitute fedissima. ¶ Dolor. Corpus
- 15 invalidum est mihi. ¶ Ratio. *Vera et generosa vis hominis in animo est.* Corpus est quasi quedam domus animi quam robusta: quam fragilis: nihil ad hospitem: paucorum precipue dierum: modo ne corruat: tunc migrandi necessitas in aliud: idque perpetuum domicilium hinc exclusos transfert. Plus dicerem si plus capere posses nec vulgari strepitu prorsus obsurduisses:
- 20 Corpus ipsum non animi domum esse sed carcerem: *nec amicum certe sed domesticum hostem: cuius tibi fragilitas sit optanda quo tu liber maturius sis ac victor.* ¶ Dolor. Nulle sunt mihi vires. ¶ Ratio. Nulle penitus dum valeas: non sunt: quod si non vales: alia est querela. Non ergo nullas vis dicere: sed parvas vires. *Non es robustus: ut ille coetaneus tuus: neque is: ut ille alius*
- 25 *neque ille ut bos ulque elephas: Suus cuique virium modus est:* cuique quod sat esset indulgentior natura distribuit parens optima: et suorum fetuum amantior quam quisque sui. Non potestis de defectu queri de imparitate querimini. Turbidum genus et querulum: qua sublata mundi decor intereat necesse est: sic quod optimum est in rebus id fertis egerime.

30

¶ DE ADVERSA VALITUDINE

DIALOGUS III

- ¶ Dolor. At adversa valitudo est. ¶ Ratio. Quod expectabam audio: cognate etenim sunt querele. *At si caro spiritui hostis est vicissimque contra se militant: Quod in se expertus ille magnus veri amicus: in omnibus verum dixit: conse-*
- 35 *quens est ut quod alteri obest: prosit alteri. Quod si spiritus carne nobilior meliorque est: cui maxime sit favendum vides ac fortassis intelligis valitudinem: quam adversam dicis esse prosperrimam.* ¶ Dolor. Invalida valitudo est.
- ¶ Ratio. At est valida hortatrix parsimonie dehortatrixque libidinum: et magistra modestie. ¶ Dolor. Mala est valitudo corporis. ¶ Ratio. *Si valitudo*
- 40 *animi bona est: pone sollicitudinem: quicquid corpori evenerit: salvus es.* ¶ Dolor. Corpus egrum infirmumque est. ¶ Ratio. Multis ad salutem anime profuit corporis egritudo. *Ille vir altus ex humili: ex aquis vectus ad sydera: celique claviger effectus: cuius umbra sola morbos corporum molestiasque pelle-*
- 45 *bat: Interrogatus aliquando cur filiam ipse suam gravi morbo pressam sineret: respondit: Sic expedit ei. Tu quid scis: an et tibi sic expediat?* ¶ Dolor. Diu

studie. Redines of conseil & prudence of gouernaunce hath rered vp many feble & made hem to sitten *with* princes. Poouz *pou* were al so strong as Sampson whas zif seknesse & age hadden fowten a while *with* þe: þe victorie schulde be heren. Josue Judas Machabe
 5 Ector & Arthour. deth hath taken hem *presoner*es. Verrei strengþe is in þe souzle. for it is *perpetuel* zif it be wel norished. In þinge þat moste nede faileþ a gentil souzle hap no delit.

¶ ADUERSITE: I haue but litil strengþe.

¶ RESOUN: Perchaunce *pou* art not so stronge as he þat is þin
 10 euenehelde. ne he þus as an *opur* þat is of euene age. neþur he zit
 179^a as an hors or an // olifaunt. Eche þing hath his mesure. Poow strengþe haue schewede þe glad semelaunde. zif kyndly wit be inned *with* þe. *pou* hast þe bettere gest. Mightiboned men þat be dulwitted in þe naturel ordere of men kepen þe lowest *degre*. for in þat drawe
 15 þei next to bestis apt to bere lordenes.

¶ ADUERSITE: Mi body is ful feble.

¶ RESOUN: 3if hit be an instrument sufficient to serue þe souzle: it is strong jnow. for þer to was it ordeined. It is *non* conseille to the. but zif *pou* haue forzeten. how Paule þe apostle wrytip. þat þe
 20 flesch is rebel a zens his lord þe spirit. Sithen þe bodi þenne is þi famyliar enemye. his debilite doþ meche for þe. For *with* þe lasse labour maist *pou* be maister.

¶ OF SIKNES

¶ ADUERSITE: Seknesse holdeþ me lowe.

25 ¶ RESOUN: Þanne nedith þe not to borwe a merour to see what þi self art. Þing þat may not dize: may not be sik. Poow siknes be *non* lithsum fere: a feipfullere felow found *pou* neuere to warne þe of þi perelles. As often sik as often sumned to zelden a rekening of þi beli be fore þe hize juge. 3if þi souzle haue good hele kepe it
 30 bisily. & what so happeneth of þi bodi *pou* schalt be safe.

¶ ADUERSITE: I suffre greuouzs siknesse.

¶ RESOUN: Prey pacience helpe þe to bere & lizt schal be þi birthen. Were *pou* frende to þi souzle. *pou* pleynde þe not of þis.

24. Seknesse: *capital illuminated*.

THE TWO TEXTS PARALLEL

corpore sic affectus sum ¶ Ratio Ille idem de quo loquor filiam mox ut
tuto sanam fieri posse cognovit et sanavit et sanandis alius habilem fecit
Et tu facito ut secura tibi sanitas tua sit fortasse sanabere Denique quod
tuum est *animum cura celestique medico curandum offer De reliquo unum*
5 *hoc intrepide dixerim et si non quod iuvat at profecto quod expedit spera*
¶ Dolor Valitudo anxia est ¶ Ratio Est que oblivionem somnumque
discutiat et torporem abigat ¶ Dolor Valitudo infirma est ¶ Ratio In in-
firmitatibus gloriare et virtutem perfice Duo hec unius magistri ore didicisti
¶ Dolor Valitudo misera est ¶ Ratio Comes inivocunda sed fidelis que te
10 *crebro vellit iter signet et conditionis admoneat optimum in periculis moni-*
tor fidus ¶ Dolor Valitudo corporis extrema sine remedio est ¶ Ratio Sile
et gaude ruinoso carcere vinctum te egrediere facilius ac citius

Wilis þe flesch & þe spirit wrastlen to gedere: hinderyng of þe ton is forthing of þe toþere. Fauere (þe) betere. Hadde neuere infirmite haue asailed Job & Tobye: here holinesse hadde not ȝit be fully opened.

179^b 5 ¶ ADUERSITE: Me heuyeþ // *with* my sekenes.

¶ RESOUN: Greuous infirmite makip sober souzle. A wantoun wille to be refreined nedith a bridel of arest. Not alwey þe fader strokes his sones heued. but wanne he findeþ him fawty rebukip him *with* a scour(g)ying. Depertip not þe fleil þe corn fro þe schaf?

10 A bittur drinke purcheth wikkid humour. Wel worth þe wand þat makip wilde childer tame.

¶ ADUERSITE: Whi haue I infirmite? I synnede neuer gretly.

¶ RESOUN: Whi is a wilde colt teyȝed þat neuer harm dede? Þat we be not ouer flowed *with* þe salt water: is long of þe see banges.

15 A bitinge plastere conseruede þe apostele *after* þat he had be rauyched to þe pridde heuene fro þe swellinge of veyn glorie. Jueles þat ben vnder lok in stronge bounde wycches arn in saf warde. How precious a juel þat þi souzle is proueþ þi redempcion. Þe wisest marchaunt of þe worlde paigede þefore a copious raunsum. & for
20 it schulde be surely kept. þou art leid in goddisbondes. Grucche not þat Crist hath loked vp fro þefes his chosen tresour.

¶ ADUERSITE: I prey to god *after* hele. & I ham not herd.

¶ RESOUN: Neþer Paule hadde his askyng. wanne he preizede for remocion of siknes before seid. For þus þe lord answerede: Mi
25 grace sufficyþ to þe. for vertu in infirmite is perfitly mad. A prudent phisician *with* draweþ from his pacient ofte sithes for his beste ping þat is likerous. Seint Peter be whom god heled many maladies myraculusly suffrede his dowter Pernylle to langure in a palsie.

180^a Wenne Titus him freynede what was þe cause. // he answerede þat
30 (it) was to here expedient. Paule ȝaf him not preizere to hele sik Tymope. but he enformede him for to vsin medicyne. What wost þou. what is speedful to þe? Comytte þe cure of thi bodi. to þe souereyne leche & dougteles triste þi liȝf schalt þou haue. or elles god schal dispose. as betere for þe.

35 ¶ ADUERSITE: Mi siknesse is incurable.

2. MS. þou.

9. MS. scourying.

10. MS. þe in margin with caret between worth and wand.

30. MS. is.

¶ DE IGNOBILI PATRIA

DIALOGUS IIII

- ¶ Dolor. *Ignobilis patrie civis sum.* ¶ Ratio. *Esto tu nobilis: Nam nil vetat: nihil cum patrie nobilitate tua nobilitas mixtum habet.* ¶ Dolor. *Parve urbis incola sum.* ¶ Ratio. *Et magne urbes parvos cives habent: Immo fere ex his*
 5 *constant: et parve magnos quosdam habuere. Quin in silvis abiectus ac nutritus Romulus: omnium urbium reginam urbem romam condidit: quam evertere voluit in maxima urbe genitus Catilina.* ¶ Dolor. *In exigua patria natus sum.* ¶ Ratio. *Magnificare illam stude. Nihil eque civitates amplificat*
 10 *ut civium virtus ac gloria.* Qui hoc edificiis aut fertilitate melius atque opibus fieri putat: fallitur: ut singulos viros: sic et urbes et regna et imperia: non vetustas: *non turre ac menia:* non platee: non palatia ac templa marmorea non statue: non picture: non aurum non gemme: non campi legionum et classium pleni portus: non peregrinis referta mercibus emporia: et lucri
 15 *amore equor omne sulcatum: non postremo civium forma vel numerus: non rerum copia exundansque cibis forum: non purpuree chlamydes virorum: onustequ miris cultibus: non fastus: non delitie: non voluptates: sed virtus sola nobilitat:* gestarumque rerum fama quam viri pariunt: non muri. ¶ Dolor. *Parvi municipii civis sum.* ¶ Ratio. *Nescis Biantem Pirenneum fuisse:*
 20 *Pythagoram Samium: Anacharsim Scytham: Democritum Abderitem: Aristotelem Stragyritem: Theophrastum Lesbium: Tullium Arpinatem. Chous Egei maris brevis insula: et poetam non ignobilem Philitem tulit: et medicorum patrem et sculptorum ac pictorum principes: Hippocratem scilicet et Phidiam et Apellem: ut intelligi possit ingeniorum magnitudini locorum*
 25 *angustias non obstande.* ¶ Dolor. *Ignobilis est patria.* ¶ Ratio. *Nobilitare tu illam pro virili parte si velis: potes cum te illa facere non possit ignobilem.* Nec Nume quidem Pompilio ad romanum regnum: nec Septimio Severo ad imperium obstitit soli natalis humilitas. Summo hominum Augusto: et si recens romana: quia ipse scilicet in palatio natus sit: origo tamen gentis
 30 antiquior Veliterna est. Gaio Anthias: Vespasiano autem vici incogniti reatini. Contra vero Larisseam famam vulgavit Eacides: et Peleum a seculis fuscum nomen atque humile: quod Philippus erexerat: Alexander ad celum tulit. Non satis est civibus obscuritatem patrie non nocere: nisi civium claritas patrie prosit. Asylum ignobile atque opus pastorium roma fuit: que non ante
 35 claresceret quam res illam geste et suorum virtus excellens civium illustrasset. ¶ Dolor. *Obscure patrie sum addictus.* ¶ Ratio. *Lumen virtutis accende: quo inter tenebras enitescas: in quibus hoc saltem boni erit: ut vel parva luce clarissimus videre: sic vel illa te clarum faciet: vel tu illam.* ¶ Dolor. *Humilis patrie habitator sum.* ¶ Ratio. *Esto et tu humilis habitatorque tui animus*
 40 *humilis sit. Habes publice matris exemplum: ne te nido latius extendas nisi his tantum quas tibi virtus alas fecerit. His enim uti licitum: usosque feliciter*
 38. *Ven. vel tu illa.*

THE TWO TEXTS PARALLEL

¶ RESOUN: Þanne glad be þi spirigt. his presoun is ruynouzs he schal þe sunnere be deliuerid.

¶ OF VNNOBLE CUNTRE

¶ ADUERSITE: I whas born in a cuntre of litil reputacion.

5 ¶ RESOUN: Be þou þi self noble & þou art neuer þe lesse worthi. Þou may worschepe þi cuntre. & it may do þe no vilany. Of þi nobilite & of þe nobilite of þi cuntre may no medle be mad. Þe dymmere þat þe fame of þi cuntre is: þe lithlier may þe bryztnesse of þi name be sene. for in derk place. litil lizt is sone aspied. Þis
10 witnessith þe storie of þe good woman Ruth. Her vertu is now more known þorw al holichirche be cause þat sche was of þe region of Moab: þanne þat sche hadde be born in middis of Ierusalem. Lucifer þou may be a schamed þat þou where made in heuene. for & þou haddist ben made in erpe: þi falle hadde semed þe lasse.

15 ¶ ADUERSITE: I whas born in a litil þorpe.

¶ RESOUN: Often tymes grete treis springen vp in streyt gardeines. Narwnes of place withstandeþ neþur wit neþur vertu. Aristotele & Ypocras men of gret sciens. were of smale townes.
180^b Ouzr sauyouur. chese not. to // be born in Ierusalem nor in Rome þat
20 were rial cetes but in þe town of Bedleem þat was meche lesse of fame. Þe nobilite of a cete stondeþ neþer in hize toures nor in grete riches: but in famouse storye of þe induellande. Place makeþ no man holy: but man makeþ holy place. Sum men pride hem alle one of nobeley of þere cuntre. Þat is a frenetik pride.

4. Aduersite: *Capital illuminated.*

12. MS. þat *superscript* between þanne and sche with caret in between.

THE TWO TEXTS PARALLEL

complures modo diximus. Proinde mortalis hoc saltem insolentie frenum tene. *Quidam de sola patrie nobilitate superbiunt: Stultum genus.*

¶ DE ORIGINIS OBSCURITATE

DIALOGUS V

- 5 ¶ *Dolor. Obscuris parentibus natus sum. ¶ Ratio. Non est forsitan ut tu reris odiosa conditio: nescio an et optabilis ignobilem nasci: utramvis vite viam spectes. Nam seu voluptatibus obsequi: vulgique vestigiis tritum iter sequi statuis excusabilior fiet veri ducibus domesticis carens error cessabitque impropriū illud acerrimum degenerantium a parentibus claris: eo quod*
- 10 *nulla tibi domi sit claritas quam obscuras: Sin virtutis semitam raro pede signatam eligis: eo clarior fies: quo maioribus tenebris pressus ac circumventus emergeris: tota claritas erit verum particeps tuarum ullus occurret. Nullam partem glorie decerpitura erit imitatio. Nihil tibi parentes eripient: nihil avi proavique: nihil consiliarii ac magistri: Quicquid bene gesseris: solus inde famam metes: solus inde laudaberis: solus auctor generis fundatorque vocaberis: quod non fieret si nobilis natus esses. Vides ne igitur quanta tibi nove laudis occasio data est: Nobilem per te fieri: et nobilitatem dare non accipere. Dabis hoc posteris tuis ut nobiles nascantur: quod parentes tibi non dederunt tui. Plus est multo nobilitatem fundare quam fundatam ab aliis invenisse. ¶ Dolor.*
- 20 *Nova et rudis origo est. ¶ Ratio. Atqui clarior est habitus ille pastorius urbis rome conditor: quod in silvis arcem posuit: et facili culmo exiguum ac squallentem regiam texit: quam tot postea principes qui ingentia menia testudinesque marmoreas atque aureas erexere: tanta semper novitatis egregie ac magni principii laus est. ¶ Dolor. Ignobili primordio genitus sum.*
- 25 ¶ *Ratio. Stude ut fine sis nobili. De principiis enim labor: de fine fructus qui si immaturus carpitur: longevus esse non potest. ¶ Dolor. Radicem glorie precidit ignobilitas. ¶ Ratio. Non precidit quidem: sed infodit altius ut validior licet senior surgat. Ceterum non ignobiles modo sed ignotos ex omni genere hominum dabo: qui virtute atque industria evasere notissimi. Et sane si verum nobilem virtus facit: non intelligo quid quemque volentem fieri nobilem impediatur: aut quid ita facilius sit nobilitare alios quam seipsum.*
- ¶ *Dolor. Ex ignobilibus parentibus descendo. ¶ Ratio. Quid Socrates: Euripides: Demosthenes: quorum primus marmorarium patrem habuit: obstetricem matrem: secundus matre patreque: ultimus non solum humilibus*
- 35 *sed incertis. Vester ille Virgilius rusticanis parentibus fuit: Nec se libertino ac precone patre natum Flaccus erubuit: Ambo tamen ad insignem gloriam et summi principis gratiam pervenere: usque adeo ut cui reges omnes colla submiserant: cuius e manibus magna omnia poscebantur: atque unde omnium ferme mortalium precipueque nobilium spes pendebant: cuius demum*
- 40 *familiarem promeruisse notitiam summis licet hominibus summum erat: Ipse horum duorum ignobilium: quos romam scilicet Mantuanum Venusinumque rus miserat amicitiam et convictum ceu grande aliquid blandis ac dulcibus epistolis flagitaret: et quam multos tunc in palatio nobiles ut sepe sunt inutiles atque indoctos credimus fuisse: quibus horum nobilis ignobilitas atque invidiosa: nec immerito videretur. ¶ Dolor. Parentibus sum obscuris.*

¶ OF PORE BIRDE

¶ ADUERSITE: Þe stok of my natiuite is simple & pore.

¶ RESOUN: Mater of mekenesse is non odiouzs condicioun. What
menep þe but vanite þat þou wolt þat men taled of þe þat were
5 come of higze blod? Fro depe rotes and derke proceden deleitable
braunches. 3if fortune or vertu profer þe frenchip þou may lefulli
ascende & zif hit happe þat þou sitte in a place of dignite þi glorie
schal (þe) not be denyed. Among þi progenitoures. þou schalt haue
alle þe hole preisinge. What so euer þou weel dost þou schalt repe
10 þe pank þi silff. & zif þou haue lawful issu þou schalt be kald a
foundere of a gentil lenage. wich name þou mayst not kalenge be
rzt zif þi aunceteres hadde ben noble. Deme now weþur is fairere
to zeue cleernesse with þe sunne. or lizt to borwe with þe mone.

¶ ADUERSITE: Homly folk & rude brouzt me in to þis worlde.

15 ¶ RESOUN: Þou art þe more excusable zif þou be rude þi silf. &
zif þou be man of sich honeste þat þou be worthili magnified þe
181^a brizt bemes of þi fame schal worschipe // alle thi kynne. Virgil
was of low kynne. zit þe sors of his wisdom was of so swete an
odour: þat it was deynte to princes to haue knowlech of him. Þat
20 þe sonas of pore men gouernen may riche remes. telle it for no
typingges: for it is no nouelte. Azenward þe nobleye of many
gentilmennes children suffren sich a clips þat wereof þei profiten
vnnepe it is perceyued. Emperours & kynges sitte þei neuere so
hize. here trone trembliþ vndur hem but vertu holde hem vp. Fiche
25 þi feet þer fore in þe path of vertu for be his grees maist þou most
sekirli ascende.

¶ ADUERSITE: ¶ I ham komen of koterelles.

¶ RESOUN: Open it is þat fortune scheweth not chere jlik to alle
men at here first komyng in to þis world. for summe sch(e) lullith in
30 cloþis of gold & on summe sche voucheþ saf vnneþes a fewe ragges.

2. Aduersite: *capital illuminated*.

8. MS. schal not be not denied.

20. MS. riche *in margin with caret between may and remes*.

28. MS. openen.

29. MS. sch.

- ¶ Ratio. Non movent animum hec exempla: Altioribus agam. Marcus Cicero: ut de illo scriptum est: ex ordine natus equestri de radice humili per egregias artes perque honestos gradus ad consulatum venit: quo nescio an alter unquam salubrior rei publice consulatus fuerit. ¶ Dolor. Rustica et
5 ignota patrum series est mihi. ¶ Ratio. Sordent hec ut video: Altius etiam nunc aspiras. Certe et Marius rusticanus vir: sed vere vir ut concivis suus ait Cicero: diu arator apud Marsos fuerat: rome septies consul fuit: Tanta gloria: ut bis Italiam obsidione et metu servitutis liberasse eum compatriota licet idem suus vere dixerit: et Marcus Cato plebeie vir originis parvique
10 opidi diu quidem obscurus incola: post in maxima urbe clarissimus advena: mox civis eximius et consul et censor fuit. Si ne id quidem satis est et fortasse regnum cogitas: Profecto neque illud sperare suffragio meritum humilitas vetat originis: Tertium et quintum et sextum romanorum regum ad memoriam refert Tullus Hostilius: ut probati perhibent auctores: et si apud alios
15 de illo tale nihil scriptum sit: infans in agresti tugurio educatus: in adolescentia pastor fuit. Tarquinius priscus patre negociatore advena: nec Italice insuper originis. Servius Tullus: serva: quamvis: ut alii volunt: captiva quidem: alioquin vero nobili matre natus: virtute regnum rome meruit. *Nec miraberis si Platonium illud tenes: Neminem regem non ex servis: neminem servum non ex regibus descendere.* Sic res hominum: longa etas ac fortuna permiscuit. Sileo ceterarum reges gentium: e pecudum gregibus vilissimarumque artium tabernis ad inopinum subito diadema subvectos. Alexander Macedo hortulanum in Asia regem fecit. Et fuit ex illis actibus laudatis iste non ultimus. Contraque alios sileo: e regni fastigio ad servitium usque pro-
20 lapsos. Sic suas res fortuna moderatur: tamen plurimum potest virtus. *Per illam tuto conscenditur ad supremos gradus cuius calle deserto: sciant reges se in tremulo stare neque descensum modo instare sed ruinam.* Que nam igitur: ut ad te redeam: ista calamitas nascendi cui nec spes regnandi eripitur nec successus? ¶ Dolor. Obscura de radice prodeo. ¶ Ratio. *Omnis radix obscura et squalida est: unde tamen et floridi et frondentes rami prodeunt.* Non unde quicquam prodierit sed quale sit queritur. ¶ Dolor. Parentibus infimis natus sum. ¶ Ratio. Sentio summum ad imperium stilum vocas. Septimius Severus de quo supra diximus: equestris et ipse ordinis. Helius pertinax et ipse libertini filius et lignorum vilis utique negociator mercis: uterque romano preluit
35 Imperio: cui et Philippus pater ac filius Arabes humillimi generis: et Maximinus et Maximus prefuere. Obscurissimis ille parentibus ac barbaris: quorumque cum arepto imperio: puderet: hic ferrario an lignario patre genitus incertum. Certe Vespasianus inter bonos principes numeratus: e non clara stirpe clarissimus et rempublicam gessit eximie: et duos ex ordine filios
40 successores imperii virtutis unum habuit: Quamquam quid minora prosequimur: cum super ipsius Augusti cesaris origine ambiguitas multa sit? Summa est humane cursum sortis origine non preverti: *Undecumque licet assurgere: seu fortuna manum porrigat seu virtus.* ¶ Dolor. Humile nimis atque infimum genus est. ¶ Ratio. Quod ad humane potentie gradum spectat

But *grace* is of a more *gentil condicioun*. What mannes childe þat
 euere hit be þat komeþ to þe fonstone. sche welkomeþ hit worschip-
 fulli & clenly a raizeth it & alle þo childryn þat dame *grace* kissiþ
 ben so acceptable to þe kyng of kyngges þat he makeþ hem gentil
 5 folk & wol be callid here fader. Sik not þoow þou were born nakid
 of sibreden of wordli princes wilis þou art son to sich an emperour &
 coseyn vn to seyntes. Falle not fro þat fairehed þou toke in þi bap-
 tim & þou maist lawfulli cleyne heuene for heritage. Þou tellist
 þat þin beginnyng was of pore reputacion: studie to haue a glorious
 181^b 10 ende. // Affter þe frute is þat is lengest abiden. is a tree demed
 good or badde.

¶ ADUERSITE: I ham komen of a pore nest.

¶ RESOUN: So is þe most part of men. Þe nedip to be a schamed
 þou ast so faire a felawschepe. Neuerþeles þus seith þe philosophur
 15 Plato. þat þer is no kyng but he kam of seruantes neþer no seruaunt
 but he kam of kynges. Was not Sauzel of low degre þat wente (to)
 seken his faderis assis? Kepte not Daudid his faderes schep? & zit
 þe prophit Samuel ennoyntede hym boþe kynges to regne vp on
 Israel. Þe moder of *our sauyour* whas a pore mannes wif sche leide
 20 here sone in a crasche in stede of a cradel. In *non* hyze halle but in
 a simple howsel was þat babe founden. Feyre maiden where were
 þe curteynes of þi bed? Þou wantede riche clopes to leize þi child
 jinne. O. swete *Iesu* þi most pore natiuite schul descounfed oure
 prouзде hertes. wenne we ben a schamed of oure pore progeny.
 25 Alwey fy on pride.

16. MS. so.

24. MS. oure *superscript with caret between of and* pore.

- exempla posuimus quibus iam iri altius non possit unum restat non imperio aut regno sed suapte alia quadam maiestate memorabile Ventidius bassus esculanus matre humili patre ignoto capta patria iam pubes in triumpho Cnei Pompeii Strabonis qui pompeii magni genitor fuit inter captivos alios
5 ductus Idem postea variante fortuna dux populi Romani contra Parthorum regem et antiqua potentia et recenti victoria insolentem felicissimo pugnavit eventum et filio regis interfecto cesisque hostium legionibus quod ad eum diem nulli romanorum ducum fata promiserant insignem illam romanorum stragem et Crassorum mortem magnificentissime ultus ipsum in quo victus
10 alienos currus ornaverant ac carcerem vinctus intraverat victor ac triumphans capitolium propriis curribus honestavit et Romanum carcerem acie captivorum hostium implevit Et quo gratius spectaculum esset mirabiliorque victoria eodem ipso die parta erat revolutis annis quo clades illa terribilis apud Carras accepta fuerat Quis ambitiosus adeo tamque avidus
15 regni est ut non hanc gloriam sine regno quam inglorium regnum malit? *Et quid oro nocuit Ventidio ad felicitatem et ad summum decus quod humiliter natus esset* et prima etate fortuna humili usus ac misera? Certe virum esculi despectum Roma suscepit et claris suorum civium nominibus illud peregrini fuscum nomen inseruit He sunt ad ascensum scale *hi virtutum gradus*
20 *quibus non ad gloriam modo altioremq̃ fortunam nitendo sperando vigilando sed ad celum usque pervenias* Proinde et tu natus humiliter *ut conscendas entere primum et ultimum virtutis in vestigio pedem figens nec declinans alicubi nec subsistens* ¶ Dolor Humile principium fuit ¶ Ratio Illud preterit que sequuntur cogita Nec me latet ut primus et ultimus vite dies
25 quibusdam visi sunt humane conditionis statum maxime moderari sive ut ipsi dicunt continere De ultimo nempe consenserim de primo autem non ita Et si enim ut ipsi volunt plurimum intersit quibus auspiciis inchoetur Et si cum his sentiens Satyricus ubi de ipso loquitur Ventidio ita scripserit Discas enim que sydera te excipiant modo primos incipientem edere vagitus
30 et adhuc a matre rubentem Nos tamen ista respuimus et hec auspicia et hanc tantam syderum vim negamus conditori almo syderum omnia relinquentes a quo creatum nullum penitus ab hoc virtutis et felicitatis et glorie calle secludimus ¶ Dolor Humilitas generis multa est ¶ Ratio *Quid tu autem? Multam ne superbiam esse malle?* Aut quid hinc tibi nunc deesse
35 sentis nisi ne fumosis imaginibus atrium truncisque statuibus bustumque familie semesis plenum titulis spectaculo pretereuntibus tibi insanie sit *qua in trivis de his quos non noveris elato supercilio fabuleris?* ¶ Dolor Ignobilis natus sum ¶ Ratio Ignobile non nasci tantum sed et vivere quibusdam felicitas visa est An in Tusculano saltem a Cicerone positum non
40 legisti illud potentissimi regis anapestum qui laudat senem et fortunatum esse dicit quod inglorius sit atque ignobilis ad supremum diem perventurus

¶ DE OBSCENA ORIGINE

DIALOGUS VI

- ¶ Dolor Origo non tantum humilis sed obscena est ¶ Ratio Vera et summa
45 obscenitas una est animi Illam si dempseris pulchra sunt omnia ¶ Do-

THE TWO TEXTS PARALLEL

¶ OF BIRTHE IN LECCHERIE

¶ ADUERSITE: I was juel born for ouzte of matrimonye.

2. Aduersite: *capital illuminated.*

- lor. Male natus sum. ¶ Ratio. Qui bene vivit bene nascitur: bene moritur. At qui male vixerit bene natus esse non potest. Nam quid refert quam fulgido tramite cecus incesserit: aut quid refert unde venias: si in miseriam et in culpam venis? ¶ Dolor. In peccato genitus sum. ¶ Ratio. Deflet hoc quidem
- 5 ille vir maximus. Et profecto nemo non in peccato nascitur. *Caveat autem graviora superaddere: quamquam ne his quoque purgatio sua desit: sed prima illa deformitas in ipso sepe vite limine sacris undis abluitur niveusque animam candor subit.* ¶ Dolor. Male me parentes genuere. ¶ Ratio. Quid ad te quisquis male genuerit: tu bene genitus fuisti nisi alieno flagitio tuum
- 10 iungis. ¶ Dolor. Fede pudet originis. ¶ Ratio. Iam quod alieno tumescitis non miror: et alieno simul erubescitis: Et omnino ubique potius quam in vobis et bona et mala vestra reponitis: que alibi tamen quam in vobis esse non possunt. Quod nisi pudendum ipse aliquid penitendum ve egeris: *quod tuum crimen: aut quis pudor impudicus pater? tu modo ne paterni dedecoris*
- 15 *hereditatem adeas cave: atque illi dissimillimus hac in parte fieri stude.* Qui te ignarum genuit: invito tibi suas maculas impressisse non potuit. In te sit et ex te prodeat necesse est unde obscurus aut clarus fias. ¶ Dolor. Inhonestis parentibus in lucem veni. ¶ Ratio. Omnis parens honestus filio videri debet: sed non ut verendus: sic sequendus: omnis filio parens: Est ubi deseruisse
- 20 consilium sit. Eia igitur in diversum abi: si verus est parens deseri volet: seque non suum vitium amari optabit. Unus hic inventus est modus: quo parentum nomen premere et calcare gloriosum filiis ac decorum sit vivendo aliter: castius scilicet ac sanctius. De parentibus inhonestis lingua filii taceat dissimilitudo vite: morum: actuum non taceat. Pulchra laus filii: cui a tergo
- 25 dicitur: O quantum sene suo modestior adolescens: Contraque nulla gravior senilis nota lascivie: quam admota illi pudicitia iuvenilis: Equidem si parentum gloria filiis male viventibus onerosa est: quanto fasce verecundie filiorum laus patrum male viventium premit infamiam. ¶ Dolor. Damnata de venere procreatus sum. ¶ Ratio. Atqui malle debes impudici patris honestus filius
- 30 esse et dici: quam honesti impudicus. *In omni enim seu laude seu vituperatione illa precipue estimanda sunt que cuiusque sunt propria. De alieno nemo iuste reprehenditur seu laudatur:* Et si ut dixi vestrum quicquid id est: conspectus fiat suo contrario admotum. Ceterum ut cuiusque propria laus aut infamia est: sic laudis aut infamie propria causa sit oportet. Neque vero ut unius
- 35 gladio alter perit: utque unius flammis res alterius uritur: sic unius culpa etiam fama perit alterius: eo quod animi bona solidiora sunt quam corporis aut fortune: ut invito nequeant possessore violari. ¶ Dolor. *Contra fas contraque leges genitus sum.* ¶ Ratio. Nil tu contra leges sed parentes tui egerunt: tu secundum leges age omnia. *In hoc quidem nullum penitus tuum crimen fuit:*
- 40 *de ortu tuo alii tu de moribus tuis rationem reddes. Et quamvis odio vage libidinis in immerentes filios ultio legum civilium extendatur: deus tamen quenquam suis finibus metitur: nec filii iniquitatem patri imputat: nec filio patris.* Ipsam quoque philosophiam iudicare aliter solitam: quam leges ab ipsis philosophis accepisti. Legibus ergo oppressus divino simul ac philosophico iudicio relevatus: habes animum unde soleris: *Neque enim tibi ut privati patrimonii sic publice virtutis hereditas interdicta est.* Illa enim institutis hominum: hec meritis datur: et antequam nascereris: ut nil glorie: sic profecto nihil infamie

¶ RESOUN: Lefe wel & dize wel. & panne schal þi birþe. be to þe no *preiudice*. Azenward ȝif þou dize in dedli synne & þou come of seyntes hit schulde not helpen þe. What *profetid* it Esaw þat was reproued of god for his juel leuyng. þat Isaak. his fader was a
 5 seynte. or what noiȝede it Abraham þat his fader Thare dede honour aliene goddes? In ech *preisynge* in eche blamyng: *propere* dedes ben to be charched. For aliene *vertu*. for aliene *crime* is non man iustli *preisid* ne lakkid.

¶ ADUERSITE: I was vnlawfulli goten.

182^a 10 ¶ RESOUN: Nowt þou but fader & // moder wrouzt a ȝen þe lawe. Be þou not þe heiere in vnlawful leuyng. Enforce þe in þis *perti* to be vnlik to hem of þi *conuersacioun* & nouȝt how þou ware goten. At domes day schalt þou ȝeue a countes. More ouere þow þe lawe reuerently faueringe þe sacrament of wedlok ponysch on
 15 diuerse maneres children vnborn in mulori. he þat is endeles wisdam hath ȝeuen þis decre. þat þe sone schal not bere þe wickidnes of þe fader. & þow þe comen lawe inhibete þe to take holy orderes. in holi wryt is non obstacle þen þouȝ may be an holy lyuere. Statutes also suffre not þat þou be a lawful heire of erpeli possessioun: but
 20 lefe þou *vertuosly* & þe herytage of heuene schal not to þe be entirdyte.

¶ ADUERSITE: I was gotyn in leccherye.

¶ RESOUN: As it seid be fore. *þer* of art þou not to wyte. Þou hast *þer* by occasioun of mekenes not of heuynesse. Þe *vertu* ne þe
 25 swete smel of þe rose is neuere þe lesse. þat his moder is a þorn. Vse honeste in lyuyng & þou mayt haue no betere besom to swepe a wey þe motes of infames birþe.

10. In lower margin of 181^b the catchword moder.

16. decre: illegible c corrected by superscript c.

23. to superscript with caret between not and wyte.

THE TWO TEXTS PARALLEL

- meruisti. ¶ Dolor. Origo illicita et incesta est. ¶ Ratio. Quid de incestu: quidve de adulterio nasci queat: indicio sunt Romulus et Alcides. Perses Macedonie: Jugurtha Numidie rex fuit: uterque legitimis fratribus regno exclusis: malo quidem more pessimisque artibus sed exclusis tamen Alexander Macedo Philippi dictus: cuius vere sit creditus audisti. Denique Philip-
 5 pum extremo vite Alexandrum non suum filium predicare solitum: Idque sibi ultro confessam Olympiadem: hancque ob causam repudio dimissam scriptores rerum prodidere. Constantinus ipse ex concubina genitus licet insigni pre legitimis fratribus ad imperium venit. Adderem his Arturum
 10 regem nisi quod historiis miscere fabulas nihil est aliud quam mendacio veri fidem imminuere. Ad summam vero: non est quod te deiciat origo: Undecumque ortos virtus extulerit satis est glorie. ¶ Dolor. Male natus sum. ¶ Ratio. *bene vive: bene morere: qualiter natus sis: nec tuum est: nec meminisse quidem potes: nec magnopere inquiras: quod ad te non pertinet: nisi forte ut*
 15 *humilior mitiorque: non ut mestior sis.* ¶ Dolor. Turpiter natus sum. ¶ Ratio. *Morum candor et claritas vite: non maculas modo: sed memoriam omnem fide originis delebunt.* Hoc remedium dum licet arripe: aliud mihi crede nullum est. ¶ Dolor. Pudet infamium parentum. ¶ Ratio. Pone hunc pudorem: Unus omnium pater deus: una omnium mater terra.

20

¶ DE SERVITUTE

DIALOGUS VII

- ¶ Dolor. *Servus in hanc vitam intravi.* ¶ Ratio. *Ne doleas: liber egrediere velis modo: sicut multi qui ex adverso intrarunt liberi: servi exhibunt.* ¶ Dolor. Serviliter natus sum. ¶ Ratio. Liberaliter vive: meliore tui parte liberum
 25 esse nil prohibet: *una est peccati servitus gravissima:* sed que premere nescit invitos: *Illam excute liber eris.* ¶ Dolor. *Servum fieri voluit fortuna.* ¶ Ratio. Potest velle contrarium: Et si moribus suis utitur: scis quid speres. Nosti monstrum illud: nosti ludos et prestygia: *non liber modo: sed domini tui dominus fieri potes:* quamquam quid velit aut quid nolit: nihil ad rem: ut
 30 sit inexorabilis: quod interdum est: nullum illa tamen in animum ius habet. In omni autem adversus illam certamine ab illius hoste poscendum auxilium. Sepe quem fortuna servum: liberum virtus fecit. ¶ Dolor. *Servitio premor gravi.* ¶ Ratio. Jugum qui fert volens leve efficit. Ostendam tibi lenimen unicum ac peculium immortale: *dominique tui quamvis potentis arbitrio*
 35 *exemptum:* quod te liberum, atque ipso domino ditiores faciet: Sapientie studio incumbet: Illa te in libertatem asseret. Dictum Catonis est a Cicerone firmatum. Solus sapiens liber est: ea scilicet libertate qua certior nulla est.
 ¶ Dolor. *Sub durissimis dominis vitam traho.* ¶ Ratio. *Nulla re melius quam fide et obsequio molliuntur: et fortassis adeo ut quod multis accidit: inde tibi*
 40 *ventura sit libertas:* unde te servum luges: forsitan et aliunde. Hunc siquidem temporalis dominus liberat: hunc eternus. Scis quanto periculo Malchus minas heri persequentis evaserit: sed evasit tamen. Interim de domino sic cogita: hic te nutrit tuique curam omnem in se transtulit: Cum libertate sollicitudinem amisisse: quid nisi utile damnum voces? Multis serva libertas:
 45 multis est libera servitus. Non tam grave iugum hominum quam curarum

¶ OF BONDACHE

ADUERSITE: I ham boonde. sich is myn hap.

¶ RESOUN: Pe greuest bondage þat may be is to be sugget to synne. Ley not þi schuldres vnder þe ȝok of malice. & þenne is þi
 5 better þat is þi souȝle free. Aristotele wrytip. *þat sum men ben*
seruaundes be lawe. & sum men be kynde. A naturel seruaund is he
 10 wos souȝle is vnable to haue þe ȝifte of discrecioun. for siche men
 182^b (ben) vn apt to bere þe ȝerde of gouernaunce. A legale // seruaunt
 is he whom fortune or self wille hap feterid *with* þe bond of bondage.
 15 Be þou þanne besi in þi gostli chaumbre of wisdom & vertu to make
 a tresory. So may þou dignify þi self to be þi lordes lord ȝif his inwit
 be bareyne & naked of resoun. Certis dame fortune failip power to
 spoile vertu of his gentilnes.

¶ ADUERSITE: I was bore bonde.

15 ¶ RESOUN: Serue truly þi god & þou schalt dize a fre man. for
 wete þou þis wele þat many fre born men *with* displesaunce of her
 makere hauen be trappid hem self in endeles þraldam. I rede ones

2. Aduersite: *Capital illuminated.*

8. MS. siche men vn apt.

16. MS. pis in margin with caret between pou and wele.

est: qui hoc excusserit: illud ferat equanimis. Huic tu servus, huic uni es deditus: immo hic tibi: hic tuus est dominus: immo procurator est tuus. *Non habebis honores equidem, nec labores publicos: non simultatum studiis: non forensibus procellis: et consiliorum volubilitate rotaberis: non navigii*
5 tarditas: non agri sterilitas aut annonae caritas te torquebit. Has molestias domino tuo linquens: sepe illo dormies vigilante. ¶ Dolor. Difficilis et imperiosus est dominus. ¶ Ratio. Non sine causa illi in sortem obvenisse in animo tuo pone. Quicquid igitur iustum iubet: deum ipsum iubere credito. Sin
10 iniustum aliquid: maioris domini meminisse conveniet: qui ut te ad honesta quamvis difficilia servum patitur: sic ad inhonesta vult liberum. Sic intelligo quod gloriosorum terre vereque fidei principum: alter servos dominis carnalibus obedire per omnia: alter vero subditos esse in omni timore dominis precipit: Illud adiiciens: *ut hoc non tantum bonis et modestis exhibeant: sed etiam discolis:* neque enim de domino iudicare servum decet: sed mores eius
15 qualescunque perferre. Quo enim immitior dominus: eo clarior patientia servi est. Et hec est gratia cuius apud horum alterum sit mentio: nec tamen ut mores pati: sic et imperia exequi semper oportet. *Sunt enim que iustissime recusentur: si imperio domini superioris adversa sint: Cui si conferatur hic tuus dominus: non dominus sed conservus habebitur. Sic ergo per omnia dominis*
20 *obediant servi: si iusta precipiunt:* non difficultas retrahat: non labor: non obsequia vel negata premia: vel quod est in rebus amarissimum: irrogata supplicia: In omnibus obediant: modo iniustitia atque inhonestas abfuerit: Alioquin contumacia et libertas: atque ipsum pectus et iugulus iniquis preceptis ac turpibus opponendus est: servandumque memoriter: quod premisorum alter ait: qui cum servos obedire per omnia dominis precipisset: addidit: Non ad oculum servientes quasi hominibus placentes: sed in simplicitate cordis timentes dominum. Ex his vides status tui conditio que nam sit: Non totus est servus qui ad indigna imperia cogi nequit. ¶ Dolor. Superbo domino servio. ¶ Ratio. Quid scis an ille superiori domino serviat?
30 Forsan uxori: forsan meretricule: forsan his ipsis quibus imperat: Quot suorum servorum servos undique cernimus? Postremo que durissima omnium est servitus: forsan et ipse sibi: hoc est vitiis et passionibus ac violentis affectibus suis servit? Quid vis dicam? Pauci in veritate sunt liberi: et si qui sunt: eo illis laboriosior vita est quo altior. *Multo enim citius multoque facilius*
35 *fidelis servi quam iusti regis implentur officia.* Diocletiani iam privati et de preterito iudicantis: et experientia edocti dictum memorabile est. Nihil difficilius quam bene imperare: Propter quod videri potest ipsum quidem imperium dimisisse. Tu igitur sortem tuam letus amplectere: *fuscam fateor atque humilem: sed facilem ac tranquillam: nisi forte feliciorum reris in spectaculo anhelantem quam in cubiculo quiescentem.* ¶ Dolor. In servitium mea mens impulit. ¶ Ratio. Libens facito quod oportet: Est et illud quoque notissimum: ac necessitatibus humanis aptissimum consilium. Cupias quodcunque necesse est: sic vim ipsam necessitatis eluseris. *Fer fortune sarcinam patienter:* quam quidam etiam sponte subiere. Utque alios servitio liberarent:
45 sibi servitium delegere. In quibus est clarissimum Paulini nomen Nolani

3. Ven. simulatum.

44. Ven. liberaret.

in Job. þat *per* is no þing in erþe don *with* ouȝten cause. *Pou* wost þis wel þat he þat suffrede þe to be born bonde myȝhte haue made þe an emperour. but perchaunce zif þou drank of þe chalis of reuerence. þi binyng is so feble it wolde make þe toty. Two þinges *per* ben
 5 to gouerne & to be gouerned þe secounde is þe sekerer. For þi lei þin ere to þe preching of seynt Petre: Be ze seruantes sogetes to ȝour souereynes. ze þoow þei ben trewauntes. in leful þinges & lawfull. for zif it happede—þat Crist forbede—þat thi lord comaundede owt þat is to Crist contrarie þou art asoiled in þat forme his
 10 obediense. for þoow he be þi lord here: as anemptis god he is but *with* þe a seruaut.

¶ ADUERSITE: I suppose neuere in þis lizf be opur but a seruaut.

¶ RESOUN: *Pou* haddest wele in þis lizf: for after þis lizf is non
 15 sekur seruice. Who so serueþ god best in þis valei of teres: lord in þi holi mownteyn he schal sitten heizest. For þe to serue: is to regne. In erthe a knaue in heuene a kyng. þis is a gloriouȝs chaunge. Ȝit take hede. here hast þou non worschepe but filynge labourus. But
 183^a wat þou art discharched of foreyn tempestis! // Þouȝ schalt not be
 20 hurled nopur sent affter to gret conseilles nepur to sessiounes. How so euere þe world waggeth þou mayt not falle fer. Who so sittip on þe bare grounde þow his sete be symple he restip more safly þan zif he sat on hyȝe towres.

¶ ADUERSITE: Þe charche ob bondage weyith heuy vp on my
 25 nekke.

¶ RESOUN: Frowardnesse of wille fond neuer zit lizt birþen. and what is more folie þan whanne a lode is greuouȝs to leye more to? Þi grucching weihþ more þan doth þi seruyse. And how mayt þou pleyne þe þat þou art heuy charched siþthen þou gost half void? Þoow
 30 þi bodi fele bondache. þi souȝl may perse heuene & haue contemplacion of heuene delices. Þe myȝhtes of þi souȝle may walke a mong þe ierarchies. Now to heuene now to erþe maist þou sende þi þouȝtes as þe good likip. *Per* is non erthely lord may priue þe of þis fraunchis. Þe wise clerk Plato was taken of þefes. sold. & so mad
 35 þral. & lowtede to þe biddynnges of a wicked tyraunt. But Jerom recorderþ. þat for he was a philosophore. he was betere þan his biȝ-

4-5. to expuncted in MS. between ben and to.

30. MS. fele liberte followed in margin by 'i' bondache apparently added later by the same scribe in smaller handwriting.

THE TWO TEXTS PARALLEL

- presulis cuius spontanee servitutis exitus felix ut debuit fuit *Quidam parvo se precio vendidit ut servi effecti suos dominos peccati vinculis absolverent atque ad veram reducerent libertatem* in quibus Serapion quidam egyptius heremicola nobilitatus est Hec tibi magis exempla profuerint quam lamenta
- 5 Experire et tu tale aliquid quo vel utilis alteri vel facilis tibi saltem servitus tua sit Non id quidem quod non habeas optare sed eo quod habeas bene uti sapientis est Illud omnibus contingit hoc paucis ¶ Dolor Mortali domino mortalis servio ¶ Ratio Immortali servire incipe Ille tibi et libertatem spondet et regnum *quamvis et in hoc statu nec honestis artibus operam*
- 10 *dare nec sperare meliora sit vetitum* Et Terentius servus fuit et didicit haud servili quidem ingenio et comedias scripsit haud servili stilo quo et libertatem et inter poetarum duces meruit locum *Quomodo ergo virtutem solidum anime bonum servitus impedit que nec adventitia studia nec exter-*
- 15 *nam gloriam impedire potest* Plato ipse in servitium delatus tamen ut *scriptum est quia philosophus maior emente se fuit Generosa professio que maiorem domino servum facit* Et est haud dubie servus eruditus eo maior indocto domino quo fortuna qualibet maior est animus *et in libero corpore serva mens habitat et in servo libera* Obstare servitus potest fori actibus non animi Curia servum respuit at non virtus non industria non fides Titon
- 20 Ciceronis servus fuit sed his artibus libertatem adeptus elegantem de patroni iocis librum posteris liquit Non potest servus imperator exercitus aut Senator esse at philosophus at orator at vir bonus potest Aliquando etiam discusso servitio imperator et rex quoque Neque ad regnum modo et imperium ab hoc gradu pervenisse aliquos novimus sed ad celum ipsum
- 25 Non potest servus militare homini deo potest eiusque militie stipendium est regnare Dei servus rex est omnium socius angelorum horror demonum Dei autem servus et servus hominis esse potest atque ita celesti felicitati terrena servitus nihil nocet ¶ Dolor Servus sum ¶ Ratio Si semper fuisti consuetudo luctum leniat Si minus spera posse te iterum non esse quod
- 30 *quandoque non fueris* ¶ Dolor Servus sum ¶ Ratio *Si speras mali finem minuat spes dolorem Si desperas patientia neque malum malo cumules neque te angas supervacue sciens volensque que totius humane dementie summa est Sed certe nihil est desperandum si cuncta defuerint mors aderit que te invito domino dissolvat ac liberet*

- ere. A gentil *prophioun* þat made þe *seruaunt* more *perne* his lord. Kyng Nabugodonosor, slepyng saw a wonderful visioun. But it was so hard lokked in þe whicch of forgetyng þat he kowde not telle wakyng what he hadde seen. Alle þe sagis of Babiloun kowde
- 183^b 5 no keies fynde þis visioun to schewe. til Daniel vndede hit & þe misteries *per* of. þat to kyng was captif. Lo what fredam // was zeuen to þe seruaunt of god to vnloke hid þouztes. He vnbond his byndere of his heuy stodie. And wolt þou haue on schort word: Bonde body & free souzle a corden wel jnow to gedere. but bonde
- 10 souzle & free body pryuen neuer wele.
- ¶ ADUERSITE: Þe lord þat I serue is to me a tiraunt.
- ¶ RESOUN: 3if þou suppose to wynne ouzt of his daunger. let hope be þi mynstrelle. & 3if þou be in dispeir. hepe not sorwe vp sorwe: on sorwe suffices. But certes in dispeir *per* þe not be. deth
- 15 hieþ faste. & wil þi lord nyl þi lord he wole deliuere þe out of his seruise.
- ¶ ADUERSITE: Vnder an hard lord & a steerne. lede I my lif.
- ¶ RESOUN: Þere is no schortere weyze to soften his dures: þen *with* a *buxum* herte to do hym feithful seruise. & *perchance* it may
- 20 be tide to þe þat hap don to manye. þat þorw þi true seruise: þou schalt be weddit to liberte. Forzete þou not þis olde *prouerbe*: Alle is wel þat endeþ wel. & rule *per* affter. Often hast þou herd þat Joseph was twies sold. first to Hismalitis & sithen in to Egipt. how obedient he was to god & to Putiphar his lord his souereyne. for his
- 25 goodnesse hadde to him sich afiaunce þat he ordeynede him *gouernour* of his houzhshold. Affter þis þoruþ a fals tale of his fals lady. be cause þat he nolde be fals to his maister he was falsly en *presound*. but truþe þat may not be slayn. þow it be beten: brak at þe laste his feteres. & losede him of his þraldom & made he was a gret
- 30 prinse. Þe same god þat wrouzte þis maistries in Joseph: kan zeue
- 184^a þe sich a *grace* in þi lordes sigt: þat þorw þi good be // ryng þou schalt no lengere kepe þe cloistre of bondache.

2. but is written twice in MS.

11. a *expuncted* in MS. after is.

21. holde in MS. with h *expuncted*.

THE TWO TEXTS PARALLEL

¶ DE PAUPERTATE

DIALOGUS VIII

- ¶ Dolor. *Paupertate pressus sum: assurgere nequeo.* ¶ Ratio. *Sepe quidem paupertas modestiam persuasit reluctanti animo: quodque nequaquam philosophia temptaverat: hec implevit.* ¶ Dolor. *Paupertas meum limen obsidet.* ¶ Ratio. *Non obsidet sed custodit: neque hoc illi novum aut insolitum: ut que urbem Romam multis olim seculis custodivit. Inter tentoria equidem paupertatis sobrie atque sollicitate: luxus iners: sopor marcidus ac vitia languida et enervata non subeunt.* ¶ Dolor. *Domum meam paupertas invasit:* ¶ Ratio.
- 10 *Ultrō illi ut occurras consulto. Venientem leto animo bipatentibus valvis excipiens atque amplectens: prima enim fronte rigida ac subtristis: nec immerito viatori ac viro armato exequata: eo quod celer minaxque sit adventus eius: At cum in familiaritatem admissa fuerit et minime sumptuosa et secunda ac facilis hospes erit.* ¶ Dolor. *Foribus meis paupertas insultat.* ¶ Ratio. *Aperi*
- 15 *ocius antequam vectes subita vi confringat: atque ostiis vulsis a cardine victrix introeat: ut enim resistentibus permolesta: sic cedentibus periucunda est.* ¶ Dolor. *Domum meam paupertas irrupit.* ¶ Ratio. *Adversus fures et peiores furibus voluptates pervigil excubatrix: Adversus vulgi morsus et insulsa iudicia atque avaritiae seu prodigalitatis infamiam: que raro alibi quam locupletum sedet in limine. Ab his malis nullo melius ingenio custodiri potuit domus tua quam illam custodiret paupertas.* Ut dives et si largus sit si quid tamen sibi reservat: avarus vulgo dici solet: sic pauper cupidus quoque largus habebitur. Invidet opibus vicinia: pauperiem miseratur. Illas cupit ac vituperat: hanc horret et laudat. ¶ Dolor. *Domum meam occupat paupertas.* ¶ Ratio.
- 25 *Iam nullus tibi superbie locus erit: nec invidie: nec damnis insignibus: nec damnorum metui: nec suspicionibus mille: nec insidiis: nec nausee: nec podagre divitum hospitibus: Quibus exclusis habitatura latius tecum quies et tranquillitas et virtus: Cui eo plus loci erit: quo fortune minus.* ¶ Dolor. *Lares meos dura subiit paupertas.* ¶ Ratio. *Quid queraris scio: Mollius divitiae subiissent: sed paupertas tutius. Nulle autem opes sunt: quibus non sit anteponenda securitas. Cum ad felicitatem enim omnia quaecumque agunt cupiuntve homines disponantur: esse illa sine opibus quidem potest: sine securitate non potest.* ¶ Dolor. *Paupertate importuna diu premor.* ¶ Ratio. *Ut nihil importabile diu fertur: sic nihil breve difficile. Sed hoc dicis gravius: Excute autem illam cum divitiis an plus auro tribuis quam virtuti? An et hoc in paradoxis stoicis non legisti: quod solus sapiens dives est: An legisti forsitan sed sprevisi? quod plerique faciunt legentes: ut fabulentur ornati: non ut melius vivant: nihil ad honestatem: omnia ad scientiam atque eloquentiam referentes: quo nihil est vanius.*

15. Ven. ostii.

C. OF POUERTE

ADUERSITE: I ham oppressid *with* pouerte.

C. RESOUN: Refreyning of pi lustes calles þou oppressing. Nouzt
so but it kepþ pi place fro mochers and peues. 3e. & fro fleschli
5 lustes. pat ben meche werre. Glotenye & slauzþe ben a ferd of his
loke for he hath often vntid hem & letted hem of her reste. Þoow
hym seme heuy chered & sterne: at þe firste komying. were þou a
queynted a while *with* hym. þou schuldest fynde hym. an hesi gest.
He is no þing suptuouzs. he lokeþ nepur to be fed *with* partrik ne
10 *with* fesaund. confeccionen & swete wynes he knoweþ nepur nobur.
Þou maist make hym a feste *with* a fewe ferþinges. Þow pride loue
not his felowschepe. 3it enuye spekeþ of hym none ille. Go were þou
wolt. 3if pouerte kepe þin hows þou derst not be a gast. ne haue
suspescion to þin neyzebour. pat þei wole breke pi walles & bere a
15 wey þyn huches. 3if þou walke be þe kuntre & pouert go *with* þe
þou schalt kun demen pat ilke straunge man pat þou metist. is a
robere. Haue þou (no) more felouzschepe but him an pi staf: þou
maist go more sekerly þan a gilt spore *with* his fyne hors. Many a
likerous man haþ pouerte *with* chastesinge tawt to kepe temperaunce
20 þat philosophie *with* fayr speche myghte neuere brynge hem to. &
how scholde pouerte þriste þe doun. sythen euere þe porere þou art:
þe lesse art þou charched. Also litil as þei may wel lest: pilgrimes
trussen *with* hem. Þe naked man komynly ouer renneþ þe cloped.
184^b Haue mynde þou art here a straunger & hast fer to go. // Men loue
25 not to wrastele clothed for þe swan. Þei enemye may werst holde
haue of þe wanne þou gost alderest bare. To pleyne þe þat þou
berest heuye: wanne þou berist litil: is a wrong formed pleynt.

C. ADUERSITE: It is an hard þing to be pore.

C. RESOUN: Þere is non bed soft to a seke man. Were þin appetit
30 helid of couetise þou schuldist þinke pouerte a restful kouzche.
To be riche is solempne: but to be pore is more sekur. Now þou know-
est þis wel þat alle men kyndely desiren felicite. May not felicite be
had *with* ouzten worldes welpe? 3is. but were sekirnes is wane:

2. Aduersite: Capital illuminated.

4. mochers. MS: mocherers.

16. Before ilke a p is faintly legible as if it had been pilke.

17. MS. haue þou more.

32. MS. not in margin with caret between may and felicite.

THE TWO TEXTS PARALLEL

BOETHIUS

DE CONSOLATIONE PHILOSOPHIAE

LIBER II, PROSA II

Vellem autem pauca tecum fortunae ipsius verbis agitare. Tu igitur an ius
5 postulet, animadverte. 'Quid tu homo ream me cotidianis agis querelis?
Quam tibi fecimus iniuriam? Quae tua tibi detraximus bona? Quovis iudice
de opum dignitatumque mecum possessione contende. Et si cuiusquam mor-
taliū propriū quid horum esse monstraveris, ego iam tua fuisse quae
repetis, sponte concedam. *Cum te matris utero natura produxit, nudum rebus*
10 *omnibus inopemque suscepi, meis opibus fovi et quod te nunc impatientem nostri*
facit, favore prona indulgentius educavi, omnium quae mei iuris sunt affluentia
et splendore circumdedi. Nunc mihi retrahere manum libet. Habes gratiam velut
usus alienis, non habes ius querelae tamquam prorsus tua perdidideris. Quid
igitur ingemiscis? Nulla tibi a nobis est allata violentia. Opes honores ceteraque
15 *talium mei sunt iuris. Dominam famulae cognoscunt; mecum veniunt, me*
abeunte discedunt. Audacter adfirmem, si tua forent quae amissa conquereris
nullo modo perdidisses. An ego sola meum ius exercere prohibebor? Licet caelo
proferre lucidos dies eosdemque tenebrosis noctibus condere. Licet anno terrae
vultum nunc floribus frugibusque redimire, nunc nimbis frigoribusque confun-
20 *dere. Ius est mari nunc strato aequore blandiri, nunc procellis ac fluctibus in-*
horrescere. Nos ad constantiam nostris moribus alienam inexpleta hominum
cupiditas alligabit? Haec nostra vis est, hunc continuum ludum ludimus;
rotam volubili orbe versamus, infima summis summa infimis mutare gaudemus.
Ascende si placet, sed ea lege ne utique cum ludicri mei ratio poscet, descendere
25 *iniuriam putes. An tu mores ignorabas meos?*' (etc.)

D.R.U.F. continued:

¶ DE DAMNO PASSO

DIALOGUS IX

¶ Dolor. *Opes cunctas trux fortuna preripuit. ¶ Ratio. Non tibi fecit iniuriam:*
30 *sum tulit: sed vetus et nota hec ingratitude est: dati immemores: meministis*
ablati. Itaque rare ac tepentes gratie: crebre ac fervide sunt querele. ¶ Dolor.
Fortuna ferox: vite quoque necessaria subtrahit. ¶ Ratio. Necessaria sub-
trahere potest nemo: quandoquidem vere necessarium est nihil sine quo bene
vivitur. Dico autem bene: non voluptuose: non insolenter aut splendide: sed
35 *prudenter: sed sobrie: sed honeste. In quibus nullum sibi ius esse quamvis*
insolens fortuna fatebitur. Et certe cum nec toto quod est usquam auro:
neque omni gemmarum pompa atque omnigenum rerum copia: cupiditas
expleatur: paucis admodum: et si desint: levi linguae vel manus artificio
comparandis tollitur aut lenitur necessitas naturalis: sic virtuti modicum:
40 *vitio nil sufficit. ¶ Dolor. Victum vestitumque necessarium avara sors negat.*
¶ Ratio. Aliunde petendum. Virtus liberalior quam fortuna est: nihil negat

THE TWO TEXTS PARALLEL

pere is non verrei blisse founden: Wanne opinions risen of werres &
 bateilles panne dreden lordes, perelles of þe see feren grete marchaun-
 tes. & whanne cornes tymen not: wepith þe frangeleyn. Wanne alle
 þese wanten nyghtis reste: panne liggeth þe pore grom in his herden
 5 shetis & slepith ful sauerly. A. haue þou lital katel: lital kare. þis
 olde sawe is soth.

¶ ADUERSITE: Fortune hath fro me taken þe riches þat I
 hadde.

¶ RESOUN: What iniurye hath he don? Sche hath taken but her
 10 owne. Lent þing is not zeuen. Dignite & richees haþ non man here
 but of borwyng. Whanne nature broughte þe forþ naked in to þis
 world: dame Fortune lent þe kouerynge. Sche norschede the & heder
 too hath fownden þe of here owne koueres. Sche hath plesid þe longe
 with affluens of godes. & now here lust sum del to with drawe here
 15 hand. Sche haþ not raft þe all. zit for old felouzscheþ (and) frensche-

15. MS. felouzscheþ frenschepe.

- nisi quod et permissum noceat et negatum prosit: nihil eripit nisi quod habuisse damnosum amisisse utile sit: Non differt: non imperat: non retrahit manum: non rugat frontem: non attollit supercilium: nullum despicit: nullum destituit: nullum fallit: non sevit: non irascitur: non mutatur: una
 5 semper et ubique est: nisi quod magis magisque degustata dulcior in dies: et propius conspecta fit pulchrior. Ut sis igitur verus dives: ab hac poste non te fastidiet nec repellat: quamvis exerceat: difficiles habet aditus primos: cetera prona: iucunda: facilia. Semel vero ubi ad illam perveneris: non senties paupertatem. ¶ Dolor. *Spoliavit me bonis meis omnibus fortuna.* ¶ Ratio.
 10 *Fallit te opinio: malum commune mortalium. Nam profecto non bonis: et ut bona permiserim: non tuis: sed que tua forsitan vulgi more credideras.* Mirorque si nondum intelligis aliena. ¶ Dolor. Fortuna me nudum liquit atque inopem. ¶ Ratio. Virtus te vestiet: ni respuis ac ditabit: nisi forte pluris aurum et purpuram quam decorum generose mentis habitum facis. *Quod si faceres:*
 15 *tunc vere inopem nudumque te dicerem.* ¶ Dolor. Contra fortune impetum et inopie molestias nullo satis artificio tutus sum. ¶ Ratio. Quid miraris: artificium tuum omne et arma quibus te tueri cogitas in manibus hostis sunt. Illa capulum tenet: in te cuspis obversa est. Si consilium queris: his omissis age aliud: artibusque illis ingenium applica in quibus fortuna ius non habet.
 20 Non divitiis virtus: sed virtute divitie queruntur. Virtus una contra fortunam omnem contraque pauperiem ars optima. Legisti ut ad littus Rhodium naufragio eiectus Aristippus: et ipse nudus inopsque rerum omnium: quas dare potest fortuna vel auferre: dum locorum novitate captus: ut fit: oculosque circumferens: forte illos in quasdam descriptiones geometricas defixisset:
 25 exclamans consolatus est comites: et bono animo iussit esse: neque enim desertis locis applicuisse: cernere se hominum vestigia: Inde oppidum introgressus ad gymnasium litterarum recto calle contendit: Atque ibi philosophicis disputationibus admirationem primo: dehinc amicitias optimatum et munera meruit: quibus non tamen sibi sed etiam sociis victum ac vestitum
 30 et profectioni necessaria ministraret. Cumque digressuri quererent: quid ille nunciari domi vellet: hoc unum iussit: nunciarent eas opes filiis parandas que naufragio non perirent: quas nec maritima nec urbana nec bellica tempestas eriperet preclare. ¶ Dolor. Rerum atque animi inops sum. ¶ Ratio. Primum te expeditum: secundum plane inopem facit et miserum. Sed ut
 35 Aristippi consilium: sic et Theophrasti dictum te legisse arbitror: Quid vero lectio sola profuerit et meminisse oportet et in usus tuos lecta convertere. ¶ Dolor. Domo: familia: necessariis atque ornamentis omnibus spoliatus: quid agam: quo me vertam? ¶ Ratio. Ad eas opes quibus spoliari nequeas: que te undique comitatum divitem et ornatum prestant: Et quoniam ut
 40 video: excitanda memoria est: Theophrasti quod memorabam dictum ad hunc se habet modum: Doctum ex omnibus solum: neque in alienis peregrinum: neque amissis familiaribus et necessariis inopem amicorum: sed in omni civitate esse civem: difficileque fortune sine timore posse despiciere casus: At qui non doctrinarum sed felicitatis presidiis putaret se esse valla-
 45 tum labidis itineribus vadentem: non stabili sed infirma conflictari vita.

- 185^a pe: *sum* what hap sche left þe. But it is // þe olde manere of vnkynde folk sone to forzete what is don for hem. but ȝif ouȝt displese hem þer onne þei þenken longe. Þankynges kepen to meche silens. but pleynnynges chateren faste.
- 5 ¶ ADUERSITE: I haue not offendit. whi fortune schulde *with* drawe here fauour fro me?
- ¶ RESOUN: It semep þat þou knowest not þe condicions of fortune. Whi schulde sche alle one be forfendit for to vse here right? Þe sonne clopith þe eire on daies in his bemes. on nyghtes he hidip
10 hem & leueþ þe aire nakid. *Sum* tyme þe mone starith brode. *sum* tyme it lokith narwe. Now þe wynde is lowd: now is it stille. Þe see ebbith & flowiþ & so many opere. A zens þese mutacions grucche no man for þei ben naturel. & als kyndeli it is to fortune to be chaunchable. Telle me þanne. whi schulde a coueitous herte constreine here
15 to be constaunt? Here proper werkyng is to turne her wheel a bowte. Ȝif þou climbe on þis wheel loke affter non opur. Whanne þou komest to þe heigest poynt: pere mayst þou not longe sitte. For whi? It is a zens þe lawe of her gamen. & ȝif it happe þat þou falle. kach hope be þe skirt. it is possible to ascende as hize as þou were. While
20 wele & woo pleyen at þe balle. nepur of hem kan holde longe þe balle stille. but hedur & þedur it (gop) contynuely. Þus *sum* men ben ofte down & recouere a zen. ȝe *sum* tyme wen men loken lest after socour: þanne is goddis grace ner þan þe bischops dole.
- ¶ ADUERSITE: Fortune hath spoiled me of my goodes.
- 25 ¶ RESOUN: A comen opinioun. þat fals is hap deceyued þe. Þe affeccions of meche folk // aren so faste fetered in þe panter of auarice þat ȝif a man wante riches: þei seiȝe he hath no good. But wisdam redeth vs a noþer lessoun: Þer ben þre manere of goodes. goodes of grace. of nature. & of fortune. Þe laste hap lest of good-
30 nesse. & þe firste ben best. Fro þe may fortune nouȝt bere: but þat sche may bringe to þe. Richesse & dignite ben here two handy-maidenes þei komen & gon *with* here. but kunnyng & vertu howen here non seruice. Þing þat may be raft þe a zenes þi wille: was neuere properli þin. but þat is verily þin owne: þat may not be taken
35 fro þe *with* ouȝten þin assent. Such goodes are vertues. Who so hath non of hem: is not only pore: but a verrey wrecche.

2. MS. ȝif superscript between but and ouȝt with caret in between.

21. MS. hedur & þedur it contynuely.

THE TWO TEXTS PARALLEL

- ¶ Dolor Patrimonium paternum habui perdidī quid consiliū capiam?
- ¶ Ratio Patrimonium paternum duplex Alterum ex rebus pereuntibus quod fortuna moderatur ex virtutibus et doctrinis alterum quod extra fortune regnum procul in tuto positum ledi nequit Hoc est illud quod in
- 5 primis amantissimi patres filius tradunt quod nisi repudietur eos in finem et post finem viteque exitum exornat possessoribus suis non equevum modo sed vivacius multoque perennius Idque attendens illa nobilis morum et eloquentie et legum parens Athenarum civitas Cum grecarum omnium leges urbium indistincte filios ad prestanda parentibus alimenta compellerent eos
- 10 solos statuit ali oportere qui liberos erudissent quod hi soli patrimonium certum suis stabile relicturi essent ¶ Dolor *Multa mihi ad vitam desunt*
- ¶ Ratio *Cui pauca sufficiunt quomodo desint multa non video Sed deesse vite dicitis quod avaritie deest Ita fit ut non multa tantum sed omnia vobis desint et que habetis et que cupitis quod et illa tangere non audetis et hec assequi non*
- 15 *valetis utrobique par vel miseria vel egestas* ¶ Dolor Nimum pauper dego
- ¶ Ratio Solare animum comitibus magnis et illustribus Valerius Publicola unus e romane libertatis auctoribus Menenius Agrippa romane sequester pacis unde sepelirentur quia de proprio non erat de publico habuere Paulus
- Emilius Macedonum regum victor finitorque regni famosissimi et antiqui
- 20 tam dives glorie tam pecunie inops fuit ut nisi agello tanti viri vendito restitui coniugi dos non posset Attilius Regulus Cneus Scipio Quintius Cincinnatus romani imperii defensores tanta rei familiaris inopia fuere ut primus in Africa maximas res gerens secundis in Hispania Ille propter villici mortem hic propter filie dotem missionem a senatu petere cogerentur
- 25 et obtinuissent nisi senatus republice consulens optimorum civium succurrisset inopie Quintio autem quaterna agri iugera aranti senatus et populi consensu rebus in extremis summum imperium deferretur His accedant Curius hortulo dives et Fabricius parvo potens qui oblatas contempsero divitias et nihil preter ferrum dextrasque et animum habentes ditissimum
- 30 grecie regem ac potentissimum italie populum domuere Auro ipsi eque ac ferro inexpugnabiles et invicti Et quid loquimur cives cum et ipse populus romanus omnis eximie fons atque exemplar historie tamdiu bonus fuerit ut dicere ceperam quamdiu pauper fuit At libidinibus probrisque Nero obrutus opes suas metiri ac dinumerare non poterat At Varius Heliogabalus
- 35 effeminatissimus turpissimusque hominum at vestri pudor imperii ventris onus dictu fedum et auditu sed pro feda cupiditate mortalium forsitan non silendum non nisi auro excipi dignabatur cum non superiorum modo talium virorum cenas sed deorum sacra fictilibus agi solere meminisset O urbs misera ad tam turpes manus fatis lapsa volventibus Sed o aurum avaritie votum
- 40 ingens O spes ultima et laborum terminus humanorum in quos usus oculorum stupor ac mentium vertebaris Laudarem factum aut certe non arguerem quod errori hominum tam obsceno nulla aptior esset irritio si ab homine sane mentis id fieret Nunc preclaras optandasque divitias quis negare audeat que si ferro ac scelere peti velint dum sic spretis optimis sic pessimis affluunt? ¶ Dolor Pauperem in laboribus vitam duco ¶ Ratio Cleanthes hauriende aque et rigandis oleribus Plautus sarcinas mole manuarie locare operas urgente inopia coactus est Quantus ille philosophus hic poeta

¶ ADUERSITE: Me wantiþ manye þinges necessarie to my leuyng.

¶ RESOUN: How may manye þinges wante: where fewe þinges sufficen? Nede may sone be riche jnow. but couetise seyzeth neuer
 5 hoo. Als meche as he wolde haue: as meche him faylith. For þi wille seuer. þat not he þat lest hap: but he þat most coueiteþ: is most pore. Þe more þou laborist wel here & hast litil reward: þe more mede is to komen. Manye hap þer ben. þa(t) for desire of heueneli riches. hauen ioifulli chosen pouerte to peramour & þat most is
 10 of alle. þe emperour of blisse at whos list ertheli kingges ben corowned & deposed: likidde to leuen pore & naked to deth. Now feith
 186^a zeueþ no man licens for to suppose. þat þer be // any hender path to heuene þanne his ensauple.

¶ ADUERSITE: I ham not so riche as I was wont to bee:

¶ RESOUN: Wel. þanne schalt þou lernen to be þe more lowly. Richesse taken neuere here leue be þer one. for myse & mowtes folwen hem euere. Frowardnesse & falsnes of seruantes gon with hem. & (on) þat opur side mekenesse. soburnesse. sekurite & reste. loue wel þe cumpanye of symple pouerte. Were pouerte & paciens
 20 wonen to gedere: þere is rich pouert. Set be for þin eizen þe lif of holi Job. Wanne he was in his flouzres of wordli auer his handes were euere open to þe dedes of mercy. Widwes & fader(l)es childrin fownden hym a freend. þe hungri & þe pristi wiste be experience what sauour þat his mete & his drinke hadde. þe naked man
 25 blessid bothe him and his schepe. þe weiferande at his gate hadde free entre. Al þoow þese werkes ben comendable zit þe pacience þat he hadde in his pouerte: is before al þese rehersid in pulpit. Sodeyn slawter of his childryn. seknes of him self. þe los of his goodes were ouer weyk: for to opin his lippes folily to grucche. O. blessid Iob
 30 what worschepe is þis! Þi dedes prechen alle men how þei schul be pacient. Seli were þe creature þat wolde folwen þi steppes. It myght be seid of sich on þat he was born to be a myrrour of sufferaunce to men in desese.

8. pat. MS. þa.

18. MS. & pat opur side.

21. Wanne he . . . *This sentence is written a second time in the MS.:* When he was in his flowres of worldli auere his handes weren euere open to þe dedis of mercy.

22. MS. faderes.

31. MS. þat pat.

- simulque quam pauper ille hortulanus: hic pistor reliquias temporum necessariae debitas quieti: tanta animi vis erat: philosophicis ille vigiliis dedicans: hic scribendis quas venderet Comediis Lactantius Firmianus vir doctrine multiplicis: rarique inter suos eloquii: filii quoque summi principis magister.
- 5 Idem summa rerum omnium: etiam communium egestate vitam egit. Pauper natus est Flaccus: Inops vixit Pacuvius: Inops Statius. Uterque victus causa: fabulas vendicavit. Inops demum aliquando Virgilius: donec preter suum morem: opes ingenio accessere. *Multa sunt talia quolibet hominum in statu:* Et omitto illos quoniam nimis multi sunt: *qui celestium opum desiderio: non*
- 10 *inopiam modo sed famem: sitim: nuditatem et extrema omnia in terris: non equis tantum sed letis atque exultantibus animis elegerunt.* Si his quasi exemplis humilibus atque terrestribus non moveris: *Ipse celi dominus hic pauper fuit:* ut exemplo doceret hanc inopie viam esse: qua tamen ad veras divitias pergeretur. *Ipse inquam per quem reges regnant: pauper natus: pauper vixit:*
- 15 *nudus obiit: cui cuncta interim obsequabantur elementa: Tu homuncio domini tui sortem fers moleste: nec inepte pudet insolentie.* Certe quisquis illum cogitans se virtute vallaverit: in ipsa paupertate ditissimus nulliusque egens rei: opes regias non requiret. ¶ Dolor. Nulla mihi opum copia est. ¶ Ratio. Ut animo inopi ac deiecto nulle sufficiunt opes: Sic diviti atque erecto nulla non sufficit
- 20 paupertas: Nempe ille alieno nititur: hic proprio fidit: Edificare in alieno iactura est: questus in proprio. ¶ Dolor. Pauperrimus sum. ¶ Ratio. Si necessitatibus obsequeris: pauper numquam esse potes: Si cupiditatibus: numquam dives. ¶ Dolor. Hactenus pauper: immo mendicus sum. ¶ Ratio. Fortuna hominum non stat: et ut summis ex opibus ad inopiam extremam:
- 25 sic a paupertate ultima ad divitias magnas creber est transitus. Legisti reor apud Quintum Curtium historicum: ut Abdolominus quidam Alexandri iussu seu permissu: ex hortulano inopi Sidonis rex: et contemptu regni maior est habitus quam regno. Certe quod non legisse non potes: Et Romulus e pastoralis tugurio tante urbis conditor romanum primus diadema suscepit:
- 30 Et regum sextus ex humillima: utque aliqui credere: e servili fortuna ad ipsum regni culmen ascendit: nec Alexandri Priamide: nec Cyri illius inter Persarum reges famosissimi inter opulentiora primordia: aut alia fere sunt rudimenta quam Romuli Gaius Marius qui fuisset et futurus sepe esset Rome consul: et antequam honorum gradus ullos attingeret: mercenarius arator
- 35 primos in arvis vite annos egerat: et deinde post tot victorias ac triumphos: interque illos suos septem consulatus: preter latebras palustres ac carcerem exiguum quoque mendicavit panem. Julius Cesar futurus mundi dominus: et testamento dominos mundi relicturus adolescens pauper fuit. Tu hac talium comitiva non potes aut sperare opes aut contemnere. ¶ Dolor. *Solito*
- 40 *pauperior sum.* ¶ Ratio. *Bene habet et solito eris humilior: expeditior: liberior. Vacui amant incedere qui arduum iter agunt. Carebis solitis opibus: simulque solitis muribus ac furibus et protervis servis: hisque quibus solent abundare divitiae: fictis amicitiiis: sequacibus atque tenacibus parasitis: totoque illo grege domestico arridentium tibi teque ridentium atque rodentium. Denique*

17. Ven. ditissimus.

34. Ven. anttingeret: mercennarius.

¶ ADUERSITE: Sum tyme *per* was no jongkerie but I whas *per* atte. Now pouert partiþ felowschep.

186^b ¶ RESOUN: A noble dyuors: þat departiþ a man fro wast expun-
 ses. Now may *pou* be certein // *with* owten inquisicioun who hap
 5 ben þi feined frendes. Poow þi dore stond wide open. flateres wole
 passen bi. jdel men *with per* feet schul not defile þi þreschfold.
 jogolours & japeres wolen not liste ones to loken on þe pak of þin
 hows. Þof þis maner men be ful of þi cumpanye: it is no gret charche.
 Pouert may not breke þe bond of true felowschep. for & euere
 10 haddest *pou* feithful fere zif he may more þan þow: now schalt *pou*
 be dere to hym. & zif *pou* be elles. man of oni vertu. sad man &
 whizs wol joize of þi presens. Alle only dame pride & here nyse
 dowteres haue scorn of pore men. Who so dispisith þe pore for non
 opur cause but for þei be pore: in þat alle pore he dispisip. & so
 15 dispisith he Crist þat was most pore.

¶ ADUERSITE: I ham wondur pore.

¶ RESOUN: *Pou* were bore wel porer & so schalt *pou* passen.
 Flater fortune neuere so faste a man in his middil leuynghe sche may
 not lette pouerte to drawe boþe endes of þis dedly lif. Euere þe
 20 euyere chere þat þe world scheweþ þe: þe gladder schalt *pou* be to
 part from his felawschepe. Þere is no man as I wene þat lift here so
 pore. but he schal wille at his ende. þat he hadde lyued porer. ne
 no man suffrep seknes be it neuer so greuous: but he schal desire
 wanne dep komeþ þat he hadde suffred mech more. As *pou* art
 25 pore of money: be pore of spiryzt. & þanne hap Crist be hight þe:
 þe kyndom of heuene.

22. MS. he *superscript between* but *and* schal *with caret in between*.

THE TWO TEXTS PARALLEL

*si amissas opes cum amissis tediis conferas: lucrum voces. Certe ut securitatem
sileam: humilitatem: sobrietatem: requiem: modestiam paupertatis comites: si
nihil boni aliud illa secum afferret quam quod et fallacium gregibus adulantium
et servorum tyrannide superbiorum liberat: abunde erat cause ut non ferenda
5 modo esset sed optanda: immo etiam arcessenda pauperies.* Sed iam satis sit:
Maior enim quam pro re querela est: quam in te mirarer: nisi olim ferme in
omnibus notassem nullum gravius: nullum crebrius lamentum: adeo nihil
inter homines paupertate melius nihil odiosius. ¶ Dolor. Pauperior sum in
vita. ¶ Ratio. *Eris letior in morte. Nemo tam pauper vixit: ut moriens nollet
10 vixisse pauperior.*

¶ DE TENUI VICTU

DIALOGUS X

¶ Dolor. *Tenuis victus est mihi.* ¶ Ratio. *Et tenuis voluptas et munda sobrietas.
An te gule studio contrarium malles?* ¶ Dolor. Asper est victus. ¶ Ratio.
15 Equanimis fer gule illicibris caruisse: cum ad manum sint alie dulciores et
queri faciliores et servari. Habet et suas virtus illecebras: Ciceronis utro ver-
bo: has gustare et ruminare cum ceperis: illas magnopere non requires.
¶ Dolor. *Durus est victus.* ¶ Ratio. *Duricies amica virtutibus: mollicies volup-
tati. Quot autem magni viri ultro se voluptatibus abdicantes: hunc quem tu
20 refugis victum elegere: quorum aliqui cum possent laute vesci: panem et aquam
in delitiis habuere?* An vero voluptati quenquam sic obnoxium opinemur:
ut non illam valde oderit si adiunctum illi dedecus intueri oculis possit? Sed
funesta suavis: virtutum hostis acerrima et titillatio bestialis: *quam qui
sequitur: homo quidem videri potest: vere autem animal brutum est.* Ad hec et
25 familiaritas contracta cum vitiis et consuetudo rerum pessima: mortalem
prestringit obtutum: ut discerni nequeat: quam decorum sit quod torqueat
fedumque quod mulceat. ¶ Dolor. Nimis angustus est victus. ¶ Ratio.
*Immo nimis ampla: nimiumque capax gula est. Unum visu angustum: re
autem unum omnibus in animam irruentibus vitiis patens iter. Hac flamma
30 libidinum: hac torpor ingenii: hac irarum et iurgiorum fervor ingreditur:
hac imperiosa cupiditas omnia pati iubens: atque facere dum necessaria
credit: que damnosa sunt et munimen vite dicit: quod ruina est. Hac
invidie faces et emulatio implacata indignantibus animis: tam gule alium
obsequentem quam vos esse gloriamini: inde laudem sperantes: unde pudor
35 metuendus erat. Hac postremo superbia dum inflatus nec se capiens venter:
animo suum affricat tumorem: et persuadet illi esse se homine aliquid maius:
quod ambrosia et nectare pastus sit: vides ut vitium unum ex omnibus
aditus: neque hunc si aliter nequit inopie vectibus clausum cupis. O paupertas
amabilis: que continentie tibi sumis officium. Utile est cogi ad id quod facere
40 tua sponte debueris.* ¶ Dolor. Tenuis me victus extenuat. ¶ Ratio. Malles ne
igitur tumefieri? *Hec tenuitas podagram tuis pellet e finibus: dolorem capitis
auferet: cerebrique vertiginem vomitumque et ructum et nauseam et sudorem
tediumque et fastidium tui ipsius: pallorem alternum ac ruborem: odorem
quoque et oris et corporis tibi atque aliis importunum sistet. Preterea pedes
45 instabiles: manus tremulas: nutans caput: quodque est optimum: animum*

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¶ OF FEBLE FARE //

ADUERSITE: My fare is ful pinne of mete & of drink.

¶ RESOUN: Þin fare. þi(n) lust: þi soburnesse is þe more. Þou
haddist leuere be a glotoun but þi weiȝe is stoppit. & wel. for
5 glotenye is a modur to alle maner of visis. With here stikkes sche
fedith þe flawme of leccherie. & slawt kan sche make slepe al nyȝt
in his hode. When men ben pechir prouȝd. þanne risith bate lithly.
þenne bost kan not holden his pees. grete opes fle faste. Be a fool
drunken. he is whise jnow he passith in his owne opynyoun. a meys-
10 ter of diuinite. What schulde I more seye? Glotenye transformeth
a man in to a beeste. Þis is a gret vilanye. who so hadde eyȝen to se.
Feble fare remouyth occasioun of pese harmes. Þis is not a litil
god.

¶ ADUERSITE: I haue but hard fare.

15 ¶ RESOUN: Hardnes is freend to vertu. & softnes to lust. It was
& is þe manere of deuouȝt men wilfulli for to chese hard fare þat
þou hatest. of whom summe þat myȝhte haue had alle maner
deyntees: hadde delit to be fed a mong with bred & water. Per-
chaunce þus hast þou rad þi self. but I ham a ferd lest þou suffre þe
20 same febre þat is a mong clerkes comyn. Summe whanne þei reden
of þe abstinence of Jerom & German & of þe pacience of Job it
tikelith þe eres: but wanne þe asaye to souȝpe of þe same broth:
þanne is it so bitter þei may not þer of. Manye studien seche stories:
not for þei wolde lifen betere. but for to kunne talke of perfeccioun.
25 & what is more veyn?

187^b ¶ ADUERSITE: Selden go I to bedde with ful douȝblet. //

¶ RESOUN: Þou wakest at morn meche þe merier. Þe nedest not

2. Aduersite: *Capital illuminated.*

3 MS. þi.

- ipsum moderabitur frenabitque Et quid igitur tam multa corporis atque animi bona parvo cibi desiderio ac momentaneo gustus incommodo tibi parta conquereris dignus his predictis gustui deservire? ¶ Dolor Tenuis victus me fatigat ¶ Ratio Contrarius fatigaret nisi forte onus requiem vocas
- 5 Num legisti lautioris vite tedia magna esse ita ut quinque diebus continuis non possit sine fastidio tolerari ab hominibus temperatis et altiora spectantibus quam palatum et ventrem? ¶ Dolor Supra modum victus est tenuis ¶ Ratio Fuit etas quando hic fuisset et est adhuc gens aliqua ubi esset victus amplissimus Verum mundo in deterius lapso vos deterrimi omnium
- 10 esse nitimini publice semper principes ruine ut qui optimi omnium fuistis versis usquequaque vestigis sitis omnium pessimi et in temporum vitus ac locorum precipuum teneatis gradum ¶ Dolor Victus tenuis mihi non placet ¶ Ratio Victum tenuem et virtutis et voluptatis amatores ac patroni laudant Tu quam heresim sis amplexus nescio Plato Syracusias menses
- 15 damnat nec ullo modo sibi placere ait bis in die saturum fieri Epicurus in oleribus suis voluptatem ac delicias ponit et hunc quem tu fugis victum rebus ac verbis probat Denique ut ait Cicero Nemo de tenui victu plura dixit Tu duarum notissimos si viarum duces spernis quid est reliquum nisi ut impetu tui erroris et virtutis hostem nec amicam voluptatis onerosam
- 20 sequaris ingluviem fedum finem nec tam hominis quam iumentum quodque indignanter ac dolenter dixerim *iumenta multum quidem sed pro captu suo ventri ingerunt Soli vos animantium domini mensuram vestram et nescitis et frangitis* Neque de nihilo est quod multi mirantur quia patrum et avorum memoria vinee multo pauciores essent homines autem totidem aut plures
- 25 vina tamen viliora erant Sic in dies crevit ebriorum sitis ¶ Dolor De lauto victu ad tenuem sum redactus ¶ Ratio Bene habet quod modestia neglexit implet inopia Optimum est sponte agere quod debeas proximum vel coacte

¶ DE ORIGINALI INOPIA

30

DIALOGUS XI

- ¶ Dolor In paupertate etiam natus sum ¶ Ratio Quis non nudus utero matris egreditur? Nil hic precipuum habent reges ¶ Dolor Antequam nascerer pauper fui ¶ Ratio Bone memorie es si meministi delicacissimus si sensisti ¶ Dolor In paupertate sum genitus ¶ Ratio An tue tibi queri-
- 35 monie parum sunt? Hec non tua quidem sed parentum fuerit ¶ Dolor In paupertate natus sum ¶ Ratio In paupertate moriturus Similis principio finis manet nisi forte morientis langoribus mederi aurum censes quod in arcule fundo est ¶ Dolor In paupertate vite mihi principium fuit ¶ Ratio *Medium false sepe dicitur at principium et finem vera paupertas tenet*
- 40 nudum nasci nudum mori humana vere conditio est Nam quid queso purpureum cubile quid funeralis lectus aureus et quecumque sub ipsum vite finem mortalis ambitio meditata est quid ad febrem quid ad mortem ipsamque de qua loquimur morientium nuditatem? An ut equum phalere sic parietem aule delectant? Mulcere ista oculos possunt intuentium Sensu
- 45 carentibus delectabile aliquid inesse potest delectatio autem nulla ¶ Do-

to conseele *with* þi stomak wanne þou schalt rise. Þe odour of þi mowth & of þi bodi boþe schal be lesse inportune to þe & to opere. Þou schalt not nede to wynde þi tepet for þe hed ache. Þe podagre fro þi feet schal be þe ferþer. & for to seyze schortly. þe phisician
 5 schal haue þe lesse of þi moneye. Mete & drynk schulde be taken be maner of medycyn for to susteyne kynde þat schulde elles faile. Vnresonable bestes þoow þei eten meche: zit þei kepe þe mesure þat nature hath tawt hem. but man þat schulde be here lord kan no rule kepe. It is wreten þat for surfet many on hath perched. 3e glotenye
 10 sleeth mo þan þe sweerd doth. O. amyable pouerte þat compellith þe gredi to be mesurable. profitable is þat nede þat constreyneth a man to þing þat hym awte to do. *with* his good wille.

¶ ADUERSITE: Þer kummeþ no vitalles on my bord but simple & pore.

15 ¶ RESOUN: Wel I haue aspied. þat þou & lust wolde kisse. were it not þat pouerte kepith 3ow on sundur. Many men þer be as pre-soneres & opere þat wolde receyue *with* a lawyng chere seche vitailles as þou letist lital by. Hungur dispisith no maner of mete. þou mayst no betere plesen hym. þan driue hym a wey. Haue he
 20 barly bred or a ryze kake: he wol not a bide. to þou seende for symnelle to þe bakers hou3s. Haue he a mes potage & stor of hou3se
 188^a him pinkith he hath // a feste be þe wombe ful. Nature lokeþ after no delicacies. but þe lippes of lust be so likerou3s him liste not euen soupe. but 3if he haue wilde foul. Peniale is to him odious. His
 25 delicate appetite is his phisicion. What mete sauoreth him best. þat pinkeþ him most holsom. Sich a beli seruaunt hap no consideracion: how þe more likerous þat þe mete is: þe sunner it bringith a man to do surfet. Þe apostele Paule was of an oper scole. for þus he writith to Tymothe: Haue we *our* sustinaunce & clopes to kouer
 30 vs hold we vs content. Neþer he speketh of swete morselles neþer of skarlet robes. but of liflode necessarie. Seyntes couden ete wel jnow þoow þe powder box bleu3 not on here sawser. For haue þe seruaunt of god hungur & salt: he wol not be angry for oper sause failyth.

35 ¶ ADUERSITE: I dele *with* non deyntes. I haue but homly fare.

¶ RESOUN: Þou art þe more able to sorwe for þi synne. Crisostom sey3t. þat as it is impossible fire to bren *in* water: so it may not be.

16. MS. þat *superscript* between not and pouerte *with caret* in between.

33. MS. seruaunt.

THE TWO TEXTS PARALLEL

lor. Nudus inops natus sum. ¶ Ratio. Humanas res pene omnes alterna
sors variat: Eadem quasdam equat quo reliquarum soletur imparitatem:
harum prima et maxima est ipsa hec originis ac mortis equalitas. Multi et
varii viventium sunt amictus: nuditas una nascentium atque morientium:
5 nisi quod illi multa reperiunt ignari: hi omnia deserunt scientes: ut exiguam-
ni sensum debeat ipsa rerum pereuntium lenire cognitio. ¶ Dolor. Nudus
in hanc miseram vitam veni. ¶ Ratio. Id recolens animo equiore abibis
nudus.

pat contricioun prife a mong delices. & skele whi. delices causen
 lawter & myrþe. & contricion is modur of weping & heuynesse.
 We reden in þe olde lawe. þat hony was forbode in þe sacrifice of
 þe lord for to be offered. in *fugure*. þat lusti leuyng wich is to meche
 5 folk swete as hony. is not to god acceptable but a meke spiryt þat
 is holili trubled & contrite of his wickidnes. sendith vp to heuene a
 swete smellynge offryng. O. swete *Iesu* þe bitter galle þat þou tasted
 in þi passioun is ful fer fro þe mynde of a likerous glotoun. Man
 whan þou grucchest for þou farist harde: woldest þou suffre þi
 188^b 10 mynde to // weten þi mete in *Cristes* wondes þou myght fynde no
 betere sause to make þi mete sauery. Þe wateres of Marath were so
 bitter þat þe folk of Israel mygth not dryngen of hem. Penne god
 schewede a tre to Moyses. wich wan it towchede þe flod. a *non* it
 was turned in to swete licor. Þis tre be tokenep þe cros of *our*
 15 sauour. wich & it were wel inpressid in a mannes herte: not al only
 hard fare of mete & of drynk. but also oper *tribulaciones* it schulde
 turne to swetnesse.
 ¶ ADUERSITE:

3. only corrected to hony by superscript h and caret, with hony in outer margin.

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N B The sources noted in this section do not imply that Petrarch or the English adapter necessarily had recourse to any of these sources directly, but simply intend to indicate the general currency of the ideas among moralistic writers. The cumulative effect of the *type* of borrowings is a useful indication of their reading interests. It becomes clear to what a large extent Petrarch, too, apart from his classical references, draws on the bible commentaries, homilies, saints' legends, the 'dust of apocryphal invention' and, in general, the storehouse of medieval moral instruction. In some cases the English adapter explicitly provides the authority where Petrarch is silent and, from the wording of some quotations, it would seem that he checked the sources and sometimes quoted from them independently. See e.g. note to 23/35. Seneca is often quoted, but in most cases the *Flores Doctorum* (see p. [4]) may have been the intermediate source, sometimes quoted independently by the excerptor.

1 OF VNSEMEELY SCHAP

- 3/9 *fawre fetoured bodi & clenness of souzle selden nestele þei to gedere* Cf. Juvenal, *Satire* X, 297. 'Rara est (adeo) concordia formae atque pudicitiae'. This poem 'On the Vanity of Human Wishes' was very congenial to the moralising Middle Ages (see also note to 27/15). All the assets of prosperity, beauty, long life, riches, power, pride of place, etc., are deflated in this depressing and pessimistic poem.
- 3/18 *spoiliþ nature of his ryzt* Cf. Augustine in *Lib. Ser. Dom.* quoted in *Flores Doctorum* under 'ornatus'. 'Quanta amentia est, effigiem mutare naturae, picturam quaerere!' The argument that cosmetics are 'unnatural' and insult 'God's image' is a common feature of medieval denunciations of fashion.
- 3/19 *I ham had in despit* According to the medieval physiognomists deformity of body pointed to treachery of character. Cf. the English translation of *Secreta Secretorum*, EETS ES 74, p. 231. 'And thay whyche bene ill mesurit of body bene dysposyd to trechury and othyr ill tecchis. And thay wyche bene wel mesurit of body ben iuste and ryghtfull men'.
- 3/22 *Deformite of bodi defilith not þe souzle* Cf. Seneca, *Epistulae Morales*,

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- 66,4 quoted in *Fl Doct* under 'ingenium et ars' 'Non enim deformitate corporis foedatur animus sed pulchritudine anime corpus ornatur'
- 3/24 *Thamar* On Thamar and Amnon see II *Kings*, xi
- 3/27 *For lttl worth is þe blosme* Possibly an allusion to the proverb 'Beauty is but a blossom' (Oxf Dict Eng Prov)
- 3/32 *Whanne þer of borwed her feynen hem hornes* (When they show off their imitation horns of borrowed hair) Cf e.g. *Ayenbite of Inwyrt*, E E T S O S 23, p. 176 'þo þat makeþ zuo greate hornes of hare here/opþer of opþren/pet hī sembleþ wel fole wyfmen' Borrowing not only of hair, but of clothes for proud display, was frequently denounced by preachers Cf *Handlyng Synne*, ll 3457 ff
- 5/1 *falle þer fro fayrnesse to þe liknesse of Lucifer* For similar illustrations denouncing the foolishness of women's toilet see John Bromyard, *Summa Predicanthum* under 'ornatus' and G. R. Owst, *Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England*, 2nd ed., Oxf 1961, pp. 390-411
- 5/8 *þi bodi schal be bryghter seuene siþe þanne þe sonne is now* This is not found in the Bible but it occurs in the *Elucidarium* III, 79 (*l'Elucidarium et les Lucidaures*, par Yves Lefèvre, Paris 1954) 'D At dic qualia corpora habebunt sancti M Septies quam sol splendidiora et prae animo agiliaora' The genesis of the idea can, however, be reconstructed from the Bible It is said that the blessed will shine like the sun (*Matth* xiii, 13) which on Judgment Day will shine seven times brighter than it does now (*Isa* , xxx, 26)
- 5/10 *Dus enformeth us Austeyn þe doctour* Augustine discusses the splendour of the body at the resurrection in *De Civitate Dei*, Bk XXII, Ch. 19, which is also the source of the following quotation in *Fl Doct* under 'resurrectio': 'Resurgent sanctorum corpora sine ullo vitio, sine ulla deformitate, sine ulla corruptione, sine difficultate in quibus tanta facilitas, quanta felicitas erat'
- 5/13 *Glorious to þe eyze is a long stature but more swipþer is þe schort comynly & more spedi* Cf the Latin *longe conspectior est statura brevis expeditior agiliorque* Some other editions have *longa* for *longe* and different punctuation *Longa* might then be taken as ablative of comparison or as subject *Longe*, the adverb, leads to the following translation by Thomas Twyne *the lowe stature is more comelie, light, and nimble* Our translator must have had a text with *longa*, he translates it as a nominative
- 5/15 *What forbedeþ a meche man to inhabit a low hows?* So may a gret souzle wonen in a schort body Cf Seneca, *Ep Mor* , 66,3. 'Potest ex casa vir magnus exire, potest et ex deformi humilique corpusculo formosus animus ac magnus exire' Quoted in *Fl Doct* under 'ingenium et ars'
- 5/16 *Nouzt I mene þat þe souzle schulde of quantite be gret* Possibly an allusion to Augustine's *De Quantitate Animae* (Migne, P L , t XXXII, col 1037) 'Euodius dic nunc quanta sit anima Augustinus Quomodo quaeris quanta sit? Non enim intelligo utrum ejus quasi spatium latitudinis vel longitudinis, vel roboris, vel horum simul omnium requiras, an quantum valeat nosse velis'
- 5/18 *þe bee is but a lttl thing* Cf *Ecclus* xi 'Non laudes virum in specie sua

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neque spernas hominem in viso suo, brevis in volatilibus est apīs, et initium dulcoris habet fructus illius'

- 5/22 .. *ȝif god wele it suffre*. The Latin has: 'si sors tulerit'.
- 5/25 *Iesse*. The Wyclif Bible has Isai or Ysai
- 5/27 *Helyab*, Eliab, cf. I *Kings* xvi, 6.
- 5/29 *Six cubites*, cf. I *Kings* xvii, 4: 'altitudinis sex cubitorum et palmi'.
- 5/35 *A fyn sweerde is ofte houzsed in a roten schepe*. Proverbial? See below, Style and Proverbs, p 78.
- 5/36 *A strong souzle (is) ofte herboved in a feble bodi*. Proverbial, cf. H. G. Bohn, *A Hand-Book of Proverbs*, London, 1885. 'A little body often harbours a great soul'.
- 5/37 *Perauventure þou hast abeste to honeste studie* The value of 'honest study' is typical of the humanists' message Whereas Petrarch in an aristocratic vein contrasts the low workman with the magistrate, the English adapter here prefers to stress the contrast between the questionable fame acquired through wrestling and tournaments, and the glory of wisdom as praised in the Bible. See next note.
- 7/1 *Redines of conseil ... made hem to sitten with princes*. Cf. *Ecclus.* xi, 1: 'Sapientia humiliati exaltabit caput illius et in medio magnatorum consedere illum faciet'
- 7/4 *Josue, Judas Machabe, Ector & Arthour* They belong to the 'Nine Worthies' whom 'Fame holds in remembrance'. This theme continues till long after the Middle Ages. See also Chaucer, *The Monk's Tale*, Hawes's *Pastime of Pleasure* has the above figures plus five others. Maccabeus was adopted also as a hero of romance.
- 7/6 *In þinge þat moste nede faileþ a gentyl souzle haþ no delit*. It is not impossible that the *þ* in *faileþ* is a scribal error. The Latin has: *Nul potest delectare magnum animum quod non duret* Compare also Seneca, *De Brevitate Vitae* xvii, 4. 'Neminem porro casura delectant'. The sense without the *þ* would be: 'In a thing that must needs perish a noble soul has no delight'. However, as the text stands it makes tolerable sense: 'In a thing that does not meet the greatest need a noble soul has no delight'
- 7/10 .. *neþur he ȝit as an hors or an olifaunt* Cf. Boethius, *De Consolatione*, Bk. III, Prose viii, 4: 'Non enim elefantes mole, tauros robore, tigres velocitate prehibit'.
- 7/11 *Eche þing hath his mesure*. Proverbial.
- 7/18 *Paule þe apostle* Petrarch does not mention Paul or Peter 9/27 by name but uses a long-winded circumlocution
- 7/20 ... *þe flesch is rebel*... Cf. *Paul to the Galatians* v, 17.
- 7/21 .. *þi famylar enemye* . . Cf. *Cicero in Verrem* II, i, 15, quoted in *Fl. Doct.* under 'inimicus': 'Nulla pestis efficacior ad nocendum quam familiaris inimicus'. Also in Boethius, *De Cons.*, III, Pr v. Cf. the proverb 'Nothing worse than a familiar enemy'.

2. OF SIKNES

- 9/1 *Hinderyng of þe ton is forthing of þe toþere*. A frequently expressed idea.

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- Cf. 'St. Bernard on Man's Three Foes', *Minor Poems of the Vernon MS.*, Part II, ed. F. J. Furnivall, E.E.T.S. O.S. 117, p. 511f., ll. 74-78: 'And þat is þi flesh, þi furste fo, / þat þou pamprest and seruest so, / ȝif ich hit dorste seyen. / þou dost þi souȝle muche wrong, / Whon þou makest his fo so strong / To fihten him aȝeyn.' Cf. also *Fl.Doct.*: 'Fortitudo corporis est imbecillitas animae et rursum imbecillitas corporis est fortitudo animae', quoted from St. Jerome.
- 9/6 *Greuous infirmite makip sober souȝle*. Cf. *Ecclus.* xxxi, 2: 'Infirmis gravis sobriam faciat animam'.
- 9/7 *A bridel of arest*. The figure of the bridle and the comparison of man's passions to a wild horse is very common, also in art. Cf. D. W. Robertson, *A Preface to Chaucer*, Princeton 1963, pp. 253-54 and fig. 6. Similarly *Ayenbite of Inwyt*, E.E.T.S. O.S. 23, p. 204 where the bodily wits are likened to a horse without a bridle, which should be restrained with the bridle of reason. For a biblical source see *Ep. Jacobi*, iii, 3.
- 9/8 *Rebukiþ him with a scourgyng*. Cf. *Ecclus.* xxx, 1: 'Qui diligit filium suum assiduatur illi flagella' and the proverb: 'Spare the rod, spoil the child'. cf. Bede, 'Proverbiorum Liber', Migne, *P.L.*, t. XC, col. 1091: 'Qui parcit virgae odit filium'.
- 9/9 *Depertiþ not þe fleil þe corn fro þe schaf?* Cf. Petrus Blesensis, *De Duodecim Utilitatibus Tribulacionis*, (*P.L.*, t. CCVII, col. 994): 'Sicut flagellum cogit granum exire de palea, sic tribulatio cogit cor humanum ab amore humano separari, quia mundus displicet cordi tribulatio'. Similarly the Eng. tr. in Horstmann, *Yrksh.Wr.* II, p. 50.
- 9/10 *A bittur drinke purcheth wikkid humour*. Cf. *De XII Util.* etc., col. 992: '...nam, sicut amare potione purgantur mali humores, sic per tribulationes purgantur animae mali mores'. Attributed to St. Gregory in the English version, MS Arundel 286, fol. 103: 'fior seynt gregore seiþ: riȝt as þe bittur medicyn purgeþ þe wicked humours of þe body: so tribulacioun purgeþ þe wicked condiciouns of þe herte'. cf. also Adam Scotus of Dryburgh, *Soliloquium de Instrukcione Animae*, cap. III (*P.L.*, t. CXCVIII, col. 849): '...nec sine amara potione noxiis a mentis stomacho humor ejicitur'.
- 9/10 *Wel worth þe wand þat makip wilde childer tame*. Proverbial. cf. J. Werner, *Lateinische Sprichwörter und Sinnsprüche des Mittelalters*, 2nd. rev. ed. by Peter Flury, Heidelberg 1966: 'Indomitos pueros aspera virga domat'.
- 9/15 *A bitinge plastere*... 'mordax emplastrum'. Not in the Bible, but cf. *Biblia Latina cum Postillis Nicolai de Lyra*, Venetiis 1489, the commentary on II Corinthians, xii: 'Propter quod. Hic consequenter ponitur circa dictum remedium Apostoli petitio. Circa quod sciendum quod infirmus ignorans medici processum, quando imponit sibi mordax emplastrum, rogat medicum ut removeat ipsum: quem tamen medicus non exaudit ad nutum, licet exaudiat ipsum ad bonum suum, sciens infirmitatem suam aliter non posse curari'.
- 9/18 *How precious a juel*... Cf. I. Cor. vi, 20: 'Empti nam estis precio magno'.
- 9/25 *Mi grace sufficyþ*... II. Cor. xii, 9.
- 9/28 *Pernylle*. Not mentioned by name in Petrarch. The story of Peter's daughter Petronilla, who died as a Christian martyr in defence of her purity,

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can be found in the Greek Apocryphal Acts of Nereus and Achilles (Hans Achelis ed., *Acta SS. Nerei et Achillei*, Texte und Unters. zur Gesch. der Altchristl. Lit., Bd. 11, Leipzig 1893).

Her legend is also found in the *South English Legendary*, MS Vernon fol. 31^bf. One of the Minor Poems of Lydgate is devoted to *The Legend of St. Petronilla* (E.E.T.S. E.S. 107, Part. I, pp. 154-159).

- 9/30 *Paule ȝaf him not preizere to hele sik Tymoþe...* See I. Tim. v. 23: 'Noli adhuc aquam bibere, sed modico vino utere, propter stomachum tuum et frequentes tuas infirmitates'. In the commentary of St. Jerome (*P.L.*, t. XXX, col. 885): 'Dat ergo ei consilium, ut plus doctrinae causam, quam abstinentiae curet: et simul ostendit quas infirmitates creaturum medicina possit sanare'. The argument of this illustration and the one of Pernylle is that Adversity should not propose his own remedy, where Peter and Paul gave diametrically opposed advice. Hence the conclusion: 'What wost þou what is speedful to þe?'.
- 9/32 *Comytte þe cure of thi bodi to þe souereyne leche...* Cf. *De XII Utilitatibus*, *P.L.*, t. CCVII, col. 989: 'Suscipe igitur cum humilitate medicinam tibi a Domino missam qui est summus medicus cognoscens intimam complexionem cordis tui, quia scit quantum potes sustinere, et nihil tibi dabit nisi quod utile tibi fuerit'.
- 11/1 *His presoun is ruynounȝs...* The idea of the body as the prison of the soul is, of course, extremely frequent. For a biblical authority see Paul, II. Cor. xi, 25-27.

3. OF VNNOBLE CUNTRE

- 11/22 *Place makeþ no man holy: but man makeþ holy place.* Proverbial, cf. A. Otto, *Die Sprichwörter und sprichwörtlichen Redensarten der Römer*, Leipzig, 1890, p. 196: 'Homo locum ornat, non hominem locus'. Also in Bohn: 'It is thou must honour the place, not the place thee'.

4. OF PORE BIRÐE

- 13/8 *Among þi progenitoures. þou schalt haue alle þe hole preisinge.* Cf. Chrysostomos in *Matth.* IX, 7, quoted in *Fl. Doct.*: '...qui autem de contemptibili genere clarus egreditur, rota gloria claritudinis eius solius est'. Petrarch borrows here extensively from this homily of Chrysostom.
- 15/10 *Affter þe frute is þat is lengest abiden. is a tree demed good or badde.* This seems to be a compromise between Petrarch's text: 'De principiis enim labor: de fine fructus qui si immaturus carpitur: longevus esse non potest' and the biblical proverb: 'A tree is known by its fruit'.
- 15/14 *Bus seith þe philosophur Plato. þat þer is no kyng but he kam of servauntes...* Cf. Plato, *Theaetetus*, Loeb ed., p. 174, E. Quoted in Seneca, *Ep. Mor.*, 44,4: 'Platon ait neminem regem non ex servis esse oriundum, neminem servum non ex regibus'.
- 15/16 *Sauȝel... wente to seken his faderis assis.* I. Kings, ix. Saul, when seeking his father's asses met Samuel who recognized him as the future king of Israel.

NOTES

- 15/23 *O. swete Iesu. þi most pore natiuile schul descounfed oure prouзде hertes...*
 St. John Chrysostom's Homily on the Gospel of St. Matthew, iii is devoted to the theme that the poor birth of Christ should teach us never to be ashamed of our ancestry.

5. OF BIRTHE IN LECCHERIE

- 17/1 *Of birthe in leccherie*. In some MSS and printed editions of Petrarch's treatise (e.g. the printed edition of Le Preux, Bern 1595) this is given as *De Obscura Origine*. This may be due to confusion with dialogue IV or to misreading of *De Obscena Origine*.
- 19/5 *Or what noizede it Abraham þat his fader Thare dede honour aliene goddes?*
 This illustration is not in Petrarch, but see Chrysostom's discussion of nobility in *Homilies in Matth.* IX, 7, quoted in *Fl.Doct.* under 'nobilitas': '...quid nocuit Abrahae quod patrem habuit Tharam luteorum deorum cultorem... nec potuerunt eius gloriam sordidare paterni errores'.
- 19/6 *In ech preisyng... propere dedes ben to be charched. For aliene vertu... is non man iusili preisid...* Cf. Seneca, *Ep.Mor.* 41: 'In homine quoque illud laudandum est quod ipsius est... Quid stultius est quam in homine aliena laudare?' Quoted in *Fl.Doct.* under 'laus'.
- 19/16 *Pe sone schal not bere þe wickidnes of þe fader...* Cf. *Ezekiel*, xviii, 20: 'filius non portabit iniquitatem patris'.
- 19/17 *Poow þe comen lawe inhibete þe to take holy orderes...* One would expect 'canon law', but it is not necessary to assume scribal confusion. *Comen lawe* must here refer to the common law of the Church, hence the general law as opposed to provincial constitutions, papal privileges, etc.
 The prohibition against illegitimate children—and sons of priests, deacons, subdeacons and canons—taking orders is first recorded in a number of documents dating from the end of the eleventh century.¹ It arose within the framework of the so-called Gregorian Reformation of the Church which took a strong line against the widespread secularization of the clergy.² In particular this prohibition was directed against the common practice of finding ecclesiastical careers for illegitimate sons of the nobility and the clergy, who in the secular sphere were debarred from enjoying their patrimonial heritage.
 Though the above decretals had at first a restricted application they became part of the general canon law in accordance with the custom of basing the

¹ Synod of Poitiers, 1078, canon 8; further in a letter of Urban II of 1089 (ed. Migne, *P.L.*, t. 151, letter no. 24, col. 306); canons 11 and 25 of the synod of Clermont, 1095, also under the supervision of Urban II; and the *Decretum Gratiani*, 1140-42.

² Cf. A. Fliche, *La Réforme grégorienne et la Réconquête chrétienne* (1057-1123), Paris, 1946 in A. Fliche et V. Martin, *Histoire de l'Église*, vol. 8, p. 281 f., which gives the text of the prohibition together with comments on the historical conditions. See also the article on Urban II in *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, vol. xv, 2 (cols. 2269-2285), col. 2283.

general law on private constitutions.¹ The prohibition came to form part of the *Decretum Gratiani*, promulgated in the years 1140-42, and soon acquired the strength of a decretal of universal application. This custom was implicitly confirmed by Pope Gregory IX when in 1234, he formally pronounced the *Liber Extra*—which was a supplementary collection of constitutions drawn up after the *Decretum Gratiani*—as a universally binding part of the canon law.

6. OF BONDACHE

- 21/5 *Aristotele wrytiþ. þat sum men ben seruaundes be lawe. & sum men be kynde.* Cf. Aristotle, *Politics*, Bk. I, Chapter II, 13. This quotation not in Petrarch.
- 21/17 *I rede ones in Job ...* Cf. *Job* v, 6: 'Nihil in terra fit sine causa'.
- 23/6 *þe preching of seynt Petre: Be ze seruauntes sogetes to ȝour souereynes...* Cf. I *Peter*, ii, 18. With the restrictions following cf. St. Jerome's commentary on Paul's *Epistle to Titus* ii, 9, 10 (P.L., t. XXVI, col. 584).
- 23/7 *trewauntes.* The Vulgate text has 'dyscolis', which in the Wycliffite version is translated by 'tyrauntis'. The *Glossa Ordinaria* glosses 'dyscolis' as 'indisciplinatis', which may have given rise to both 'tyrants' and 'truants'. The translation 'trewauntes' is in accord with the further commentary of the *Glossa* to I *Peter*, ii, 18 (P.L., CXIV, 648): 'Schola Graece, Latine locus, in quo ad audiendos magistros liberalium artium conveniebant, unde schola vacatio interpretatur, quia ibi vacabant studiis. Scholastici igitur sunt eruditi. Dyscoli indocti et agreste'. Similarly, both the *Catholicon Anglicum*, an English-Latin Wordbook dated 1483, (ed. Sidney J. H. Herrtage, E.E.T.S. O.S. 75, 1881) and the *Promptorium Parvulorum* gloss 'trowant(t)' as 'discolus'.
- 23/28 *þi grucching weihiþ more þan doth þi seruyse.* The view that the greatest burden is that which we cause to ourselves by our own fancies is found in a similar way in Seneca, *Ep. Mor.*, 78.13: 'Noli mala tua facere ipse graviora et te querelis onerare; levis est dolor, si nil illi opinio adiecerit...' Also Petrarch in dialogue 24 of the second book.
- 23/31 *þe myghtes of þi souȝle may walke a mong þe ierarchies.* Possibly an allusion to the powers or virtues of the angelic hierarchy.
- 23/35 *But Jerom recordeþ...* Cf. *Epistola* liii (ad Paulinum), P.L., t. XXII, col. 541: '...captus a piratis et venundatus, etiam tyranno crudelissimo (Dionysio Siciliae) paruit, captivus, vinctus, et servus; tamen quia Philosopher, major emente se fuit'. The authority of Jerome is not in Petrarch and the English is based on the above quotation rather than on Petrarch's text.
- 25/2 *Kyng Nabugodonosor...* Cf. *Daniel*, ii. Petrarch has instead the illustration of Terence's rise to fame through his achievement as a writer of comedies, which raised him from servitude to the heights of literary eminence.
- 25/23 *Hismalitis:* the Ishmaelites, cf. *Genesis* xxxvii, 28.

¹ A. M. Stickler, *Corpus Iuris Canonici in Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, 2nd ed., vol. iii, cols. 65-69.

NOTES

- 25/28 *Truþe... may not be slayn. þooow it be beten.* Proverbial? Cf.: 'Truth may be blamed, but cannot be shamed' (O.D.P.).

7. OF POUERTE

- 27/15 *ʒif þou walke be þe kuntre... fyne hors.* This passage is a bit obscure and possibly corrupt. The addition of *no* is only an attempt to make the argument slightly more logical. The general meaning, however, is clear. It is a frequently expressed sentiment in discussions of poverty, ultimately derived from Juvenal's *Satire* X, 22: 'Cantabit vacuus coram latrone viator'. It is found in Seneca *Ep. Mor.*, 14, 9: 'Nudum latro transmittit; etiam in obsessa via pauperi pax est', quoted in *Fl. Doct.* under 'paupertas'. It is found in Boethius, *De Cons.*, II, Prose v, in Chaucer, Wyclif, Lydgate and cf. also *Speculum Christiani*, E.E.T.S. O.S. 214, p. 216: 'Seneca: A riche, couetous man dredes theues or wey-lyers and other men. He sees a strangar man than he, and he wenes he wer a thefe or a rauenour. He sees a poore man and suppose he wer a robber.'
- 27/18 *A gilt spore:* symbol of the knight.
- 27/22 *Also litil as þei may wel lest: pilgrimes trussen with hem.* Cf. Gregory, *Homiliarum in Evangelia Libri Duo*, P.L. t. LXXVI. col. 1233: '...peregrinus vitat sui ipsius nimiam orationem: quanto minus potest secum portat de vestibus et aliis quibuscunque'.
- 27/25 *To wrastele for the swan.* Mostly the prize for victory in a wrestling-match was a ram or a cock. Cf. J. Strutt, *The Sports and Pastimes of the People of England*, new edition by W. Hone, London 1883, pp. 82-83.
- 27/25 *Bei enemye may werst holde haue of þe wanne þou gost alderest bare.* Wrestlers had at least the upper part of the body uncovered, cf. A. Wettwer, *Englischer Sport im 14. Jahrhundert*, Göttingen, 1933, p. 87. The comparison of a poor man to a naked wrestler is not in Petrarch, but can be found in Gregory, *Homiliarum in Evangelia Libri Duo*, P.L., t. LXXVI, col. 1233: 'Nudi ergo cum nudis luctari debemus. Nam si vestitus quisquam cum nudo luctatur, citius ad terram dejicitur, quia habet unde teneatur. Quid enim sunt terrena omnia, nisi quaedam corporis indumenta?'
- 27/29 *Pere is non bed soft to a seke man.* Not in Petrarch, but cf. Seneca, *Ep. Mor.*, 17, 12 (trans. Loeb ed.): 'Just as it matters little whether you lay a sick man on a wooden or on a golden bed, for whithersoever he be moved he will carry his malady with him; so one need not care whether the diseased mind is bestowed upon riches or upon poverty. His malady goes with the man'.
- 29/5 *Litil katel: litil kare.* Proverbial, cf. Bohn: 'Little goods, little care'.
- 29/7 *Fortune hath fro me taken...* This is where in the corresponding Latin of some MSS and printed editions a new chapter *De Damno Passo* begins.
- 31/9 *Þe sonne cloþith þe eire on daies...* The changes of natural phenomena are tokens of the variability of worldly things. Cf. Boethius, *De Consolatione*, Bk. II, Metrum iii.
- 31/20 *While wele & woo pleyen at þe balle...* This representation of the workings of Fortune is not discussed by Patch, *The Goddess Fortuna in Mediaeval*

- Literature* The figure of the ball by the side of the usual wheel is however common enough Cf Chaucer's *Truth*, line 9 and Lydgate, *Troy Book*, I, 1506, II, 2027 In various medieval illustrations the twin figures of *wel* and *woo* (Prosperitas and Adversitas) appear in the centre of the wheel or as the two parts of the castle to which Fortune assigns her guests (Patch, p 143 and p 164)
- 31/20 *Nepur of hem kan holde longe þe balle stille but hedur & þedur it (goþ) contynuely* It seems safest to assume that some such verb as *goþ* has been omitted here by the copyist As the text stands it would mean that *hedur* and *þedur* are adverbs converted to verbs governing an object The first instance recorded in OED of *hither* and *thither* as verbs is from the early 19th century and only in an intransitive function
- 31/23 *Panne is goddis grace ner þan þe bischops dole* Possibly a variation on the proverb 'God's help is nearer than the door' adapted to this context Cf Bohn for examples of other variants
- 31/30 *Fro þe may fortune nouzt bere but þat sche may bringe to þe* Cf Seneca, *Ep Mor*, 39, 10 'Nihil eripit fortuna nisi quod dedit' Quoted in *Fl Doct* Entered as a proverb in Bohn 'Fortune can take from us nothing but what she gave us'
- 33/3 *How may manye þinges wante where fewe þinges sufficen* Cf Seneca, *Ep Mor*, 17, 9 (trans Loeb ed) 'But, you say, I shall lack the necessities of life In the first place, you cannot lack them, because nature demands but little'
- 33/4 *Nede may sone be riche know but couetise seyzeth neuer hoo* Cf Seneca, *Ad Helviam de Consolatione*, X, 11 'Cupiditate nihil satis est, naturae etiam parum' and Boethius, *De Cons*, III, Pr III 'Taceo quod naturae minimum, quod avaritiae nihil satis est'
- 33/5 *Als meche as he wolde haue as meche him faylith* Cf Boethius, *De Cons*, Bk II, Prose v 'verumque illud est permultis eos indigere qui permulta possideant contraque minimum qui abundantiam suam naturae necessitate non ambitus superfluitate metiantur' Cf Horace, *Carmina*, III, 16, 24 'Multa petentibus desunt multa', and *Romance of the Rose*, English version, l 5720 'whanne he most hath, most he failith'
- 33/6 *Not he þat lest hap but he þat most coueteþ is most pore* This is modelled on Seneca rather than on Petrarch Cf Seneca, *Ep Mor*, 2, 4 'Non qui parum habet, sed qui plus cupit, pauper est' Quoted in *Fl Doct* under 'paupertas', there attributed to St Jerome It is entered as a proverb in Bohn 'He is not poor that hath not much, but he that craves much'
- 33/19 *Were pouerte & paciens wonen to gedere þere is rich pouert* Cf Seneca, *De Remediis Fortuitorum*, X 'Qui cum paupertate bene convenit dives est' Quoted in *Fl Doct* under 'paupertas' Cf also the proverb 'Patience with poverty is all a poor man's remedy' (Bohn)
- 33/21 *His handes were euere open* Cf *Prov xxxi*, 20 'Manum suam aperuit inopi, et palmas suas extendat ad pauperem'
- 33/22 *Widwes and faderles childrin* Cf *Job*, xxix, 11-13
- 33/25 *Þe weiserande at his zate hadde fre entre* Cf *Job*, xxxi, 16-22
- 35/2 *Now pouert partþ þelowschep* Proverbial

NOTES

- 35/4 *Now may þou be certein with owten inquisicioun who haþ ben þi fered frendes* Cf Seneca, *Ep Mor*, 20, 7. 'Ob hoc maxime amanda est paupertas, quia a quo ameris ostendit' Quoted in *Fl Doct* under 'paupertas' Also in Boethius, *De Cons* Bk II, Prose viii and in the *Roman de la Rose*, Chaucer's tr ll 5551-2 'For infortune makith anoon / To knowe thy freendis fro thy foon'
- 35/5 *Flateres wole passen bi* Cf the proverb 'Flatterers haunt not cottages' (Bohn)
- 35/7 *Jogolours & japeres* Jugglers had a notorious knack of inviting themselves, 'making an excuse of minstrelsy to obtain hospitality', C Hole, *English Sports and Pastimes*, London, 1949, p 87
- 35/15 *So dispisith he Crist* cf *Prov*, xvii, 5 'Qui despicit pauperem, exprobat factori eius', and *Prov* xxii, 22 'Non facias violentiam pauperi, quia pauper est'

8 OF FEBLE FARE

- 37/3 *Þin fare þin lust* The emendation of *þi* to *þin* is suggested by the sense of the corresponding Latin Besides, the form *þin* in *þin fare* must mean 'thin' and not 'your' as in all other cases *þi* is used before consonants
- 37/7 *pechur prouzd* Cf the similar formation 'pot-valiant'
- 37/9 *Be a fool drunken he is wise now he passith in his owne opynyoun a meyster of diurnite* Cf *Prov* xii, 15 'Via stulti recta in oculis eius' and Bohn 'The way of a fool is right in his own eyes'
- 37/21 *Be abstinence of German* This may be a reference to Germanus Augustodunum or to Germanus Autessiodurum, both equally famed for their abstemiousness The former was born at Autun about 496 and died in 576 He became bishop of Paris and founded the monastery of St Germain-des-Prés His life was written by Fortunatus and is printed in Migne, *PL*, t LXXXVIII, col 453-78 The latter was bishop of Auxerre and died in 448 It is this Germain who is often referred to in Middle English literature, as in *An Alphabet of Tales*, E E T S O S 126, p 235 and *Ayenbite of Inwyt*, E E T S O S 23, p 190 His life was written by Constance de Lyon between 475 and 480, a 13th-century MS of this is in the B M
- 37/23 *Manye studien seche stories And what is more veyn* This is an example of a translation widely out of its context The corresponding Latin is on p 26, ll 27 ff
- 39/3 *Podagre* The gout was traditionally regarded as caused by a combination of surfeit and sloth Cf *Prick of Conscience*, 2993 and Capgrave, *Chron Rolls*, quoted in OED
- 39/4 *Þe phisician schal haue þe lesse of þi moneye* Allusion to the proverb 'Feed by measure and defy the physician'
- 39/7 *Vnresonable bestes kepe þe mesure þat nature hath tawt hem* . cf Samuel Singer, *Sprichwörter des Mittelalters*, Vol I, p 7 'Das Vieh weisz, wann es heim soll und geht vom Grase weg aber der Narr kennt niemals seines Magens Masz'
- 39/9 *It is wreten þat for surfet many on hath perched* Cf *Ecclus* xxxvii, 34: 'Propter crapulam multi obierunt'

- 39/10 *Glottenye sleeth mo þan þe sweerd doth*. Proverbial, cf. H. Bebel, *Proverbia Germanica*, ed. W. H. D. Suringar, Leiden, 1879: 'Plures gula quam gladio moriuntur'. Also Wyclif: 'ffor, as clerkes seyn comynly, glotorie slees mo þen dos swerde', *Sel. Eng. Works of John Wyclif*, Oxford, 1871, Vol. II, Cap xxvi. Also in Bohn: 'Surfeits slay mae than swords'.
- 39/18 *Hungur dispisip no maner of mete*. Proverbial and cf. Seneca, *Ep.Mor.*, 119, 4: 'Nihil contemnit esuriens'.
- 39/19 *Pou mayst no betere plesen hym. þan driue hym a wey*. Cf. Seneca, *Ep.Mor.*, tr. Loeb ed. 21: 'The belly... is not a troublesome creditor; you can send it away at small cost...'
- 39/21 *Haue he a mes potage...* Cf. the maxim: 'It is better to have a mess of pottage in peace and quiet than a choice of a thousand dishes with a heavy and angry heart' (*How the Wise Man Taught his Son*, quoted by T. F. Mustanoja, *The Good Wife Taught her Daughter*, etc., Helsinki 1948, p. 64).
- 39/22 *A feste be þe wombe ful*. Possibly an allusion to the proverb: 'Little difference between a feast and a bellyful' (O.D.P.).
- 39/22 *Nature lokeþ after no delicacies. but þe lippes of lust...* Cf. Seneca, *Ep.Mor.*, 17, 3: 'Parvo fames constat, magno fastidium'.
- 39/29 *Haue we our sustinaunce...* Cf. I Tim. vi, 8.
- 39/37 *Crisostom seyzl*. Not in Petrarch, but cf. St. John Chrysostom, *De Compunctione Cordis* I, 7: 'Sicut impossibile est, ut ignis inflammetur in aqua: ita impossibile est compunctionem cordis vigere in deliciis. Contraria enim haec sibi sunt invicem, & peremptoria: illa enim mater fletus, haec mater est risus: illa cor constringit, ita dissolvit'. Quoted in *Fl.Doct.* under 'deliciae'.
- 41/3 *Hony was forbede in þe sacrifice of þe lord*. Cf. *Leviticus*, ii, 11, 12.
- 41/4 *In fugure*, Lat. 'in figura', in biblical commentaries the usual way to introduce a symbolical explanation.
- 41/4 *Þat lusti leuyng*. Cf. Isidore, *Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum*: In *Leviticum*, Cap. III, (P.L., t. LXXXIII, col. 322): 'Quod autem mel in Dei sacrificio non offertur indicat apud Deum nihil voluptuosum, nihil suave hujus mundi placere, nihilque, quod non habeat mordacis aliquis veritatis'. Also Nicolas de Lyra, *Postillae*: 'Dulcedo vero mellis significat lasciviam carnis, quae non debet esse in sacrificiis divinis'.
- 41/10 *To wete þi mete in Cristes wondes...* For a similarly plastic metaphor cf. *The Book of Vices and Virtues*, E.E.T.S. O.S. 217, p. 110 where the bread of life, made of our own dough, is said to have been fried and baked in the womb of the Virgin Mary, fried in the pan of the cross and truly fried in Christ's own blood.
- 41/11 *Þe wateres of Marath*, cf. *Exodus*, xv, 23-25.
- 41/14 *Dis tre be tokeneþ þe cros of our sauour...* Cf. Nicolas de Lyra, *Postillae*: 'Moraliter: Per aquas amaras significantur tribulationes vitae praesentis... Per lignum autem intelligitur crux .i. passio Christi, quae si mittatur per fidem charitate formatam in cor hominis repletum aquis tribulationis, vertit illas in dulcedinem per virtutem patientiae & spem retributionis eternae'. The same commentary is given in the *Book of Vices and Virtues*, p. 202: 'Þe bitter wateres ben þe tribulacions of þe world; þe tree þat makeþ hem swete, þat is þe crois þat goddes sone heng on for vs'.

LANGUAGE

A. ACCIDENCE

NOUNS

1. Number. The majority of the nouns conform to the strong masculine type with pl. in *-es* generally and occasionally *-is*, *-s*, *-us* (once): *goodes*, *jueles*, *tempestis*, *Hismalitis*, *condicions*, *jogolours*, *labourus*. Apart from such plurals as *schep*, *feet*, *wymmen*, uninflected plurals occur after a numeral: *seuene sithe*, and in *manere*, *sibreden*. The weak pl. ending *-en* is to be found occasionally: *eigen*, *eygen*, but *eres*, *schuldres*. Double plurals: *children*, *childrin*, *childryn* beside *childer*. OF *richesse* appears as *richees*, *richesse* used as plurals by the side of the double pl. *richesses*.
2. Gender. *Nature* and *pouerte* are referred to by masc. pron. (cf. Mustanoja p. 51). *Fortune* is referred to by a fem. pron. These are probably degrees of personification.
3. Genitive. The gen. sg. has the ending *-es*, but *-is* is also frequent: *faderes*, *sones*, *worldes*, *treis*, *goddis*, *faderis*; *-s* in *bischops*, *bakers*. An uninflected gen. sg. occurs in *helle brondes*. The ending of the gen. pl. is not distinguished from that of the sg.: *gentil mennes children*. The OE gen. pl. survives in *heuene delices*.

ADJECTIVES

4. The adjective has no distinctive declensional endings. A French pl. in *-es* is *sogetes*. The suffixes for the comparative and the superlative are *-er(e)* and *-est*: *sekerer*, *fairere*, *better(e)*, *feißfullere*, *greuest*.

ADVERBS

5. By the side of the usual ending *-li*, *-ly* there are *-es* endings in

togederes, vnneþes, ones, twies, ofte tymes, on daies, on nyghtes. Adverbs which originally ended in *-e* occur in: *starith brode, berist heuye, heuy charched, wide open.*

PRONOUNS

6. Personal Pronouns. Nom. forms sg. 1. *I*, 2. *þou, þow, þouz*, 3. M. *he*, F. *sche (he)*, N. *it, hit*. Oblique forms sg. 1. *me*, 2. *þe (þi)*, 3. M. *him, hym*, F. *her, here*, N. *it, hit*.
Nom. forms pl. 1. *we*, 2. *ge*, 3. *þei (þe)*.
Oblique forms pl. 1. *us*, 2. *zow*, 3. *hem (hym)*.
Northern *scho* forms are absent, *he* for *she* is Southern or extreme East, *þe* (once only) for *they* is an unstressed form, *þi* for *thee* is a by-form, cf. OED., *hit* by the side of *it* would point to the West Midlands but is also normal in certain areas of the East Midlands. Of the Scand. pronouns *þei* is used but for the oblique form *hem* only occurs.
7. Compound Personal Pronouns. Only the following occur: Sg. 2. *þi self, þi silf(f)*, 3. *him self*; Pl. 3. *hem self*.
8. Possessive Pronouns. The conjunctive forms are: Sg. 1. *mi, my, myn*, 2. *þi, thi, þyn, (þei)*, the forms with *-n* being preferred before vowel or *h*; 3. M. & N. *his*, F. *her(e)*. Pl. 1. *our(e), ouzr*, 2. *zour*, 3. *her(e), þer(e)*. The disjunctive forms are: Sg. 2. *þin*. Pl. 3. *heren* (the *-n* is added in the South and Midlands on the analogy of *min* and *þin*).
9. Demonstrative Pronouns. For the sg. we find *þis, þat, such, sech, sich, ilke*; for the pl. *þo, þese, siche*. The OE instrumental survives in *for þi* and in *þe* followed by the proportional comparative.
10. Interrogative Pronouns. The following occur: *who, what. Which* is not used nor are the oblique forms of *who*.
11. Relative Pronouns. *wos, whos, whom, wich, þat, (þa)*. *Who* is not used as a rel. pron. in the nom. It only occurs in generalising use: *who so* and in interrogative use.
12. Indefinite Pronouns. *al, all(e), any, ony, oni, eche, ilke, no(n), nouzt, no þing, ouzt, owt, oþer, sum(me), sum what, what so euer, boþe, neþur*.

ARTICLES

13. Indefinite Article. Before consonants *a*, before vowels and *h* *an*; *a noþer* occurs by the side of *an oþer* for 'another'.

14. Definite Article. *þe*. The *t* of the earlier form, OE *þæt ān*, survives in *þe ton.... þe toþer*.

VERBS

15. Present Indicative. Sg. 1. *-e*, 2. *-est*, *-ist* usually: *hatest*, *metist*, but there are a few *-es*, *-is* forms: *encresis*, *pleynes*, *wantes*, *calles*; 3. usually *-eþ*, *-eth*, *-iþ*, *-yþ*, *-ith*, *-yth*: *holdeþ*, *happeneth*, *makiþ*, *sufficyþ*, *lullith*, *remouyþ*, but the following forms in *-es* occur: *strokes*, *suffices*; *-t* endings have *lift*, *schewet*, *seyzt* and endingless are *grucche* and *lust*, *liste* (the former might be explained as a subjunctive and the latter are common contractions). Pl. 1.2.3. *-e*, *-en* or endingless: *seize*, *þeynten*, *forfeten*, *fle*. A few *haþ* forms can be explained on syntactical grounds as singulars.
16. Past Indicative. A. OE strong verbs. The past indicative usually shows the normal development from the OE sg. form of the strong verb: *chese*, *vnbond*, *fond*, *brak*, *drank*. There is neither a Northern nor a Western preterite (Wyld, *Sh. Hist.* § 356). The pl. also shows the normal development from the OE type. Endings: *-e* or zero for all persons.
B. OE weak verbs (and imported verbs). Sg. 1. *-ed-e*, 2. *-ed-e*: *wantede*, *pleynede*, but *-ist* in *schuldist*, *haddist*. 3. *-ed-e*: *preizede*.
17. Present Participle. The usual ending is *-ing*, *-yng*: *filynge*, *faueringe*. The two forms in *-ande*: *induellande*, *weiþerande* are clearly substantives.
18. Past Participle. A. of OE strong verbs. The endings mostly contain an *-n*: *founden*, *taken*, *gotyn*, *goten*, *born*, but some end in *-e*: *bore*, *forbede*, *come*.
B. of OE weak verbs and imported verbs. Endings *-ed*, *-id*, *-ede*, *-it*: *aspied*, *formed*, *lakkid*, *helid*, *schewede*, *weddit*, *enduet*, *offendit*, *stoppit*. The OE prefix *ge-* has not survived.
19. Infinitive. The most frequent ending is *-e*; also *-en*, *-in*; some have no ending: *deliuere*, *schewe*, *rise*, *seken*, *vsin*, *seuer*, *part*.
20. Survey of the strong verbs. (1 = inf. or related form, 2 = past. sg., 3 = past pl., 4 = past part.)
Class I 1. *abide*; 4. *abiden*; 1. *driue*; 1. *bitinge*; 1. *rise*; 4. *risen*;
 1. *writith*; 4. *wreten*.
Class II 1. *chese*; 2. *chese*; 4. *chosen*; 1. *fle*; 1. *forbede*; 4. *forbede*.
Class III 1. *beginnynge*; 1. *byndere*; 2. *vnbond*; 4. *bounde*; 1. *climbe*;
 1. *dryngen*; 2. *drank*; 4. *drunken*; 1. *fynde(n)*; *findeþ*;

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2. *fond*; 3. *found*; 4. *founden*; *fownden*; 1. *helpe(n)*;
1. *renneþ*; 1. *wynne*; 1. *zelden*; 1. *springen*.
- Class IV 1. *komen*, *kummeþ*; 3. *come*; 4. *come*; 1. *bere*; 4. *bore*,
born.
- Class V 1. *biddinges*; 4. *beden*; 1. *breke*; 2. *brak*; 1. *ete(n)*;
1. *forzete*, *forgetyng*; 4. *forzetten*; 1. *zeue*, *ziffe*; 2. *zaf*;
4. *zeuen*; 1. *liggeth*; 1. *se(e)*; 2. *saw*; 4. *seen*, *sene*;
1. *sitten*; 2. *sat*; 1. *spekeþ*.
- Class VI 1. *drawe*; 1. *farist*; 1. *lawyng*; 1. *sleeth*; 4. *slayn*;
1. *stondiþ*; 1. *taken*; 2. *toke*; 3. *taken*; 1. *with drawe*;
1. *withstondiþ*; *withstandiþ*.
- Class VII 2. *bleuz*; 1. *falle*; 1. *holde*; 1. *knowe*; 1. *lete*; 1. *reden*;
2. *rede*; 4. *rad*; 1. *walke*; 1. *wepith*; 4. *be hight*; 4. *beten*.
21. Preterite Present Verbs. The following occur:
1. pr. 2 sg. *wost*; imp. sg. *wete*; pa. pl. *wiste*.
2. inf. *kun*, *kunne*; pr. 3 sg. *kan*; pa. pl. *couden*; pa. 3 ind. *kowde*.
3. pr. 2 sg. *derst*; pr. 3 sg. *þer* (from OE *þearf*).
4. pr. 1 sg. *schal*; 2. *schalt*; 3. *schal*; pr. pl. *schal*, *schul*; pa. 2 sg.
schuldest, *schuldist*; 3. *scholde*, *schulde*; pa. pl. *schulde*.
5. pr. 2 sg. *maist*, *mayst*, *mayt*, *may*, *mai*; 3. *may*; pl. *may*; pa. 2
sg. *myght*; 3. *myzt*, *myght(e)*, *mygth*.
6. inf. *howen*; pa. 3 sg. *awte*.
22. The Verb *to be*. Present indicative: Sg. 1. *ham*; 2. *art*; 3. *is*.
Pl. 1.2.3. *be*, *ben* and (less frequently) *are*, *aren*, *arn*. Imp. sg. & pl.
be; past. part. *be*, *ben*. Past indicative: Sg. 1. *whas*; 2. *were*, *where*,
ware; 3. *was*. Pl. 1.2.3. *were(n)*; inf. *be*, *bee*; pres. subj. sg. 2, 3 *be*.
23. The Verb *to have*. Present indicative: Sg. 1. *haue*; 2. *hast*;
3. *haþ*, *hath*; pl. *hauen*; past indicative 2 sg. *haddest*, *haddist*;
other persons *hadde(n)*. Infinitive *haue*; past. part. *had*.

B. PHONOLOGY SOUNDS AND SYMBOLS

A. The OE and ME Short Vowels

1. OE *æ* appears as *a*

I. in closed syllables and open: *þat*, *hadde*, *faderes*, *þak*, *late*. There are no *aa*-spellings and no indications of *e*-sounds.

II. OE *æ* + *ġ* (palatal spirant) is spelled *ai*, *ay* or *ey*: *fair*, *ḡayr*, *ḡeyre*, *daies*, *maiden*, *slayn*, *ḡayn*.

2. OE *a*, also ON & OF *a*, EME *a*

I. EME *a* in closed syllables and open is represented by *a*: *fals*, *askyng*, *asses*, *talede*.

II. Late OE *a* before a nasal or nasal + cons. (other than *b*, *d*, *g*) is represented by *a* in closed syllables and open: *man*, *wanten*, *many*, *kam*, *mad*, *name*, *tame*, *a schamed*, *ḡank*, *drank*. *ḡen*, *ḡenne* are frequently found by the side of *ḡan*, *ḡanne*; *wen*, *when*, *whenne* are frequently found by the side of *wan*, *whan*, *whanne*.

III. Before the lengthening groups *nd*, *ng* *o* is generally found, occasionally *a*: *brondes*, *stondeḡ*, *withstondiḡ*, *among*, *longeḡ*, *strong*; *handes*, *handymaidenes*, *withstandiḡ*.

IV. OE (Angl.) *a* (WS *ea*) + *l* + cons.

(1) before *l* + cons. (other than *d*) *a* is general: *alle*, *ḡalle*, *salt*.

(2) the Anglian unbroken form appears as *o* before *-ld*: *olde*, *holdeḡ*, *holde*, *houzshold*; *euenehelde* shows the WS fractured form, unless it is based on the OE sb. *eldo*.

V. F. *a* + nasal + cons. produces *a*, *au*: *daunger*, *chaumbre*, *seruaunt*, *perchance*.

VI. Late OE *a* (and EME *a*) + *h* is spelled *aw*, *auz* in *lawter*, *tawt*, *awte*, *slawter* (ON **slahtr*), *slawt* and *slauzḡe*.

VII. OE *a* + *g* (voiced back spirant) appears as *aw*: *drawe*, *lawe* (from ON), *sawe*.

3. OE *e*, EME *e* appears as *e* generally

I. in closed syllables before non-lengthening consonant combinations: *best*, *better*, *betere*, *helpen*, *mennes*, *ḡenken*, *telle*, *bedde*.

II. In front of lengthening groups: *e*, *ee*: *sende*, *seende*, *ende*, *zelden*, *welden*, *endeḡ*.

III. In open syllables: *e*: *zeue*, *zeueḡ*, *bere*, *spekeḡ*, *breke*, *mete*, *heuye*, *eten*. The inf. *ziffe* may be due to the 2nd and 3rd sg. cf. OED.

IV. Note the following special cases, where *i* for *e* would be Northern or Eastern. (Luick § 379 and § 411, Anm. 3)

(1) *e* between *r* and a dental: *wrecche*.

(2) *e* between *g* and a dental: *zis*, *zit*, *togedere*.

(3) before *d*: *stede*.

(4) before *n* + cons.: *strengḡe*; the *i* in *ḡinke* is due to OE *ḡyncan*.

(5) before a palatal: *lechery*, *leccherie*, *sleknyth*, *whicch* and *wycches* (OE *wecg*). OE *sēoc* appears as *sik*, *seke*, *siknes*, *sekenes*.

It is clear that the *i*-forms are not dominant, and those with *i* are quite common in other than Northern areas. Only *whicch*, *wycches* (wedge) is not common in the South.

V. ME *er* appears generally as *er*: *seruaunt*, *lerne*, *seruice*, *zerde*, *hertes*, *herbored*, *werres*, *ferþinges*, *fer*. -*er* spellings are more conservative than -*ar* spellings (Luick § 430). *Perti* and *depertiþ* have the contraction sign for -*er*, but in full *departiþ* occurs.

VI. OE *e* + *ġ* (palatal spirant) appears as *ei*, *eih*, *ey*, *eyz*: *a wey*, *pleyen*, *seyzeth*, *seith*, *weize*, *weyze*, *weyith*, *weihiþ*. OE *ongegen* appears as *azen*, *azens*, *a zenes*, *a zeyn*.

VII. In unaccented syllables *y*, *i*, *e*, *u* occur: *certis*, *certes*, *gotyn*, *goten*, *blessid*, *sekirli*, *hungur*, *comyn*, *usin*, *binyn*, *komylnly*, *labourus*, *bittur*, *opur*, *wondur*, *wepur*, *fugure*. *e* and *i* are most frequent and it should be noted that the sign of contraction for -*ur* is used, but that the -*ur* form is not used in full. Similarly the contraction sign for -*us* is used, but in full -*es* or -*is* are the rule, except in *labourus*. *e* and *i* are characteristic of the North and neighbouring counties (Luick § 460, 2a); -*ur* and -*us* forms would be typical of the NW Midlands. (Luick § 460, 2a).

VIII. Final -*e*, which would have ceased to be pronounced, was sometimes lost in the spelling: *seuer*, *part* (inf.); *e* is also lost in the inflexional endings of *bakers*, *bischops*, *jogolours*, *emperours*.

4. OE & ME *i*

I. OE *i* appears mostly as *i*, *y*.

(1) in closed syllables: *bringith*, *brynge*, *sittiþ*, *bitter*, *lippes*, *children*, *springen*, *widwes*, *bridde*, *lift*.

(2) in open syllables *e* is quite frequent: *leue*, *leuynge*,¹ *wreten*, *wete*, *þedur*, *hedur*, *heder too*, *lemes*, *sekerer*, also in *skele* (from ON) but *i*, *y* in *abiden*, *lyuyng*.

(3) before lengthening groups: *fynde*, *childe*.

II. OF pretonic *i* which became stressed in ME is spelled both *e* and *i*: *cete*, *vilanye*, *merour*, *myrrour*, *pechir*, *negardes*; *desese* and *profetid* show lowering of unstressed *i*; *fugure* has *u*.

III. ME *i* from OE *y* (also 'unfestes' *y*)

¹ In these two forms the *e* may also derive from *io/eo* in Anglian.

(1) in closed syllables: *kynne*, *synne*, *kynde*, *þinne*, *kyndom*, *firste*, *kingges*, *chirche*, *kisse*, *knyt*, *list*, *birþen* have *i*, *y*. The only *e* forms are *werre*, *werst* (the former is Northern cf. OED, also Luick § 286, Anm. 3) and *lest*, vb. *burþen*, *lust* have *u*.

(2) in open syllables: *bisily*, *besi*, *juel*, *merier*, *bizere*, *dede* (did).

(3) OE *mycel*, *swylc*, *hwylc* appear as *meche*, *sich*, *sech*, *such*, *wich*.

(4) in the combination *wi* the *i* is rounded to *u*, spelled *o*: *wommen*, but *wymmen*. The aux. vb. *will* has *wele* but more commonly *wole* in the present tense.

(5) OE *wyrcean* appears once in *werkyng*, which is probably modelled on the sb. *werk*. *wer* forms can be placed in the SE Midlands but can also be Northern.

Generally speaking the *i* forms are regular. The *e* forms in III cannot be regarded as evidence for the SE development $y > e$, which is borne out by the fact that also forms with original *i* (I + II) show the development to *e*. The question is complicated by the fact that the *e* spellings in some cases may represent the lengthened vowel in open syllables. Lowering of *i* to *e* is a feature of East Anglia in the 14th century (Luick § 394) or may be due to a more general 15th-century lowering. *meche* and *seche* are however typical of the SE Midlands.

5. OE & ME *o* is generally represented by the spelling *o*

I. in closed syllables: *broth*, *colt*, *folk*, *god*. When followed by the back spirant *h* the combination appears as *ouȝ*, *ow*, *ough*: *þouȝtes*, *nowt*, *nouȝt*, *ouȝt*, *owt*, *brouȝt(e)*, *broughte*, *dowter*, *wrouȝt*, *þowten*.

II. before lengthening groups: *hornes*, *þorn*.

III. in open syllables: *rote*, *roten*, *chosen*, *hope*, *motes*.

6. OE *u* is usually written *v* initially, *u*, *o* medially: *vnder*, *vp*, *vnneþes*, *lufty*, *sum*, *komeþ*, *kummeþ*, *hungur*, *þorw*; in open syllables: *dore*, *sones*. *vnloke* is a new formation on the analogy of pp. *gelocen*. The combination *-nd* does not seem to cause lengthening in *wondes*. OE *u* + *g* (voiced back spirant) appears as *ou* in *foul*.

B. The OE & EME Long Vowels

7. OE *ā*, EME *ā* appears as *o*, *oo*: *boþe*, *wost*, *holsom*, *strokes*, *old*, *alone*, *on*, *homly*, *liþlode*, *woo*. An *a* spelling occurs in *awte* ('ought', vb.),

which derives from a late OE form with short *a*. This doublet of *ouȝte* according to Jordan § 105 is restricted to certain areas, mainly the NW Midlands, but is more general in the 15th century (*ibid.* § 287). The form *þa* (once) is probably nothing else but a slip of the pen for *þat*.

ā + *g* (voiced back spirant) produces *ow*: *owne*, *howen*.

ā + *w* produces *ow*, *ouȝ*: *knowest*, *souȝle*.

8. OE *ā*₁ (from W Gmc *ā*)

This is usually represented by *e*. As there are no rhymes the phonetic difference from *e* < *ā*₂ is difficult to establish. Examples: *dedes*, *þere*, *where*, *lete*, *slepynge*, *speche*, *schepe*, *dreden*, *her*.

*ā*₁ before shortening groups shows the usual variation *a/e*: *rede*, *rad*, according to the phase of shortening.

*ā*₁ + *g* is represented by *ei*: *keies*, but note *neþer*.

ware (pa. subj. 2 sg. of *to be*) is probably from ON *váru*.

9. OE *ā*₂ (the result of *i*-mutation of OE *ā*)

This is usually represented by *e/ee*: *mene*, *see*, *clenly*, *hele*, *gredi*.

When conditions exist for shortening, both *a* and *e* occur: *clennesse*, *wrastelinges*, *fleschli*, *lasse*, *lesse*, *lest* (least), *lest* (OE *þȳ lās þe*).

OE *ānig* appears as *ony*, *oni*, *any*.

10. OE *ē* is usually represented as *e*, rarely *ee*: *fele*, *kepe*, also *kepte* (shortened), *mede*, *seken*, *spedi*, *speedful*, *wepith*, *feet*, *swete*, *weping*. OE *þē* appears once as *þi*.

LOE *ēȝ*, *ēh* appear as *ei(ȝ)*, *i(ȝ)* and *igh*: *hiȝe*, *hiȝe*, *liȝt*, *heyȝere*, *hyȝnesse*, *heȝest*, *neyȝebour*, *eȝen*, *eyȝen*, *eyȝe*, *teȝed*, *leiȝe*, *be hight*. The *ei*, *ey* spellings may be traditional or show dissimilation.

11. OE *ī*, EME *ī* is usually represented by *i*, *y* or *iȝ*: *driue*, *risen*, *nyȝhtes*, *liȝt*, *siȝt*, *wynes*, *whiȝs*, *wite*. *ei* for *ī* occurs in the final syllables of *Ausweyn*, *gardeines*, *coseyn* and once in *þei* (OE *þīn*).

12. OE *ō* is usually represented by *o*, *oo*: *oȝer*, *moder*, *goodes*, *godes*, *sone*. *boonde* may derive from ON *bōnde* or from OE *banda*, in which case the *o* is open.

Before shortening groups: *blosme*; the *u* in *sunnere* occurs in the south since 1300.

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In the unstressed syllables of *wisdam*, *wisdom*, *þraddam* OE *ō* appears as *o* or *a*.

OE/ON *ō* + back spirant *h* is found as *ow*, *ouȝ* finally: *ȝnow*, *þoouȝ*, *þoow*, *þow*.¹ The form *þof* occurs once.

13. OE *ū* & OF *ou* are represented by *ou*, *ow*, *ouȝ*: *kowde*, *couden*, *þou*, *houȝs*, *hows*, *townes*, *fouȝle*, *flouȝres*, *flowres*, *mowth*, *out*, *ouȝt*, *with ouȝten*, *with owten*.

OE *ū* + *ȝ* produces *ow*: *bowe*.

14. OE *ȝ* (also OE *y* before lengthening groups) is represented by *i*, *y*: *fire*, *whi*, *pride*, *thriste* (ON *þrýsta*), *litil*, *defilith*, *myse*, *kynde*, *mynde*, *vnkynde*, *hidiþ*, *filynge*.

C. The Short Diphthongs

15. OE *ea* (of various origin) is usually *a*: *lawter*, *lawyng*, *schaf*, *schal*. *e* occurs in *wex*.

16. OE *eo* is usually represented by *e*, also before original lengthening groups: *erþe*, *fer*, *heuene*, *herden*. There are no traces of rounding. The group *-eoht* usually appears as *-ight*, *-igt*: *right*, *riȝt*.

OE *weorc* appears as *werk*; OE *weorold* as *world*, *worldē*, *wordli*; *weorþ* in *worth*, *worthi*, *worschepe*, *worschiþe*; OE *sweord* occurs as *sweerd(e)*.

D. The Long Diphthongs

17. OE *ēa* usually appears as *e*: *ere*, *gret*, *heuēd*, *hed*, *deth*. For the forms of OE *hēah* see 10. OE *ēa* + *w* produces *ew*: *shewe*, *fewe*.

18. OE *ēo* appears as *e*, *ee*: *theues*, *freend*, *frende*, *friendes*, *frenchiþ*, *depe*, *ferþinges*, *tre*, *sekenes*, *chese*, *lemman*. *ēow* appears as *u*, *euȝ*: *truþe*, *truly*, *bleuȝ* (OE *blēow*).

19. OE *īe* (Anglian *ē*) becomes *e*, *ee*: *nede* (sb.); in positions where lengthening is not permanent: *e*: *herd*.

¹ The forms of 'though' may also derive from OE *þāh*.

E. The Main Consonant Developments

20. OE *c*

Initially before front vowels this is represented by *k*: *kepe*, *kynde*, *kyng*, *kynne*; *c* before back vowels: *callid*, *corn*, but *k* is also frequent: *kam*, *kare*, *katel*, *kome*, *kummeþ*. The same in French words: *comyn*, *komylnly*, *cuntre*, *kuntre*, *kach*, *kouzsche*. *k* is written before *n*: *knyt*, *c* before all other consonants: *cloþis*, *climbe*, *cloistre*, *crasche*. Voicing is evident in *dryngen*, *ronglen*, *banges*, *frangeleyn*, a feature of the SE (Luick § 369, Jordan § 178, Anm. 2). *Ast* shows loss of *k*.

21. OE *ċ*

Initially it appears as *ch*: *chirche*, *childe*, but *schaf* for OE *ceaþ* and *crasche* for OF *crache*.

In medial position *ch* is usually found: *chirche*, *riches*, *meche*; OE *-līce* appears as *li*, *ly*; OE *ælc* appears as *eche*, OE *hwylc* appears as *wich*; OE *swylc* appears as *siche*, *seche*, *suche*. *Partrik* (OF *pertriz*) has *k* for usual *ch*. See § 38.

22. OE *ċc* appears as *cch*, never as *tch*: *wrecche*.23. OE *sc* is usually represented by *sch*, never by *ss*: *schal*, *schewede*, *schulde*, *schort*, *schap*, *shap*, *shetis*. OE *ascian* appears in *askyng*, *pou ast* (pr. sg.); *-scipe* appears as *-schepe*, *-chip*; ME *perished*, *ravished* appear as *perched*, *rauyched*.24. OE *cg* is unvoiced in *whicche*, *wycches* (OE *wecg*). *Liggeth* may be from ON *liggja*.25. OE *ng* is occasionally represented by *ngg*: *biddynnges*, *tyþingges*, *kyngges*. OE *hlāfording* appears as *lordenes*. This change of unstressed *-ing* to *-in* is in the 14th century a feature of the North and NMidlands (Jordan § 175) but becomes more general in the 15th century (Wyld, *Hist. Coll.*, p. 289).26. OE *ġ* is generally represented as *z*, not *y*: *zeueþ*, *zeuen*, *zate*, *zit*, *zelden*, *forzete(n)*, but *forgetyng* with *g* from ON (*g*).27. OF *g* (*dʒ*) is occasionally represented by *ch*: *charche*, *chaunchable*, *purcheth*, *bondache*, *larche*.

28. OE *h* (χ). The OE front and back spirants appear as *ʒ*, *gh* or *gz*: *neyzebour*, *nyzt*, *nyghtis*; see also the forms of OE *hēah* under 10. OE *þorh*/*þurh* appears as *þorw*, *þurʒ*. In *þof* (χ) has been labialized; note the other forms for 'though': *þoow*, *þow*, *þoouz*. There are abundant examples which suggest that the OE front and back voiceless spirants had disappeared finally and before *t*:
(1) Spellings showing loss of spirant in medial and final position: *dowter*, *þoow*, *awte*, *lawyng*, *lawter*, *tawt*, *mowtes*.
(2) Inverted spellings with insertion of inorganic *ʒ*: *lizʒ*, *araizeth*, *souʒle*, *kouʒche*, *slauʒþe* (beside *slawt*), *ouʒt*, (out), *joizze*, *þouʒ* (OE *þū*). *weihiþ* (weighs) has an *h*, which is typical of the Suffolk area, cf. Bokenham and Lydgate.
29. OE *h*
The initial aspirate appears as *h*: *hed*, *hode*, but *h* is sometimes dropped: *untid*, *euyere* and inorganic *h* is inserted in *hesi*, *ham*, *howen*, *Hismalitis* and *Helyab*.
30. OE *hw* appears as *wh* but frequently as *w*: *what*, *when*, *whanne*, *while*, *wheel* beside *wich*, *wen*, *wilis*, *wan*, *wos* (whose). According to Jordan, § 195 the *w* spellings belong mainly to the South and SE Midlands. Inverted spellings with *wh* for *w* are: *whizs*, *whas*, *where*.
31. OE & ME *d*
In final position *t* is occasionally found: *offendit*, *stoppit*, *enduet*; *d* is lost in *an* (and) and in *howsel* (household), *frenchip* and *frenschepe*.
32. OE & ME *t* is sometimes represented by *th*: *mygth*, *lithlier*, *lithly*, *lithsum*. These spellings, like the ones in 28, illustrate loss of the spirant. Voicing of *t*, or more probably, inverted spellings illustrating the unvoicing of final *d* (§ 31) are evident in: *seruaund*, *seruaundes*, *descounfed* and *fesaund*.
33. OE *þ* is represented both by *þ* and *th*: *erþe*, *erthe*. *t* is to be found in final position, representing earlier *þ* in *schewet*, *seyzt*, *lift*, *mowtes* (moths), *slawt* (sloth), which are dissimilations (Luick § 718) and see above § 32.
34. OE *l* has disappeared in *eche*, *seche*, *wich*; in the unstressed form as (but *als*); in *meche* and in *wordly*.

35. ME *m* is lost in *supiuouzs* which may be due to oversight of the abbreviation sign.
36. OE *f* is always represented as *f* in initial position. There is no suggestion of voicing. In medial position OE *f* is usually represented by *u*: *leue*, *þeues*, *þryuen*, but *lese*, *þefes*, *þriþe*. *Of* is assimilated to a following *b* in *ob bondage*.
37. ME *þ*. Inorganic *þ* is spelled in *solempne*, *Sampson*, *redempcion*, *anemptis*.
38. OF *z*
 In the (Northern) form *partrik* (OF *perdriz*, *pertriz*) the change of *-riz* to *-rich* is notable and so is the change of *-rich* to *-rik* in Northern English, comparable to *hevenrik*, *kingrik*, etc. See OED s.v. *partridge*.

C. VOCABULARY

The Scandinavian element in the vocabulary is amply represented but the nature of the words excludes direct Northern influence. Most of them were generally adopted in the Midlands and have survived in the modern standard language, e.g. *angry*, *banges*, *birthe*, *bonde*, *boþe*, *bren*, *calles*, *dize*, *felaw*, *felow*, *forgetyng*, *hapþe*, *gest*, *skele*, *triste*, *semely*, *þral*, *þriste*, *þryuen*, *wante*, *werse*. On the other hand the 'opportunities missed' where Scandinavian equivalents were available are numerous as in *alwey*, *agen*, *blosme*, *chirche*, *fere*, *ziftes*, *zeuen*, *her*, *rered*, *seke*. Definitely Northern forms are *wand*, *sleknyth*, *partrik*, *werre*, *þof* and *rongle* 'wrinkle'; the latter word occurs also e.g. in the *Prick of Conscience* as *rounclen* where a Southern transcript has *wyrlynkeleth* (cf. Kaiser, *Medieval English*, p. 237).

That the language used by the author was modern and up to date is attested by the fact that a considerable part of the vocabulary—either in all or in particular meanings—is first recorded in OED and MMED¹ in the last 20 or 30 years of the 14th century. Many of these are first recorded from Wyclif's works, such as *contemptible*, *sufficient*, *ruinouzs*, *odiouzs*, *nouelte*, *iniurye*, *necessarye*, *dispose*, *proceden*, *infames*, *ascende*, *ocasion*, *sauery*, *ierarchies*, *compellith*, *encrese*,

¹ The testimony of the MMED could only be used up to the letter *h*.

magnified, progeny, forfend, dyuors, corrupt, pp., *inquisicioun, knowlech* 'acquaintance', *opinions* 'rumours'; others are first recorded from Chaucer's works as *condicioun, consideracioun, constreine, denyed, comendable, frenetik, constaunt, acceptable, arest* 'check', *famyliar* 'of one's household', *oppressed, toty, mutacions*; and from Trevisa's translation of *De Proprietatibus Rerum*, such as *apt, expedient, discharched, impediment*.

A few words and phrases are not recorded in OED and MMED in the senses employed in our text: *mulori* 'legitimate wedlock', *brefnes* (of size), *induellande* (lit. inhabitants), *binyn* (sb.), *me heuyeþ* (impersonal), *in no poynt* 'in no sense', *may* 'like'.

The following words are recorded in OED & MMED with earliest dates later than 1400 (the earliest OED record of the meanings relevant to our text follows between brackets): *seuer* 'distinguish' (1420), *enduet* (1447, MMED 1402), *altitude* 'height' (1420), *remocion* (1449), *myraculusly* (1494), *inhibete* 'forbid' (1460), *naturel* 'by nature, by birth' (1420), *legale* 'before the law' (1610), *affluens* (1447, MMED 1390), *jongkerie* (1449), *mes potage* (14...), *delicacies* (c. 1450, MMED c. 1410), *powder box* (1403), *suptuouzs* (1485), *honoure* 'adorn' (1528), *medle* 'mixture' (1440), *debilite* 'physical weakness' (1484, MMED ?a 1425), *clips* 'deprivation' (1598), *dignify* (1526, MMED 1449), *sessiounes* 'conferences' (1444), *herden* (adj.) (1522), *professioun* 'learned profession' (1541).

Some of these, but by no means all, are translations from the Latin of Petrarch. The testimony of the OED in this respect, though naturally inconclusive, suggests that the author, not in the last place through his knowledge of Latin, employed a modern vocabulary and had an alert eye for new connotations of words (cf. also the notes on style for his use of puns). On the other hand the nature of this last group of words does not necessarily mark him an innovator or a pioneer in the use of language. His interest is in pithy expressions and more typical of his use of language are perhaps the following popular combinations which are not recorded in the standard dictionaries: *goddisbondes, beli seruaunt* and *pechir prouzð*.

D. LOCALIZATION OF THE DIALECT

After the foregoing analysis of the accidence, the phonology and the vocabulary of the Dialogue we may attempt to determine the dialect

boundaries of our text. With the aid of the Middle English Dialect map by Moore, Meech & Whitehall we arrive at the following conclusions:

1. OE *ā* is represented by *o(o)*. This points to a region South of the Humber.

2. The pr. pl. ends in *-e(n)*. This lowers the Northern boundary to the middle of Lincolnshire.

3. The pr. sg. ending *-eth* (rarely *-es*) rules out the NE Midlands and the NW Midlands.

4. *Shal* and *hem* are used to the exclusion of *sal* and *theim*, which again excludes the NE Midlands.

5. The absence of *v* for initial *f* excludes the South, South West and South East.

6. The preponderance of *i* forms for OE *y* likewise narrows the area in from the West as does the *man/mon* line.

7. The endings of the pres. part. (generally *-yng*, *-ing* with only two *-ande* forms) again rule out the North but the few *-ande* forms do not necessarily rule out influence from the extreme East (cf. Moore, etc., p. 18).

8. Oakden's dialect test (MMED, *Plan*, p. 11) rules out the North of Norfolk, the North of Cambridgeshire and Rutland.

Therefore, the general complexion of the language is that of an East Midland dialect. The very few traces of possible Western influence would suggest that the district was far removed from the Western border of the East Midlands. On the other hand the small number of Scandinavian words and the fact that these are nearly all common words would suggest a district removed from the Northern areas, a fact which is underlined by the comparatively few Northern forms. Even so we are left with a rather large tract. Within this area of the East Midlands it is very difficult to localize the dialect of a text with anything like precision on linguistic evidence only. In the 14th century there developed in the central area of the East Midlands a written standard¹ which, while based on the dialects of the Central Midland counties, especially Northamptonshire, Huntingdonshire and Bedfordshire, presented a type of language which was less obviously dialectal. This written standard was adopted for a large body of writings, religious as well as secular and copied in outlying districts where it can

¹ Cf. M. L. Samuels, 'Some Applications of Middle English Dialectology', *English Studies*, Vol. XLIV, No. 2, April 1963, pp. 81-94.

never have corresponded to the spoken dialect. Because of this degree of standardization the many slightly varying forms of this Midland Standard cannot readily be assigned to specific areas.

One way to obviate this difficulty is a closer examination of spelling variants. Professor McIntosh and Professor Samuels have stressed the importance of spelling variants as dialect criteria.¹ Even when orthographic variation does not give a clue to phonetic variation, when plotted on a map these variations show regional distribution. In response to a request for advice, Professor McIntosh and Professor Samuels at first localized the text on the border between Hunts and Ely, a little North of the Cambridgeshire border, but some odd-looking features remained which suggested scribal mixture. Forms and spellings which are not typical of the Central Midland Standard are *seche*, *meche*, *hym* (for *them*), *he* (for *she*), *affter*, *forme* (from), final *-et* for *-ed*, *þorw*, the frequency of *e* forms in *þen(ne)*, *wen(ne)*. The form *weihiþ* (weighs) with an *h* is typical of Suffolk, being paralleled by forms like *neyhyn* (approach), *syhyn* (sigh) in Bokenham (E.E.T.S. O.S. 206, especially scribe C). These forms can all be fitted into the Ipswich area of Suffolk.

The Suffolk characteristics find further confirmation from the rest of the scribe's work in the MS. The *Tretis on Maynydenhod* has occasionally such forms as *hee* (she), *hundert*, *heere* (their), *weche*, *seche*; *Benjamin Minor* has *feer* (fire), *meche*, *mechil*, *mekil*, *criheþ*, *myzthe*, pres. part. in *-ande*, *-inde*, *-ende* by the side of usual *-inge*; the *Cloud of Unknowing* has *ecche*, *wicche* with two *cs* (which do not derive from its exemplar, MS Harley 674, see below). These forms are equally characteristic of the Suffolk area. Spellings showing confusion between *t*, *th* and *ht* as exemplified in *myzth* (might), *mythtes* (powers) in the *Cloud* and *slawt* (sloth), *schewet* (shows), *seyzt* (says), *lithly* (lightly), *lithsum* (pleasant) in the *Dialogue* are frequent in East Anglia (e.g. in *The Book of Margery Kempe* and in *A Littel Tretys* of the Suffolk writer Lavynham and in the works of Capgrave. The unvoicing of (*dʒ*) in *charche*, *chaunchable*, *bondache*, *larche*, etc., is also frequent in East Anglia, perhaps more in Norfolk than in Suffolk (*Promptorium Parvulorum*, Capgrave and the Paston letters).

The insertion of *ʒ* in words like *souʒle*, *ouʒre*, *houʒs*, *lizʒ*, etc.,

¹ Cf. Angus McIntosh, 'The Analysis of Written Middle English', *TPS*, 1956, pp. 26-55, and M. L. Samuels *op. cit*

however, which is regular in all the MS, is not a typical feature of either 'Central Midland Standard' or the Suffolk dialect, but occurs mainly in a restricted area on the border of S. Beds., N. Bucks., and N. Herts. It is not impossible, however, that this spelling habit, though commonest in the above surroundings, is occasionally adopted elsewhere and the fact that there are traces of it in other SE texts makes it reasonable for the Suffolk layer. The large percentage of *hit* forms by the side of *it* is typical of the West Midlands but is also normal in East Suffolk.

Other non-Central Midland Standard ingredients are *þof*, *ilke*, *werre*, *partrik*, *rongle* (vb. wrinkle), *wand*, pres. part. in *-ande*¹ and the sprinkling of *-es* forms in the 3rd person sg. of the present. These features are too far North to fit a SEM cast of language. This makes the text look obviously non-homogeneous and there may be various layers, perhaps three or more, resulting from the imperfect scribal adaptation of the original copy.²

In such cases it is hard to sort out the various layers, especially in a prose text where there are no rhymes which might give clues to the original language and later accretions. Some help is however afforded by the fact that the version of the *Cloud of Unknowing* in our MS has a close connection with that in MS Harley 674. Miss Hodgson in her collation of the two versions in the above MSS has shown that the former is based on the latter and is possibly a direct copy from it (E.E.T.S. 218, p. xx).

It is a well-known fact that medieval copyists often 'translated' the dialects of their originals into their own idiom, but it is obvious that traces of their originals should remain evident. A comparison of the *Cloud*-version of MS Ii.VI.39 with that of MS Harley 674 shows that a number of forms that do not fit in with our scribe's usage in the rest of the MS can be explained from the text he was copying.³ Forms like

¹ *-ande* is also possible in Suffolk

² That our text is a copy is also evident from scribal mistakes such as repetitions of words and sentences, spellings confused with those of the next word, often through homoeoteleuton, letters mistaken or omitted through misunderstanding of the meaning of the sentence. See footnotes to the text

³ Miss Hodgson's careful statement does not exclude the possibility that there is an intermediate stage of copying between the two MSS. If so, this does not affect our argument that the *Cloud* was—at one stage—copied by a Suffolk scribe. The odds are that if this intermediate copy existed, it must have faith-

soche, *moche(l)*, *silue*, *fuier*, *fjir*, *fjir*, *þeese* in our MS can all be traced back to the scribe's exemplar in Harley 674. This indicates that the scribe did not consistently supplant the forms of his original by his own. The unique form *beþ* (for usual *ben*, occasional *aren*) in Harley 674 is taken over and constitutes also the only *beþ* form in Ii.VI.39. On the other hand he occasionally replaces *soche* by *seche*, *mochel* by *meche*, *owne* by *ouzne*, *-ing* by *-inde*, *fjir* by *feer*, *charge* by *charche*, *chirche* by *cherche*, *i(l)che* by *e(c)che*, *skile* by *skele*, *miztes* by *mythtes*, *mizt* by *myzth*.¹ These forms conform with his practice in the rest of the MS.

Taken as a whole the text of the *Cloud* in Ii.VI.39 represents a more SE dialect than its original (which Professor McIntosh is inclined to assign to Rutland). If one 'peels off' the features that are regularly changed in our scribe's version of the *Cloud* one finds that they can all be fitted into Suffolk.

As to the other treatises there is no indication that the Suffolk characteristics displayed in them are due to the original versions.² It would seem then that the Suffolk characteristics constitute the top layer which was imposed on all the treatises whatever their original provenance.

On balance, the text of the *Dialogue* as it stands is not very tractable from a dialectal point of view. Apart from the Suffolk overlay one is left first with the additional features of SW Ely. It is hard to say whether this constitutes an extra layer due to an intermediate stage of copying or whether one has a case here of a scribe who in the main

fully transmitted the features of Harley 674, since they can still be traced in our MS. The other possibility that the intermediate copy already contained the Suffolk characteristics, which were subsequently taken over by our scribe, does not affect this argument either.

¹ See also Miss Hodgson's analysis of the language of MS Harley 674 with notes on the variant forms, *op cit*, pp. xxvii-1.

² As long as one knows nothing of the versions which the copyist had in front of him, it is difficult to say anything definite. None of the treatises, however, seem to have relations with the South East. The *Cloud* in Harley 674 is NEM, the *Sermon of St Augustine* is related to the Wycliffite Bible translations. The only other MS containing the poem on the sixteen points of charity, Lambeth 853, is placed by Professor McIntosh near Hunts and the Cambridge border. *A tretis of mayndenhod* occurs also in MS Ii VI 55, which is a standard Midland text. *Benjamin Minor* in our MS is closest related with the version in Westminster School Library MS 3 which is probably from the Peterborough area.

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adhered to the 'Central Midland Standard' type but occasionally introduced forms from his own peripheral dialect. Secondly, the occasional *-es* endings for the 3rd. sg. present, *þof*, *ilke*, *werre*, *þatrik*, *rongle* and *wand* are peculiar to the *Dialogue* and are not found in the other treatises in the MS. As to the presence of these few Northern forms one can only speculate but not say much that is definite. It is just conceivable that a scribe who was used to copying Northern or N. Midland texts, might get into the habit of using some of the forms even when they were not in his exemplar. But the normal and usual interpretation is that they are from an earlier stage of copying, since then practically erased by subsequent stages. If any guess should be made as to the original language of the *Dialogue*, the above forms might point to an obscured N. Midland layer.

E. STYLE AND PROVERBS

In comparison with Petrarch's Latin prose style, which presents various types of rhetorical embellishment, the style of the English treatise is simple and straightforward. A comparison of the following passages will bear this out:

Carebis solitis opibus: simulque solitis muribus ac furibus et protervis servis: hisque quibus solent abundare divitie: fictis amicitiiis: sequacibus atque tenacibus parasitis: totoque illo grege domestico arrientium tibi teque ridentium atque rodentium 34/41 ff.

with its display in a single sentence of *homoeoteleuton*, *rhyme*, *alliteration* and *paranomasia*; where the English paraphrase runs:

Richesse taken neuere here leue be þer one. for myse & mowtes folwen hem euere. Frowardnesse & falsnes of seruauntes gon with hem 33/16.

Here the only rhetorical figure is that of alliteration. Nor is the following type of wordplay (*paranomasia*) imitated:

Innumerabiles in *discrimen*: fere omnes in *crimen* trahit 2/25

or Petrarch's punning on *nitor* and *nitere* in dialogue I, 4/29 ff.

The text, as one might expect from the subject-matter, is considerably less 'encrusted with ornament' than some other late medieval texts of which *A Talking of the Love of God* is a striking example. Yet there are certain stylistic features which suggest that the author was

conscious of a similar rhetorical tradition. His style need not have been directly influenced by his Latin original but is based on a long-standing tradition of devotional writing, in Latin as well as in the vernaculars, which favoured a highly ingenious prose rhetoric, based mainly on antithesis and balance of phrasing, the use of alliteration, rhyme and punning and various other formal devices. Medieval Latin epistolary style was fraught with these embellishments, but also devotional literature used them extensively. The Collects of the Mass infused the minds of the clerics with the *cursus* patterns and the rhythmic flow of the Latin examples. The desire to reproduce these effects in English had been influential in England since the days of Aelfric. There was, then, extant a native tradition of devotional rhetoric, which derived ultimately from Latin and which kept constantly in touch with the Latin patterns.

Here follows a discussion of the most obvious figures:

Alliteration forms a marked feature of the style; in most cases it is independent of the Latin example—though Petrarch, too, makes frequent use of alliteration—, as in the following instances:

Whanne þei of borwed her. feynen hem hornes þanne falle þei fro fayrnesse to
þe liknesse of Lucifer. & forfeten a 3en þe lore of Petir & Paule 5/1.

for which there is no Latin original.

For with þe lasse labour maist þou be maister 7/21.

Þooow siknes be non lithsum fere: a feiþfullere felow found þou neuere... 7/26.

...þe lippes of lust be so likerou3s him liste not euen soupe... 39/23.

Seyntes lete but li3t be bodili bewte 3/27.

The effect of alliteration is strengthened when the alliterating syllables coincide with the strong stresses of a cadence form,¹ as in:

þe herytage of heuene (*planus*) 19/20.

How þreuous a juel (*planus*) þat þi sou3le is þrouep þi redempcion (*tardus*) 9/18.

wanne he findeþ him fawty (*planus*) 9/8.

¹ On Petrarch's use of the *cursus* see G. Lindholm, *Studien zum mittellateinischen Prosarhythmus*. Studia Latina Stockholmiensia X, Stockholm, 1963, pp. 88-110. On the influence of the Latin *cursus* forms on English prose and the manner of adaptation to the English language see M. W. Croll, 'The Cadence of English Oratorical Prose', *Studies in Philology*, XVI (1919), 1-55. Also N. R. Tempest, *The Rhythm of English Prose*, Cambridge, 1930.

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Alliteration also serves to reinforce other figures of style, as in the following instance of *antithesis*:

Fro *depe* rotes and *derke* proceden *deleit*able braunches 13/5

Similarly alliteration serves to add force to a metaphor:

Manye hauen ioifulli chosen *pouerte* to *peramour* 33/9

Parallelism is marked by alliteration in:

As often sik as often sumned . 7/28

In the following Bible quotations alliteration is used:

Be 3e seruauntes sogetes to 3our souereynes 23/6

where the Wycliffite version (L.V.) has:

Servauntis, be 3e sugetis in al drede to lordis

Similarly:

Haue we our sustinaunce & clopes to *houer* vs hold we vs *content* 39/29

where the Wycliffite version (L.V.) has:

But we hauynge foodis, and with what thingus we schulen be hild, be we paied with these thingis

Rhyme and *homoeoteleuton*, frequently employed in Petrarch's text, do not occur to any marked extent. But note:

3if hit be an instrument *sufficient* to serue þe souzle 7/17

bestes kepe þe *measure* þat nature hath tawt hem 39/7

to *wete* þi *mete* in Cristes wondes 41/10

þe bitter galle þat þou tasted in þi *passioun* is ful fer fro þe mynde of a likerous glotoun 41/7

for þat þou wantes þi *delizt* he dede it for þi *profizt* 3/3

Most of these instances are debatable and moreover only a greater frequency would convince us that the author seriously attempted to imitate his Latin example.

More striking is the figure of *antithesis* (often combined with balanced sentence-members). It may be noted that the frequency of this figure

is to be expected in a treatise which sets out to explain that things are the opposite of what they seem to be.

Pou mayst no betere plesen hym. þan driue hym a wey 39/19.

Þe dymmere þat þe fame of þi cuntre is: þe lithlier may þe bryȝtnesse of þi name be sene 11/8.

Fro depe rotes and derke proceden deleitable braunches 13/5.

Often tymes grete treis springen vp in streyt gardeines 11/16.

To be riche is solempne: but to be pore is more sekur 27/31.

For þe to serue: is to regne 23/16

...þorw þi true seruise: þou schalt be weddit to liberte 25/20

Such pointed epigrams as in the following *oxymoron* of Petrarch are beyond the English adapter:

Multis serva libertas: multis est libera servitus 20/44.

Isocolon (parallelism of sentence-members nearly equal in length) occurs regularly: ¹

Lufly schap of body: is lemman to lechery 3/26.

As þou encrexis in age: encrese in vertues 5/32.

ȝif þou list to be faire: lerne to leue weel 5/3.

As þou art pore of money: be pore of spiryȝt 35/25.

Epanados (free repetition of words sometimes with slightly varying implications [*antanaclasis*]).

...þoruȝ a *fals* tale of his *fals* lady. be cause þat he nolde be *fals* to his maister he was *falsly* en presound 25/26.

Who so *dispisith* þe *pore* for non oþur cause but for þei be *pore*: in þat alle *pore* he *dispisip*. & so *dispisith* he Crist þat was most *pore* (etc.) 35/13.

... & þoow þe comen lawe inhibete þe to take *holy* orderes. in *holi* wryt is non obstacle þen þouȝ may be an *holy* lyuere 19/17.

Polyptoton (the appearance of the same word-base in various forms)

...feterid with þe *bond* of *bondage* 21/9.

...to be þi *lordes* *lord* 21/11.

...he *vnbond* his *byndere* 25/7.

¹ For the function of the inverted semicolon cf. p. [13].

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Antimetabole (epigrammatic reciprocal change of a sentence resulting in an inverted order of repeated words) occurs principally, it should be noted, in proverbs and epigrams borrowed from other sources. The essence of the figure consists in the cleverly contrasted meaning.

Place makeþ no man holy: but man makeþ holy place 11/23.

...þer is no *kyng* but he kam of *seruauntes* neþer no *seruaunt* but he kam of *kynges* 15/15.

...deformite of *bodi* defilith not þe *souzle*. but þe fairnes of þe *souzle* honoureth þe *body* 3/22.

Bonde body & free souzle a corden wel jnow to gedere. but *bonde souzle & free body* pryuen neuer wele 25/9.

Petrarch delights in '*sententiae a verbo*', in using words with overtones which borrow allusive force from the situation.¹ The English author occasionally attempts to do the same. Thus in the following instances a word which is used by Aduersite in its *obvious* sense is taken up by Resoun to have some *special* aptitude in his argument (*amphibolia*).

Aduersite: I ham *oppressid* with pouerte 27/1.

Resoun: ...how scholde pouerte *þriste þe down*. sythen euere þe porere þou art: þe lesse art þou charched 27/21.

(In the *Catholicon Anglicum*² *oppressus* is given as the Latin equivalent of *thriste downe*).

This type of word-play can degenerate into the '*beating thin of an idea*'. A witticism very similar to the one just quoted is served up again in 23/29:

Resoun: And how mayt þou pleyne þe þat þou art *heuy charched* siþthen þou gost *half void*?

and again in 27/26:

...to pleyne þe þat þou *berest heuye*: wanne þou *berist litil*. is a wrong formed pleynt.

¹ A striking example of this type of word-play is afforded by Seneca in *Naturales Quaestiones* I.16 when, after describing a mirror in which all objects were enormously magnified, Seneca says that its disreputable owner ought to have been put to death in front of it—so as to suffer a more than ordinary death. Cf. W. C. Summers, *Select Letters of Seneca*, London 1910, p. LXXV.

² E.E.T.S. O.S. 75, p. 386.

Similarly in the next two quotations:

...Paule þe apostle wrytip. þat þe flesch is rebel a zens his lord þe spirit. Sithen þe bodi penne is þi famyliar enemye. his debilite dop meche for þe. For with þe lasse labour maist pou be maister 7/19.

Wilis þe flesch & þe spirit wrastlen to gedere: hinderyng of þe ton is forthing of þe toþere. Fauere þe betere 9/1.

The twofold sense of *to honour* ('adorn' and 'honour') is alluded to in:

Aduersite: Whi was I born so vnschaply? *Resoun*: For pou schuldest *honoure* þi self with sich a beugte þat schulde kepe þe fair 3/12.

The various senses of 'goods' are exploited in:

Aduersite: Fortune hath spoiled me of my *goodes*. *Resoun*: A comen opinioun. þat fals is hap deceyued þe... zif a man wante riches: þei seize he hath no *good*. But wisdam redeth vs a noþer lessoun: þer ben þre manere of *goodes*. *goodes* of grace. of nature. & of fortune. Þe laste hap lest of *goodnesse*... etc. 31/24.

Note also the following instance with its differing applications of related words:

Aduersite: Mi desir were to be *heyzere*. *Resoun*: As pou encrexis in age: encrese in vertues. þanne pou schalt be verily *more*. & welde a worthi *hygnesse* 5/31.

Cf. Petrarch:

Dolor. Vellem esse altior et maior. Ratio. Assurge animo cresce virtutibus: maior eris atque altior. Hoc utilius hoc facilius incrementum 4/23.

Proverbs and pithy sayings

Proverbs are a frequently used device in moralistic and monitory literature. To Aristotle the proverb was a recommended rhetorical figure comparable in effect to the simile, the metaphor and the hyperbole. Moreover the proverb was regarded as an authority by virtue of its being universally known and 'beyond the reach of corruption'.¹ To begin or end a poem with a proverb is one of the methods recognized and approved by the medieval rhetoricians.²

¹ Cf. Aristotle, *Rhetoric* III, xi and I, xv, transl. by Th. Buckley, Bohn's Classical Library (1851) p. 241 and 96.

² C. S. Baldwin, *Medieval Rhetoric and Poetic* (to 1400), Gloucester, Mass., 1959, p. 180.

Unlike the more modern antiquarian interest in 'the old proverb', in the Middle Ages the prime use of the proverb was for didactic purposes as in *Cato's Distichs*, *The Proverbs of Alfred*, *How the Wise Man Taught his Son* and *How the Good Wife Taught her Daughter*. In Chaucer's *Tale of Melibeus* it is evident how proverbs and maxims could be adduced as evidence to corroborate one's thesis. A proverb was a ready-made epigram, a valuable conclusion to one's argument. In our present text 'alle is wel pat endep wel' is referred to as an *olde prouerbe*, 'litol katel: litil kare' as an *olde sawe*, while 'bonde body & free souzle a corden wel jnow togedere. but bonde souzle & free body pryuen neuer wele' is referred to as a *schort word*. These are, however, no strict distinctions; from the various references to proverbs¹ it would seem that in the Middle Ages no serious attempt was made to distinguish the 'true' proverb from the adage, the epigram or the 'sententia'. Many medieval works have titles that suggest genuine collections of proverbs, but are often misleading as to their real contents. Any one turning to the *Proverbs of Alfred* for the study of proverbs will be disappointed.

The medieval conception would include under the term 'proverb' all quotations from the scriptures (esp. the *Book of Proverbs* and *Ecclesiasticus*), the Fathers, in fact any quotation from a patristic or classical authority. As Baldwin shows, there were classified lists of proverbs extant for use in *dictamen*.² Compilations and florilegia of memorable sayings equally served the author who was at pains to give point or weight to his argument. For the rest it is very difficult to tell 'popular' proverbs from 'learned' proverbs. What at first sight looks like a genuine popular proverb can often be traced back to some 'learned' source and its popularity may hence be due to its long standing 'learned' use through frequent quotation. But even then the question often remains whether in some cases the learned authority might not have borrowed from the popular tradition.³

The following quotations may illustrate the point that many 'proverbs' and proverbial sayings in this treatise belong to the tradition of devotional writing leaning on the Scriptures, the Fathers and the classical authors familiar to the Middle Ages.

¹ Other terms used in Middle English are 'byword', 'an old clerkes sawe', 'an old said saw' or 'a commune sawe'.

² *op cit* p 191

³ On this problem see A. Taylor, *The Proverb*, Cambridge Mass., 1931, pp. 3 ff.

LANGUAGE

Pere is non bed soft to a seke man 27/29 (*Seneca*)¹

Per is no kyng but he kam of seruauntes neper no seruaunt but he kam of kynges 15/15 (*Plato*)

Place makeþ no man holy, but man makeþ holy place 11/22 (*classical*)

Not he þat lest hap, but he þat most couciteþ, is most pore 33/6 (*Seneca*)

A bittur drinke purcheth wikkid humour 9/10 (*St Gregory*)

Deformite of bodi defilith not þe souzle but þe fairnes of þe souzle honoureth þe body 3/22 (*Seneca*)

What forbedeth a meche man to inhabit a low hows? So may a gret souzle wonen in a schort body 5/15 (*Seneca*)

Greuous infirmite makþ sober souzle 9/6 (*biblical*)

Vertu in infirmite is perfityly mad 9/25 (*biblical*)

Nede may sone be riche jnow but couetise sey3eth neuer hoo 33/4 (*Seneca*)

Als meche as he wolde haue, as meche him faylyth 33/5 (*Horace*)

Faire fetoured bodi & clenness of souzle selden nestele þei to gedere 3/9 (*Juvenal*)

Per is no þing in erþe don with ou3ten cause 23/1 (*biblical*)

Hungur dispisþ no maner of mete 39/18 (*Seneca*)

Fro þe may fortune nou3t bere, but þat sche may bringe to þe 31/30 (*Seneca*)

The thoroughness with which proverbial lore permeates this popular style is even more evident from the fact that the author sometimes alludes to a proverb without actually mentioning it or provides a variant, as in:

Haue þe seruaunt of god hungur & salt, he wol not be angry for oþer sause failyth 39/33 (Hunger is the best sauce)

Be a fool drunken he is wise jnow he passith in his owne opynyoun a meyster of diuinite 37/9 (A fool is ever wise to his own thinking)

Aftter þe frute is þat is lengest abiden is a tree demed good or badde 15/10 (A tree is known by its fruit)

Haue he a mes potage & stor of hou3se him þinkith he hath a feste be þe wombe ful 39/21 (Little difference between a feast and a bellyful, *ODP* 1659²)

¹ For more specific references see the Notes. It is by no means implied that the source indicated between brackets is the only source or even the one which the author used.

Many but by no means all of these proverbs are of course to be found in Petrarch.

² The dates refer to the first record in *ODP*.

LANGUAGE

Were pouerte & paciens wonen to gedere: pere is rich pouert 33/19 (Patience with poverty is all a poor man's remedy)

In the discussion of the value of beauty:

Litil worth is þe blosme: but ony frute folwe 3/27 (Beauty is but a blossom, *ODP* 1616)

In the discussion of gluttony:

& for to seyge schortly. þe phisician schal haue þe lesse of þi moneye 39/4 (Feed by measure and defy the physician, *ODP* 1550)

In the discussion of poverty:

Flateres wole passen bi 35/5 (Flatterers haunt not cottages)

A fyn sweerde is ofte houzsed in a roten schepe 5/35

This may be a deliberate reversal of the familiar proverb: *A leaden sword in an ivory sheath* on the model of e.g. *A strong souzle is ofte herbored in a feble bodi* 5/36.

In the discussion of servitude:

Trupe may not be slayn. poow it be beten 25/28 (truth may be blamed but cannot be shamed, *ODP* 1450)

Goddis grace (is) ner þan þe bishops dole 31/23 (*cf.* God's help is nearer than the fair even, *ODP* 1641, and variants)

Other proverbs and proverbial phrases are:

Eche þing hath his mesure 7/11

cf. There is a measure in all things, *ODP* 1380.

A strong souzle is ofte herbored in a feble bodi 5/36

cf. A little body often harbours a great soul, *ODP* 1611 and see note to 5/36.

Often tymes grete treis springen vp in streyt gardeines 11/16

Alle is wel þat endeþ wel 25/22

In derk place. litil lȳt is sone aspied 11/9

Pouert partiþ felowschep 35/2

To souzpe of þe same broth 37/22

How so euere þe world waggeth þou mayt not falle fer 23/21

cf. Let the world wag, ODP 1529 and Thus fareth the world that one goeth up and another goeth down, ODP 1481.

Wel worth þe wand þat makip wilde childer tame 9/10
 Gloteny sleeth mo þan þe sweerd doth 39/10

This latter proverb is recorded earliest in ODP 1509, but it is found, apart from this instance, e.g. in Wyclif; see note to 39/10. It would seem that an early record for a proverb in English very often depends on an early rendering from Latin. Thus in our text the proverb: *Fro þe may fortune nouzt bere: but þat sche may bringe to þe* 31/30 is a reference to Seneca: *Nihil eripit fortuna nisi quod dedit*. The English version: *Fortune can take from us nothing but what she gave us*, is first recorded in ODP 1732.

In the dialogue *Of Siknes* 9/6ff. there is a whole string of proverbs used by way of arguments. Such passages are reminiscent of the set exercises of the medieval schools in which proverbs were used as verbal ammunition or as 'authorities' to prove an argument.

Sometimes a proverb is used to curtail the argument of the longer Latin text as in: *Litil katel: litil kare*, where the Latin has: *Iam nullus tibi superbie locus erit: nec invidie: nec damnis insignibus: nec damnorum metui: nec suspicionibus mille: nec insidiis: nec nausee, nec podagre divitum hospitibus: Quibus exclusis habitatura latius tecum quies et tranquillitas et virtus*. Similarly in: *Litil cors: litil cariage. þou art no burþen to þi self*, where the Latin has: *Quis unquam de exigua conquestus est sarcina? Justa hercle dolendi causa quod non pressus mole corporea sed indutus: neque ipse tibi tedio sed usui sis*.

The debate on the value of noble birth is summed up in the following epigram: *Deme now weþur is fairere to geue cleernesse with þe sunne. or lizt to borwe with þe mone*, where the Latin has: *Vides ne igitur quanta tibi nove laudis occasio data est: Nobilem per te fieri: et nobilitatem dare non accipere. Dabis hoc posteris tuis ut nobiles nascantur: quod parentes tibi non dederunt tui. Plus est multo nobilitatem fundare quam fundatam ab aliis invenisse*.

These proverbs and terse sayings are but one exponent of a more general characteristic to find concrete and visual, and always easily grasped, equivalents for abstract thought, as one might expect in popular instruction. The author avoids abstract reasoning; his thought crystallizes at once into images. Thus he frequently employs *personifications*:

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...conseille with þi stomak 39/1

...contricion is modur of weping 41/2

...hauen ioifulli chosen pouerte to peramour 33/9

Wel I haue aspied. þat þou & lust wolde kisse. were it not þat pouerte kepith
gow on sundur 39/15

...let hope be þi mynstrelle 25/13

Wilis þe flesch & þe spirit wrastlen to gedere: hynderyng of þe ton is forthing
of þe toþere 9/1

...kach hope be þe skirt 31/19

While wele and woo pleyen at þe balle. nepur of hem kan holde longe þe balle
stille. but hedur and þedur it goþ contynuely 31/20

This liking for concrete expressions is also evident in the graphic
circumlocution of what in a style less bent on embellishment might
be expressed by a simple abstract noun (or a noun preceded by an
adjective).

...it (his dream) was so hard lokked in þe *whicch of forgetyng*e 25/3

Þe affecciions of meche folk aren... faste fetered in þe *panter of auarice* 31/26

With here stikkes sche fedith þe *flawme of leccherie* 37/5

...ʒif þou drank of þe *chalis of reuerence*... it wolde make þe toty 23/3

Be þou panne besi in þi gostli *chaumbre of wisdom*... to make a tresory 21/10

...feterid with þe *bond of bondage* 21/9

...þou schalt no lengere kepen þe *cloistre of bondache* 25/32

Sche hath plesid þe longe with *affluens of godes* 29/13

F. POINTS OF SYNTAX

N.B. From a syntactical point of view this text offers some interesting features. A few of them do not seem to have been recorded before and some others are rare. See sections 2, 7, 17, 20, 21, 23, 28, 54, 67iii and 70a. No attempt has been made to give a complete and detailed description, which would be out of proportion with regard to the short length of the text. In particular I have often left out those features which are familiar in both present-day English and Middle English.

The treatment is based on the arrangement in F. Th. Visser's *An Historical Syntax of the English Language*, Parts I and II. References to this work are abbreviated Visser *H.S.* For the syntactical units with two and more verbs I have adopted the arrangement of F. Th. Visser's *A Syntax of the Language of St. Thomas More*, references to which are abbreviated Visser, *More*. References to T. F. Mustanoja, *A Middle English Syntax*, Part I are abbreviated *Must.*

LANGUAGE

I. Syntactical units with one verb

Verb and Subject

Subject not expressed

1. In the following instance the subject pronoun is omitted and has to be supplemented from the context:

Not alwey þe fader strokes his sones heued, but wanne he findeþ him fawty **¶**, rebukip him with a scourgyng 9/8 ¹

Both subject and predicate are absent in:

as often **¶**, sik as often **¶**, sumned 7/28

I was juel born for **¶**, ouzte of matrimonye 17/1

haue þou litil katel: **¶**, litil kare 29/5

cf. § 15.

2. The type *me likeþ*

There are a good many instances of the so-called impersonal construction, with a personal pronoun in the oblique case preceding the verb in the third person singular. The following instances reflect the OE construction:

me heuyeþ with my sekenes 9/5

This use is not recorded by either OED or Visser *H.S.*

þanne nedith þe not to borwe 7/25

þe nedith to be a schamed 15/13

in dispeir *þer þe* not be 25/14

as *þe* good *likeþ* 23/33

him liste not euen soupe 39/23

here lust sum del to with drawe here hand 29/14

þoow *hym seme* heuy chered 27/7

him þinkith he hath a feste be þe wombe ful 39/22

me wantiþ manye þinges 33/1

In the following instances nouns take the place of pronouns preceding the verb. In these cases, where there is no distinction zero case—ob-

¹ The sign **¶**, denotes the omission referred to.

jective case, there is often nothing to distinguish them from personal constructions with a subject.

ʒif a man wante riches 31/27

þe emperour of blisse... likidde to leuen pore 33/11

(*to like* was used in personal constructions also in OE)

a wantoun wille to be refreined nedith a bridel of arest 9/7

The interpretation of the above constructions is complicated by the fact that they are complemented by a noun in the common case. In OE this complement would often be in the genitive and can be regarded as an object. Here the complements can be taken as objects or as subjects,—it is impossible to decide which. The same applies to the following instance, where a pronoun in initial position shows no distinction between zero and objective case:

þat þinkeþ him most holsom 39/26

The structural ambiguity of constructions like the one above must have been one factor in the gradual decline of the impersonal constructions. Besides, as shown below, many of the verbs which are used in the impersonal construction also occur in personal constructions with unambiguous subjects. Some of them had had this rival construction since the OE period.

þou wantede riche clopes 15/22

þou wantes þi deligt 3/3

how may manye þinges wante 33/3

as þei may wel lest 27/22

ʒif þou list to be faire 5/2

þou schalt not nede 39/3

A contamination, illustrating the wavering between the personal and the impersonal construction, is:

þe nedist not to conseille with þi stomak 37/27

cf. the two types *þe nedith* and *þou nedist*.

Subject expressed

3. *It* as subject

It is used without reference to any agent in:

as *it seid* be fore 19/23

4. Non-locative *there* as structural subject

þer kummeþ no vitalles on my bord but simple & pore 39/13

þere is non bed soft to a seke man 27/29

This *there* is, however, not used in the following instances, where in MnE it would be preferred:

for after þis ligf **¶** *is* non sekur seruice 23/14

in holi wryt **¶** *is* non obstacle 19/18

5. *Men* as subject

In this text *men* is mostly construed as a plural.

wen *men loken* lest after socour 31/22

men loue not to wrastele clothed 27/24

when *men ben* pechir prouzd 37/7

a man + singular verb seems to be used in the same function:

zif *a man wante* riches 31/27

6. Apo koinou construction

The following construction consists of two syntactical units with one element in common, which functions as the subject in the second unit:

þe *is non erthely lord may priue* þe of þis fraunchis 23/33

7. Relative pronoun as subject

The following construction with *which* as subject is not common in ME. According to Visser *H.S.* § 534, note, the construction is more typical of the 16th-18th centuries in which it flourishes mostly in imitation of Latin. Visser's first quotation is dated 1481. But see *Must.* p. 203 with examples from Chaucer and Caxton.

þenne god schewede a tre to Moyses. *wich wan it towchede* þe flod. a non it was turned in to swete licor 41/13

Note that *it*, the subject of *was turned* does not refer to *tre*, but to *flod*.

8. Subject repeated

The pleonastic insertion of a pronoun after a noun is quite normal, especially when the noun-subject is separated from its verb by a lengthy adjunct. It is to be noted that this use is very frequent when the member repeated by the pleonastic pronoun is in initial position.

vnreasonable bestes poow þei eten meche: zit *þei keþe* þe mesure þat nature hath tawt hem 39/7

þis tre be tokenep þe cros of our sauour. *wich* & it were wel impressid in a mannes herte: not al only hard fare... but also oper tribulaciones *it* schulde turne to swetnesse 41/14

faire fetoured body & clennesses of souzle selden nestele *þei* to gedere 3/9

who so serueþ god best in þis valei of teres: lord in þi holi mounteyn *he* schal sitten heigest 23/15

When the subject is a syntactical unit it is occasionally repeated by *it*:

wereof þei profiten vnneþe *it* is perceyued 13/22

9. The anacoluthic subject

Sometimes a 'subject' in initial position is left in the air with no verb to serve as its predicate, a new subject being improvised instead. Such anacolutha need not be a sign of untutored style. They often serve rhetorical effects which Modern English cannot imitate.

summe whanne þei reden of þe abstinence of Jerom & German... *it tikelith* þe eres 37/20

pese wymmen þat peynten hem self with crafti wateres how fouzle þei ben to loken vp on *experiens* schewet 3/31

emperours & *kynges* sitte þei neuere so hize. *here trone trembliþ* vndur hem 13/23

10. Concord between subject and predicate

a. Plural verb through attraction.

In spite of a singular subject the verb may be in the plural owing to the proximity of a plural form:

þe *nobleye* of many gentilmennes children *suffren* sich a clips 13/22

a zens þese mutacions *grucche* no man for þei ben naturel 31/12

that *grucche* is modally marked is improbable, see context.

b. Singular verb accompanied by plural subject.

This is often the case with introductory *there* in front position, but it is not true, as Visser *H.S.* § 84 shows, that the subject character of *there* is the sole reason for this phenomenon.

þer kummeþ no vitalles on my bord but simple & pore 39/13

manye haþ þer ben 33/8

that these endings of the verb may represent southern plurals is unlikely as in unambiguous instances *-e(n)* is always found. Compare the following instances where the plural verb is used:

two þinges þer ben 23/4

many men þer be 39/16

c. *Richesse, richees*—used by the side of *richesses*—are construed as plurals

richesse taken neuere here leue be þer one 33/16

d. Plural compound subject with singular verb

Sometimes two subjects, connected by *and* or *ne* are accompanied by a singular verb contrary to modern usage.

þus enformeth vs holy wryt & Austeyn þe doctour 5/9

þe vertu ne þe swete smel of þe rose is neuere þe lesse. þat his moder is a þorn 19/25

redines of conseil & prudence of gouernaunce hath rered vp many feble 7/1

e. A copula connects nouns of different number

In such cases the verb often takes the number of the first noun or of the second noun.

now may þou be certein... who haþ ben þi feined frendes 35/4

Who, which can be taken as singular or plural, is here obviously taken as singular.

f. Nouns and referring pronouns

Occasionally the referring pronoun is different in number from the noun to which it refers. Thus often with collective nouns.

many a likerous man haþ pouerte with chastesinge tawt to kepe temperaunce þat philosophie with fayr speche myghte neuere brynge hem to 27/19

it is þe olde manere of vnkynde folk sone to forzete what is don for hem 31/2

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þe affeccions of meche *folk* aren so faste fetered in þe panter of auarice þat gif a man wante riches: *þei* seiþe he hath no good 31/26

pou derst not haue suspescion to þin *neyzebour*. þat *þei* wole breke þi walles 27/14

Verb without Complement

11. The following verbs have no complement, in which sense they are obsolete in MnE:

alle þi lemes schal *feblen* 3/14

forþete þou not þis olde prouerbe... & *rule* þer affter 25/22

prey pacience helpe þe to *bere* 7/32

12. *may* used independently

Independent *may* has the meaning of 'to have power, influence':

gif he *may* more þan þow 35/10

13. *wil* used independently in the idiomatic phrase:

wil þi lord *nyl* þi lord 25/15

14. The use of vicarious *to do* without an object

In the following *than*-clauses, dependent on a comparative, *to do* is used vicariously for the preceding verb:

þe glotenye sleeth mo þan *þe sweerd doth* 39/10

þi grucching weihip more þan *doth þi seruyse* 23/28

In the latter example the subject follows *to do*, which is rare according to Visser *H.S.* § 191.

Verb with Complement

A. Distinct subordination ('copulas')

15. The semantic emptiness of the copula *to be* often causes it to be omitted, as in the following instances:

wel worth þe wand þat makip wilde childer tame 9/10

as often sik as often sumned to zelden a rekening 7/28

alwey fy on pride 15/25

in erthe a knaue in heuene a kyng 23/17

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a gentil professioun þat made þe seruant more þenne his lord 25/1

a noble dyuors: þat departiþ a man fro wast expunes 35/3

& wel 37/4

N.B. It should be clear that although some of the above cases present ellipsis of the copula, the above statements are complete as they stand. All these instances are exclamatory in character and the absence of the predicate is due to a striving after conciseness, cf. § 1.

The complements of a copula which are discussed below include nouns, the word *so* and prepositional phrases.

16. Complement a noun

Absence of the indefinite article is regular in such collocations as *freend to*, etc., in which the noun is qualified by a prepositional adjunct.

hardnes *is freend to* vertu 37/15

lufly schap of body: *is lemman to* lechery 3/26

pou art *son to* ... an emperour & *coseyn vn to* seyntes 15/6

were pou *frende to* þi souȝle 7/33

In the following instance *rebel* should probably be taken as an adjective, cf. OED, *rebel*, adj. A.

þe flesch is *rebel* a ȝens his lord þe spirit 7/20

As for the type: *he is (a) lawyer* (Visser, *H.S.* § 256) our text has mostly instances of the now normal construction with the indefinite article:

he was *a gret prinse* 25/29

he was *a philosophore* 23/36

his fader was *a seynte* 19/4

pou art here *a straunger* 27/24

in erthe *a knaue* in heuene *a kyng* 23/17

17. Complement the word *so*

Aduersite: I ham komen of a pore nest. *Resoun*: *So* is þe most part of men 15/13

This usage was not yet common in the Middle Ages. Cf. Visser *H.S.* § 287: 'This usage became common about 1600'.

18. Complement a prepositional phrase

pat is of þyn owne studie 3/17

þat is of euene age 7/10

Note the place of the prepositional phrase in:

pat to kyng was captif 25/6

B. No distinct subordination (verb + object)

19. Indirect object as sole object

In the following construction the indirect object *þi* is the complement of the copula *be* + adjective:

penne is þi better þat is þi souzle free 21/4

in which case *þi* is to be explained as an occasional form of *þe*, the object pronoun corresponding with *þou*. Cf. Visser *H.S.* § 334 under *bet(ter)*.

In

pei. . feynen hem hornes 5/1

the object *hem* is probably due to analogical formation of other French verbs such as *se souvenir*, *s'étonner*, cf. Visser *H.S.* § 328.

20. Indirect object used as heralding object¹

Paule 3af him not preizere to hele sik Tymoþe 9/30

in which *him* refers to Tymoþe. This use of *him* is not recorded by the OED or by Visser.

21. *Of*-complement as sole object²

In the following construction:

wanne þe asaye to souzpe of þe same broth· panne is it so bitter þei may not þer of 37/23

it is just possible that *may* is used elliptically for *may not souzpe*. This would mean 'cannot eat' and does not very well fit the context; also the *to* before *souzpe* makes it improbable. It would, therefore, be

¹ for the term 'heralding object' (or 'provisional object') see Visser *H S* § 501 ff.

² Visser's 'causative object', *H S* § 370 ff

tempting to take *may* as a notional verb in the sense of 'to like'. This construction with an *of*-complement is well exemplified for *to like*, *smell*, *feel*, etc. (Visser, *H.S.* § 375) but not for *may*. Nor is this meaning of *may* recorded in the OED. It should be noted that the idiom occurs in German and cf. the Dutch: 'Ik mag dat vette eten niet', literally translated: 'I may not that fat food'.

I am grateful to Professor Visser for pointing out to me that he has found a similar construction in the romance *Emaré* (ed. Rickert, E.E.T.S. E.S. 99) composed about 1400. Line 401 runs: *Of þe mete non he myzth*. Here the context clearly does not provide any verb which could possibly be connected with *myzth*.

22. Prepositional object as sole object

Note the following verbs and their prepositions:

sad man & whizs wol *joize of* pi presens 35/12

to *regne vp on* Israel 15/18

noþing þat *longeþ to* man is glorious but vertu 3/20

þei... *forfeten azen þe* lore of Petir & Paule 5/2

he *preizede for* remocion of siknes 9/24

but also:

I *prey... after* hele 9/22

on summe sche *voucheþ saf...* a fewe ragges 13/30

nature *lokeþ after* no delicacies 39/22

gif þou climbe on þis wheel *loke affter* non opur 31/16

þyn vnlusti schap þou *pleynes on* 5/3

but also:

þou *pleynede þe* not of þis 7/33

When the complement of a prepositional group-verb is *where* or *there*, the preposition follows these words immediately and sometimes forms one word with them.

þer of art þou not to *wyte* 19/23

wereof þu *profiten vnneþe* it is perceyued 13/22

23. Place of the preposition

The normal order is for the preposition to precede the (pro) noun.

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his hony & his wex *recorden of his vertu* 5/19

pei *reden of þe abstinence* of Jerom 37/21

End-position of the preposition is found in attributive clauses introduced by the particles *þat*, *as* and *but*, which cannot be preceded by a preposition (Visser, *H.S.* § 410).

many men... wolde receyue... seche vitailles *as þou letist* litil by 39/18

many a likerous man haþ pouerte... tawt to kepe temperaunce *þat* philosophie... myghte neuere *brynge hem to* 27/20

In the construction:

þin vnlusti schap þou *pleynes on* so meche: is lent þe but for a tyme 5/3

there is immediate contact between antecedent and attributive clause (apo koinou construction) and the only possible place for the preposition is at the end. This type is rare before the beginning of the MnE period. Cf. Visser *H.S.* § 412a.

24. Direct object as sole object

The *reflexive object* can be expressed by the compound personal pronoun:

þou schuldist honoure *þi self* 3/12

many... hauen be trappid *hem self* in endeles praldam 21/17

so may þou dignify *þi self* 21/11

or by a personal pronoun:

how mayt þou pleyne *þe* 23/29

sum men pride *hem* alle one of nobeley of þere cuntre 11/23

hold we *us* content 39/30

24. a. When the object is a clause, it is often non-introduced:

haue mynde **¶** þou art here a straunger 27/24

he was beden be þe lord **¶** he schulde not take 5/26

glad be þi spiryt. **¶** his presoun is ruynou3s 11/1

& made **¶** he was a gret prinse 25/29

dou3teles triste **¶** þi li3f schalt þou haue 9/33

These semi-paratactic constructions could no doubt be used for effect in oral delivery.

25. The heralding (provisional) object

Sometimes a syntactical unit functioning as the object of a transitive verb is first announced by *þis*

now þou knowest *þis* wel þat... 27/32

wete þou *þis* wele þat... 21/16

þou wost *þis* wel þat... 23/2

These heralding objects are commonest in Old English and become scarce in Modern English. Their use seems redundant at first sight, but the device could impart emphasis to the following clause and clarify the structure of the sentence.

26. *To haue* is used as a notional verb with an object in:

whi *haue* I *infirmitie*? 9/12

neþer Paule *hadde his askyng* 9/23

eche þing *hath his mesure* 7/11

peraumenture þou hast abelte to honeste studie 5/37

27. *To haue* + noun is often used in approximately the same sense as the verb etymologically related to the noun:

sich a beli seruauant *haþ* no *consideracion* how... 39/26

þou derst not... *haue suspescion* to þin neygebour 27/14

þi souȝl may... *haue contemplacion* of heuene delices 23/30

haue mynde þou art here a straunger 27/24

summe... *hadde delit* to be fed... with bred & water 37/18

in þinge þat moste nede faileþ a gentil souȝle *haþ* no *delit* 7/7

alle only dame pride & here nyse dowteres *haue scorn* of pore men 35/13

þei enemye may werst *holde haue* of þe 27/25

'The analytic type seems to be used to represent the action or proceeding as something experienced, got at, attained or enjoyed by the person denoted by the subject', Visser *H.S.* § 148.

28. *Hedur* and *þedur* as verbs?

Though I have chosen to emend the sentence

While wele & woo pleyen at þe balle. neþur of hem kan holde longe þe balle stille. but *hedur* & *þedur* it contynuely 31/21

by adding *goþ* before *contynuely*, which removes the syntactic difficulty, I draw attention to the possibility that *hedur* and *þedur* in their use as verbs with an object represent a nonce-use of the author; but it is difficult to find similar cases of conversion. Cf. also note to this sentence.

29. *Will* + object expressing will or desire

he schal *wille*... þat he hadde lyued porer 35/22

what menep þe but vanite þat þou *wolt* þat men talede of þe 13/4

30. *To do* + object is used in:

it bringith a man *to do surfet* 39/28

to do... feithful *seruise* 25/19

whi is a wilde colt teyzed þat neuer *harm dede?* 9/13

From the above examples it appears that this use of *to do* + object is often equivalent to the verb etymologically related to the noun. Cf. § 27.

31. Vicarious *to do* + indirect object

perchance it may be tide to þe þat *haþ don* to manye. þat þorw þi true seruise: þou schalt be weddit to liberte 25/20

in this instance the first *þat* should be taken in the sense of 'that which' and *haþ don* repeats *be tide*.

32. The object used twice

Sometimes the object, placed at the head of the sentence, is repeated in the form of the pronoun *it* after the verb. In the following instances the object is a syntactical unit:

þat þou wantes þi delizt he dede *it* for þi profizt 3/4

þat þe sones of þore men gouernen may riche remes. telle *it* for no tyþingges 13/20

Similarly with other pronouns:

Josue Judas Machabe Ector & Arthour. deth hath taken *hem* presoneres 7/5

33. Direct object + predicative adjunct

Occasionally the predicative adjunct is preceded by *for*:

telle *it for no tyþingges* 13/20

cleyme heuene *for heritage* 15/8

A dependent clause is also possible:

trupe... made *he was a gret prinse* 25/29

cf. MnE 'made him a great prince'.

34. Place of the object in verb-adverb combinations

The place of the object is variable (cf. Visser *H.S.* § 668)

pou mayt haue no betere besom to *swepe a wey þe motes* of infames birpe 19/27

þei wole... *bere a wey þyn huches* 27/15

pou mayst no betere plesen hym. þan *drive hym a wey* 39/19

but vertu *holde hem vp* 13/24

The Present Tense Form

35. The gnomic, or neutral, present takes up a good deal of the available presents.

place *makeþ* no man holy: but man *makeþ* holy place 11/22

The present is used occasionally where MnE prefers *to be* + form in *-ing*.

wilis þe flesch & þe spirit *wrastlen* to gedere 9/1

Indeed, no instance of the 'progressive' occurs in this text.

The present is used with reference to future time in cases where futurity is implied by the context:

after þis lifz *is* non sekur seruice 23/14

Similarly after injunctions in the imperative:

peynte þi sougze with vertues & þanne *art* pou þank worthi 3/16

be þou þi self noble & pou *art* neuer þe lesse worthi 11/5

The present alternates with *shal* + infinitive in:

pou *wakest* at morn meche þe merier... pou *schalt* not *nede* to wynde þi tepet for þe hed ache 37/27

The present is also used to refer to an action that will be completed in the future:

whanne pou *komet* to þe heigest poynt 31/16

wanne deþ *komeþ* 35/24

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The Preterite

36. The preterite is often used where Present-day English uses the *to have* + past participle construction. The preterite is often accompanied by the adverb *neuer* (cf. Visser *H.S.* § 807)

a feipfullere felow *found* þou neuere 7/27

I *sinnede* neuer gretly 9/12

whi is a wilde colt teyzed þat neuer harm *dede*? 9/13

homly folk & rude *brouzt* me in to þis worlde 13/14

But *to haue* (occasionally *to be*) + past participle is also used:

he... *hath zeuen* þis decre 19/16

I *ham komen* of a pore nest 15/12

fortune *hath* spoiled me of my goodes 31/24

Just as there is a gnomic present there is a gnomic preterite:

semelynesse *made* neuere git man or womman chast 3/24

The preterite is used modally

1. in the apodosis of hypothetical statements:

were þou frende to þi soughe. þou *pleynede* þe not of þis 7/33

Similarly when such a statement is understood:

þou *haddest* wele in þis lif 23/14

Present-day English would prefer constructions with auxiliaries.

2. in conditional clauses:

gif it *happede* 23/8

& euere *haddest* þou feithful fere... now schalt þou be dere to hym 35/10

In later English constructions with *should* are used by the side of these modal preterites.

The Modally Marked Form

37. The modally marked form can be used

a. *in independent units*

i. to express a wish or a command:

glad *be* þi spirigt 11/1
wete þou þis wele 21/16
sik not 15/5
 Crist *forbede* 23/8

ii. with a 'tacit mental limitation on the part of the speaker' (Visser, *H.S.* § 859) in:

mi desir *were* to be heygere 5/31
 seli *were* þe creature þat wolde folwen þi steppes 33/31

iii. in the following type, which has a concessive character:

go were þou wolt. *zif* pouerte kepe þin hows þou derst not be a gast 27/12
flater fortune neuere so faste a man... sche may not lette pouerte to drawe
 boþe endes of þis dedly lif 35/18

b. *in dependent units*

i. in subject clauses (or at any rate syntactical units that may be explained as such, cf. Visser *H.S.* § 863) after impersonal constructions.

zif it happe þat þou *falle* 31/18
zif hit happe þat þou *sitte* 13/7
 it may not be. þat contricioun *þrife* a mong delices 41/1

According to Visser *H.S.* § 864 the difference from the frequent rival construction with a modally zero form is in the modality of conditionality imparted by *zif*. Here follows a modally zero form:

him þinkith he *hath* a feste be þe wombe ful 39/22

ii. in object clauses dependent on verbs of wishing, allowing, thinking, entreating, etc.

statutes also suffre not þat þou *be* a lawful heire of erþeli possessioun 19/19
 to suppose. þat þer *be* any hender path 33/12

iii. in final clauses

I ham a ferd lest þou *suffre* þe same febre 37/19
 lest þou *be* fouzlere 3/30

iv. in temporal clauses

he wol not a bide. to þou *seende* for symnelle 39/20

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v. in conditional clauses

gif hit *happe* 13/7

be a fool drunken 37/8

vi. in concessive clauses

what mannes childe þat euere hit *be* 15/2

þoow þi dore *stond* wide open 35/5

be it neuer so greuous 35/23

vii. in clauses of exception [conjunctions *þen*, *but* (*gif*), *but* (*þat*)]

litil worth is þe blosme: but ony frute *folwe* 3/28

it is non conseilte to the. but gif þou *haue* forzeten 7/19

The Infinitive

38. Infinitive as subject

The following example is a construction containing a noun + infinitive with *to* as subject

a wantoun *wille to be refreined* nedith a bridel of arest 9/7

The infinitive can be regarded as an adjunct to the noun. See Visser *H.S.* § 905.

The infinitive with *to* may also be dependent on a group consisting of *it* + *is* + adjective + noun

it is impossible *fire to bren* in water 39/37

As Visser shows, *H.S.* § 911, the noun was originally used as an indirect object. The construction was already losing ground in the ME period and came to be replaced by the construction with *for* or *to* preceding the noun (*it is impossible for me to come*).

39. The infinitive as object

In the following construction

enforce þe in þis perti *to be vnlik* to hem of þi conuersacioun & nougt how þou ware gotten 19/12

enforce is complemented by *to* + infinitive as second object, but the expected second infinitive in the next unit fails to come and the construction falters.

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40. The infinitive as adjunct to an adjective

how fouzle þei ben *to loken vp on* 3/32

41. The infinitive as adjunct to a noun

In the following instance the infinitive is accompanied by a preposition in postposition:

pou wantede riche *cloþes to leize* þi child *jnne* 15/22

42. The infinitive as adverbial adjunct

In the following instance the construction with infinitive alternates with an adverbial clause of purpose:

manye studien seche stories: not *for þei wolden liȝen* betere. but *for to kunne talke* of perfeccioun 37/24

The use of *for to* preceding the infinitive is not restricted to adjuncts of purpose, cf.:

he enformede him *for to vsin* medicyne 9/31

43. The infinitive after *þan*

In the following instances an infinitive with or without *to* is used after *þan*, where MnE would have *by* + form in *-ing*:

pou mayst no betere plesen hym. *þan driue* him a wey 39/19

þere is no schortere weyze to soften his dures: *þen* with a buxum herte *to do* hym feithful seruise 25/19

44. The object to the infinitive

The object dependent on an infinitive often precedes it:

þe sagis... kowde no keies fynde *þis visioun to schewe* 25/5

The Form in -ing (or -ande)

45. The two forms in *-ande* occurring in this text function as

i. subject

þe *weiferande* at his zate hadde free entre 33/25

ii. prepositional adjunct:

famouse storye of þe *induellande* 11/22

They are really substantives and do not form part of the verbal system.

46. The form in *-ing* can be used

i. as a predicative adjunct to the subject:

kyng Nabugodonosor. *slepyng*e saw a... visioun 25/2

he kowde not telle *wakyng* what he hadde seen 25/4

ii. after a copula:

hinderyng of þe ton is *forthing* of þe toþere 9/2

In this position the form in *-ing* alternates with the infinitive preceded by *to*, cf.:

for þe to serue: is *to regne* 23/16

No rigid rules as to the distinction between the two constructions can be given (Visser *H.S.* §§ 901 and 1051).

Cf. also:

Here proper werkyng is *to turne* her wheel a bowte 31/15

iii. as a related free adjunct. In the following instance it expresses reason:

þe lawe reuerently *faueringe* þe sacrement of wedlok ponysch... children vnborn in mulori 19/14

Note the following forms in *-ing*—some of them in the plural—in purely nominal functions:

wrastelinges 5/37, offryng 41/7, pleynnynges 31/4, biddyngges 23/35, kouerynge 29/12, leuynges 35/18.

47. The object of the form in *-ing*

The *-ing* form may be followed by an *of*-adjunct, which is syntactically equivalent to a direct object:

hinderyng of þe ton is forthing of þe toþere 9/1

gret of kunnynges of goodnesse 5/17

The Past Participle

48. The past participle, when used as an attributive adjunct, may be preceded by a 'flat adverb'.

a wrong formed pleynt 27/27

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II. Syntactical units with two verbs

I. Direct Nexus of Two Verbs

49. Syntactical units with two verbs can be of three types. The first verb is not subordinated to the second, the first verb is slightly subordinated to the second or the first verb is distinctly subordinated to the second.

Of the first type note the following construction with an infinitive not preceded by *to*:

I *suppose* neuere in þis lizf *be* opur but a seruaunt 23/12

The most important type is that with distinct subordination of the first verb to the second and will be dealt with in the following sections.

A. Auxiliary + Infinitive

50. *to be* + infinitive

Occasionally the infinitive after *to be* has a passive implication:

per of *art* pou not *to wylte* 19/23

but the construction with *to be* + past participle is also used (a fifteenth-century development according to Visser, *More* II § 413):

propere dedes *ben to be charched* 19/7

to be + infinitive can express futurity with an admixture of predestination:

þe more mede *is to komen* 33/8

The rival construction with *shall* and *will* is more frequent.

51. *to haue* + infinitive

to haue + infinitive is used to express duty or obligation in:

pou... *hast fer to go* 27/24

However, the adjunct denoting distance, *fer*, shows great resemblance to a direct object and the construction thus approximates the type *I have nothing to eat*. See Visser, *More* § 419.

52. *to do* + infinitive

Periphrastic *to do* + infinitive occurs in:

what noizede it Abraham pat his fader Thare *dede honour* aliene goddes? 19/5

According to Mustanoja p. 602 this use is probably rather similar to that of *gin* in the periphrastic preterite. The earliest prose instances date from about 1400 (*Must.* p. 603). *to do* in negative declarative units with *not* is not found in this text, nor is it found in interrogative sentences.

53. *schal* + infinitive

i. in the following sentence *schul*, expressing what is right or becoming, is almost equivalent to *should*, *ought to*.

þi most pore natiuite *schul* *descounfed* oure prouзде hertes 15/23

ii. *schal* + infinitive is also used to express the will of the speaker:

þe sone *schal* not *bere* þe wickidnes of þe fader 19/16

iii. Another function of *schal* + infinitive is its use in statements accompanying conditional clauses (or equivalent generalising relative clauses or imperative units) in which the statement with *schal* denotes that the action will take place on the condition expressed in the subordinate conditional clause.

lefe wel & diぜ wel. & þanne *schal* þi birþe. *be* to þe no preiudice 19/1

who so seruеþ god best... he *schal sitten* heigest 23/16

Compare § 35 where in a similar case the present is used and § 58 iii where *may* + infinitive is used.

54. *wol* + infinitive

A rare occurrence of *will* + infinitive at this early date is its use to express a mild command or advice.

for þi *wille seuer*. þat not he þat lest hap: but he þat most coueiteþ: is most pore 33/5

(Modern English 'please note').

This use of *will* + infinitive to express a mild command is first recorded in OED for 1824 and Visser finds the first example in Shakespeare (*More*, § 438).

wol + infinitive, in accordance with its original meaning, is occasionally used to denote a future action dependent on the will of the speaker

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he *wol* not a *bide* to þou seende for symnelle 39/20
with june a fewe daies *wole* deth *sende* his messenger 5/4

55. *schulde* + infinitive is used

i. in statements of duty, obligation or propriety:

mete & drynk *schulde be* taken be maner of medycin 39/5
man .. *schulde be* here lord 39/8

in this sense it alternates with *awte*

hym *awte to do* 39/12

ii. in questions, also rhetorical questions:

whi fortune *schulde with drawe* here fauour fro me? 31/5
how *scholde* pouerte *þriste* þe doun? 27/21
what *schulde* I more *seye*? 37/10

iii. after phrases expressing expectation, thinking, knowing, etc.

nouȝt I mene þat þe souȝle *schulde* of quantite *be* gret 5/16

iv. after verbs expressing desire, wish, etc.

he was beden .. he *schulde* not *take* to þe semblaunt . of Helyab 5/26

v. in headclauses to express the result of a hypothetical condition contained in the subclause

were þin appetit held of couetise þou *schuldest þinke* pouerte a restful kouȝche 27/30

ȝif seknesse & age hadden fowten a while with þe þe victorie *schulde be* heren 7/4

56. *wolde* + infinitive is used

i. to express volition in the past:

þei *wolde lʏfen* betere 37/24
kynde *wolde* not *ȝiffe* þe þat þing 3/6
seli were þe creature þat *wolde folwen* þi steppes 33/31

ii. in a sense equivalent to 'would like to' in contexts where the time-sphere is not really the past:

wenne synne *wolde asyle* þe 3/4
wel I haue aspied þat þou & lust *wolde kisse* 39/15

Similarly with *ʃayn*:

I *wolde ʃayn be faire* 3/29

Would + infinitive in this function is now obsolete.

iii. in hypothetical clauses

*woldest pou suffre ʃi mynde to wete ʃi mete in Cristes wondes pou myght fynde
no betere sause to make ʃi mete sauery* 41/9

iv. in independent units after a combination of a conditional and a hypothetical idea

ʒif pou drank of þe chalis of reuerence... it wolde make þe toty 23/4

57. *can* + infinitive

In the following sentence the infinitive *kunne* is used where English now requires *to be able* + infinitive

manye studien seche stories... for to kunne talke of perfeccioun 37/24

A construction with *to be able* occurs in:

pou art þe more able to sorwe for ʃi synne 39/36

58. *may* + infinitive

i. *may* is often used where it has retained its original meaning and is interchangeable with *can*

non erthely lord may priue þe of þis fraunchis 23/33

but cf. iii below.

ii. *may not* + infinitive is used in contrast with modern usage to denote absence of possibility:

þere mayst pou not longe sitte 31/17

so it may not be. þat contricioun prife a mong delices 39/37

þing þat may not dize: may not be sik 7/26

The original meaning of 'to be strong, to have power' is still evident and the difference from *can* is not easy to ascertain.

iii. In some cases it is possible that *may* has a connotation of uncertainty:

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vse honeste in lyuyng & pou *mayt haue* no betere besom to swepe a wey þe motes of infames birþe 19/26

nede *may* sone *be* riche jnow. but couetise seygeth neuer hoo 33/4

It is evident in:

perchance it *may be tide* to þe 25/19

iv. *may* can be used as an auxiliary of modality in clauses dependent on negative or prohibitive statements. In the following instance it is dependent on a concessive clause:

þoow þe comen lawe inhibete þe... in holi wryt is non obstacle þen þou3 *may be* an holy lyuere 19/18

v. in clauses expressing a comparison:

also litil as þei *may* wel *lest*: pilgrimes trussen with hem 27/22

vi. after superlatives:

þe greuest bondage þat *may be* is to be sugget to synne 21/3

59. *might* + infinitive is used

i. in the sense 'was able to' in which meaning it can alternate with *could*:

þe wateres of Marath were so bitter þat þe folk of Israel *mygth* not *dryngen* of hem 41/12

cf. the construction with *kowde*:

it was so hard lokked... þat he *kowde* not *telle*... what he hadde seen 25/3

þe sagis... *kowde* no keies *fynde* þis visioun to schewe 25/4

ii. in clauses dependent on a hypothetical statement, to express possibility:

woldest þou suffre... þou *myght fynde* no betere sause to make þi mete sauery 41/10

60. *dare* + infinitive

pou *derst* not *be* a gast 27/13

This is a case where *derst* (from OE *durran*) is subject to confusion with *thar(f)*. See OED *tharf* and *dare*. *Derst* is used here in the meaning of *need*. For the construction *in dispeir þer þe not be* see § 2.

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B. Auxiliary + Past Participle

61. *to be* + past participle

In some cases, mainly with mutative verbs, *to be* is used where modern usage has *to have*:

I *ham komen* of koterelles 13/27

þat *were come* of higze blod 13/4

To be + past participle of an objective verb is used for the passive in cases where in modern usage a rival construction is *to have* + *been* + past participle:

aftter þe frute is þat *is lengest abiden*. is a tree demed good or badde 15/10

þer *to was it ordeined* 7/18

were þin appetit *helid* of couetise þou schuldist þinke þouerte a restful kouzche 27/29

However, as in modern usage, the predominance of the notion of state over that of action often accounts for the *to be* + past participle construction, there being hardly any verbal meaning left in the past participle. The form of *to be* can be interpreted as a copula in these cases. The following represent some more instances:

þou *art leid* in goddisbondes 9/20

hony *was forbode* for to be offered 41/3

þou *were bore* wel porer 35/17

I *whas born* in a litil þorpe 11/15

but also:

her vertu is now more knowen ... be cause þat sche was of þe region of Moab: þanne þat sche *hadde be born* in middis of Ierusalem 11/12

The verb *to haue* is occasionally used in a passive construction. In the first example it means 'to consider'

I *ham had* in despit 3/19

may not felicite *be had* with ouzten worldes welþe? 27/32

A passive construction opening with *þer* is:

þer is no þing in erþe *don* with ouzten cause 23/1

The earliest record of this type in OED is 1533, but as Visser, *More* § 571 shows, the construction is attested from OE onwards.

62. *have* + past participle

It may be noted here that the only rule that can be given as to the respective territories of the *to have* + past participle construction and the preterite is that the former can always be used, when no distinct separation from the present time-sphere is thought of or implied. The appellations 'resultative perfect' and 'continuative perfect' have been avoided. Compare the use of the tenses in:

whanne nature broughte þe forþ... dame Fortune *lent* þe kouerynge. Sche *norschede* the & heder too *hath fownden* þe of here owne koueres 29/13

sche *hath plesid* þe longe with affluens of godes 29/13

The *have* + pp. construction is often used to denote an action that happened once, more than once, frequently or regularly, in a period stretching from a point in the past to the present moment:

it is wreten þat for surfet many on *hath perched* 39/9

it may be tide... þat *haþ don* to manye 25/20

many a... man *haþ* pouerte... *tawt* to kepe temperaunce 27/19

he *hath* often *untid* hem & letted hem of her reste 27/6

manye *haþ* þer *ben*. þat *hauen*... *chosen* pouerte 33/9

now may þou be certein ... who *haþ ben* þi feined frendes 35/4

No separation from the present time-sphere is implied in the following instances:

fortune *hath* fro me *taken* þe riches þat I hadde 29/7

often *hast* þou *herd* 25/22

he *haþ openyd* to þe. þe ocasion of vertu 3/8

63. *hadde* + past participle is used

i. to express shades of modality, imagination, non-reality, etc.

þou *haddist* leuere *be* a glotoun 37/4

ii. modally in the protasis and apodosis of a conditional proposition:

hadde Thamar... *ben* a fouȝl leyth damesele. behap Amoun here broþur. *hadde* here not *oppressed* 3/24

for & þou *haddist ben* made in crpe: þi falle *hadde semed* þe lasse 11/14

In the former of these two examples the object is placed between *hadde* and the past participle, whereas it would now require post-

position. The modern distinction between the two types was not yet significant.

C. Auxiliary + Form in *-ing*

It should be noted that the type *he is coming* is not used in this text. The present, especially the gnomic present, is predominant.

II. Indirect Nexus of the two Verbs

Only the following type occurs:

65. Verb + Pronoun + Infinitive

he enformede him for to usin medicine 9/31

Constructions with *for to* are now obsolete.

The type verb + (pro)noun + form in *-ing*, which is scarcely used before the end of the ME period, is not found in this text, neither is the type verb + (pro)noun + past participle.

III. Syntactical units with three verbs

I. Direct Nexus of Three Verbs

66. A. Third verb an infinitive

The following constructions contain auxiliary + auxiliary + infinitive. The second 'auxiliary' has the function of a notional verb, as is often the case in ME:

pou schalt kun demen 27/16

pou schalt not nede to wynde pi tepet for þe hed ache 39/3

67. B. Third verb a past participle

i. auxiliary + *be* + past participle

he... wolde be comendid 3/17

pou3 schalt not be... sent after 23/19

ii. a form of *to be* + *to be* + past participle

In the following instance this construction expresses what is proper or fit:

propere dedes *ben to be charched* 19/7

iii. auxiliary + *haue* + past participle

pat *myghte haue had* alle maner deyntees 37/17

The use of *myght* here corresponds with that in the syntactical units with two verbs, cf. § 59 above.

In the following construction:

hadde neuere infirmite *haue asailed* Job & Tobbye: here holinesse *hadde* not zit be fully opened 9/3

had haue asailed can be interpreted as 'would have assailed' and since *hadde asailed*—cf. § 63ii—would have served the same purpose, the second of the three verbal forms is a functionless word. There are many examples of this redundant *have* in the language of the 15th and 16th centuries. Cf. Visser, *More* § 676a and OED *have*, v. 26. The first instance cited by OED is for 1440.

iv. *hadde* + *ben* + past participle

This construction is often used in a modal sense, just as *hadde* + past participle (§ 63)

a. in independent units:

here holinesse *hadde* not zit *be... opened* 9/3

In modern usage 'would have been' + past participle is preferred in independent units.

b. in dependent units:

after pat he *had be rauyched* 9/15

pat sche *hadde be born* in middis of Ierusalem 11/12

pou *haddist ben made* in erpe 11/14

By the side of this construction the type with *was/were* + past participle is used, denoting either action completed in the prepast or resulting state, as in:

were þin appetit *helid* of couetise 27/29

LANGUAGE

II. Indirect Nexus of Three Verbs

68. The following are examples of constructions of auxiliary + verb + noun + infinitive:

woldest pou *suffre* *pi mynde to wete* pi mete in Cristes wondes pou myght fynde
no betere sause to make pi mete sauery 41/9

sche *may* not *lette pouerte to drawe* bope endes of pis dedly lif 35/19

The meanings of *woldest* and *may* agree with the ones in the syntactical units with two verbs, cf. §§ 56 and 58.

IV. Syntactical units with four verbs

69. Only the following instance occurs:

hony was forbede ... for *to be offered* 41/3

which is a double passive group amply represented in earlier and later phases of the language, cf. Visser, *More* § 709a.

The remaining syntactical features are summarily touched upon in the following sections.

Nouns

70. Number

Material nouns are used in the plural without necessarily referring to different kinds.

pe *wateres* of Marath 41/11

whanne *cornes* tymen not: wepith pe frangeleyn 29/3

Abstract nouns occasionally have the plural number without necessarily having a plural meaning. The plural forms strengthen the nominal character of the *-ing* forms.

pe *myghtes* of pi souzle 23/31

pe *biddyngges* of a wicked tyraunt 23/35

þankynges kepen to meche silens. but *pleynynges* chateren faste 31/3

manere adopts no plural ending in:

per ben pre *manere* of goodes 31/28

but the plural occurs elsewhere:

on diuerse maneres 19/15.

70 a. Conversion

Binyn is used as a noun in:

þi *binyn* is so feble 23/4

This substantival use is not recorded in OED or MMED.

71. Genitive

daies and *nyghtes* go back to original genitives, but were in the following combination probably taken for plurals:

þe sonne clopith þe eire *on daies* in his bemcs. *on nyghtes* he hidip hem 31/9

Note the following way of expressing the genitive function:

Thamar Dauid is dowter 3/24

In this construction *is* is not to be taken as the genitive ending *-es*, but as the possessive pronoun *his*. This use was especially common after proper names from OE times onwards. See J. E. Wright, *An Elementary Historical New English Grammar*, § 303.

The form *alderest* (not recorded in OED or MMED) in *alderest bare* 27/26 is used to form an absolute superlative. It represents a remnant of the OE gen. pl. of *(e)all* with a superlative ending attached. In the Auchinleck MS of *Floris and Blauncheflur*¹ the form *alderest* is followed by a superlative: *alderest feblest* (l. 231).

Pronouns

72. Personal pronouns

A pronominal adverb is regularly found where modern usage requires *it* preceded by a preposition:

þer *of* art þou not to wyte 19/23

þe misteries þer *of* 25/6

þer *to* was it ordeined 7/18

The pronoun *þat* preceded by a preposition occurs also, especially in cases where emphasis is imparted:

¹ ed. F. C. de Vries, Groningen, 1966.

pou art asoiled *in þat* forme (= from) his obediense 23/9

for *in þat* drawe þei next to bestis 7/14

who so dispisith þe pore... for þei be pore: *in þat* alle pore he dispisith 35/14

The possessive equivalent occurs in the following sentence, where it may be due to the desire for regularity in the enumeration:

sodeyn slawter of his childryn. seknes *of him self*. þe los of his goodes were ouer weyk: for to opin his lippes 33/28

The personal pronoun is used in a demonstrative function in:

enforce þe... to be vnlik to *hem* of þi conuersacioun 19/12

73. Possessive pronouns

In the following sentence

richesse taken neuere here leue be *þer* one 33/16

the construction *be þer one* ('by their one') is obsolete in MnE. *One* is used here as a complement following the poss. pron. *þer* and is almost equivalent to *self*, *selves*, cf. OED *one* 27.d. By the side of the construction with the poss. pron. there existed one with a pers. pron., e.g. *bi ham ane* in *Seinte Marharete*, E.E.T.S. O.S. 193, p. 33. I am indebted to Professor Visser for pointing out to me that *Cursor Mundi* l. 27202 (ed. R. Morris, E.E.T.S.) has the reading 'or queþer he *be him an* it did' in MS Cotton, and '¶ queþer *be his ane* he did hit do' in MS Fairfax. Cf. also the instances in OED, quoted from *Cursor Mundi* l. 2021: *bi him an* (Cott. and Gött.); *bi his ane* (Fairf.) and *be his one* (Trin.).

In view of the approximation in sense to *self*, *selves* it would seem that the same factors were at work here as with the formation of the compound personal pronouns (cf. *me self* > *myself*) and that *one* came to be regarded as a substantive. It may be noted that Dutch has a corresponding construction *op hun eenige*.

74. Demonstrative pronouns

þis is used anaphorically implying familiarity with the person referred to:

þe litilnes of *þis* Dauid 5/28

þat is used similarly, but with a connotation of notoriety; cf. *Must.* p. 171.

þat lusti leuyng 41/4

75. Interrogative pronouns

what, used adverbially in exclamations, is equivalent to MnE 'how', in which sense it had been common since the OE period.

what wost þou. what is speedful to þe? 9/31

76. Relative pronouns

wich is used four times in this text and is consequently far less frequent than *þat* as a relative. *wich* is not used in this text with reference to persons. It is used substantivally in:

pat lusti leuyng *wich* 41/4

þe cros of our sauour. *wich* 41/15

þis tre... *wich* 41/15

and adjectivally in:

wich name þou mayst not kalenge 13/11

77. The conjunctive uses of *þat*

i. The most common function of *þat* is its use as a relative, referring alike to persons and things. It can also refer to syntactical units as in:

3if hit happede—*þat* Crist forbede—*pat*... 23/8

ii. *þat* is used as a determinative pronoun with non-expression of a following relative:

it may be tide to þe *þat* haþ don to manye. *pat*... 25/20

but *þat* is verily þin owne: *pat* may not be taken fro þe 31/34

fro þe may fortune nougt bere: but *þat* sche may bringe to þe 31/30

In such cases modern usage has *what* or *that which*.

What occurs in the following construction:

to forȝete *what* is don for hem 31/2

iii. *þat* is occasionally used after generalising *what*:

what mannes childe *þat* euere hit be... sche welcomeþ hit 15/1

þe hungri wiste what sauour *þat* his mete hadde 33/24

iv. Similarly after adverbs and conjunctions to show subordination to the main clause:

how precious a juel *þat* þi sougþe is prouep þi redempcion 9/18

after *þat* he had be rauyched 9/15

þere inne is no impediment but *þat* þou mai be a good man 5/21

þat by itself may repeat a conjunction in a second clause:

her vertu is now more knowen *þe cause þat* sche was of þe region of Moab
þanne *þat* sche hadde be born in Ierusalem 11/12

v. *þat* is also used in the correlative pair *þat...þat* or *what...þat*, in which the first member is used determinatively or indefinitely and the second relatively:

kynde wolde not ziffe þe *þat* þing *þat* be siknes myzt be corrupt 3/6

profitable is *þat* nede *þat* constreyneþ 39/11

what mete sauoreth him best *þat* þinkeþ him most holsom 39/25

vi. *þat* can be used to introduce the 'oratio recta', where it is absent in modern usage

þus seith þe philosophur Plato *þat* þer is no kyng but he kam of seruauntes
15/15

vii. The first part of a comparative of proportion can be followed by *þat* to show its subordination to the head-clause:

eueþe þe euyere chere *þat* þe world scheweþ þe 35/20

þe more likerous *þat* þe mete is þe sunner . 39/27

þe dymmere *þat* þe fame of þi cuntre is þe lithler 11/8

viii. *þat* is often used to introduce clauses, especially final and resultative clauses. But it is also used in cases where its meaning is extremely vague. It may be called a 'stop-gap' conjunction.¹ In the following cases it is used to introduce what may be interpreted as concessive clauses:

þe swete smel of þe rose is neuere þe lesse *þat* his moder is a porn 19/25

what noizede it Abraham *þat* his fader Thare dede honour aliene goddes? 19/5

¹ See K. C. Philipps, *English Studies* XLVIII, no. 5, (Oct. 1966), 357

grucche not þat Crist hath loked vp fro þefes his chosen tresour 9/21

cf. the following instance, where under similar conditions þoow is used:

sik not þoow þou were born nakid 15/5

In the following instance the subordinate clause may be taken as a subject-clause, but it may also be explained as a clause of reason:

þenne is þi better þat is þi soughe free 21/5

þat introduces what might be termed an object-clause in:

for þat þou wantes þi deligt he dede it for þi profigt 3/3

but it is impossible to define the exact relation.

78. Conjunctions

i. The following are conjunctive correlatives joining negative sentences or part of sentences:

<i>not... ne...</i>	pou derst <i>not</i> be a gast. <i>ne</i> haue suspescion 27/13
<i>not... nor...</i>	ou3r sauour. chese <i>not</i> . to be born in Ierusalem <i>nor</i> in Rome 11/19
<i>not... ne... neþer...</i>	pou art <i>not</i> so stronge as he... <i>ne</i> he... as an opur... <i>neþer</i> he zit as an hors 7/9
<i>not... noþur... neþur...</i>	pou3 schalt <i>not</i> be hurled <i>noþur</i> sent affter to gret conseilless <i>neþur</i> to sessiounes 23/19
<i>neþer... neþer...</i>	<i>neþer</i> he speketh of swete morselles <i>neþer</i> of skarlet robes 39/30
<i>no... neþer no...</i>	þer is <i>no</i> kyng... <i>neþer</i> <i>no</i> seruaunt 15/15
<i>neþur... ne... neþur noþur...</i> (This use of <i>neþur noþur</i> finally is common, see OED s.v. <i>nother</i> .)	he is <i>no</i> þing suptuou3s. he lokep <i>neþur</i> to be fed with partrik <i>ne</i> with fesaund... swete wynes he knowep <i>neþur noþur</i> 27/10

ii. Conjunctions are often used at the beginning of the sentence (in the MS written with capitals)

And how mayt þou pleyne þe 23/28

And wolt þou haue on schort word 25/8

But certes in dispeir þer þe not be 25/14

But it is þe olde manere 31/1

But wisdom redeth vs a noþer lessoun 31/28

79. Word - order

Out of the intricacies of word-order I draw attention to the following cases:

i. Absence of inversion subject-predicate in a question introduced by an interrogative adverb:

whi fortune schulde with drawe here fauour fro me? 31/5

ii. Inversion subject-predicate in:

penne is þi better þat is þi souzle free 21/5

iii. When more than one attributive adjunct qualifies a noun, one may precede and the other(s) follow:

sad man & whigs 35/11

homly folk & rude 13/14

in leful pinges & lawfull 23/7

rote pinges & faylynge 3/7

iv. The object to an infinitive occasionally precedes it:

þe sagis...kowde no keies fynde þis visioun to schewe 25/5

wepur is fairere to zeue cleernesse...or lizt to borwe 13/13

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GLOSSARY

N B This glossary aims at giving all the words and spelling variants occurring in the text. Words not recorded in the standard dictionaries, or not recorded in the sense they have in this text, are provided with a note. See also the section on *Vocabulary* where they are listed together. A list of words recorded in OED and MMED with earliest dates posterior to the presumable date of the treatise can be found there also.

Note that *ȝ* follows *g*. Words beginning with *ȝ* or *j* have been classed together under *ȝ*. Under *v* are similarly classed together words beginning with the vowel or the consonant according to their spelling in the text. *þ* follows *ȝ*.

In the etymological notes, which are necessarily brief, I have sometimes included the WS form, though in general it is evident from the East Midland complexion of the language that the OE Anglian forms should be regarded as the ancestors of the forms in the text. In the case of WS *æ*¹ the Anglian form with *ē* precedes the WS form with *æ*.

A

a, interj. ah, 29/5

a, *an*, art. (OE *ān*) *a*, *an*, passim

abelte, sb. (OF *ableté*) aptitude, 5/37

a bide, vb. (OE *ābidan*) *abide to þou seende* expect you to get, 39/20,

abiden, pp. looked forward to, 15/10

a boute, adv. (OE *onbūtan*) about, 31/15

abstinence, sb. (OF & L) *id*, self-denial, 37/21

acceptable, adj. (OF & L) pleasing, agreeable, 15/4, 41/5

a corden, vb. pr. pl. (OF *acorder*) are of one mind, 25/9

a countes, sb. (OF *aconte*) accounts, 19/13

a queynted, adj. (OF *acointier*) acquainted, 27/8

aduersite, sb. (refashioned from OF *aversite*) adverse fortune, passim

a ferd, adj. (OE *āfēran*, *āfāran*) afraid, 27/5, 37/19

affeccions, sb. pl. (OF & L) inclinations, desires, 31/26

afraunce, sb. (OF) *hadde sich afraunce*, inspired so much confidence, 25/25

affluens, sb. (OF) abundance, 29/14

after, *þer after*, prep. (OE *æfter*) accordingly, 25/22, *after*, prep. adv., for, in *þrey after*, 9/22, *loken after*, 31/22, *afterward*, adv. afterwards, 5/28

a gast, adj. (OE *gāstan*) terrified, 27/13

age, sb. (OF) age, 3/7

a zen, adv. (OE *ongegen*) again, 31/22,

GLOSSARY

a zen, prep against, 19/10, *a zenes*, prep, 31/33, *a zens*, prep, 7/20, *azenward*, adv conversely, 13/21, *a zeyn*, prep, 3/30
aire, sb (OF) air, 31/10, *eire*, 31/9
alderest, adv (OE ealra, ælra + -est, forms an absolute superlative in combination with an adjective) most, 27/26
ahene, adj (OF) some one else's, 19/7, *ahene goddes*, false gods, 19/6
alle, adj adv, (OE all, eall), all, 13/28, *alle þe hole*, the whole, 13/9, *alle one*, alone, 11/23, 31/8, *alle only*, solely, 35/12, *al only*, solely, 41/15, *alone*, alone, 3/21
als, conj (OE eall, all swā) as, 31/13, 33/5, *al so*, conj, as, 7/3, *also*, adv also, 41/16
altitude, sb (OF) height, 5/27
al þoow see *þof*
alwey, adv (OE ealne weg) always, in every respect, 9/7, 15/25
among, prep (OE on gemang) amid, among, 13/8, *a mong*, 37/20, *a mong*, adv continually, 37/18
amyeable, adj (OF) lovable, propitious, 39/10
an see *and*
and, conj (OE and) and passim, if, 35/9, 41/15, *an*, and, 27/17
anemptis, prep (OE on + efen) as regards, 23/10
angry, adj (ON angr + y) angry, 39/33
a non, adv (OE on āne, on ān) at once, 41/13
answerede, pa 3 sg (OE andswarian) answered, 9/24, 29
any, pron (OE ænig) any, 33/12, *on*, 35/11, *ony*, 3/28
apostele, sb (OE apostol) apostle, 9/15, *apostle*, 7/19
appetite, sb (OF) appetite, 39/25
apt, adj (L) suitable, fit, 5/36, 7/15
a raiŷeth, pr 3 sg (AF arayer) arrays, 15/3

are, *aren*, *art*, *arn* see *be*, vb
arest, sb (OF) restraint, control, 9/7
asaile, inf (OF assailir) attack, 3/4, *asailed*, pp 9/3
asaye, pr 3 pl (AF assaier, essaier) try, 37/22
ascende, inf (L) climb, rise, 13/26, 31/19
a schamed, adj (OE asceamod) ashamed, 15/13, 24
askyng, vbl sb (OE ascunge) request, 9/23
asouled, pp (OF assoiler) absolved, relieved, 23/9
aspied, pp (F espier) discovered, seen, 11/9, 39/15
assent, sb (OF) consent, 31/35
assis, sb pl (OE assa) asses, 15/17
ast, pa 2 sg (OE ascian) ask, 15/14
at, prep (OE æt) at 33/10, *þer atte*, present, 35/2
auarice, sb (OF) avarice, greed, 31/27
auer(e), sb (AF) possessions, wealth, 33/21 and note
aunceleres, sb pl (OF ancestre) ancestors, 13/12
a wey, adv (OE on weg) away, 19/27, 27/15, 39/19
awte, hym *awte*, pr 3 sg impers (OE āhte) ought to, 39/12

B

babe, sb (nursery word, ME) baby, 15/21
badde, adj. (OE bæddel) bad, worthless, 15/11
bakers, sb gen sg (OE bæcere) baker's 39/21
ball, sb (ME) ball, 31/20, 21
banges, sb pl (ON banke) banks, dikes, see *see banges*
baptim, sb (OF baptisme) baptism, 15/7
bare, adj (OE bær) destitute, uncovered, 27/26
bareyne, adj (OF baraine) barren, devoid, 21/12

GLOSSARY

- barly*, sb (OE *bærlic*) barley, 39/20
bate, sb (aphetic form of OF *debate*) quarrel, discord, 37/7
baterilles, sb pl (OF *bataille*) battles, 29/2
be, vb inf (OE *bēon*) to be, 3/1, 29, *bee*, inf, 33/14, *ham*, pr 1 sg, 3/19, 5/11, *art*, pr 2 sg, 7/9, 9/20, *is*, pr 3 sg, 3/20, 21, *be*, pr pl, 35/14, *ben*, pr pl, 3/32, 21/5, *are*, pr pl, 31/35, *aren*, pr pl, 31/26, *arn*, pr pl, 9/17, *be*, pr subj 2 sg, 3/30, 35/11, *be*, pr subj 3 sg, 33/12, 7/26, *be*, imper sg, 11/5, *be*, imper pl, 23/6, *whas*, pa 1 sg, 11/4, 15, *was*, 3/11, 21/14, *were*, pa 2 sg, 31/19, 35/17, *where*, pa 2 sg, 11/13, *ware*, pa 2 sg, 19/12, *was*, pa 3 sg, 3/1, 3, *were*, pa subj 3 sg, 39/15, *were*, pa pl, 33/22, 11/18, *weren*, pa pl, 33/note to l 21
be, prep (OE *bi*) by, through, 3/6, 39/6, *be per one*, alone, 33/16, *bi*, adv, 35/6, *by*, adv, 39/18
be cause pat, conj (be + cause) because, 11/11, 25/27
bed, sb (OE *bedd*) bed, 15/22, 27/29, *bedde*, 37/26
beden, pp (OE *biddan* and OE *bēodan*) ordered, 5/26
bee, inf see *be*, vb
bee, sb (OE *bēo*) bee, 5/18
beeste, sb (OF *beste*) beast, 37/11, *bestes*, sb pl, 39/7
be for(e), prep of place (OE *beforan*) before, 7/29, 33/20, *before*, prep of order, 33/27
beginnyng(e), vbl sb (OE *beginnan* + -ing) beginning, 15/9
behap, adv (be + ON sb *hap*) perhaps, 3/25
be hight, pp (OE *behēht*) promised, 35/25
beli, sb (OE *belig*) belly, 7/29, *beli seruauht*, (not in OED or MMED) belly-slave, 39/26
bemes, sb pl (OE *bēam*) beams, rays, 13/17, 31/9
be neme, vb inf (OE *benāman* or *beniman*) deprive, 3/7
bere, inf (OE *beran*) carry, bear, 7/15, *berest*, pr 2 sg, 27/27, *berist*, pr 2 sg, 27/27, *beryng*, vbl sb behaviour 25/31, *bore*, pp born, 3/1, 21/14, *born*, pp born, 3/11, 15, 21/16
besi, adj (OE *bysig*) diligent, assiduous, 21/10, *bisily*, adv, 7/30
besom, sb (OE *besma*) broom, 19/26
best, adj (OE *betsta*) best, 31/30; *for his beste*, for his best interests, 9/26, *best*, adv (OE *betest*) best, 23/15
bestes see *beeste*
beten, pp (OE *bēatan*) beaten, 25/28
betere, adj comp (OE *betera*) better, 9/2, 23/36, *betere*, adv comp (OE *betera*) better, 37/24, 39/19, *better*, adj comp, 21/5, *bettere*, adj comp, 7/13, 9/34
be tide, inf (ME) happen, befall, 25/20
be tokeneþ, pr 3 sg (OE *tācnian*) signifies, symbolizes, 41/14
be trappid, pp (OE *betræppan*) ensnared, 21/17
better(e) see *betere*
beuzte, sb (OF *beaute*) beauty, 3/12, *bewte*, 3/27
bi, adv see *be*
biddyngges, sb (OE *biddan* + ing) orders, 23/35
bizere, sb (OE *bycgan* + er) buyer, 23/26
binyn, sb (OE *binnan*) inside (this substantival use not in OED or MMED), 23/4
birthe, sb (ON **byrþr*) birth, 17/1; *burþe*, 13/1, 19/1
birthen, sb (OE *byrþen*) burden, 7/33; *burþen*, 23/26, *burþen*, 5/13
bischoþs, sb gen sg (OE *bisceop*) bishop's, 31/23
bisily see *besi*
bitinge, pr p (OE *bītan*) stinging, 9/15

GLOSSARY

bittler, adj (OE *biter*) bitter, 37/23, 41/7, *bittur*, 9/10
*blamyng*e, vbl sb (OF blamer, blamer) censure, criticism, 19/6
blessid, pa 3 sg (OE *gebletsian*) blessed, 33/25, *blessid*, adj (OE *gebletsod*) blessed, 33/29
bleu3, pa 3 sg (OE *blāwan*) blew, 39/32
blisse, sb (OE *blis*) happiness, 29/1
blod, sb (OE *blōd*) blood, 13/5
blosme, sb (OE *blōstm*) blossom, 3/27
bodi, sb (OE *bodig*) body, 3/9, 22, *body*, 5/16, 25/9
bond, sb (ON *band*) tie, fetter, 21/9, 35/9
bondache, sb (AF *bondage*) servitude, bondage, 21/1, 23/30, *bondage*, 21/3
bonde, sb as adj (OE *banda*, ON *bōnde*) *bore bonde* born into servitude, 21/14, *boonde* in servitude 21/2
bord, sb (OE *bord*) board, table, 39/13
bore, *born* see *bere*
borwe, inf (OE *borgian*) borrow, 7/25, *borwed*, pp 3/32, *borwyng*, vbl sb, 29/11
bost, sb (etym uncertain, **behāst*?) boast, bragging, 37/8
bothe and, adv (ON *bāpar*) both and , 33/25, *boþe*, pron both, 15/18, 35/19
bounde, pp (OE *bindan*) bound, 9/17
brak see *breke*
braunches, sb pl (F *branche*) branches, 13/6
bred, sb (OE *brēad*) bread, 37/18, 39/20
brefnes, sb (OF *bref* + *nes*) shortness (of size), this use not in OED or MMED, 5/23
breke, inf (OE *brecan*) break, 27/14, 35/9, *brak*, pa 3 sg, 25/28
bren, inf (ON *brenna*, OE *bærnan*) to burn, intr, 39/37
bridel, sb (OE *brīdel*) bridle, 9/7
bri3t, adj (OE *beorht*) bright, 13/17,

bryghter, comp, 5/8, *bryztnesse*, 11/8
bringith see *brynge*
brode, adv (OE *brād*) wide, far, 31/10
brondes, sb pl (OE *brand*) fire, burning, 3/6
broth, sb (OE *broþ*) broth, 37/22
broþur, sb (OE *brōþor*) brother, 3/25
brou3t(e), *broughte* see *brynge*
bryztnesse see *bri3t*
brynge, inf (OE *bringan*) bring, persuade, 27/20, *bringith*, pr 3 sg brings, causes, 39/27, *brou3t*, pa pl, 13/14, *brou3te*, pa pl, *broughte forþ*, pa 3 sg (OE *forþbringan*) gave birth to, 29/11
burþen see *birthen*
but, adv (OE *būtan*) only, 3/27, 5/4, *but*, conj but, 11/23, 15/20, *but þat*, conj but, 5/21, *but 3if*, conj unless, 7/19
buxum, adj (OE *būhsum*) humble, obedient, 25/19
by, adv (OE *bi*) by, see *be*
byndere, sb (OE *bindan* + *er*) binder, 25/8

C

calles, pr 2 sg (ON cf OI *kalla*, but cf LOE *ceallian*) call, 27/3, *callid*, pp 15/5, *kald*, pp 13/10
capthf, adj sb (ad L *captivus* & OF *chaitif*) enslaved, captive, 25/6
carriage, sb (AF cf CF *charriage*) burden, load, 5/12
cause, sb (OF *cause*, L *causa*) cause, ground, 5/12, 9/29
causen, pr pl (OF *causer* & ML *causare*) cause, bring about, 41/1
certein, adj (OF) *be certein* make sure, 35/4
certes, adv (OF), 25/14, *certus*, 21/12, certainly, surely
cete, sb (OF *cité*) city, 11/21, pl *cetes*, 11/20
chalis, sb (OF *chalice* & L *calicem*) chalice, cup, 23/3

GLOSSARY

- charche*, sb (OF charge) burden, 23/24, *no gret charche*, of little importance, 35/8
- charched*, pp (OF charg(i)er) burdened, loaded, 23/29, 27/22, taken into account, 19/7
- charite*, sb (OF charité) divine grace, 5/6
- chast*, adj (OF chaste) chaste, pure, 3/24
- chastesinge*, vbl sb (OF chastuer) correction, punishment, 27/19
- chateren*, pr pl (*imitative*) chatter, 31/4
- chaumbre*, sb (OF chambre) chamber, 21/10
- chaunchable*, adj (OF changeable) unstable, variable, 31/13
- chaunge*, sb (OF cha(u)nge) change, 23/17
- chere*, sb (OF chiere, chere) *with a lawyng chere* cheerfully, 39/17, *heuy chered* sad faced, 27/7
- chese*, inf (OE cēosan) decide, choose, 37/16, *chese*, pa 3 sg, 11/19, *chosen*, pp 33/9, *chosen*, adj (pp of OE cēosan) excellent, select, 9/21
- child(e)*, sb (OE cild) child, 15/22, 15/1, pl *childer*, 9/11, *children*, 13/22, *childryn*, 33/22, *childryn*, 15/3, 33/28
- cleernesse*, sb (OF cler + nes) splendour, 13/13, *clernesse*, 5/7
- clenly*, adv (OE clānlic) cleanly, neatly, 15/3
- clennesse*, sb (OE clānnes) purity, innocence, 3/9
- clerk*, sb (OE cleric, cleric, OF cleric) scholar, author, student, 23/34, *clerkes*, pl, 37/20
- cleyme*, inf (OF clamer, st claim-) to claim, 15/8
- climbe*, pr subj 2 sg (OE climbān) climb, 31/16
- clips*, sb (aphetic form of OF eclipse) deprivation, 13/22
- cloistre*, sb (OF cloistre, clostre) cloister, 25/32
- clothed*, pp (OE clāþian) clothed, 27/25, *cloþed*, *cloþid*, pp 27/23, 5/6, *cloþith*, pr 3 sg, 31/9
- cloþes*, sb pl (OE clāþ) clothes, 15/22, 39/29, *cloþis*, 13/30
- colt*, sb (OE colt) colt, 9/13
- comaundede*, pa 3 sg (OF comander) commanded, 23/8
- come* see *komen*
- comen*, adj (OF commun) common, general, 31/25, *comyn*, 37/20, *comynly*, 5/14, *comen law* common law, the general law (of the Church), 19/17, see note
- comendable*, adj (L) praiseworthy, 33/26
- comendid*, pp (L comendare, OF comender) praised, complimented, 3/17
- compellith*, pr 3 sg (OF compeller) compels, 39/10
- comytte*, imp sg (L committere) commit, entrust, 9/32
- condicions*, sb (OF & L) dispositions, habits, 31/7, *condicioun*, nature, condition, 13/3, 15/1
- confeccion*, sb pl (OF confeccion) dishes containing fruit and spices, 27/10
- conseil*, sb (OF concile, conseil) judgment, ability to advise, 7/1, *conseille*, secret, 7/18, *conseilles*, conferences, meetings, 23/20
- conseille*, inf (AF cunsiler, CF conseiller) consult, seek advice, 39/1
- conseruede*, pa 3 sg (OF conserver) protected, 9/15
- consideracion*, sb (OF & L) thought, attention, 39/26
- constaunt*, adj (OF) steadfast, constant, 31/15
- constreine*, inf (OF) compel, force, 31/14, *constreynen*, pr 3 sg, 39/11
- contemplacion*, sb (L & OF) contemplation, 23/30

GLOSSARY

contemptible, adj (L & OF) contemptible, disgraceful, 3/21
content, adj (pp of contenten, F contenter) content, 39/30
continuely, adv (F continuel) continually, 31/21
contrarie, adj (CF contrarié) contrary, opposed, 23/9
contricion, sb (L & OF) contrition, remorse, 41/2, *contricioun*, 41/1
contrite, adj (L contritus, pp of conterere) remorseful, contrite, 41/6
conuersacioun, sb (L & OF) company, 19/12
copious, adj (L & OF) plentiful, abundant, 9/19
corn, sb (OE corn) corn, 9/9, *cornes*, crop, 29/3
corowned, pp (OF coroner) crowned, 33/10
cors, sb (OF cors) body, 5/7, 12
cross, sb (OE cros from OIr cros, ultimately L crux-crucis) cross, 41/14
corrupt, pp (L corruptus) destroyed, 3/7
coseyne, sb (OF cosin) cousin, 15/7
couden see *kun*
couerteþ, pr 3 sg (OF covertier) desires greedily, 33/6
couetise, sb (OF covertise) covetousness, greed, 33/4
couetous, adj (OF covertus) covetous, greedy, 31/14
cradel, sb (OE cradol) cradle, 15/20
crafti, adj (OE cræftig) clever, ingenious, 3/31
crasche, sb (OF crache) manger, 15/20
creature, sb (L creatūra & OF criature) creature, person, 33/31
crime, sb (OF crime & L crīmen) crime, sin, 19/7
cubites, sb pl (L cubitum) cubit (length of fore-arm 18-22 ins), 5/29
cumpanye, sb (OF compa(i)gnie) company, 33/19
cuntre, sb (OF cuntrée) country, 11/3, 4, 6, *kuntre*, 27/15

cure, sb (OF cure) cure, 9/32
curteynes, sb pl (OF cortine) curtains, 15/22

D

daies, sb pl (OE dæg, pl dagas) days, 5/4, *on daies*, in day time, 31/9
dame, sb (OF dame) dame, lady, 15/3, 21/12
damesele, sb (AF dameisele, L domicella) young woman, 3/25
daunger, sb (AF daunger) domination, power, 25/12
debate, sb (OF) *at debate* in conflict with, 3/22
debilite, sb (OF debilité & L dēbilitās) physical weakness, 7/21
deceyued, pp (AF cf CF deceiver) deceived, 31/25
decre, sb (OF, var of decret) edict, decree, 19/16
dede see *do*
dedes, sb pl (OE dēd, dād) actions, 19/6, 33/30
dedli, adj (OE dēadlīc) deadly, mortal, transitory, 19/2, *dedly*, 35/19
defile, inf (OF de + OE fylan) pollute, defile, 35/6, *defilth*, pr 3 sg, 3/22
deformite, sb (OF deformité) ugliness, deformity, 3/5, 22
degre, sb (OF degré) rank, position, 7/14
del, sb (OE dæl) *sum del*, somewhat, 29/14
dele with, pr 1 sg (OE dælan) have to do with, 39/35
deleitabie, adj (OF delitable, deleitable) pleasant, delightful, 13/5
delicacies, sb pl (L dēlicācia) fine foods, delicacies, 39/23
delicate, adj (L dēlicātus) fastidious, voluptuous, 39/25
delices, sb pl (OF delice) joys, 23/31, delights, sensual pleasures, 41/1
delizt, sb (OF delite) pleasure, delight, 3/4, *delit*, 7/7, 37/18

GLOSSARY

- deluere*, inf (OF *delvrer*) release, set free, 25/15, *deluierid*, pp 11/2
- deme*, imp sg (OE *dēman*) decide, judge, 13/12, *demed*, pp 15/10, *demen*, inf think, 27/16
- denyed*, pp (OF *denuer*) denied, refused, 13/8
- departiþ*, pr 3 sg (OF *departir*) separates, 35/3, *deperuþ*, 9/9
- depe*, adj (OE *dēop*) deep, 13/5
- deposed*, pp (OF *deposer*) deposed, 33/11
- dere*, adj (OE *dēor*) beloved, dear, 35/11
- derk*, adj (OE *deorc*) dark, 11/9, *derke*, 13/5
- derst* see *þer*, vb
- descounfed*, inf (OF *desconfit*, pp of *desconfire*) to overcome, 15/23
- desese*, sb (OF *desaise*, disease) suffering, misery, 33/33
- desire*, inf (OF *désirer*) desire, 35/23, *desuren*, pr 3 pl, 27/32
- desir(e)*, sb (OF *desir*) desire, 5/31, 33/8
- despit*, sb (OF) *I ham had in despit*, I am despised, 3/19
- deth*, sb (OE *dēap*) death, 3/14, 7/5, *deþ*, 35/24
- deuouzt*, adj (OF *devout* & L *dēvōtus*) pious, 37/16
- deynte*, sb (AF *deinté* & CF *deintie*) pleasure, honour, 13/19, *deyntees*, pl delicacies, titbits, 37/18, *deyntes*, pl 39/35
- dize*, inf (ON, cf OI *deyja*) to die, 7/26, *dize*, pr subj 2 sg, 19/2
- dignify*, inf (OF *dignefier*) to honour, exalt, 21/11
- dignite*, sb (OF *dignité*) high esteem, high rank, position of honour, 13/7, 29/10
- discharged*, pp (OF *deschargier*) relieved from, 23/19
- discrecioun*, sb (ML & OF) rational perception, 21/7
- dispeir*, sb (AF *despeir*) despair, 25/13, 14
- dispisith*, pr 3 sg (OF *despis-*, stem of *despire* & *despisier*) despises, looks down on, 35/13, 15, *dispisirþ*, 35/14, 39/18
- displeasunce*, sb (OF *displaisance*) displeasure, annoyance, 21/16
- displese*, pr subj 3 sg (OF *desplais-*, full stem of *desplaire*) displease, annoy, 31/2
- dispose*, inf (OF *disposer*) arrange, ordain, 9/34
- driuerse*, adj (L *dīversus* & OF *divers(é)*) different, various, 19/15
- diuinite*, sb (OF *divinité*) theology, 37/10
- do*, inf (OE *dōn*) do, 11/6, 25/19, *don*, pp (OE *gedōn*) done, 23/1, 31/2, *dost*, pr 2 sg, 13/9, *doþ*, pr 3 sg, 7/21, *doth*, pr 3 sg, 23/28, 39/10, *dede*, pa sg, 19/5
- doctour*, sb (L & OE) churchfather, 5/10
- dole*, sb (OE *dāl*) alms, dole, 31/23
- domes day*, sb (OE *dōmes dæg*) judgment day, doomsday, 19/13
- dore*, sb (OE *duru*) door, 35/5
- dost*, *doth*, *doþ* see *do*
- dou3blet*, sb (F *doublet*) close-fitting jacket, doublet, 37/26
- dou3teles*, adv (OF *doute* + *les*) without doubt, 9/33
- down*, adv (OE *ādūne*) down, 27/21, 31/22
- dowler*, sb (OE *dohtor*) daughter, 3/25, 9/28, *dowteres*, pl 35/13
- drank* see *dryngen*
- drawe*, pr 3 pl (OE *dragan*) *drawe next* to resemble, 7/14
- dreden*, pr 3 pl (OE *ondrēdan*, *drædan*) dread, 29/2
- drinke*, sb (OE *drinc*, *drinca*) drink, 9/10, 33/24, *drynk*, 39/5
- drive*, inf (OE *drifan*) drive, 39/19
- drunken*, adj (pp of OE *drincan*) drunk, 37/9
- dryngen*, inf (OE *drincan*) to drink, 41/12, *drank*, pa 2 sg, 23/3

GLOSSARY

drynk see *drinke*

dulunited, adj (OE *dol*, *dylle* + *gewit* + *ed*) *dulwitted*, 7/13

dures, sb (OF *durece*) hardness, severity, 25/18

dymmere, adj comp (OE *dim*) obscurer, 11/8

dyuors, sb (OF *divorce*) separation, divorce, 35/3

E

ebbuth, pr 3 sg (OE *ebbian*) ebbs, 31/12

ech, pron (OE *æghwihlc*, *ælc*) each, every, 19/6, *eche*, 19/6

eire see *aure*

elles, adv (OE *elles*) else, otherwise, 35/11, *elles* (used elliptically) something else, 9/33

emperour, sb (OF *empereor*, L *imperator*) emperor, 5/22, 15/6, *emperours*, pl, 13/23

encrese, imp sg (AF *encress-*, L *increscere*) increase, 5/32, *encresis*, pr 2 sg, 5/32

ende, sb (OE *ende*) end, 15/10, *endes*, pl, 35/19, *endeles*, adj (OE *endelēas*), endless, 19/15, 21/17

endeþ, pr 3 sg (OE (ge)*endian*) ends, 25/22

enduet, pp (AF *enduer*) endowed, provided, 5/7

enemye, sb (OF *enemi*) enemy, 3/3, 7/21

enforce, imp sg (OF *enforcier*) exert, 19/11

enformede, pa 3 sg (OF *enformer*) advised, instructed, 9/31, *enformeth*, pr 3 sg instructs, 5/9

ennoynted, pp (from OF pp *enoint*) anointed, 5/28, *ennoyntede*, pa 3 sg, 15/18, *enoynten*, inf, 5/25

en presound, pp (OF *enprisoner*) imprisoned, 25/27

ensaumple, sb (AF *ensample*) example, model, 33/13

entirdyte, adj pp (OF *enterdit*, sb &

OF *entredit*, pp of *entredire*) forbidden, prohibited, 19/21

entre, sb (OF *entrée*) admittance, access, 33/26

enuye, sb (OF *envie*) enmity, 27/12

ere, sb pl (OE *ēare*) ear, 23/6, *eres*, pl 37/22

erthely, adj (OE *eorþlic*) earthly, 23/33, *erþeh*, 19/19

erþe, sb (OE *eorþe*) earth, 23/1, 32, *erthe*, 23/17

ete, inf (OE *etan*) to eat, 39/31, *eten* pr 3 pl, 39/7

euene, adv (OE *efne*) even, 39/23

euene, adj (OE *efen*, *efn*) equal, 7/10

euenehelde, adj as sb (OE *efeneald* or *efen* + sb *eldu*) of the same age, co-eval, 7/10

euere, adv (OE *æfre*) always, ever, 5/9, 15/2, *euere þe þe* the the, 35/19

euere see *heuy*

excusable, adj (L & OF) excusable, 13/15

exiled, pp (OF *exilier*, ML *exiliāre*) exiled, deprived, 5/9

expedient, adj (L *expedientem*, OF *expedient*) profitable, 9/30

experience, sb (OF *experience*, L *experientia*) experience, 33/23, *experiens*, 3/32

expunses, sb pl (L *expensa*, OF *expense*) expenses, 35/3

eyze, sb (OE *ēage*) to *þe eyze*, to the view, 5/13, *eyzen*, pl 33/20, *eyzen*, pl, 37/11

F

face, sb (OF *face*) face, 3/13

fader, sb (OE *fæder*) father, 9/7, 19/17, *faderes*, gen sg, 15/17,

faderis, gen sg, 15/17, *faderles*, adj (OE *fæderleas*) fatherless, 33/22

faile, inf (OF *faillir*) fail, die, 39/6,

faileþ, pr 3 sg fails, is deficient, 7/7, *faileþ*, pr 3 sg lacks, 21/12,

faileþ, pr 3 sg decays, *faileth*, pr 3

GLOSSARY

- sg is wanting, 33/5, *ƿaylynge*, pr part, defective, decaying, 3/8
- ƿair*, adj (OE *fæger*) beautiful, 3/13, *ƿaire*, 3/29, 5/3, *ƿeyre*, 15/21, *ƿayr*, 27/20, *ƿaire fetoured* (from OF *farture*, *feture*) well built, handsome, 3/9, *ƿairehed*, beauty, 15/7, *ƿairnes*, beauty, 3/14, *ƿairere*, comp more beautiful, 13/12, *ƿairnes*, 3/23, *ƿayrnesse*, 5/1 beauty
- ƿalle*, sb (OE *feall*) fall, 11/14
- ƿalle*, vb pr pl (OE *fallen*, *feallan*) fall, 5/1, *ƿalle*, inf, 23/21, *ƿalle*, imp sg 15/7
- ƿals*, adj (OF *fals*) deceitful, untrustful, 25/26, disloyal, 25/27, false, faulty, 31/25, *ƿalsly*, adv unjustly, 25/27, *ƿalsnes*, sb deceitfulness, 33/17
- ƿame*, sb (OF *fame*) fame, 5/24, 11/8
- ƿamouse*, adj (AF, & L *famōsus*) celebrated, renowned, 11/22
- ƿamyliar*, adj (OF *familier*) belonging to one's household, 7/21
- ƿare*, sb (OE *faru*, *fær*) sustenance, food, 37/1, 16
- ƿarist*, *ƿou ƿarist harde*, pr 2 sg (OE *faran*) you are ill fed, 41/9
- ƿaste*, adv (OE *fæste*) loudly, 31/4, tightly, firmly, 31/26, greatly, 35/18, quickly, 37/8
- ƿauere*, imp sg (OF *favorer*, *faveurer*) support, 9/2, *ƿaueringe*, pr part supporting, 19/14
- ƿauour*, sb (OF *favor*, *favour*) favour, 31/6
- ƿawty*, adj (from OF *faute*) failing in duty, censurable, 9/8
- ƿaylth*, *ƿaylynge* see *ƿaile*
- ƿayn*, adv from adj (OE *fægen*) gladly, eagerly, 3/29
- ƿayr*, *ƿayrnesse* see *ƿair*
- ƿeble*, adj (OF *feble*) weak, 5/34, 36, as sb 7/2, *ƿeble ƿare* insufficient food, 37/1
- ƿeblen*, inf (from adj OF *feble*) become weak, 3/14
- ƿebre*, sb (L *febris*) fever, 37/20
- ƿed*, pp (OE *fēdan*) fed, 27/9, *ƿeduth*, pr 3 sg, 37/6
- ƿeet*, sb pl (OE *fōt*, pl *fēt*) feet, 35/6, 39/4
- ƿeined* see *ƿeynen*
- ƿeith*, sb (AF *feid*, *fei*) faith, 33/11, *ƿeithful*, adj (AF *feid* + *ful*) faithful, loyal, 25/19, 35/10, *ƿeipfullere*, comp, 7/27
- ƿelawschepe* see *ƿelowschep*
- ƿele*, pr subj 3 sg (OE *fēlan*) feel, 23/30
- ƿelcite*, sb (OF) felicity, happiness, 27/32
- ƿelouzschepe* see *ƿelowschep*
- ƿelow*, sb (ON cf OI *fēlagi*) companion, friend, 7/27, *ƿelowschep* (from *felow*) company, social intercourse, 35/9, *ƿelowschepe*, 27/12, *ƿelawschepe*, 15/14, *ƿelouzschep(e)*, 29/15, 27/17
- ƿer*, adv adj (OE *fēor*, *feorr*) far, 23/21, 41/8
- ƿere*, sb (OE *gefēra*) companion, 7/27, 35/10
- ƿeren*, pr 3 pl (OE *fēran*, *fāran*) fear, 29/2
- ƿerƿer*, adj (OE *furƿor* with the vowel of ME *ferre(r)*, comp of *fer*) further, 39/4
- ƿerƿinges*, sb pl (OE *feorƿung*) farthings, 27/11
- ƿesaund*, sb (OF *faisan*) pheasant, 27/10
- ƿeste*, sb (OF *feste*) feast, 27/11, 39/22
- ƿeteres*, sb pl (OE *feter*) shackles, fetters, 25/29
- ƿetered*, pp (from sb *feter*) fettered, shackled, 31/26, *ƿeterid*, pp 21/9
- ƿetoured* see *ƿaire fetoured*
- ƿewe*, num (OE *fēawe*) few, 5/4, 27/11
- ƿeynen*, pr pl (OF *feindre*, pr part *feignant*) imitate deceptively, 5/1, *ƿeined*, pp pretended, 35/5
- ƿeyre*, adj see *ƿaire*
- ƿiche*, imp sg (OF *fichier*) fix, plant firmly, 13/24

GLOSSARY

- filynge*, pr. part. (OE *fýlan*) defiling, disgracing, 23/18.
findeþ see *fynde*.
fire, sb. (OE *fȳr*) fire, 39/37.
first, adj. num. adv. (OE *fyrst*) first adj., 13/29; adv. 25/23; *firste*, adj., 27/7, 31/30.
flater, pr. subj. sg. (OF *flater*) flatter, 35/18.
flateres, sb. pl. (OF *flatere*, *flateur*) flatterers, 35/5.
flawme, sb. (AF *flaumbe*, *flaume*) flame, blaze, heat, 37/6.
fle, pr. pl. (OE *flēon*) fly, 37/8.
fleit, sb. (OE **flegel*, LOE *fligel*) flail, 9/9.
flesch, sb. (OE *flāsc*) flesh, 7/20, 9/1.
fleschli, adj. (OE *flāsclic*) carnal, fleshly, 27/4.
flod, sb. (OE *flōd*) river, water, 41/13.
flouzres, sb. pl. (OF *flour*) prime, height, 33/21; *flowres*, 33/note to 1. 21.
flowiþ, pr. 3 sg. (OE *flōwan*) flows, 31/12.
folie, sb. (OF *folie*) foolishness, stupidity, 23/27.
folily, adv. (from OF sb. *folie*) foolishly, stupidly, 33/29.
folk, sb. (OE *folc*) folk, 13/14, 31/26.
folwe, pr. subj. 3 sg. (OE *folgian*) follow, 3/28; *folwen*, inf. 33/31; pr. pl., 33/17.
fond see *fynde*.
fonstone, sb. (OE *font*, L *fontem* + OE *stān*) fontstone, 15/2.
fool, sb. (OF *fol*) fool, 37/8.
for, conj. (OE *for*) for, because, 3/3, 23/36; so that (final) 3/12, 9/19; prep. for, because of 9/26, 39/9; *for to*, prep. to, in order that, 9/31, 37/24.
forbede, pr. subj. 3 sg. (OE *forbēodan*) prohibit, forbid, 23/8; pp. 41/3; *forbedeþ*, pr. 3 sg. forbids, 5/15.
foreyn, adj. (OF *forain*, ML *foraneus*) out of doors, 23/19.
forfendit, pp. (OF *defendre* & OE *forbēodan*) prohibited, 31/8.
forjeten a zen, pr. pl. (from OF pp. *forfet*) offend against, 5/2.
forzete, imp. sg. (Angl. *forge(o)tan*) forget, 25/21; inf., 31/2; *forzeten*, pp. 7/19; *forgetyng*, vbl. sb. forgetfulness, oblivion, 25/3.
forme see *fro*.
formed, pp. (L *formāre*, OF *fourmer*) formulated, expressed, 27/27.
fortune, sb. (OF, L *Fortūna*) fortune, chance, 13/28, 29/7.
forþ, adv. (OE *forþ*) forth, 29/11.
for þi, pronominal adv. (OE *for þȳ*) therefore, 23/5.
forþing, vbl. sb. (OE *geforþian*) promoting, assisting, 9/2.
for whi, pronom. adv. (OE *for hwīl*) for what reason, 31/17.
fouzl, adj. (OE *fūl*) unattractive, ugly, 3/25; *fouzle*, 3/31; *fouzlere*, comp., 3/30.
foul, sb. (OE *fugol*) fowl, 39/24.
found, *founden* see *fynde*.
foundere, sb. (AF *fundur*) founder, originator, 13/11.
founden see *fynde*.
fowten, pp. (OE *feohtan*) fought, 7/3.
frangeleyn, sb. (AF *fraunclein*) land-lord, 29/3.
fraunchis, sb. (OF *fraunchise*) freedom, independence, 23/34.
fre, adj. (OE *frēo*) free, 21/15; *fre born*, of noble/free birth, 21/16; *fredam*, sb. (OE *frēodōm*) freedom, 25/6; *free*, free, noble, 21/5, 25/9; *free entre*, free access, 33/26.
freend, sb. (OE *frēond*) friend, 33/23, 37/15; *frende*, 7/33; *frendes*, pl. 35/5; *frenchip*, sb. (OE *frēondscipe*) friendship, 13/6; *frenschepe*, 29/15.
frenetick, adj. (OF *frenetique*) irrational, crazy, 11/24.
freynede, pa. sg. (OE *gefrægnan*) asked, inquired, 9/29.

GLOSSARY

fro, prep (OE from, fram, ON frā) from, 9/9, 21, *forme*, 23/9 (not in OED or MMED), *from*, 9/26
frowardnesse, sb (OE fromweard + nesse) obstinacy, arrogance, 23/26, 33/17
from see *fro*
frute, sb (OF fruit) fruit, 3/28, 15/10
fugure, *in fugure*, sb (L in figūra) symbolising, 41/4
ful, adj (OE full) replete, full, 37/26, *ful of*, sated, weary, 35/8, *ful* adv very, 7/16, 29/5, *fully*, adv (OE fulllice) fully, 9/3
fy, interj (OF fi) fie, 15/25
fyn, adj (OF fin) fine, of superior quality, 5/35, *fyne*, 27/18
fynde, inf (OE findan) find, 25/5, 41/10, *findep*, pr 3 sg 9/8, *fond*, pa 3 sg, 23/26, *found*, pa 2 sg, 7/27, *founden*, pp 15/21, *fownden*, pa pl considered, found, 33/23, *founden of*, pp supported, provided with, 29/13

G

galle, sb (OE galla) gall, 41/7
gamen, sb (OE gamen) amusement, play, 31/18
gardevnes, sb pl (OF gardin, from Gmc) gardens, 11/16
garnement, sb (OF garnement) article of dress, 5/6
gentil, adj (OF gentil) noble 7/7, 13/11, *gentil folk* noblemen, 15/4, *gentilmennes*, sb gen pl noblemen's 13/22, *gentilnes* noble rank, nobility, 21/13
gest, sb (ON, cf OI gestr) guest, 7/13, 27/8
gilt, adj (pp of OE (ofer)gyldan) gilt, 27/18
glad, adj (OE glæd) glad, happy, 11/1, *gladder*, comp, 35/20
glorie, sb (OF gloire, glorie) glory, worldly honour, 13/7
glorouzs, adj (AF glorious) glorious,

23/17, *glorious*, 3/20, 5/13, *glorous*, 15/9
gloteny, sb (OF glotonie) gluttony, 27/5, 39/9
glotoun, sb (OF gloton) glutton, 41/8
go, inf (OE gān) go, 27/18, imp sg, 27/12, pr 1 sg, 37/26, *gost*, pr 2 sg, 23/29, 27/26, *gon*, pr 3 pl, 31/32, 33/17
god, adj see *good*
god, sb (OE god) god, 5/22, 25, *goddes*, sb pl gods, 19/6, *goddis*, gen sg god's, 31/23, *goddisbondes*, sb pl (OE god + ON band) fetters of god, 9/20
gold, sb (OE gold) gold, 13/30
good, adj cf god (OE gōd) good, 7/29, 25/31, *god*, 37/13, *good*, sb good, 31/27, *goodes*, sb pl, 31/24, 28, *godes*, 29/14, *goodnesse*, sb. (OE gōdnes) goodness, virtue, excellence, 25/25, 31/29
gost see *go*
gostli, adj (OE gāstlic) spiritual, 21/10
goten, pp (ON, cf OI geta, o due to analogy of class IV) begotten, engendered, 19/9, 13, *gotyn*, pp 19/22
gouvernaunce, sb (OF gouvernance) rule, office of ruling, 7/1
gouverne, inf (OF gouverner) rule (trans & intrans), 23/5, *gouverned*, pp ruled, 23/5, *gouvernen*, inf, 13/20
gouvernour, sb (OF gouverneur) ruler, keeper, 25/25
grace, sb (OF grace) favour, credit, 25/31, god's grace, 9/25, 31/23
gredi, adj as sb (OE grēdig, grādig) greedy, gluttonous, 39/11
grees, sb pl (OF grē) flight of stairs, steps, 13/25
gret, adj (OF grēat) great, large, 5/7, 15, *grete*, great, 11/21, 37/8, *gretly*, adv greatly, 9/12
greuest, adj sup (OF grevous) most oppressing, 21/3, *grevous*, adj heavy, burdensome, 9/6, 35/23, *greuouzs*, 7/31, 23/27

GLOSSARY

grom, sb. (OE *grōm) servant, 29/4.
grounde, sb. (OE grund) ground, 23/22.
grucche, inf. (OF groucier, gruchier)
 grumble, be discontent, 33/29; imp.
 sg., 9/20; pr. 3 sg., 31/12; *grucchest*,
 pr. 2 sg., 41/9; *grucching*, vbl. sb.
 resentment, complaining, 5/12,
 23/28.

3

3af see *zeue*.
gate, sb. (OE gæt, geat) gate, 33/25.
3e, interj. (OE gē, WS gea) yea, 5/22,
 27/4.
3e, pron. (OE ge, gē) you pl., 23/6;
3ow, pron. pl. obj. (OE ēow) you,
 39/16.
gelden, inf. (OE geldan, gieldan) to
 present, hand over, 7/28.
gerde, sb. (OE gerd, gierd) rod, staff,
 21/8.
geue, inf. (OE gefan, giefan) give,
 19/13, 25/30; *ziffe*, inf., 3/6; *zeuen*,
 pp. given, 19/16, 25/7, 29/10; *zeueþ*,
 pr. 3 sg. gives, 33/12; *3af*, pa. 3 sg.
 gave, 9/30.
3if, conj. (OE gif, gyf) if, 5/2, 5.
ziffe, inf. see *zeue*.
zifte, sb. (OE gift) gift, 21/7; *ziftes*,
 pl., 3/8.
3is, particle (OE gēse, gīse) yes, 27/33.
3it, adv. (OE gēt, geta, glet) yet,
 further, 3/24, 23/17. See also *neþer*.
3our, pron. (OE ēower) your, 23/7.
3ow see *3e*.

H

had, *hadde*, etc. see *haue*.
half, adv. (OE half, healf) half, 23/29.
halle, sb. (OE hall, heall) palace, court
 hall, 15/20.
ham see *be*, vb.
handes, sb. pl. (OE hand) hands, 33/21.
handymaidenes, sb. pl. (cf. OE hand-
 þegn) handmaidens, 31/31.
happe, pr. subj. sg. (from ON sb.
 happ) happen (impers.), 13/7, 31/18;

happede, pa. sg. should happen,
 23/8; *happeneth*, pr. 3 sg. happens,
 7/30.
hard, adj. (OE hard, heard) severe,
 hardhearted, 25/17; *hard fare*, bad,
 insufficient food, 37/14, 16; *hard*,
 adv. (OE harde, hearde) *hard lokked*
 tight, 25/3; *harde, þou farist harde*
 you are ill fed, 41/9; *hardnes*, sb.
 hardness, severity, 37/15.
harm, sb. (OE hearml) evil, harm,
 mischief, 9/13; *harmes*, pl. evils,
 37/12.
harmeþ, pr. 3 sg. (OE hearmlan)
 harms, injures, 5/18.
hatest, pr. 2 sg. (OE hatian) hate, 37/17.
haue, inf. (OE habban) have, 9/33;
haue, pr. 1 sg., 7/8; *hast*, pr. 2 sg.,
 5/37; *haþ*, pr. 3 sg., 7/7; *hath*,
 pr. 3 sg., 7/11; *hauen*, pr. pl., 21/17;
haue, pr. subj. 2 sg., 13/10; *haue*,
 pr. subj. 3 sg., 39/21; *haddest*, pa. 2
 sg., 23/14; *haddist*, pa. 2 sg., 11/14;
hadde his askyng, pa. 3 sg., received
 what he requested, 9/23; *hadde*,
 pa. pl., 13/12; *hadden*, pa. pl., 7/3;
had, pp. regarded, esteemed, 3/19.
he, pron. (OE hē) he, 23/10; *his*, 5/23;
is, 3/23; *him*, 25/25; *hym*, 25/19.
he, pron. see *sche*.
hed *ache*, sb. (OE hēafod + æce)
 headache, 39/3; cf. *heued*.
hede, sb. (from vb. OE hēdan) *take*
hede, pay attention, 23/18.
heder too, adv. (OE hider + tō)
 hitherto, 29/12; *hedur*, adv., 31/21.
heiere, sb. (OF heir) heir, 19/11; *heire*,
 19/19.
heizest see *hize*.
hele, sb. (OE hǣlu) bodily health, good
 fortune, 7/29, 9/22.
hele, inf. (OE hǣlan) cure, heal, 9/30;
helede, pa. 3 sg., 9/27; *helid*, pp.,
 27/30.
helle, sb. gen. sg. (OE hell) of hell, 3/6.
helpe, inf. (OE helpan) help, 7/32;
helpen, inf., 19/3.

GLOSSARY

- hem* see *þer*
hender, adj comp (OE gehende) nearer, more convenient, 33/12
hepe, imp sg (OE hēapian) load, heap, 25/13
her, sb (OE hēr, hār) hair, 5/1
her see *sche*
her, poss pron fem sg (OE hierē), 31/15, *here*, 29/14, *her*
her, poss pron pl (OE hiera) their, 27/6, *here*, 15/5, *heren* (disjunctive) theirs, 7/4, *þer* (ON þeira, þeirra), 35/6, *þere*, 11/24 their
herbored, pp (OE herebeorgian, cf ON herbergja) harboured, lodged, 5/36
herd, pp (OE hēran, hīeran) heard, 9/22, 25/22
herden, adj (from OE sb fem pl heordan = hards, hurds, the coarser parts of flax or hemp) made of harden, a coarse fabric, 29/4
here, adv (OE hēr) here, 23/18, 29/10
here see *her* (their), *her* (poss her) and *sche*
hertes, sb pl (OE heorte) hearts, 15/24
heritage, sb (OF heritage) heritage, 15/8, *herytage*, 19/20
hesi, adj (OF aisé) easy, 27/8
heued, sb (OE hēafod) head, 9/8, cf *hed*
heuene, sb (OE heofon) heaven, 19/20, 23/17, *heuene*, gen pl, 23/31
heueneli, adj (OE heofonlic) celestial, heavenly, 33/8
heuy, adj (OE hefig) heavy, 25/8, *heuy*, adv (OE hefige) heavy, 23/29, *euyere*, adj comp, 35/20
me heuyep, vb impers pr 3 sg (OE hefegian) am bowed down oppressed (impers use not in OED), 9/5
heuynesse, sb (OE hefignes) grief, dejection, 19/24, 41/2
heyzere see *hize*
hid, pp (OE hȳdan) hidden, 25/7, *hidiþ*, pr 3 sg, 31/9
hieþ, pr 3 sg (OE hīgian) hastens, 25/15
hize, adj (OE hēh, hēah) high, 7/29, 11/21, *heyzere*, comp, 5/31, *hergest*, sup (adj), 31/17, *hergest*, sup (adv) 23/16, *higze*, 13/5, *hygnesse*, tallness, height, 5/33, *hyze*, 15/20, 23/23
him see *he*
hinderyng, vbl sb (OE hindrian) hindering, 9/1, *hyndirde*, pa sg, 5/24
his see *he* or *hit*
hit, pron (OE hit) it, 5/18, 7/17, *it* 7/18, 7/29, *his* its, 5/18, 13/25
hode, sb (OE hōd) hood, 37/7
holde, sb (OE hald & ON hald) hold, 27/25
holde, inf (OE haldan, healdan) keep, hold, 31/20, *holde up*, support, 13/24, *holden*, 37/8, *holdeþ me lowe*, pr 3 sg oppresses me, 7/24
hole, adj (OE hāl) whole, see *alle þe hole*
holi, adj (OE hālig) holy, 19/18, 23/16, *holy*, 5/10, 11/23, *holih*, adv, 41/6, *holichirche*, Holy Church, 11/11, *holinesse*, sb (OE hālignes) holiness, 9/3
holsom, adj (OE hālsom) wholesome, 39/26
homly, adj (OE hām + ly) simple, plain, 13/14, 39/35
honeste, adj (OF honeste) respectable, 5/37
honeste, sb (OF honeste) moral excellence, high rank, 13/16, 19/26
honour, inf (OF honorer) worship, 19/5, *honoure*, inf adorn, beautify, 3/12, *honoureth*, pr 3 sg adorns, confers dignity upon, 3/23
hony, sb (OE hunig) honey, 5/18, 41/3
hoo, interj (OF ho) halt, stop, 33/5
hope, sb (OE hopa) hope, 25/13, 31/19
hornes, sb pl (OE horn) horns, 5/1
hors, sb. (OE hors) horse, 7/11, 27/18

GLOSSARY

hou3s, sb (OE *hūs*) house, 39/21, *hou3se*, 39/21, *hou3s*, 5/15, 27/13
hou3sed, pp (OE *hūsian*) lodged, enclosed, 5/35
hou3shold, sb (house + hold) household, 25/26, *hou3sel*, 15/21
how, adv (OE *hū*) how, 3/31, 23/28
howen, pr pl (OE *āgan*) owe, 31/32
hou3s see *hou3s*
hou3sel see *hou3shold*
huch3s, sb pl (F *huche*, ML *hūtica*) chest, coffer, 27/15
humour, sb (AF *humour*) inclination, 9/10
hungri, adj (OE *hungrig*) hungry, 33/23
hungur, sb (OE *hungor*) hunger, 39/18
hurled, pp (etym uncertain) hurled, tossed, 23/20
hygn3sse, sb (OE *hēahnes*) tallness, height, 5/33
hy3e see *hi3e*
hym, pron see *he* and *þer*
hyndirde see *hinder3yng*

I

I, pron (OE *ic*) I, 3/11, 19, *me* (OE *mē*) me, 3/1, 7/24
3del, adj (OE *īdel*) idle, doing nothing, 35/6
ierarch3es, sb pl (OF *ierarchie*) hierarchies, angelic hosts, 23/32
3l3k, adj (OE *gelic*) same, like, 13/28
3lke, adj (OE Mercian *ylc*) the Northern form of *eche*, each, 27/16
3lle, adv (ON *illa*) ill, 27/12
impediment, sb (L *impedimentum*) hindrance, 5/21
in, prep (OE *in*) in, 5/32, 9/25, *inne*, 5/21, *3nne*, adv in, 15/23
incurable, adj (OF *incurable*) incurable, 9/35
induellande, pr part (*in* + OE *dwellan*) inhabitants (*in* lit sense not in OED), 11/22

infames, adj (OF *infameux*, L *infāmis*, -es) of ill repute, 19/27
infirmit3e, sb (F *infirmité*) bad health, weakness, 9/12, 25
inhabit, inf (OF *enhabiter*, L *inhabītāre*) dwell in, occupy, 5/15
inhibete, pr subj 3 sg (ad L *inhibītum*) prevent, prohibit, 19/17
in3urye, sb (L *injūria*) injury, wrong, 29/9
in3ned, pp (OE *innian*) got in, entered, 7/12
in3now, adj (OE *genōh*, *genōges*) enough, 7/18, 25/9
in3portune, adj (F *importune*) troublesome, vexatious, 39/2
in3ossible, adj (F *impossible*) impossible, 39/37
in3ressed, pp (L *impress-*, pp of *imprimere*) imprinted, stamped, 41/15
in3quisicioun, sb (OF *inquisition*) investigation, 35/4
in3strument, sb (F *instrument*) means, 7/17
in to, (OE *in tō*) prep into, 25/23
in3wit, sb (formed in ME) conscience, reason, 21/11
jogolours, sb pl (OF *joglere*, *jouge-lour*) jesters, tricksters, 35/7
io3full3, adv (OF *joie* + *fulli*) joyfully, 33/9
jo3ze, inf (OF *joir*) rejoice, enjoy, 35/12
jongherie, sb (etym uncertain) banquet, feast, 35/1
is see *be*
is, gen of pers pron (OE *his*) his, 3/24
issu, sb (OF *issu*) offspring, 13/10
it see *hit*
juel, adv (OE *yfele*) evil, 17/2, *juel*, adj, 19/4
juel, sb (AF *juel*) jewel, 9/18, *jueles*, pl, 9/16
juge, sb (OF *juge*) judge, 7/29
rusth, adv (F *juste*) rightly, properly, 19/8

GLOSSARY

K

kach, imp sg (ONF *cachier*) seize, 31/18
kake, sb (ON *kaka*) loaf of bread, 39/20
kald see *calles*
kalenge, inf (OF *calonger*) claim, 13/11
kam see *komen*
kan see *kun*
kare, sb (OE *caru*) sorrow, care, 29/5
katel, sb (ONF *catel*) property, goods, 29/5
kees, sb pl (OE *cæg*) keys, 25/5
kepe, inf (OE *cēpan*) keep, occupy, 3/13, 25/32, pr pl observe, keep, 39/7, imp sg watch, 7/29, *kepen to*, pr pl observe, 31/3, *kepiþ fro*, protects against, 27/4, *kept* guarded, 9/20, *kepte*, pa sg kept, grazed, 15/17
kisse, inf (OE *cyssan*) kiss, 39/15, *kissiþ*, pr 3 sg, 15/3
knave, sb (OE *cnafa*) servant, one of low condition, 23/17
knownen, pp (OE *cnāwan*) known, 11/11, *knowest*, pr 2 sg, 27/32, 31/7, *knoweþ*, pr 3 sg, 27/10
knowlech, sb (ME, origin of *-lech* is obscure, OE *læcan* from *lāc*?), knowledge, 13/19
knyt, pp (OE *cnyttan*) tied, knit, 5/7
komen, inf (OE *cuman*) come, 33/8, pp 13/27, 15/12, *come*, pp, 13/5, *komeþ*, pr 3 sg comes, 15/2, *come*, pa subj 2 sg, 19/2, *kam*, pa 3 sg, 15/15, 16, *komyng*, vbl sb coming, arrival, 27/7, *komyng*, 13/29, *kummeþ*, pr 3 sg, 39/13
komyonly, adv (OF *comun* + *ly*) generally, 27/23
hoterelles, sb pl (OF *coterel*) cottagers, low peasants, 13/27
kouer, inf (OF *covrir*) to cover, 39/29
koueres, sb pl (F *covert*, pl covers) covers, 29/13

kouerynge, vbl sb (OF *covrir*) covering, clothing, 29/12
kouȝche, sb (F *couche*) bed, resting-place, 27/30
kowde see *kun*
kummeþ see *komen*
kun, inf (OE *cunnan*) be able, 27/16, *kan*, pr 3 sg, 31/20, *kunne*, inf, 37/24, *couden*, pa pl, 39/31, *kowde*, pa 3 sg, 25/3, pa pl, 25/4, *kunnynge*, vbl sb knowledge, 5/17, 31/32
kuntre see *cuntre*
kynde, sb (OE *gecynde*) nature, life, 3/6, 39/6, *be kynde*, by nature, naturally, 21/6, *kyndeli*, adj (OE *gecyndelic*) natural, characteristic, 31/13, *kyndely*, adv naturally, 27/32, *kyndly*, adj natural, implanted by nature, *kyndly wri*, 7/12
kyndom, sb (OE *cyningdōm*, *cyne-dōm*) kingdom, 35/26
kyng, sb (OE *cyning*, *cing*) king, 5/22, 15/4, *kynges*, pl, 15/18, *kingges*, pl, 33/10, *kyngges*, pl, 15/4
kynne, sb (OE *cynn*) family, offspring, 13/17, 18

L

laborist, pr 2 sg (OF *labourer*) toil, labour, 33/7
labour, sb (OF *labour*) trouble, exertion, 7/22, *labourus*, pl, 23/18
lady, sb (OE *hlāfdige*) lady, 25/26
lakkid, pp (ME *lak*, cf Du *lak* and ON *lakra*) blamed, 19/8
langure, inf (OF *langorer*) lose health, 9/28
larche, adj (OF *large*) tall, 5/23
lasse, adj (OE *læssa*) less, 7/21, 11/14, *lesse*, smaller, 11/20
laste, adj (OE *latost*) last, 31/29, *at þe laste*, adv finally, at last, 25/28
lawe, sb (ON *lagu*) law, 19/11, 31/18, *lawful*, adj legitimate, 13/10, 19/19, *lawfull*, 23/7, *lawfull*, adv, 15/8

GLOSSARY

- lawter*, sb (OE *hleahtor*) laughter, 41/2
- lawyng*, pr part (OE *hlæhhan*) laughing, 39/17
- leche*, sb (OE *lēce*, *læce*) physician, 9/33
- leccherie*, sb (OF *lecherie*) lust, lechery, 17/1, *leccherye*, 19/22, *lechery*, 3/26
- lede*, pr 1 sg (OE *lædan*) lead, 25/17
- lefe* see *leue* (live)
- left* see *leueþ*
- leful*, adj (ME *leveful*) permissible, 23/7, *lefull*, adv, 13/6
- legale*, adj (F *légal*) *legale seruaunt* as regards the law, 21/8
- lei* see *lerze*
- lerze*, inf (OE *lecgan*) lay, 15/22, *leye* to add to, 23/27, *lei*, imp sg, 23/5, *ley*, imp sg, 21/4, *leid*, pp, 9/20, *leide*, pa 3 sg, 15/19, *liggeth*, pr 3 sg 29/4
- lemes*, sb pl (OE *lim*) members, limbs, 3/14
- lemman*, sb (EME *lēofmon*) sweet-heart, paramour, 3/26
- lenage*, sb (OF *li(g)nage*) lineage, ancestry, 13/11
- lengere*, *lengest* see *long*
- lent*, pp (OE *lēnan*) lent, 5/4, 29/10, pa sg, 29/12
- lerne*, imp sg, (OE *leornian*) learn, 5/3, *lernen*, inf, 33/15
- lesse* see *lasse*
- lessoun*, sb (OF *leçon*) lecture, 31/28
- lest*, conj (OE *þý læs þe*) lest, for fear that, 3/30, 37/19
- lest*, vb inf (OE *lystan*) like, 27/22, *lust*, pr 2 sg, 5/2, *him hste* pleases him, 39/23, *hste*, inf, 35/7, *here lust* pleases her, 29/14
- lest*, adj as sb (OE *læst*) least, 31/29, 33/6
- let*, imp sg (OE *lētan*, *lætan*) allow, let, 25/12, *lete hzt be*, pr pl attach little importance to, 3/27, *letist hlul* by, pr 2 sg have no high opinion of, despise, 39/18
- lette*, inf (OE *lettan*) hinder, prevent, 35/19, *letted hem of her reste* gave them no peace, 27/6, *lettid*, pa sg, 5/28
- leue*, vb inf (Angl *leofian*, WS *libban*, *lifian*) live, 5/3, *leuen*, inf, 33/11, *lfen*, inf, 37/24, *lefe*, imp sg, 19/20, *lift*, pr 3 sg, 35/21, *leuyng*, vbl sb life, livelihood, 19/11, 33/1, *leuyng*, 19/4, 35/18, *lyuyng*, 19/26, *lyued*, pp, 35/22, *lyuere*, sb liver, one who lives, 19/18
- leue*, sb (OE *lēaf*) taken here *leue* leave, 33/16
- leuere*, adv from adj (OE *lēofra*) more gladly, 37/4
- leueþ*, pr 3 sg (OE *læfan*) leaves, 31/10, *left*, pp, 31/1
- leye* see *lei*
- leyth*, adj (ON *leiþr*, cf OE *lāþ*) repulsive, ugly, 3/25
- liberte*, sb (F *liberté*) liberty, 25/21
- licens*, sb (F *licence*) leave, permission, 33/12
- licor*, sb (OF *licour*) liquid, 41/14
- lif*, sb (OE *lif*) life, 33/20, 35/19, *hzt*, 9/33, 23/12
- lfen* see *leue* (live)
- lflode*, sb (OE *hlflād*) food, sustenance, 39/31
- lift* see *leue* (live)
- liggeth* see *lerze*
- hzt* see *lif*
- hzt*, adv (OE *lēohte*) lightly, poorly, 3/27 See also *lith*
- hzt*, adj (OE *lēoht*, *liht*) light, not heavy, 7/32 See also *lith*
- hzt*, sb (OE *lēoht*, *liht*) light, 11/9
- likerous*, adj (AF *likerous*) of dainty appetite, fastidious, 39/23, *likerous*, adj pleasing to the palate, 9/27, 39/27, of dainty appetite, 27/19, 41/12
- likidde*, pa sg (OE *līcian*) liked, 33/11, *hktþ*, pr 3 sg impers pleases, 23/33

GLOSSARY

- liknesse*, sb (OE *līcnes*) likeness, semblance, 5/1
līppes, sb pl (OE *līppa*) lips, 39/23
list, sb see *lust*
list(e) see *lest* vb
litel, adj (OE *lytel*) small, little, 5/12, *litul*, 5/12, 29/5, *litul*, adv, 3/27, 39/18, *litulnes*, sb (OE *lytelnes*) smallness, 5/28
lihtlier, adv comp (OE *lēohtlicor*, *lihtlicor*) more easily, 11/8, *lihtly*, adv readily, easily, 37/7, see also *hȝt*
lihtsum, adj (ME *lightsome*) graceful, merry, 7/27
lo, interj (OE *lā*) see, behold, 25/6
lode, sb (OE *lād*) load, burden, 23/27
lok, sb (OE *loc*) *vnder lok* under lock, 9/17
loke, sb (from vb) look, appearance, 27/6
loke after, imp sg (OE *lōcian*) expect, look in hope of getting, 31/16, *loken after*, pl, 31/22, *loken vp on*, inf look at, 3/32, *lokeþ*, pr 3 sg expects, 27/9, *lokith*, 31/11
locked, pp (from sb *loc*) locked, 9/21, *lokked*, pp, 25/3
long, adj (OE *lang*) long, 5/13, 30, *longe*, adv, 29/13, *lengere*, adv comp (OE *lengra*), 25/32, *lengest*, adv sup (OE *lengest*), 15/10
long of, prep (aphetic form of OE *gelang*) due to, 9/14
longeþ, pr 3 sg (from OE *gelang* = at hand, dependent on) belongs to, concerns, 3/20
lord, sb (OE *hlāford*) lord, 5/26, 39/8, *lordes*, pl, 29/2, *lordes*, gen sg, 21/11, 25/31
lordenes, sb pl (OE *hlāfording*) lords, 7/15
lore, sb (OE *lār*) teaching, 5/2
los, sb (OE *los*) loss, 33/28
losede, pa sg (from loose, adj ON *lauss*) loosened, untied, 25/29
loue, pr 3 pl (OE *lufian*) love, 27/24, 33/19, *loue*, subj sg, 27/11
low, adj (ON *lāgr*) low, 5/15, *lowe*, 7/24, *lowest*, adj sup, 7/14
lowd, adj (OE *hlūd*) loud, 31/11
lowly, adj (low + *ly*) humble, 33/15
lowtede, pa sg (OE *lūtan*) stooped, obeyed, 23/35
lufly, adj (OE *luflic*) attractive, beautiful, 3/26
lullith, pr 3 sg (imitative, cf Sw *lulla*, Du *lullen*) lulls, 13/29
lust see *lest*, vb
lust, sb (OE *lust*) sensual pleasure, 37/15, *lustes*, pl, 27/3, *lst*, 33/10, *lusti*, adj (ME) pleasant, sensual, 41/4
lyued, *lyuere*, *lyuyng* see *leue* (live)

M

- mad*, *made* see *make*
magnified, pp (F *magnifier*) raised to high status, 13/16
mar, *maist* see *may*
maiden, sb (OE *mægden*) virgin, 15/21
maister, sb (OE *mægester*, L *magister*) master, 7/22, 25/27, *meyster*, 37/9
maistries, sb (OF *maistrise*) feat of skill, 25/30
make, vb inf (OE *macian*) make, 23/4, 37/6, *makeþ*, pr 3 sg, 15/4, *makriþ*, pr 3 sg, 9/6, *made*, pa sg, 3/24, *made to*, pa sg caused, 7/2, *mad*, pp, 9/25, *made*, pp, 11/13
makere, sb (make + *er*) maker, 21/17
maladies, sb pl (F *maladie*) illnesses, 9/27
malice, sb (F *malice*) wickedness, 21/4
man, sb (OE *mann*) man, 3/20, 21, *mannes*, gen sg, 15/1, 19, *men*, pl, 7/13, 14, *mennes*, gen pl, 13/22
maner, sb (AF *manere*) kind, 39/6, 18, *manere*, 31/28, *maneres*, pl, 19/15
manhod, sb (OE *mann* + *hād*) manhood, 5/17
mannes see *man*

GLOSSARY

- many*, adj (OE *manig*) many, 7/2, 9/27, *manye*, 25/20, 33/1
- marchaunt*, sb (OF *marchand*) merchant, 9/19, *marchauntes*, pl, 29/2
- mater*, sb (OF *matere*) ground, subject, 13/3
- matrimonye*, sb (L *mātrimōnium*) matrimony, 17/2
- may*, aux (OE *mæg*) may, can, pr 2 sg, 11/6, *mai*, 5/21, *maist*, 7/22, 15/8, *mayst*, 13/11, 31/17, *mayt*, 19/26, *may*, pr pl, *þei may not þer of* they do not like it, 37/23, *may*, pr 3 sg, 11/6, 7, *myght*, pa 2 sg, 41/10, *myght*, pa 3 sg, 3/7, 33/31, *myghte*, 23/2, 27/20, *mygth*, 41/12, *myzt*, 3/7
- me* see *I*
- mech*, adv (OE *mycel*) much, 35/24, *meche*, adv, 5/4, sb, 7/21, adj, 5/15
- mede*, sb (OE *mæd*) reward, 33/8
- medicyne*, sb (OF *medecine*) medicine, 9/31, *medycin*, 39/6
- medle*, sb (OF *medlee*) *may no medle be mad* has nothing to do with, 11/7
- meke*, adj (ON *miukr*, EME *meoc*) piously humble, 41/5, *mekenes*, sb humility, 19/24, *mekenesse*, 13/3
- men*, *mennes* see *man*
- mene*, pr 1 sg (OE *mænan*) mean, 5/16
- menep þe* (OE *mænan*, impers) complain, 13/4
- mercy*, sb (OF *merci*) mercy, compassion, 33/22
- merrer*, adj comp (OE *myrig*) more cheerful, happy, 37/27
- merour*, sb (OF *mirour*) mirror, 7/25, *myrrour*, 33/32
- mes*, sb (OF *mes*) dish of food, *mes potage* mess of pottage, 39/21
- messanger*, sb (OF *messenger*) messenger, 5/5
- mesurable*, adj (F *mesurable*) moderate, temperate, 39/11
- measure*, sb (F *mesure*) measure, 7/11, 39/7
- mete*, sb (OE *mete*) food, 39/18, 27
- metst*, pr 2 sg (OE *mētan*) meet, 27/16
- meyster* see *maister*
- mi*, pron (OE *mīn*) my, 5/20, 31, *my*, 3/1, 9/5, *myn*, 21/2
- middel*, sb (OE *middel*) *in his middel leuyng* in the middle of his life, 35/18
- middis*, *in middis of* (OE *gen middes*) in the middle of, 11/12
- mightboned*, adj (OE *mihtig + bān + -ed*) strongboned, 7/13
- misteries*, sb pl (AF **misterie*, OF *mistere*) mystery, riddle, 25/6
- mo*, adj as sb (OE *mā*) more, 39/10
- mochers*, sb pl (EME *muchare*, from F) petty thieves, 27/4
- moder*, sb (OE *mōdor*) mother, 15/19, 19/25, *modur*, 37/5, 41/2
- mone*, sb (OE *mōna*) moon, 13/13, 31/10
- money*, sb (OF *monene*) money, 35/25, *moneye*, 39/5
- more*, adj (OE *māra*) more, greater, 5/14, adv, 11/10, *more ouere*, 19/13
- morn*, sb (OE *morgen*) *at morn* in the morning, 37/27
- morselles*, sb pl (OF *morsel*) dish, mouthful, 39/30
- most(e)*, adj (OE *mǣst*, *māst*) greatest, 7/7, 15/13, adv *most*, 13/25
- mot*, sb pl (OE *mot*) specks of dust, spots, blemishes, 19/27
- mounteyn*, sb (OF *montaigne*) mountain, 23/16
- mowtes*, sb pl (OE *moppe*, *mohpe*) moths, 33/16
- mowth*, sb (OE *mūþ*) mouth, 39/2
- mulori*, sb (OF *muliere*) *unborn in mulori* not born in legitimate wedlock, 19/15, not in this use in OED
- mutacions*, sb pl (F *mutacion*) changes, 31/12
- myght*, etc see *may*
- myghtes*, sb pl (OE *miht*) powers, 23/31

GLOSSARY

my(n) see *mi*
mynde, sb (OE gemynd) mind, 41/10,
have mynde, bear in mind, 27/24
mynstrelle, sb (OF minstrel) minstrel,
 25/13
myraculusly, adv (F miracleux)
 miraculously, 9/28
myrþe, sb (OE myrgþ) joy, 41/2
myse, sb pl (OE mȳs) mice, 33/16

N

naked, adj (OE nacod) naked, 21/12,
 27/23, *nakid*, 15/5, 31/10
name, sb (OE nama) name, title, 11/9,
 13/11
narwe, adj (OE nearu) narrow, small,
 31/11, *narunes*, sb (OE nearones)
 smallness, 11/17
naturte, sb (OF nativité) birth, 13/2,
 15/23
naturel, adj (OF naturel) natural, by
 nature, 21/6, 31/13
nature, sb (F) nature, 3/1, 3
ne, conj (OE ne, nī) nor, 3/7, 7/10
necessarie, adj (L necessāri-) neces-
 sary, 33/1, 39/31
nede, sb (OE nēd) need, want, 33/4,
 39/11
nede, inf (OE nēodian) need, 39/3,
nedest, pr 2 sg need, 37/27, *nediþ*
 pr 3 sg (impers) it is necessary,
 15/13, *nedith*, pr 3 sg needs, 9/7
negardes, sb pl (nig- poss of Scand
 or, cf ON hnoggr, corr to Du
 nauw, + suffix -ard) misers,
 niggards, 3/8
nekke, sb (ON hnakkī, OE hnecca)
 neck, 23/25
ner, adv comp (OE, nēr, nēar, ON
 nār) nearer, closer, 31/23
nest, sb (OE nest) nest, 15/12
nestle, pr pl (OE nestlian) nestle,
 3/9
neþer, adv conj (OE ne + ægh-
 wæper) neither, 9/23, 11/21, *neþur*
neþur, 11/17, *neþur* *ȝit*, used

for emphasis, 9/10, *neþur*, pron
 neither, 31/20, *neþur noþur*, adv
 neither, 27/10
neuer(e), adv (OE nǣfre) never,
 3/24, 25/10, *neuer(e) þe lesse* by no
 means less, 11/5, 19/25, *neuer so*
 (in conditional clauses, denoting an
 unlimited degree), 35/23, *neuer-
 þeles* nevertheless, 15/14
next, adv (OE nēhst, nleht) nearest,
 7/15
neyzebour, sb (OE nēh-, nēahgebūr)
 neighbour, 27/14
no, pron (OE nān) no 3/21, 22, *non*,
 7/18, 27, *none*, 27/12
nobeley, sb (OF noblere) nobility of
 rank, noble estate, 11/24, *nobleye*,
 13/21
nobilité, sb (F nobilité) nobility, 11/7,
 21
noble, adj (F noble) noble, 13/12,
 35/3
noizede, pa sg (aphetic form of OF
 anoye, cf also OF noire), caused
 harm, 19/5
nolde, pa sg (ne + wolde) did not
 want, 25/27
non, *none* see *no*
nor, conj (contr of nother) nor, 11/19,
 21
norisched, pp (OF noris-, stem of
 norir) nourished, supported, 7/6,
norschede, pa sg, 29/12
not, adv (OE nōwiht, nāwiht) not,
 3/1, 3, *nouȝt*, adv not, 5/16, *nowt*,
 adv not, 19/10
noþing, pron (OE nān + þing)
 nothing, 3/20, 21, *no þing*, adv not
 at all, 27/9
noþer see *oþer*
noþur, conj (OE nāhwæper) neither,
 23/20 See also *neþer*
nouelte, sb (OF novelté) novelty,
 13/21
nouȝt see *not*
nouȝt, pron (OE nōwiht, nāwiht)
 nothing, 31/30

GLOSSARY

now, adv. (OE *nū*) now, 35/4; *now...*
now..., 31/11.

nowt see *not*.

nyghtes, *on*, (orig. adv. gen. -es, analogically added to OE fem. sb., *niht*) by night, 31/9; *nyȝt*, 37/6; *nyghtis*, gen. sg., 29/4.

nyl in *wil...* *nyl...* (*ne* + OE *wilt*) whether he likes it or not, 25/15.

nyse, adj. (OF *nice*) foolish, stupid, 35/12.

O

o, interj. *oh*, 39/10, 41/7.

ob, prep. (OE *of*, ME *o*, *of*; assimilated to foll. b) *of*, 23/24.

obediense, sb. (F *obédience*) obedience, 23/10.

obedient, adj. (F *obédient*) obedient, 25/24.

obstacle, sb. (OF *obstacle*) impediment, 19/18.

occasioun, sb. (L *occiōnem*) ground, circumstance, occasion, 19/24; 37/12; *ocasion*, 3/8.

odious, adj. (AF *odious*) hateful, repulsive, 13/3; *odious*, 39/24.

odour, sb. (AF *odour*) smell, odour, 13/19, 39/1.

of, prep. (OE *of*) *of*, 3/1, 17; cf. *ob*; *taken of þeues* by 23/24; *come of from*, 19/3.

ofer flowed, pp. (OE *oferflōwan*) inundated, overflowed, 9/14.

offendit, pp. (OF *offendre*) trespassed, sinned, 31/5.

offered, pp. (OE *offrian*) sacrificed, 41/4.

offryng, vbl. sb. (OE *offryng*) sacrifice, 41/7.

ofte, adv. (OE *oft*) often, 3/5, 31/22; *often*, 25/22; *often tymes*, 11/16; *ofte siðes*, (OE *on oftsīpas*) often-times, 9/26.

old, adj. (OE *ald*, *eald*) old, 29/15; *olde*, 29/6, 31/1.

olifaunt, sb. (OF *olifant*) elephant, 7/11.

on, prep. (OE *on*) *on*, 23/21, 23; *onne*, 31/3; *on sundur*, adv. (OE *on sundran*) apart, separate, 39/16.

on, adj. num. (OE *ān*) one, 5/25; *all(e) one* alone, 11/23, 31/8; *be þer one*, alone, 33/16; *ones*, adv. (ME) once, 21/17, 35/7.

oni, *ony* see *any*.

only, adv. (OE *ānlic*), 31/36; *al(le) only* only, 35/12, 41/15.

open, adj. (OE *open*) open, 33/22; patent, evident, 13/28.

opened, pp. (OE *openian*) disclosed, 9/4; *openyd*, pp., 3/8; *opin*, inf., 33/29.

opinions, sb. pl. (F *opinion*) rumours (a Latinism), 29/1; *opinioun*, opinion, 31/25; *opynyoun*, judgment, 37/9.

oppressed, pp. (OF *oppressor*) ravished, violated, 3/26; *oppressid*, pp. weighed down, 27/2; *oppressing*, vbl. sb. oppressing, 27/3.

or, conj. (reduced form of obs. *other*) *or*, 3/24, 7/11.

ordeined, pp. (OF *ordein*- 3 sg. of *ordener*) ordained, destined, 7/18; *ordeynede*, appointed, 25/25.

ordere, sb. (OF *ordre*) order, social status, 7/14; *holy orderes*, holy orders, 19/17.

oþer, adj. (OE *ōper*) other, 39/28, 33; *oþere*, 31/12, 39/2; *oþur*, 7/10, 31/16; *a noþer*, 31/28; *þe toþere* (OE *þæt ōper*) the other, 9/2.

oþes, sb. pl. (OE *āp*) oaths, swear-words, 37/8.

ouer, adv. (OE *ofer*) too, excessively, 33/29.

ouer renneþ, pr. 3 sg. (*over* + OE *rinnan*, ON *renna*) runs faster than, 27/23.

ouȝr, pron. (OE *ūre*) *our*, 11/19; *our*, 15/19, 41/14; *oure*, 15/23, 24.

GLOSSARY

ouzt, pron (OE āwih̥t, ōwih̥t) any-thing, 31/2, *owt*, 23/9
ouzt(e) of, prep (OE ūt) out of, 25/12, 17/2, *out of*, 25/15
owne, adj (OE ægen, āgen) own, 3/17, 29/13
owt see *ouzt*

P

pacience, sb (OF patience) patience, 7/32, 33/26, *paciens*, 33/19
pacient, adj (OF patient) enduring of suffering, 33/31
pacient, sb (OF patient) patient, 9/26
paizede, pa sg (F payer) paid, 9/19
palsie, sb, (OF paralisie) palsy, paralysis, 9/28
panter, sb (OF panter) snare, trap, 31/26
part, sb (OF part) part, 15/13
part, inf (F partir) *part from his felawschepe* part company, 35/21, *partip felowschep* disrupts our friendship, 35/2
partrik, sb (OF perdriz, pertriz) partridge (see Phonology, § 38), 27/9
passen bi, pr pl (F passer) pass by, 35/6, *passen*, inf die, 35/17, *passuth*, pr 3 sg passes, is regarded, 37/9
passioun, sb (F passion) passion, suffering, 41/8
path, sb (OE pæþ) path, 13/25, 33/12
pechur prouzd, adj (OF pichier + OE prūd) pot-valiant (not in OED), 37/7
pees, sb (OF pais) peace, 37/8
penale, sb (OE pening + (e)alu) penny ale, thin ale, 39/24
peramour, sb (OF par amour), lover, 33/9
peraunture, adv (OF per aventure) perhaps, 5/37
perceyued, pp (OF perceivre) apprehended, discovered, 13/23
perchance, adv (AF par chaunce) perhaps, 25/19, *perchaunce*, 7/9, 23/3

perched, pp (OF periss-, stem of perir) perished, 39/9
perelles, sb pl (F péril) perils, dangers, 7/28, 29/2
perfeccioun, sb (OF perfeccion) perfection, 37/24
perfully, adv (OF parfit + ly) perfectly, 9/25
perpetuel, adj (F perpétuel) enduring, lasting, 7/6
perse, inf (OF percer) pierce, penetrate, 23/30
in þis perth, sb (F partie) in this respect, 19/12
peynite, imp sg (OF peint-, pp of peindre) paint, 3/16, *peyniten*, pr pl, 3/31
philosophie, sb (OF filosofie) philosophy, 27/20
philosophore, sb (OF philosophe + our) philosopher, 23/36, *philosophur*, 15/14
phisician, sb (OF fisicien) physician, 9/26, *phisicion*, 39/25, *phisisian*, 39/4
pilgrimes, sb pl (OF pelegrin) pilgrims, 27/22
place, sb (OF place) place, dwelling, 11/22, 23
plastere, sb (OE plastre) plaster, 9/15
pleyne, inf (refl) OF plain-, stem of plaindre) complain, 23/29, 27/26, *pleynede*, (refl) pa 2 sg, 7/33, *pleynes*, pr 2 sg, 5/3, *pleynynges*, vbl sb pl complaints, 31/4
plesen, inf (OF plesir) please, 39/19, *plesid*, pp 29/13
pleyen, pr pl (OE plegian) play, 31/20
pleynt, sb (OF plainte) complaint, 27/27
podagre, sb (OF podagre) gout, 39/3
ponysch, pr 3 sg (F puniss- from punir) punishes, 19/14
poole, sb (OE pōl) pool, 3/5
pore, adj (OF povre) poor, 35/15, 16, *porer(e)*, comp, 27/21, 35/17

GLOSSARY

- possessioun*, sb (OF possession) possession, 19/19
- mes potage*, sb (cf mes + F potage) mess of pottage, 39/21
- povert*, sb (OF poverté) poverty, 35/2, 9, *poverté*, 27/2, 13
- powder box*, sb (OF poudre + OE box) spice-box, 39/32
- power*, sb (AF, OF poer) power, 21/12
- poynnt*, sb (OF point) *in no poynnt*, in no respect (this sense not in OED), 5/29
- preching*, vbl sb (OF precher) preaching, 23/6
- precious*, adj (OF precios) of great value, 9/18
- preizede for*, pa sg (OF preier) prayed for, 9/23, *prey*, imper sg, 7/32, *prey after*, pr 1 sg pray for, 9/22
- preizere*, sb (OF preiere) prayer, 9/30
- preised*, pp (OF preisier) praised, 3/16, *preisid*, pp, 19/8, *preisinge*, vbl sb praise, 13/9, *preisynge*, 19/6
- preiudice*, sb (F prejudice) detriment, damage, 19/2
- presens*, sb (OF presence) presence, 35/12
- presoneres*, sb pl (F prisonier) prisoners, 7/5, 39/16
- presoun*, sb (OF prisun) prison, 11/1
- prewyded*, pp (L praevideere) arranged, provided, 5/26
- pride*, sb (OE prýde, OF prūd) pride, 11/24, 15/25, *pride hem of*, pr pl (from sb) pride themselves on, 11/23
- princes*, sb pl (F prince) princes, 7/2, 13/9, *prinse*, 25/30
- prive*, inf (F priver) deprive, 23/33
- proceden*, pr pl (F procéder) issue, come forth, 13/5
- profer*, pr subj 3 sg or pl (OF proffrir) tender, present, 13/6
- proffessioun*, sb (F profession) profession, 25/1
- profetid* see *profiten*
- profizt*, sb (OF profit) profit, advantage, 3/4
- profitable*, adj (F profitable) fruitful, remunerative, 39/11
- profiten*, pr pl (F profiter) prosper, gain, 13/22, *profetid*, pa sg, 19/3
- progenitours*, sb pl (F progeniteur) ancestors, 13/8
- progeny*, sb (F progenie) stock, family, 15/24
- proper(e)* adj (F propre) belonging to oneself, inherent, 19/6, 31/15, *properli*, adv essentially, properly, 31/34
- prophit*, sb (F prophète) prophet, 15/18
- prouerbe*, sb (F proverbe) proverb, concise sentence, 25/21
- prouep*, pr 3 sg (OF prover) proves, 9/18
- prouzd*, *prouzde*, adj (OE prūd, OF prūd) proud, 15/24, 37/7
- prudence*, sb (F prudence) prudence, 7/1
- prudent*, adj (F prudent) prudent, 9/25
- pulpit*, sb (L pulpitum) pulpit, 33/27
- purcheth*, pr 3 sg (OF purgier) purges, 9/10

Q

- quantite*, sb (OF quantité) quantity, 5/17
- quenchen*, inf (OE *cwencan, cf ācwencan) kill, destroy, 3/14

R

- rad*, pp see *rede*
- raft*, pp (OE rēafian) deprived, robbed, 29/15
- ragges*, sb pl (ME) rags, 13/30
- raunsum*, sb (OF raunsom) ransom, 9/19
- rauyched*, pp (F raviss-, lengthened stem of ravir) carried away, transported, 9/15

GLOSSARY

- rebel*, adj. (F rebelle) rebellious, refractory, 7/20.
- rebukīþ*, pr. 3 sg. (AF rebuker) reproves, chides, 9/8.
- receyue*, inf. (ONF recevoir) accept, 39/17.
- recorden of*, pr. pl. (OF recorder) bear witness to, 5/19; *recordeþ* records, relates, 23/36.
- recouere*, pr. pl. (OF recoverer) regain their former position, 31/22.
- rede*, pa. sg. (OE rēdan, rādan) read, 21/17; *reden*, pr. pl., 37/20, 41/3; *redeth*, pr. 3 sg., 31/28; *rad*, pp. 37/19.
- redempcion*, sb. (F rédemption) deliverance, redemption, 9/18.
- redīnes*, sb. (OE rād + i + nes) wisdom (less likely from OE (ge)rāde + nes, readiness), 7/1.
- refreined*, pp. (OF refréner) restrained, checked, 9/7; *refreyning*, vbl. sb., 27/3.
- region*, sb. (AF regiun) country, 11/11.
- regne*, inf. (OF regner) rule, 15/18, 23/16; *reyznede*, pa. sg., 5/28.
- rehersid*, pp. (OF rehencer) read aloud, 33/27.
- rekening*, vbl. sb. (OE gerecenian) account, 7/28.
- remes*, sb. pl. (OF reaume) kingdoms, 13/20.
- remocion*, sb. (F remotion) removal, taking away, 9/24.
- remouyth*, pr. 3 sg. (OF remouv-, stem of remouvoir) removes, 37/12.
- repe*, inf. (OE, Angl. *repan) reap, gain, 13/9.
- reproued*, pp. (OF reprover) censured, condemned, 19/4.
- reputacion*, sb. (F réputation) esteem, credit, reputation, 11/4, 15/9.
- reved*, pp. (OE rāran) bring to higher position, 7/1.
- resoun*, sb. (OF raison, reson) reason, understanding, 3/3, 11.
- reste*, sb. (OE ræst, rest) repose, rest, 27/6; *restful*, adj. (from sb.) restful, 27/30.
- restīþ*, pr. 3 sg. (OE ræstan) rests, 23/22.
- reverence*, sb. (OF reverence) the condition of being held in esteem, 23/3.
- reuerently*, adv. (OF reverent + ly) with reverence, 19/14.
- reward*, sb. (ONF reward) reward, 33/7.
- reygnede* see *regne*.
- rial*, adj. (OF rial) befitting a king, magnificent, 11/20.
- rich(e)* adj. (OE rice) wealthy, powerful, 33/14, 20.
- richees*, sb. (OF richesse, richeise) riches, wealth, 29/10; *riches*, 29/7; *richesse*, 31/31; *richesses*, 11/22.
- right*, *riȝt*, sb. (OE riht) right, 31/8, 3/18; *be riȝt*, rightfully, 13/12.
- rise*, inf. (OE risan) get up, 39/1; *risen*, pr. pl., 29/1; *risith*, pr. 3 sg., 37/7.
- robbe*, inf. (OF robber) deprive, rob, 5/5.
- robere*, sb. (AN robere) robber, 27/17.
- robes*, sb. pl. (OF robe) loose outer garments, 39/31.
- rongle*, inf. (from ON sb. hrukka (crease) + le, cf. OED runkle, vb.) wrinkle, 3/13.
- rose*, sb. (OE rose, OF rose) rose, 19/25.
- rote*, *roten*, adj. (ON rotinn) rotten, 3/7, 5/35.
- rotes*, sb. pl. (ON & LOE rōt) roots, 13/5.
- rude*, adj. (OF rude) uncultured, unrefined, 13/14, 15.
- rule*, sb. (OF rule) rule, regulation, 39/8.
- rule*, vb. (OF ruler) conduct, behave, 25/22.
- ruynouȝs*, adj. (F ruineux, -se) decayed, 11/1.
- ryȝe*, sb. (OE ryge, ON rugr) rye, 39/20.

GLOSSARY

S

- sacrement*, sb (F sacrement) sacrament, 19/14
- sacrifice*, sb (F sacrifice) sacrifice, 41/3
- sad*, adj (OE *sæd*) constant, 35/11
- saf*, adj (F *sauf*) safe, secure, 9/17, *safly*, adv, 23/22
- sagis*, sb pl (OF *sage*) wise men, 25/4
- salt*, sb (OE *salt*, *sealt*) salt, 39/33, adj, 9/14
- same*, adj (ON *same*) same, 25/30, 37/20
- sat* see *sitten*
- sauerly*, adv (OF *savour* + *ly*) with relish, 29/5
- sauery*, adj (OF *savouré*) appetizing, 41/11
- saviour*, sb (OF *sauteur*) saviour, 41/15, *saunour*, 11/19, 15/19
- sauoreth*, pr 3 sg (OF *savorer*, *savourer*) tastes, smells, 39/25
- sauour*, sb (OF *savour*) taste, 33/24
- sause*, sb (F *sauce*) sauce, 39/33, 41/10
- saw* see *se*
- sawe*, sb (OE *sagu*) saying, proverb, 29/6
- sawser*, sb (OF *saussier*) dish, plate, 39/32
- schaf*, sb (OE *cæf*, *ceaf*) chaff, 9/9
- schal*, aux pr 3 sg (OE *sceal*) shall, will, must, 3/13, *schalt*, pr 2 sg, 39/3, *schal*, pl, 3/14, *schul*, pl, 33/30, 35/6, *scholde*, pa sg, 27/21, *schulde*, pa sg, 19/3, *schulde*, pa pl, 39/5, *schuldest*, pa 2 sg, 3/15, *schuldist*, pa 2 sg, 27/30
- schap*, sb (OE *gesceap*) outward appearance, looks, 3/2, 5/3, *shap* 3/21
- schaply*, adj (OE *gesceaplice*) beautiful, well-formed, 3/15
- sche*, pron (OE *sēo*, *hēo*, spec dev) she, 11/11, 12, *he*, 29/9, *here*, 3/26, 9/30
- schep*, sb pl (OE *scēp*, *scāp*, *scēap*), sheep, 15/17, *scheppe*, pl, 33/25
- schepe*, sb (OE *scāp*, *scēap*) sheath, 5/35
- schewe*, inf (OE *scēawian*) examine, explain, 25/5, *schewede*, pp shown, 7/12, *schewede*, pa sg showed, 41/13, *schewet*, pr 3 sg, 3/32, *scheweth*, 13/28, *scheweþ*, 35/20
- scholde* see *schal*
- schort*, adj (OE *sceort*) short, 5/14, 16, *schortere*, adj comp, 25/18, *schortly*, adv (OE *sceortlice*) briefly, 39/4
- schul*, *schuldest*, *schuldist* see *schal*
- schuldres*, sb pl (OE *sculdor*) shoulders, 21/4
- sciens*, sb (F *science*) knowledge, learning, 11/18
- scole*, sb (OE *scōl*) school, 39/28
- scorn*, sb (OF *escorn*) contempt, 35/13
- scourgyng*, vbl sb (OF *escorgier*) flogging, whipping, 9/9
- se*, inf (OE *sēon*) see, 37/11, *see*, 7/25, *seen*, pp, 25/4, *sene*, pp, 11/9, *saw*, pa 3 sg, 25/2
- seche*, adj (OE *swylc*, *swilc*, *swelc*) such, 37/23, 39/17, *sich*, 15/6, 33/32, *siche*, 21/7, *such*, 31/35
- seconde*, adj (F *second*) second, 23/5
- see*, sb (OE *sā*) sea, 31/11, *see banges*, sea shores, 9/14
- seende*, pr subj 2 sg (OE *sendan*) send, 39/20, *sent affter*, pp sent for, 23/20, *sende*, inf, 5/5, 23/32, *sendith*, pr 3 sg, 41/6
- seid*, *seize*, *seith* see *seye*
- seke*, adj (OE *sēoc*) sick, 27/29, *sik*, 7/26, 9/30
- seken*, inf (OE *sēcan*) seek, 15/17
- sekenes*, sb (OE *sēocnesse*) sickness, disease, 9/5, *seknes*, 33/28, 35/23, *seknesse*, 7/3, 24, *siknes*, 7/23, 9/24, *siknesse*, 7/31, 9/35
- sekur*, adj (OE *sīcor*, L *sēcūrus*) safe, 23/15, 27/31, *sekerer*, comp, 23/5, *sekerly*, adv, 27/18, *sekirly*, 13/26,

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sekrnes, sb (OE *sicor* + *nes*) safety, 27/33
sekrute, sb (L *sēcūritās*), 33/18
selden, adv (OE *seldan*, *seldum*) seldom, 3/9, 37/26
self wille, sb (OE *selfwill*) one's own will, self-will, 21/9
self, adj (in comb with pron OE *self*, *silf*) self, *þi self*, 13/15, *þi self*, 3/12, *him self*, 33/28, *hem self* 3/31, *þi silff*, 13/10
selh, adj (OE *gesēlg*, *gesǣlg*) blessed, 33/31
semblaunt, sb (F *semblant*) outward appearance, 5/26, *semelaunde*, 7/12
seme, pr subj 3 sg impers (ON *sœma*, ME *sēme*) seem, 27/7, *semed*, pp, 11/14, *semeþ*, pr 3 sg, 31/7
semelaunde, sb see *semblaunt*
semely, adj (ON *sœmiligr*) handsome, 3/18, *semelynesse*, sb pleasing appearance, 3/23
sende, inf see *seende*
sent affter, pp see *seende*
sene, pp see *se*
seruaund, sb (F *servant*) servant, slave, 21/6, *seruaundes*, pl, 21/6, *seruaunt*, 15/15, 21/8, *seruaunt*, see also *beli*, *seruauntes*, pl, 15/15
serue, inf, (OF *servir*) 7/17, 23/16, imp, 21/15, serve, be a servant, *serueþ*, pr 3 sg, 23/15
seruice, sb (OF *service*) condition of being a servant, service, 23/15, 31/33, *seruise*, 25/19, 20, *seruyse*, 23/28
sessiounes, sb pl (F *session*) conferences, assemblies, 23/20
set, imp sg (OE *settan*) place, set, 33/20
sele, sb (ON *sæti*) seat, 23/22
seuene, num (OE *seofon*) seven, 5/8
seuer, inf (OF *sevrer*) distinguish, 33/6
seye, inf (OE *secgan*) say, 37/10, *seid*, pp, 9/24, 33/32, *seize*, pr pl, 31/27,

seith, pr 3 sg, 15/14, *seyze*, inf, 39/4, *seyzeth*, pr 3 sg, 33/4, *seyzt*, pr 3 sg, 39/37
seynt, adj, sb (OF *saint*) saint, 23/6, *seynte*, 19/5, *seyntes*, pl, 3/27, 19/3
shap, sb see *schap*
shetus, sb pl (OE *scēte*) sheets, 29/5
sibreden, sb (OE *sibrēden*, *sibrāden*) kinship, 15/6
sich see *seche*
side, sb (OE *sīde*) on *þat oþur side* on the other hand, 33/18
sigt, sb (OE *sihp*, *gesiht*) sight, 25/31
sik, imp sg (OE *sīcan*) sigh, 15/5
sik, etc, see *seke*, *sekenes*
silens, sb (OF *silence*) silence, 31/3
silf, *silff* see *self*
simple, adj (OF *simple*) simple, 13/2, 15/21, *symple*, 23/22, 33/19
synnede, pa sg (OE *syngian*) sinned, 9/12, see *synne*, sb
sithe, sb pl (OE *gen* pl *sīþa*) times, 5/8
sithen, conj (OE *sīþpan*) since, 7/20, adv afterwards, 25/23, *sythen*, conj, 27/21, *sīþihen*, conj, 23/29
sitten with, inf (OE *sittan*) sit with, be familiar with, 7/2, *sitte*, pr pl, 13/23, inf, 31/17, *sittþ*, pr 3 sg, 23/21, *sat*, pa sg, 23/23
six, num (OE *six*) six, 5/29
skarlet, adj sb (OF *escarlate*) scarlet, 39/31
skele, sb (ON *skil*) reason, ground, 41/1
skirt, sb (ON *skyrt*) skirt, lower part of gown, 31/19
slawt, sb (EME *slāwpe* from OE *slāw*, adj) indolence, sluggishness, 37/6, *slauzþe*, 27/5
slawter, sb (ON **slahtr*) slaughter, killing, 33/28
slayn, pp (OE *slēan*) defeated, killed, 25/28, *sleeth*, pr 3 sg, 39/10
sleknyth, pr 3 sg (The Northern form repr OE *sleccan* + *-en*) extinguishes, 3/6

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- slepe*, inf (OE slēpan, slāpan) sleep, 37/6, *slepuh*, pr 3 sg, 29/5, *slepynge*, pr part, 25/2
- smale*, adj (OE smæl) small, 11/18
- smel*, sb (EME smel) smell, 19/25
- smellynge*, pr part (EME smellynge) smelling, 41/7
- so*, adv (OE swā) so, 3/21, 5/3
- sober*, adj (OF sobre) temperate, sedate, 9/6, *soburnesse*, sb (ME) moderation, 33/18, 37/3
- socour*, sb (OF sucurs, soccours) help, assistance, 31/23
- sodeyn*, adj (AF sodein) sudden, 33/27
- soft*, adj (OE sōft) soft, 27/29, *softnes*, sb (OE sōftnyse) luxury, voluptuous living, 37/15
- soften*, inf (from adj + -en) mollify, 25/18
- sogetes*, adj (OF suget) subject, obedient, 23/6, *sugget*, 21/3
- sold*, pp (OE sellan) sold, 25/23
- solempne*, adj (OF solempne) grand, imposing, sumptuous, 27/31
- son*, sb (OE sunu) son, 15/6, *sone*, 15/20, 19/16, *sones*, pl, 5/25, 13/20, *sones*, gen sg, 9/8
- sone*, adv (OE sōna) soon, 11/9, 31/2, *sunner*, adv comp sooner, 39/27, *sunnere*, 11/2
- sonne*, sb (OE sunne) sun, 5/8, 31/9, *sunne*, 13/13
- sors*, sb (OF sors) source, origin, 13/18
- sorwe*, sb (OE sorh, sorge) grief, affliction, 25/13, 14
- sorwe for*, inf (OE sorgian) mourn for, 39/36
- soth*, adj (OE sōþ) true, 29/6
- souereyne*, adj sb (OF souverain, souverain) excellent, 9/33, master, 25/24, *souereynes*, sb pl lords, 23/7
- sou3l*, sb (OE sāwol) soul, 23/30, *sou3le*, 3/9, 23
- sou3pe*, inf (OE sūpan) eat, sup, 37/22, *soupe*, 39/24
- speche*, sb (OE spēc, spāc) speech, words, 27/20
- spedi*, adj (OE spēdig) speedy, swift, 5/14, *speedful*, adj (OE spēd + ful) expedient, profitable, 9/32
- spekeþ*, pr 3 sg (OE sp(r)ecan) speaks, 27/12, *speketh*, 39/30
- spiri3t*, sb (AF spirit) spirit, 11/1, 41/5, *spirit*, 7/20, 9/1, *spiry3t*, 35/25
- spoule*, inf (OF espoulier) deprive, despoil, 21/13, *spoiled*, pp, 31/24, *spoiliþ*, pr 3 sg, 3/18
- spore*, sb (OE spora) spur, *gilt spore*, the 'gilt spur' as the distinctive mark of the knight, 27/18
- springen vp*, pr pl (OE springan) grow, 11/16
- staf*, sb (OE stæf) stick, staff, 27/17
- starith*, pr 3 sg (OE starian) shines, 31/10
- stature*, sb (OF stature) build, bodily form, 5/20, 27
- statutes*, sb pl (OF estatut) laws, decrees, 19/18
- in stede of*, prep (OE stede, cf OF au lieu de) in stead of, 15/20
- steerne*, adj (OE styrne) severe, harsh, 25/17, *sterne*, 27/7
- steppes*, sb pl (OE stæpe, stepe) steps, 33/31
- stille*, adv (OE stille) still, without change, 31/21, *stille*, adj still, 31/11
- stikkēs*, sb pl (OE sticca) sticks used as firewood, 37/5
- stodie*, sb (OF estudie) *his heuy stodie* his mental perplexity, 25/8, *studie* study, 7/1, *of þyn owne studie*, accomplished by yourself, 3/17
- stok*, sb (OE stoc) stock, lineage, 13/2
- stomak*, sb (OF estomac, stomaque) stomach, 39/1
- stond*, pr 3 subj (OE standan) stand(s), 35/5, *stondeþ in*, consists in, 11/21
- stopput*, pp (OE stoppian) stopped, 37/4
- stor*, sb (OE estor) *stor of hous3se*,

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household provisions, whatever happens to be served, 39/21
storie, sb (AF *estorie*) history, 11/10, *storye*, 11/22, *stories*, pl, 37/23
strange, adj (OF *estrange*) strange, unfamiliar, 27/16
straunger, sb (OF *estrangier*) stranger, 27/24
strengþe, sb (OE *strengþu*) strength, 7/5, 8
strife, imp sg (OF *estriver*) struggle, 3/30
streyt, adj (OF *estreit*) narrow, 11/16
strokes, pr 3 sg (OE *strācian*) strokes, 9/8
strong, adj (OE *strong*) strong, 7/3, *stronge*, 7/9, *stronge*, adv, 9/17
studie see *stodie*
studie, imp sg (OF *estudier*) try, apply yourself to, 15/9, *studien*, pr pl study, read, 37/23
such see *seche*
sufferaunce, sb (OF *suffrance*) patient endurance, forbearance, 33/32
sufficen, pr pl (OF *suffiss-*, pr stem of *suffir*) are enough, 33/4, *suffices*, pr 3 sg, 25/14, *sufficyþ*, pr 3 sg, 9/25
sufficient, adj (OF *sufficient*) sufficient, 7/17
suffre, inf (AF *suffrir*) suffer (pain), allow, 5/22, pr 1 sg, 7/31, pr pl, 19/19, pr subj 2 sg, 37/19, *suffred*, pp, 35/24, *suffrede*, pa sg, 3/1, 9/28, *suffren*, pr pl, 13/22
sugget see *sogetes*
sum, pron (OE *sum*) some, 11/23, 21/5, *sum del* see *del*, *summe*, 13/30, *sum tyme* sometimes, 31/10, *sum what*, pron (ME) somewhat, 31/1
summed, pp (OF *sumon-* stem of *sumundre*) call to account, call upon, 7/28
sundur see *on*
sunne see *sonne*
sunner(e) comp of *sone* q v

suppose, inf (F *supposer*) suppose, 33/12, pr 1 sg, 23/12, pr subj, 2 sg, 25/12
suptuous, adj (OF *somptueux*) costly, 27/9
surely, adv (OF *sure* + *ly*) securely, safely, 9/20
surfet, sb (OF *surfet*) excess, 39/9, 28
suspicion, sb (AF *suspecioun*) suspicion, 27/14
susteyne, inf (OF *sosteyn-*, pr stem of *sustenir*) support, 39/6
sustinaunce, sb (AF *sustenaunce*) nourishment, 39/29
swan, sb (OE *swan*) swan, 27/25
sweerd, sb (OE *sweord*) sword, 39/10, *sweerde*, 5/35
swellinge, vbl sb (OE *swellan*) inflation through pride, 9/16
swepe, inf (ME, special development of OE *swāpan*) sweep, 19/26
swete, adj (OE *swēte*) sweet, pleasant, 13/18, 41/5, *swetnesse*, sb (OE *swētnes*) sweetness, 41/17
swapper, adj (OE *swipor*) quick, nimble, 5/14
symnelle, sb (OF *simenel*) fine bread, 39/20
symple, adj see *simple*
synne, sb (OE *synn*) sin, 21/4, 39/36, cf *synnede*, vb

T

take, inf (ON *taka*, LOE *tacan*) take, 19/17, *take to* direct one's attention to, 5/26, *taken*, pp, 23/34, 29/7, *toke*, pa 2 sg, 15/7
talede, pa pl (OE *talhan*) would speak of, gossip, 13/4
talke, inf (ME, connected with sb OE *talū*, cf Early Frisian *talken*) talk, 37/24
tame, adj (OE *tam*) tame, 9/11
tasted, pa sg (OF *taster*) tasted, 41/7
tawt, pp (OE *tācan*) taught, 27/19, 39/8
telle, inf (OE *tellan*) tell, 25/4, imp

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- sg consider, 13/20, *tellist*, pr 2 sg tell, relate, 15/8
- temperaunce*, sb (AF *temperaunce*) moderation, sobriety, 27/19
- tempestis*, sb pl (OF *tempeste*) tempests, 23/19
- tepet*, sb (EME *tīpet*, >OE *tæpped*) headache scarf, tippet, 39/3
- teres*, sb pl (OE *tēar*) tears, 23/15
- teyzed*, pp (OE *tīgan*, non-WS **tēgan*) tied, fastened, 9/13
- the*, pron (OE *þē*) you, see *þou*
- thi*, pron (OE *þīn*) your, 9/32, 13/17, *þi*, 3/3, 4, *þin*, disjunctive, 31/34, *þyn*, 3/3, 27/15, *þei*, 27/25
- thing*, sb (OE *þing*) thing, 5/18, *þing*, 7/11, 26, *þinge*, 7/6, *þinges*, pl, 23/4, 33/3
- thelth*, pr 3 sg (ME) tickles, 37/22
- tīl*, conj (ON *tīl*) till, 25/5
- tīraunt* sb (OF *tyrant*) tyrant, 25/11, *tyraunt*, 23/35
- to*, prep adv (OE *tō*) to, 3/1, 8
- to gedere*, adv (OE *tōgædere*) together, 3/10, 9/1
- toke*, pa 2 sg of *take* q v
- ton*, *þe ton*, num (OE *þæt ān*) the one, 9/1
- toty*, adj (ME, from *tot* as in *totter*) dizzy, tipsy, 23/4
- toþere*, *þe toþere*, adj (OE *þæt oþer*) the other, 9/2, see *oþer*
- toures*, sb pl (OE *torr*, EME *tour* from OF *tor*, *tur*) towers, 11/21, *toures*, 23/23
- towchede*, pa sg (OF *tuchier*) touched, 41/13
- town*, sb (OE *tūn*) town, 11/20, *townes*, pl, 11/18
- toures* see *toures*
- transformeth*, pr 3 sg (L *transformāre*) transforms, 37/10
- tre*, sb (OE *trēow*) tree, 41/13, 14, *tree*, 15/10, *treis*, pl, 11/16
- tremblþ*, pr 3 sg (OF *trembler*) trembles, 13/24
- tresory*, sb (OF *tresorie*) treasury, 21/11
- tresour*, sb (OF *tresor*) treasure, 9/21
- trewauntes*, sb pl (OF *truant*) idle beggars, vagabonds (but cf *note*), 23/7
- tribulaciones*, sb pl (OF *tribulacion*) afflictions, 41/16
- triste*, imp sg (ON *treysta* and ME sb trust) trust, 9/33
- trone*, sb (OF *trone*) throne, 13/24
- trubled*, pp (OF *trubler*) contrite, mournful, 41/6
- true*, adj (OE *trēowe*) true, faithful, 25/20, *truly*, adv (OE *trēowlice*) faithfully, 21/15
- trussen*, pr pl (OF *trusser*) pack, 27/23
- truþe*, sb (OE *trēowþ*) truth, 25/28
- turne*, inf (OE *tyrnan*, OF *tourner*) turn, change, 31/15, 41/17, *turned*, pp, 41/14
- turnementes*, sb pl (ONF *torneyment*) tournaments, 5/36
- twies*, num (OE *twiges*) twice, 25/23
- two*, num (OE *twā*) two, 23/4
- tyme*, sb (OE *tīma*) time, 5/4
- tymen*, pr pl (OE *getīmlīan*) prosper, 29/3
- tyraunt* see *tīraunt*
- tyþingges*, sb pl (LOE *tīding*, ON *tīpendi*) important news, 13/21

P

- þak*, sb (OE *þæc*) roof, 35/7
- þan*, conj (OE *þonne*, *þænne*) than, 23/36, 31/23, *þanne*, conj adv than, then, 11/12, 21/10, *þen*, conj but, 19/18, *þenne*, conj adv, 3/30, 25/1
- þank*, sb (OE *þanc*) thanks, 13/10
- þank worthi*, adj (ME) thankworthy, 3/16
- þankynges*, vbl sb pl (OE *þancunge*) thanks, 31/3
- þat*, determ pron (OE *þæt*) that which, 25/20, 31/34

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- þat*, conj (OE *þæt*) that (used as a substitute instead of repeating a previous conjunction, cf OED, that, conj 8), 11/12, that (introducing a noun clause, cf OED, that, conj 1), 3/3, 13/19, that (introducing an appositional clause, cf OED, that, conj 1b), 13/5(1), because (introducing a clause expressing the ground or reason of what is stated in the principal clause, cf OED that, conj 2 [b]), 19/25, 21/5, after relatives and adverbs (cf OED, that, conj 6), 9/15, 18 See Points of Syntax, § 77
- þat*, dem pron (OE *þæt*) that, 5/12, 7/14
- þat*, rel pron (OE *þæt*) who, which, 3/1, 25/6
- þe* see *þer*
- þe*, def art (EME) the, 3/8, 27
- þe*, pron (obj) (OE *þē*) you, 3/4, 6, the, 7/19, see *þou*
- þe* + adv comp (OE *þȳ*, *þē*) the, 11/7, 8, *euere þe*, 35/19, reinforces a proportional comparative
- þedur*, adv (OE *þider*) thither, 31/21
- þefes*, sb pl (OE *þēof*) thieves, 9/21, *þeues*, 27/4
- þer*, poss pron see *thi*
- þer*, pers pron (ON *þeir*) they, 3/32, 5/1, *þe*, 37/22, *hem* (OE *heom*, him) them, 7/2, 27/20, *hem*, refl to themselves, 5/3, *hem self* themselves, 3/31, *hym* them, 15/18
- þenken* see *þinke*
- þen(ne)* conj adv see *þan*
- þer(e)* see *her* (their)
- þer*, pret pres vb impers 3 sg (OE *þearf* with loss of *f*), *þer þe not be* you need not be, 25/14, *derst*, pret pres vb pr 2 sg. (OE *dearr*, *durron*), the sense 'need' is due to confusion with *þearf*, *þurfon*, 27/13
- þer*, adv (OE *þēr*, *þær*) there, 23/33, 33/8, *þere*, 25/18, 27/29, *þer affter* see *affter*, *þer atte* present, 35/1, *þer by* through it, 19/24, *þer fore* therefore, 13/25, *þerfore* for it, 9/19, *þer fro* from it, 5/9, *þere inne* in that, 5/21, *þer of* of it, 19/23, 25/6, *þer onne* about that, 31/3, *þer to* for that purpose, 7/18
- þese*, pron (OE *þes*, *þēos*, *þis*) these, 3/31, 29/4, *þis* this, 7/33, 13/4
- þeues* see *þefes*
- þi(n)* see *thi* and *þou*
- þing(e)*, *þinges* see *thing*
- þinke*, inf (OE *þencan*, *þyncan*) think, 27/30, *þinkeþ him*, impers, 39/26, *him þinkuth*, impers he thinks, 39/22, *þenken*, pr pl, 31/3
- þin(ne)*, adj (OE *þynne*) thin, 37/2, 3
- þis* see *þese*
- þi self*, *þi selff* see *self*
- þof*, conj (ON *þōh*, OE *þāh*) though, 35/8, *þoou3*, 7/2, *þoow*, 7/11, 26, *at þoow*, 33/26, *þow*, 19/13
- þorn*, sb (OE *þorn*) thorn, 19/25
- þoru3*, prep (OE *þurh*, *þorh*) through, 25/26, *þorw*, 11/11, 25/20
- þou*, pron (OE *þū*) you, 3/3, 12, *þou3*, 19/18, 23/19, *þow*, 35/10, *þe*, obj (OE *þē*), 3/4, the, 29/12, *þi*, 21/4
- þou3*, *þow* see *þou* and *þof*
- þou3tes*, sb pl (OE *þoht*) thoughts, 23/33, 25/7
- þral*, sb (ON *þrǣll*, OE *þrǣl*) bondman, 23/35, *þraldam* bondage, 21/17, *þraldom*, 25/29
- þre*, num (OE *þrēo*, *þrīe*) three, 31/28
- þreschfold*, sb (OE *perscold*, ON *þreskjǫldr*) threshold, 35/6
- þridde*, num (OE *þridda*) third, 9/16
- þrife*, pr subj (ON *þrifask*) thrive, 41/1, *þryuen*, pr pl, 25/10
- þriste*, inf (ON *þrýsta*) thrust, press, 27/21
- þristi*, adj (OE *þurstig*, *þyrstig*) thirsty, 33/23
- þryuen* see *þrife*

GLOSSARY

þus, adv (OE þus) thus, to such a degree, 5/9, 7/10

þyn see *thi*

V

valer, sb (OF valée, AF pl valeys) valley, 23/15

vanite, sb (OF vanité) conceit, vanity, 13/4

verrer, adj (AF verrai, verrey) true, genuine, 7/5, 29/1, *verrey*, 31/36, *verrih*, adv, 5/33, *verriy*, 31/34

vertu, sb (OF vertu) virtue, strength, excellence, 3/20, 19/24, *vertues*, pl, 3/16

virtuously, adv (AF vertuous + ly) virtuously, 19/20

veyn, adj (OF vein, vain) vain, 37/25, *veyn glorie*, sb (OF vaine gloire) vainglory, 9/16

victorie, sb (AF victoire) victory, 5/29, 7/4

vilany, sb (F vileinie) disgrace, discredit, 11/6, *vilanye* degradation, 37/11

vitailles, sb pl (AF vitaille) food, 39/18, *vitailles*, 39/13

visioun, sb (AF visioun) vision, 25/2, 5

visis, sb pl (OF vice) vices, 37/5

unable, adj (OF inhabile) unable, 21/7

un apt, adj (un- + L aptus) unsuited, 21/8

unbond, pa sg (OE unbindan) freed, delivered, 25/7

unborn in mulori (un- + OE beran) born out of wedlock, 19/15

undede, pa sg (OE undōn) unfastened, revealed, 25/5

under, prep (OE under) under, 25/17, *undur*, 13/24

unkynde, adj (OE on(ge)cynde) ungrateful, 31/1

unlawful, adj (un- + ON lagu + OE full) unlawful, illegal, 19/11, *unlawfullh*, adv illegitimately, 19/9

unlik, adj (OE ungelic) unlike, different, 19/12

unloke, inf (from OE sb loc or from pp gelocen) unlock, 25/7

unlusti, adj (ME) unattractive, 5/3

vnneþe, adv (OE unēaþe, unēþe) scarcely, 13/23, *vnneþes* (prec + -s), 13/30

vnnable, adj (ME, from F, L) not of noble rank, 11/3

vnresonable, adj (un- + OF resonable) not endowed with reason, 39/7

vnshoply, adj (OE ungesceaplice) misshapen, ugly, 3/11

vnsemeli, adj (ON üsœmiligr) ugly, 3/1, 19, *vnsemelynesse*, sb, 3/5

vntid, pp (OE huntian) hunted, 27/6

void, adj (OF voide) empty, destitute, 23/29

vouchep saf on, pr 3 sg (AF voucher + F sauf) bestows on, 13/30

up, adv (OE up, upp) up, 13/24, 25/13

us see *we*

usin, inf (OF user) use, 9/31; *vse*, imp sg practise, 19/26, inf, 31/8

W

waggeth, (ME, connected with OE wagian cf Sw wagga) shakes, sways, 23/21

wakest, pr 2 sg (OE wacian) wake, 37/27, *wakyng*, pr part, 25/4

walke, inf (OE walcen) walk, 23/31, pr subj 2 sg, 27/15

walles, sb pl (OE wall, weall) walls, 27/14

wan, conj (OE hwanne) when, 41/13, *wanne*, 3/13, *wen*, 31/23, *wenne*, 3/4, *whan*, 5/6, 41/9, *whanne*, 3/32, 23/27, *when*, 37/7, 33/note to l 20

wand, sb (ON vǫndr) rod, cane, 9/10

wane, adj (OE wana) lacking, 27/33

wante, inf (ON vanta) want, be lacking, 33/3, *wante*, pr subj sg, 31/27, *wantede*, pa 2 sg, 15/22, *wantes*, pr 2 sg, 3/3, *wantiþ*, pr 3 sg (impers), 33/1

wantoun, adj (OE wan + OE pp togen) undisciplined, rebellious, 9/6

GLOSSARY

- warde*, sb (OE *weard*) keeping, custody, 9/17
ware, *we(e)n*, *where* see *be*, vb
warne, inf (OE *warnian*) warn, 7/27
was, *whas* see *be*, vb
wast, adj (OF *wast*) idle, needless, 35/3
wat see *what*
water, sb (OE *wæter*) water, 37/18, 39/37, *uateres*, 41/11
we, pron (OE *wē*) we, 15/24, 39/29, *us*, 5/9, 39/30
weddit, pp (OE *weddian*) married, joined, coupled, 25/21
wedlok, sb (OE *wedlāc*) matrimony, wedlock, 19/14
weel, adv (OE *well*) well, 5/3, 13/9, *wel*, 33/15, 37/4, *wele*, 25/10, in *wel I haue aspiəd*, 39/15, *wete wele*, 21/16, *wel(e)* intensifies the meaning of the verb, as *þei may wel lest* with good reason, 27/22
wel, adj (OE *well*) well, 25/22
wel(er)ande, pr part (OE *wegfērende*) travellers by the road 33/25
weyze, sb (OE *weg*) way, 37/4, *weyze*, 25/18
weihþ, pr 3 sg (OE *wegan*) weighs, 23/28, *weyith*, 23/24
wele, sb (OE *wela*) wealth, 23/14, 31/20
wele see *wille* and *weel*
welde, inf (OE *weldan*, *wieldan*) rule, gain, possess, 5/33
welkomeþ, pr 3 sg (OE *wilcuman*) welcomes, 15/2
welþe, sb (ME) wealth, 27/33
wen see *wan*
wene, pr 1 sg (OE *wēnan*) think, suppose, 35/21
wente, pa 3 sg (OE *wendan*) went, 15/16
weping, vbl sb (OE *wēpan*) weeping, 41/2, *wepith*, pr 3 sg, 29/3
were, adv (OE *hwēr*, *hwær*) where, 27/12, 33/19, *wereof* from what, 13/22, *where*, 15/21, 33/3
were see *be*, vb
werkes, sb pl (OE *weorc*) works, 33/26
werkyng, vbl sb (ME, influenced by sb) activity, action, 31/15
werre, adj comp (OE *wyrsa*, ON *verri*) worse, 27/5, *werst*, adv sup (ON *verst*, OE *wyrrest*, *wierst*) worst, 27/25
werres, sb pl (OF *werre*) wars, 29/1
wete, imp sg (OE *witan*) know, realize, 21/16, *wiste*, pa pl, 33/23, *wost* (OE *wāst*) 2 sg, 23/1
wete, inf (OE *wētan*, *wātan*) wet, steep in, 41/10
wepur or, conj (OE *hwæper*) whether or, 13/12
wex, sb (OE *weax*) wax, 5/18
weyze see *weyze*
weyith see *weihþ*
weyh, adj (ON *veikr*) weak, 33/29
whan see *wan*
whas see *was*
what, interr pron (OE *hwæt*) what, 7/25, 9/31, *wat*, interj lo, well, 23/19, *what so*, indef rel pron whatever, 7/30, *what euere*, 15/1, *what so euer*, whatever, 13/9
wheel, sb (OE *hwēol*) wheel, 31/15, 16
when see *wan*
where see *be*, vb and *were*, adv
whi, adv (OE *hwī*) why, 3/11, 31/8
whicch, sb (OE *wecg*) wedge, 25/3, *wyccches*, pl, 9/17
whizs see *wise*
while, conj (OE *hwīl*) while, 31/19, cf *wilis*, *while*, sb while, 7/4, 27/8
whise see *wise*
who, indef interr pron (OE *hwā*) who, 35/4, *who so*, who ever, 23/21, 35/13, *whom*, (OE *hwām*) whom (rel), 21/9, 37/17, *whos*, (OE *hwæs* and o from the nom) whose (rel), 33/10, *wos*, whose (rel), 21/7
wich, rel pron (OE *hwylc*) which, 13/11, 41/15
wicked, adj (ME) wicked, 23/35,

GLOSSARY

- wikkid*, 9/10, *wickidnes*, sb, 19/16, 41/6
wide, adv (OE *wide*) wide, 35/5
widwes, sb pl (OE *widewe*) widows, 33/22
wif, sb (OE *wif*) wife, 15/19
wikkid see *wicked*
wil see *nyl*, also *wille*, inf
wilde, adj (OE *wild*) wild, 9/11, 13
wilfullh, adv (OE *wilfullice*) willingly, of their own free will, 37/16
wilhs, conj (OE *hwil* + adv gen es) while, 9/1, 15/6, cf *while*
wille, sb (OE *willa*) will, 9/7, 23/26
wille, inf (OE *willan*) will, want, 35/22, *wille*, aux imp sg (to introduce a polite question), 33/5, *wele*, pr 3 sg, 5/22, *wil*, pr 3 sg in *wil nyl* whether he likes it or not, 25/15, *wol*, pr 3 sg, 15/5, 35/12, *wole*, pr 3 sg, 5/4, 25/15, *wolen*, pr pl, 35/7, *wolt*, pr 2 sg, 25/8, *nolde*, pa sg did not want, 25/27, *wolde*, pa 1 & 3 sg would, wanted to, should like to, 3/3, 5, *woldest*, pa 2 sg *woldest þou suffre*, if you would allow, 41/9
wisdam, sb (OE *wīsdōm*) wisdom, 19/15, 31/28, *wisdom*, 13/18
wise, adj (OE *wīs*) wise, 23/34, *wiszs*, 35/12, *whise*, 37/9, *wisest*, sup, 9/18
wiste see *wete*
wit, sb (OE *wit*) intellect, understanding, 7/12, 11/17
with, prep (OE *wip*) with, 7/4, in the sight of (OED *with*, prep 10), 23/11
with drawe, inf (ME) withdraw, 29/14, 31/5, *with draweþ*, 9/26
with ganne, prep (OE *wipinnan*) within, in 5/4
with ouzten, prep (OE *wipūtan*) without, 23/1, 27/33, *with owten*, 35/4
withstandeþ, pr 3 sg (OE *wipstandan*) stands in the way of, 11/17, *withstondþ*, intr, 3/5
witnessith, pr 3 sg (from OE sb *witnes*) attests, bears witness to, 11/10
woman, sb (OE *wīfmann*) woman, 11/10, *womman*, 3/24, *wymmen*, pl, 3/31
wombe ful, sb (ME, from OE *wamb* + *ful*) bellyful, 39/22
wonder, adv (OE *wundor*, cf OE adv dat pl *wundrum*) exceedingly, wondrously, 3/15, *wondur*, 35/16
wonderful, adj (OE *wundorfull*) marvellous, surprising, 25/2
wondes, sb pl (OE *wund*) wounds, 41/10
wonen, inf, pr pl (OE *wunian*) dwell, live, 5/16, 33/20
wont, pp (OE *gewunod*) accustomed, used to, 33/14
woo, sb (OE *wā*) misery, 31/20
word, sb (OE *word*) word, proverb, 25/8
worldh see *world*
world, sb (OE *worold*) world, 23/21, 35/20, *worldē*, 9/19, 13/14, *worldes*, gen sg, 27/33, *worldh*, adj (OE *woruldlic*) worldly, secular, 15/6, 33/21, *worldh*, 33/note to l 21
worschepe, inf (from sb) honour, revere, 11/6, *worschipe*, 13/17
worschepe, sb (OE *weorpscipe*) honour, reverence, esteem, 23/18, 33/30, *worschipfullh*, adv, 15/2
worth, adj (OE *weorþ*, *wurþ*) valuable, worth, 9/10, 3/27
worthi, adj (OE *wurþ* + *y*) worthy, distinguished, of standing, 5/33, 11/5, *worthih*, adv with dignity, 13/16
wos see *who*
wost see *wete*
wrastele, inf (OE **wræstlian*) wrestle, 27/25, *wrasilen*, pr pl, 9/1, *wrastleinges*, vbl sb pl wrestling matches, 5/37
wrecche, sb (OE *wrecca*) unfortunate person, 31/36

GLOSSARY

wreten see *writith*.

writith, pr. 3 sg. (OE *writan*) writes, 39/29; *wrytþ*, 7/19, 21/5; *wreten*, pp., 39/9.

wrong, adv. (ON **wrangr*, LOE *wrang*) wrong, 27/27.

wrouzt, pa. pl. (OE *wrohte*) acted, 19/10; *wrouzte*, pa. sg., 25/30.

wryt, in *holi* (*holy*) *wryt*, sb. (OE *writ*)

Holy Writ, Scriptures, 19/18, 5/10.

wycches see *whicch*.

wynde, inf. (OE *windan*) wind, 39/3.

wynde, sb. (OE *wind*) wind, 31/11.

wynes, sb. pl. (OE *wīn*) wines, 27/10.

wynne ouzt of, inf. (OE *winnan*) get out of, struggle, 25/12.

wyte, *to wyte*, inf. (OE *wītan*) to blame, in fault, 19/23.

GLOSSARY OF PROPER NAMES

- Abraham*, Abraham, 19/5
Alsaundere, Alexander, 5/23
Amoun, Amnon, 3/25
Arthour, Arthur, 7/5
Austeyn, Augustine, 5/10
Aristotele, Aristotle, 11/18, 21/5
Babiloun, Babylon, 25/4
Bedlem, 5/24, *Bedleem*, 11/20, Beth-lehem
Crisostom, Chrysostom, 39/36
Crist, 9/21, 23/8, 10, 35/15, 25, *Cristes*, 41/10, Christ, Christ's
Daniel, Daniel, 25/5
Dauid, David, 3/24, 5/27, 28, 15/17
Ector, Hector, 7/5
Egypt, Egypt, 25/23
Esaw, Esau, 19/3
German, St Germain, 37/21
Goly, Goliath, 5/29
Helyab, Eliab, 5/27
Hismalutis, the Ishmaelites, 25/23
Ierusalem, Jerusalem, 11/19
Iesse, Jesse, Isai, 5/25
Iesu, Jesus, 15/23, 41/7
Iob, Job, 33/29, *Job*, 9/3, 23/1, 33/21
Isaak, Isaac, 19/4
Israel, Israel, 5/25, 41/12
Jerom, Jerome, 23/35, 37/21
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Joseph, Joseph, 25/23, 30
Josue, Josue, 7/4
Judas Machabe, Judas the Machabee, 7/4
Lucifer, Lucifer, 5/2, 11/12
Marath, Mara, 41/11
Moab, Moab, 11/12
Moyses, Moses, 41/13
Nabugodonosor, Nabuchodonosor, 25/2
Paule, Paul, 5/2, 7/19, 9/23, 30, 39/28
Pernylle, Petronilla, 9/28
Petr, 5/2, *Petre*, 23/6, *Peter*, 9/27, Peter
Plato, Plato, 15/15, 23/34
Putiphar, Putiphar, 25/24
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Ruth, Ruth, 11/10
Sampson, Samson, 7/3
Samuel, Samuel, 5/24, 15/18
Sauzel, Saul, 15/16
Thamar, Thamar, 3/24
Thare, Thare, 19/5
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Toby, Tobias, 9/3
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STELLINGEN

I

Het spreekwoord *the more he has, the more he wants* staat dichterbij *multa petentibus desunt multa* (Horatius, *Carmina*, III, 16, 24), bij *whanne he most hath, most he failith* (*Romance of the Rose*, middelengelse versie, regel 5720) en bij *...permultis eos indigere qui permulta possideant* (Boethius, *De Consolatione Philosophiae*, II, Prosa v) dan bij de door A. Taylor gesuggereerde passage uit *Ecclesiasticus* v, 9.

Zie A. Taylor, *The Proverb and an Index to the Proverb*, 1962, p. 56.

II

Het humanisme van de Renaissance was, wat prestige betreft, de gouden eeuw van de A-faculteiten.

III

Petrarca's 'accidia' kan niet zonder meer vertaald worden met het Engelse 'sloth', maar vertegenwoordigt een verwereldlijking van de middeleeuwse kloosterziekte.

IV

De lage plaats die Matthew Arnold toekent aan Dryden en Pope in zijn classificatie van de Engelse dichters is, afgezien van de romantische achtergrond van zijn tijd, te verklaren uit zijn ideeën over 'culture'.

Zie M. Arnold, *The Study of Poetry*.

V

De interessantste conclusie die K. Heitmann bereikt in zijn boek *Fortuna und Virtus* is dat Petrarca geen duidelijk sluitend filosofisch systeem heeft gehanteerd.

Zie K. Heitmann, *Fortuna und Virtus: Eine Studie zu Petrarcas Lebensweisheit*. Studi Italiani, Band I, Koln und Graz, 1958.

VI

Het is wenselijk dat meer gedetailleerde studies van de middelengelse woordenschat de mogelijkheid vergroten deze gegevens als dialect-criteria te gebruiken.

VII

Moderne critische uitgaven van middeleeuwse *florilegia*, zoals de *Communiloquium* van John of Wales en de *Manipulus Florum* van Thomas Palmer, zouden een beter licht werpen op de belezenheid van middelengelse schrijvers.

VIII

In zijn editie van John Heywood's *A Dialogue of Proverbs*, 1963, p. 187 verkrijkt R. E. Habenicht zich, taalkundig gezien, op Heywood's stylistische kwaliteiten, wanneer hij spreekt over diens 'sheer originality' en 'ad hoc' gebruik van actieve werkwoorden in een passieve betekenis (of vice versa) en van intransitieve werkwoorden in een transitieve betekenis. Dit zijn vrijheden die in het Renaissance taalgebruik veelvuldig voorkomen.

Zie F. Th. Visser, *An Historical Syntax of the English Language*, I, 1963, § 133 e.v. en § 163 e.v.

IX

Het kan geen kwaad als in het bijvak ontwikkelingspsychologie voor toekomstige leraren relatief minder nadruk wordt gelegd op de kleuterjaren en meer op de puberteit.

X

De weinig succesvolle resultaten wat betreft de toepassing van moderne literair-critische methoden op de middelengelse literatuur, zijn deels een gevolg van de aard van het materiaal zelf.

Stellingen behorende bij F. N. M. Diekstra,
A DIALOGUE BETWEEN REASON AND ADVERSITY,
Nijmegen, 1968.

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