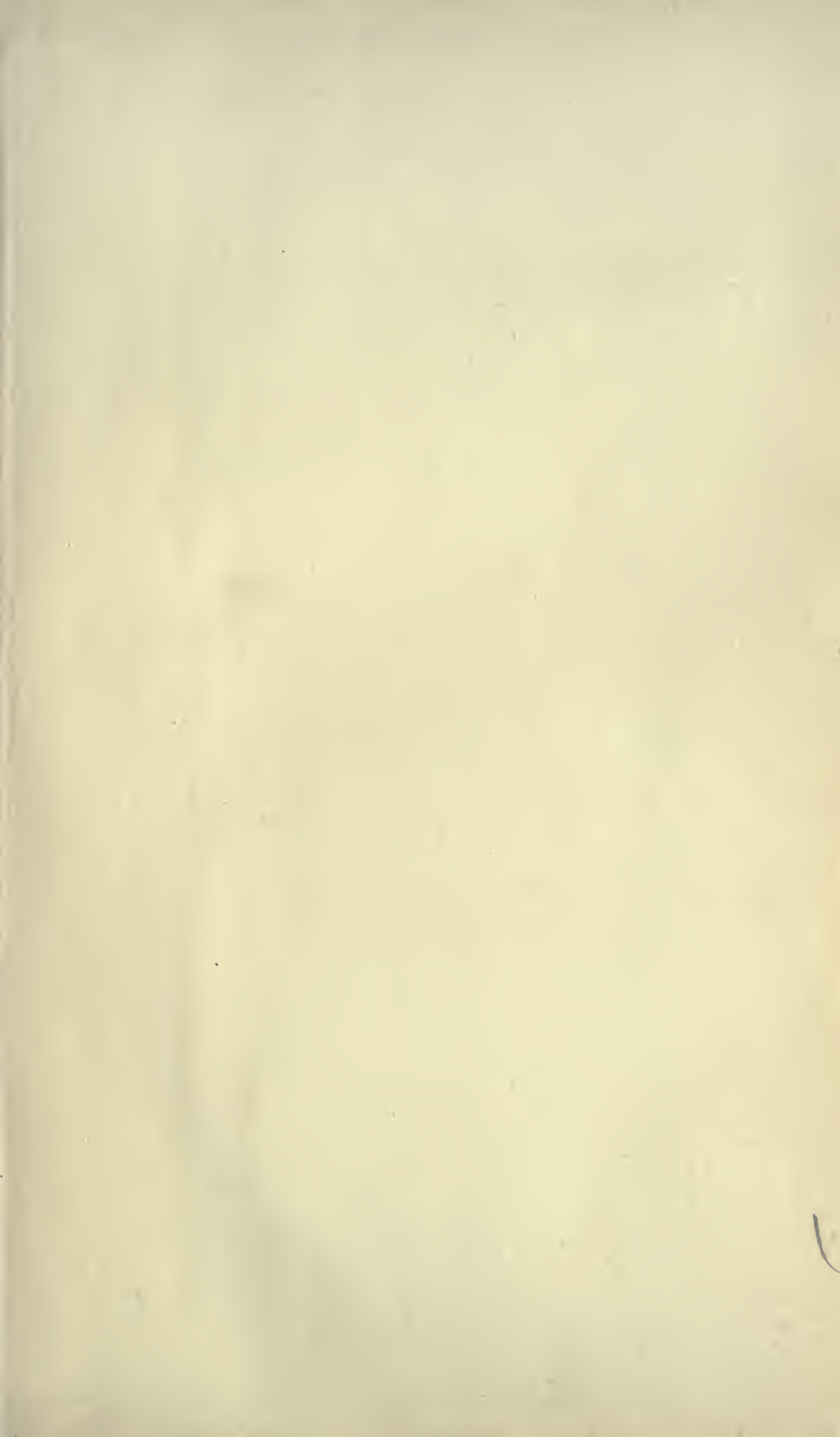


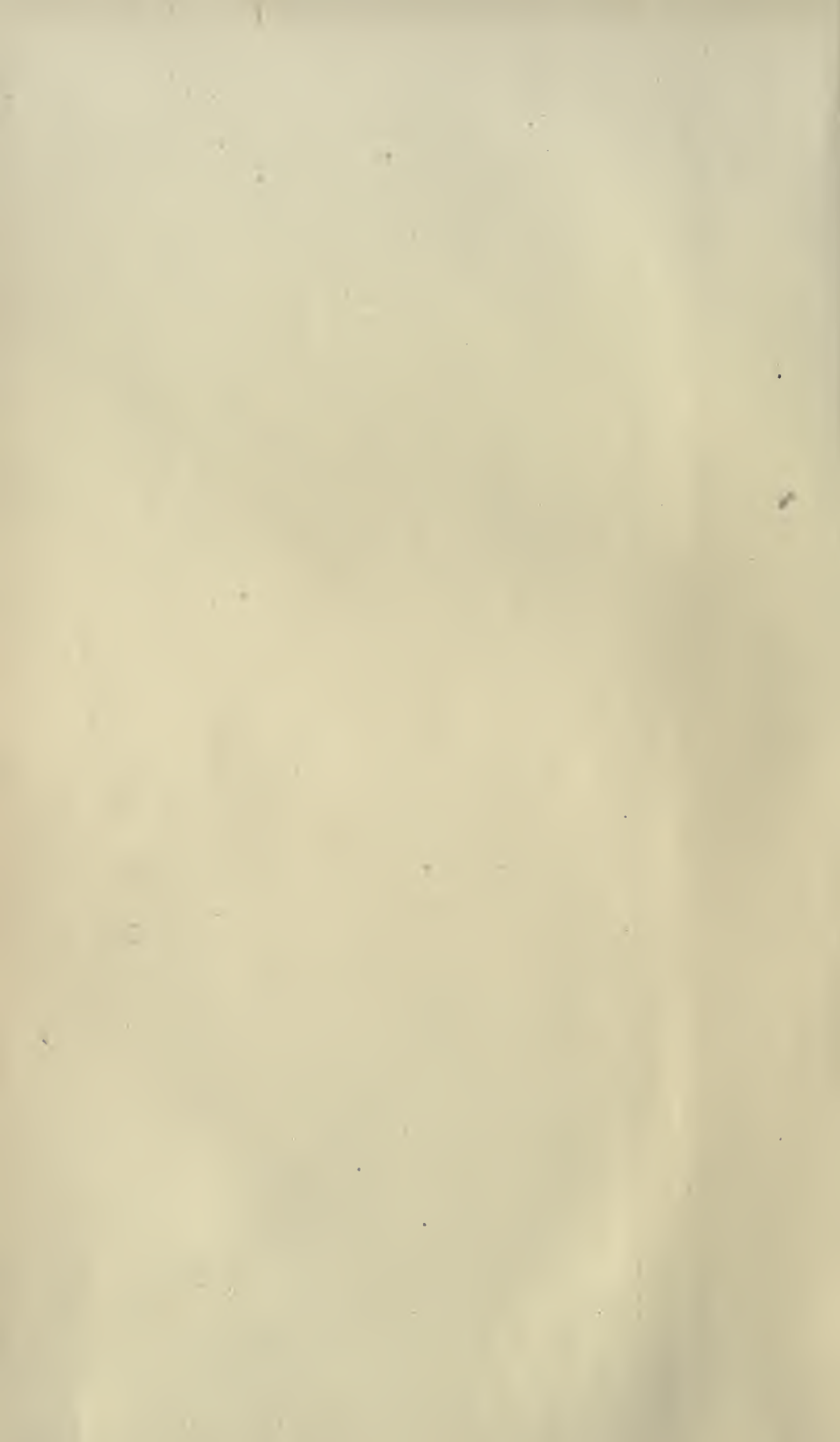
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The Pilgrimage of the Life of Man,

ENGLISHED BY

JOHN LYDGATE, A.D. 1426,

FROM THE FRENCH OF

GUILLAUME DE DEGUILEVILLE, A.D. 1330, 1355.

PART III.

WITH INTRODUCTION, NOTES, GLOSSARY AND INDEXES

BY

KATHARINE B. LOCOCK,

ASSOCIATE OF KING'S COLLEGE, LONDON.

LONDON :

PUBLISHED FOR THE EARLY ENGLISH TEXT SOCIETY

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THE TEXT EDITED BY

F. J. FURNIVALL, M.A. CAMBRIDGE,

HON. DR. PHIL. BERLIN; HON. D. LITT. OXFORD;

FOUNDER AND DIRECTOR OF THE EARLY ENGLISH TEXT SOCIETY.

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PREFACE.

THE text of Lydgate's *Pilgrimage of the Life of Man*, published in 1899, was edited by Dr. Furnivall, having been copied by the late Mr. William Wood, partly side-noted by Mr. J. Meadows Cowper, and more or less revised by the late Mr. G. N. Currie, M.A. Lond. In 1903 I undertook to write Introduction, Notes and Glossary to the poem, and now submit my work, with some diffidence, to the Members of the E. E. T. S.

I have thought it unnecessary to add anything to what has been already written upon the life and character of Lydgate, or to treat of the subject of his grammar. My principal aim in the Introduction has rather been to discuss the relation of the poem to its original, to indicate the character of that original, and to consider the question of Bunyan's suggested debt to Lydgate. It has seemed desirable to offer a few notes concerning Lydgate's Metre, Language and Style, although on these subjects I can hardly hope to supplement materially the researches of previous editors.

The Bibliography is not intended to be exhaustive, my main object in drawing it up having merely been to give the completest possible list of MSS. and old printed books existing in France and England. I have, however, mentioned all the known MSS. of De Guileville's second recension, from which Lydgate's poem was translated. For the information in the Bibliography I am indebted to Professor Stürzinger's edition of De Guileville's first recension, to Dr. Aldis Wright's edition of the Camb. MS. Ff. 5.30, and to the list in *The Ancient Poem of Guillaume de Guileville*, supplemented by my own investigations at the British Museum and the Bodleian Library.

The Table of Contents has been adapted and enlarged from that given in Verard's edition.

Owing to the extreme length of the poem, I have felt it necessary to exercise a strict moderation in writing the notes, and have therefore aimed at little more than the clearing up of the more obscure

allusions, a task in which, I regret to say, I have not always been successful

It only remains for me to express my sincere thanks to those who have assisted me in the work:—to Dr. Skeat, Dr. Murray, the Rev. H. Parkinson, Dom John Chapman, O.S.B., Dr. Furnivall and Lord Aldenham for help in the Notes,—to the last two for various criticisms and suggestions; to Mr. Madan and Mr. Stanley Jones for aid in identifying MSS.; to Miss Batty, of Oxford, for clerical assistance, and to my friend and former tutor, Miss Margaret L. Lee, whose candid criticism and ready help have at once impelled and encouraged me in the execution of my task.

KATHARINE B. LOCOCK.

77, Banbury Road, Oxford,
Dec. 1904.

INTRODUCTION.

I. THE RELATION OF DE GUILLEVILLE'S POEM TO THE *ROMANCE OF THE ROSE*.

IN the colophon to the first version of the *Pèlerinage de la Vie Humaine* De Guileville tells us that his poem was founded upon the *Romance of the Rose*.

“Chi fine li romans du moisne
 Du pelerinage de vie humaine,
 Qui est pour le bon pelerin
 Qui en che monde tel chemin
 Veult tenir qui voise a bon aport
 Et quil ait du ciel le deport,
 Prins sur le roman de la rose
 Ou lart damours est toute enclose.
 Pries pour celui qui le fist,
 Qui la fait faire, et qui lescrist.”

If we only consider the fact that the *Romance of the Rose* is an allegory on the art of love, and that the *Pèlerinage* is an allegory of man's spiritual journey from birth to death, the relation between the two does not appear to be very close; but although the subjects and general aims of the two poems are very different, there are some striking correspondences, both of plan, manner and detail.

The *Romance of the Rose* is too well known for more than a very brief sketch of its general plan to be necessary.

The first part, by Guillaume de Lorris, is a straightforward and simple allegory, in which are described the efforts of a lover to gain his beloved, symbolized by a rosebud. The other characters, who help or hinder the lover, are all allegorical and bear such names as Love, Idleness, Mirth, Largesse, Danger, Jealousy, Malebouche and the like. Besides these, certain evil qualities are described, which are supposed to be painted upon the outside of the wall of the garden in which the Rose is to be found. Among these we may notice Hate, Covetousness, Avarice, Envy.

The spirit of this part of the poem is the spirit of the mediæval

x* *Introduction.* 1. *De Guileville and the Romance of the Rose.*

Courts of Love. It is, indeed, just what the author calls it in his introduction :

“ li Rommanz de la Rose
Où l’art d’Amors est tote enclose.” (ll. 37–8.)

It is of love and the art of love that Guillaume de Lorris writes ; and the connection between this part of the poem and De Guileville’s *Pèlerinage* can only be traced in so far as both are in allegorical form, both describe personified abstractions, and both make use of similar details of description and allegorical conventions. A few specimens of these latter may be given.

In the description of Idleness, G. de Lorris tells us that

“ por garder que ses mains blanches
Ne halaissent, ot uns blans gans.” (ll. 565–6.)

—and in De Guileville’s first version we read that Idleness

“ un gant
Tenoit dont se aloit jouant,
Entour son doi le demenoit,
Et le tournoit et retournoit.”
(Stürzinger, 6525–28.)

Reason, in the *R. de la R.* is spoken of in the following terms :

“ La dame de la haulte garde
Qui de sa tour aval regarde,
C’est raison ainsi appelée,
Or est de sa tour devallée
Et tout droit vers moi est venue,”

while by De Guileville we are told

“ Tantost vers eus une pucelle
Descendit d’une tournelle,
Raison apeler se faisoit.” (Stürzinger, 573–5.)

In the account of Envy in the *R. de la R.* we read :

“ que s’ele cognoissoit
Tot le plus prodome qui soit
Ne deçà mer, ne delà mer,
Si le vorroit ele blasmer.” (ll. 269–72.)

With this may be compared the confession of Envy’s daughter Detraction in the *Pèlerinage* :

“ Je nuis qui sont de sainte vie,
Comme a ceuz qui ne le sont mie.
Se Saint Jehan en terre estoit,
Encor de mon glaive il aroit.”
(Stürzinger, 8669–72.)

There are other correspondences of a similar character, one or two of which have been indicated in the notes ; but when we have made the most of the allègorical form, and of such similarities of detail, we must feel that, if this were all that De Guileville owed to the authors of the *Romance of the Rose*, a comparison of the two poems need not detain us long.

But this was far from all.

In his second recension De Guileville, in the person of the Pilgrim, says to Venus :

“ Pour quoy, dis ie, reputes tien
Le rommant qu’as dit, que scay bien
Qui le fist, et comment ot nom.” (Ver. f. 51.)

These lines are interpreted by Lydgate as meaning that De Guileville knew the author personally, in which case the man he knew must, of course, have been Jean de Meun, not Guillaume de Lorris, who is supposed to have died in 1240, long before De Guileville was born.

Jean de Meun himself died about 1320 when De Guileville was some twenty-five years of age. Thus the acquaintance of the two must needs have covered a period of De Guileville’s life when he would be most open to influences, and most likely to be affected by the character and conversation of such a man of the world as the witty, daring and satirical Jean de Meun.

No doubt he had read and studied Jean de Meun’s continuation of Guillaume de Lorris’s romance. Perhaps the author himself had read it to him, and they had discussed together the many questions in religion, sociology and science with which the poem deals.

Jean de Meun was a reformer and a democrat, an outspoken opponent of the abuses to be found in Church and Society, a man of philosophical mind and practical energy. He was as far as possible removed from the romantic, chivalrous, courtly character of Guillaume de Lorris ; and though he adopted the framework of his predecessor’s poem he filled it up with all the varied detail of an encyclopædic erudition, piling up, one upon another, discussions on alchemy, astrology, and the operations of Nature, on economical and social problems, on religion and hypocrisy, on the duty of mankind, on communistic ideas, on prodigality, the Age of Gold, jealous husbands, Youth and Age, friendship, and many another topic, interspersing all with examples and illustrations drawn from classical tales and recent history. It is in this connec-

tion, above all, that we trace his influence upon De Guileville. We can hardly fail to conclude that the latter adopted from the *R. de la R.* not merely the allegorical framework, the figures of Idleness, Youth, Fortune, Reason, Avarice and the rest, and certain details of description, but also the pose and manner of the man of miscellaneous information and liberal opinions, and that it was in imitation of Jean de Meun that he included in his poem discussions and attacks on matters covering the widest range—astrology and incantations, Nature, abuses in religious orders, social science, usury, fashions in dress—illustrating them as occasion and his education served, with examples from the Scriptures, from the lives of saints, or from current fables and romances.

Of course we must not press the parallel too far. We do not find in the *Pélerinage* the same force and talent that we recognize in the *R. de la R.*—even though De Guileville is not lacking in energy or effectiveness when he attacks those religious abuses which personal experience had brought to his knowledge, or treats of the occupations and social questions with which he must have been familiar in his youth. Nor can we be blind to a very marked difference in the points of view of the two men. De Guileville, after all, was a monk, a man under authority, with all the reverence of such a man for the teaching of his superiors. His views on some theological points—such as progressive revelation and the spiritual character of future retribution and reward—were liberal and advanced in tone, but, for all that, he was capable of flights,—such as that on the putting of men's eyes into their ears,—which would have excited the independent-minded Jean Clopinol to an unholy mirth. On the other hand, the passage in which De Guileville blames the evil-speaking of his predecessor proves that Jean de Meun's tone was often far from congenial to him. Yet in their common love of miscellaneous information and in their opposition, according to their lights, to some of the abuses of the day, their minds clearly held some kinship,—a kinship which, in spite of many differences, is not obscurely indicated in the literary form and occasional tone of the poem we are now considering.

II. THE DIFFERENT VERSIONS OF THE POEM.

THE *Pélerinage de la Vie Humaine* has appeared under many forms, as reference to the list of MSS. will show.

The three French versions are—The first and second recensions

of De Guileville, and the prose transcription made at the request of Jehanne de Laval, Queen of Naples, by Jean Gallopes, dean of the church of St. Louis de la Saulsoye.

There were also several English versions, the first recension of De Guileville's poem having apparently been translated into English prose more than once. Of these versions the MS. in St. John's College, Cambridge, is northern in dialect, and differs considerably from the MS. in the University Library, edited for the Roxburghe Club by Dr. Aldis Wright. The other prose MSS. have not yet been collated, but in a note written in the catalogue of the Laud collection, the opinion is expressed that Laud 740 also differs from the Roxburghe edition, an opinion in which a collation of a few passages enables me to concur.

A condensed English prose version, a copy of which exists in the University Library, Cambridge (Ff. 6. 30), was circulated in the seventeenth century, and Dr. Wright thinks it possible that this version may have been seen by Bunyan.

The most important of the English versions is, of course, the verse translation by Lydgate, which represents De Guileville's second recension. It is in 24,832 lines as compared with the 18,123 lines of the French (Petit's edition). With the exception of Lydgate's Prologue, 184 lines in length, the note on the fanciful derivation of *Glaive*, the illustration from Aristotle's *Elenchus*, two or three other passages indicated in the margin as *Verba Translatoris* and the tribute to Chaucer (p. 527) which are due to Lydgate alone, this excess of between 7000 and 8000 lines is not produced by important additions to the matter, but by amplification in the wording, by the introduction of details and explanations, and by the use of certain literary devices which will be indicated more fully in the chapter on Language and Style.

Several passages of the original French have been given for purposes of comparison in Vols. I. and II. It will be as well however to quote other passages here, alongside the English, in order to render comparison more convenient.

A typical passage is that in which the heavenly Jerusalem is described, in 36 lines in the French, in 45 by Lydgate.

En lan que iay dit par deuant,
Auis me fut en mon dormant,
Que daler iestoye excite
En iherusalem la cite,
La ou estoit tout mon couraige.

The seyde yer (ho lyst take kepe
I was avysed in my slepe
Excyted eke, and that a-noon,
To Ierusalem for to goon.
Gretly meved in my corage

Dy faire le pelerinaige
 Fichie du tout entierement
 La cause estoit et mouvement
 Pource que la cite veioie
 En ung beau miroer quauoye,

 Qui de loing la representoit

 Dedens luy, et la me monstroit.

 Il nest nulle cite si belle,
 Ne qui de rien lui soit pareille ;
 Masson en fut seulement dieu,

 Nul autre ne feroit tel lieu.

 Car les chemins et les alces,
 Dor fin estoient toutes paues,

 En hault assis son fundement

 Estoit, et son massonnement
 De vives pierres fait estoit,
 Et hault mur entour la clooit,

 Dessus lesquelz anges estoient
 Qui tout temps le guet y faisoient
 Et gardoient tres bien que lentree
 Nullement fut abandonnee,
 Fors au pelerins seulement
 Qui y venoient deuotement.
 Leans auoit moult de mansions,
 De lieux et dabitacions ;
 Illec estoit toute liesse
 Et toute ioye sans tristesse.
 La pour men passer briefuement

 Auoit chascun communement
 De tous biens plus que demander
 Jamais ne pourroit ne penser.

ffor to do my pilgrimage
 And ther-to steryd inwardly.
 And to tell the causè why
 Was, ffor me thouht I hadde a syht
 With-Inne a merour large & bryht,
 Off that hevenly ffayr cite
 Wych representede unto me
 Ther-of holy the manere
 With Inne the glas ful bryht & cler
 And werrayly, as thouhtè me
 yt excellde of bewte
 Al other in comparyson ;
 ffor God hym self was the masown,
 wych mad yt layr, at ys devys.
 ffor werkman was ther noon so wys,
 yt to conceyve in his entent ;
 ffor al the wayës & paament
 Wer ypavyd all off gold.
 And in the sawter yt ys told,
 How the ffyrst ffundacyon,
 On hyllys off devocyon
 The masounry wrought ful clene,
 Of quykè stonys bryht and schene
 Wyth a closour rovnd a-bowte
 Off enmyes, ther was no dowte
 ffor Aungelles the wach y-kepte
 The wych, day nor nyht ne slepte,
 Kepyng so strongly the entre
 That no wyht kam in that cyte
 But pylgrimes, day nor nyht,
 That thyder wentyn evene ryht.
 And ther were meny mansyovns
 Placys, and habytacyovns ;
 And ther was also al gladnesse,
 loye with-uten hewynesse.
 And pleynly, who that haddè grace
 ffor to entren in that place,
 ffond, onto hys pleasavnce
 Off loye al maner suffysavnce
 That eny hertè kan devyse.

To give a few more examples. Deguileville's Prologue in Verard's edition consists of 103 lines. In Lydgate it is 123 lines. The first 18 lines of Verard, corresponding to the first 25 of Lydgate, deal with the subject of dreams. There is no diversity of matter in the two versions, but Lydgate's rendering is rather a paraphrase of Deguileville than a translation, as the following extract will show

“Souventes foys il aduient bien,
 Quant on a sōge quelque rien,
 Quon y pense sur lesueiller ;
 Et sil ne souvient au premier
 De tout le songe proprement,
 Bien aduient que son y entent

Quapres a plain il en souvient.
 Et tout a memoire reuient,
 Au leuer on est sommeilleux
 Et sont les sens si pareceux
 Que son songe point on nentent
 Si non en groz sommierement ;
 Mais quant on sest bien aduise
 Et on ya apres pense,
 Lors en souvient il plus a plain
 Mais qu'on nactende au lendemain,
 Car trop actendre le feroit
 Oblier et nen souuiendrait."

The description of Spring in the French, which will be given later, is 22 lines long, while in Lydgate it occupies 47 lines, but this is rather an unusual amplification. Certain lines, such as ll. 3456–3461, have no counterpart in the French original, the revivifying power of Spring is described with much greater detail, while the reference to Solomon which in the French only takes up two lines, occupies ll. 3486–3492 in Lydgate. With reference to this passage it must be remembered, however, that phrases descriptive of Spring were the current coin of the fourteenth and early fifteenth century poets, and that no writer of that age could control his pen when he came to write on this subject. Youth's description of herself occupies 52 lines in the French and 80 in Lydgate. The middle portion of this description from l. 11151 to l. 11177 keeps fairly close to the French, though it is in parts slightly amplified, and in others slightly compressed, but the first ten French lines are represented by 17 English (ll. 11133–11150), which, while they contain the same idea, contain also various developments and alterations of expression as well as inversions of order :

11133–34	"Jeunesse iay nom la legiere,	
11140	{ La giberesse, la coursiere,	
	{ La sauterelle, la saillant,	
11144	Qui tout dangier ne prise ung gant.	
11142	Je vois, ie viens, ie saulx, ie vole,	
11146	Jesperlingue, tourne et carolle,	
11147	Je trepe et cours et danse et bale	
	Et si vois a la Vitafale ;	
11141	Je luyte et saulx fossez pieds ioincts	
11150	Et iecte la pierre au plus loings."	(fol. xliii, back.)

As nearly as I can make out, the lines whose numbers I have given correspond to the French, but there still remain eight lines in

the English which have no French equivalent, and add a touch or two to the character of Youth, such as :

“And I kan wynse ageyn the prykke.
As wylde coltys in Arras,
Or as bayard out off the tras,
Tyl I a lassa haue off the whyppe.”

The account of the games played by Youth is very much amplified in the English. Deguileville mentions only seven sports.

“Ung esteuf me faust pour iouer
Et une croce pour soler,
Autre croce nauray ie mye,
Si ce nest past trop grant folie,
Car tenir ie ne men pourroye
De voleter, ne me Voulroye ;
Et encor ne suis ie pas soule
De maler iouer a la boule,
Daler quiller, daler biller
Et de iouer au mareiller.”

In Lydgate's 18 corresponding lines (11181-98), however, there are seventeen different kinds of game or amusement mentioned, including fishing, hunting, card games, and the reading of fables.

We must not forget, however, that sometimes Lydgate omits details which are given by De Guileville, or only touches upon points which De Guileville deals with at some length. A good example of this is the description of the various fashions in dress due to Pride. In Lydgate this only takes up six lines (ll. 14081-14086).

“I ffond up fyrst, devyses newe,
Rayes of many sondry hewe ;
Off short, off long, I ffond the guyse ;
Now streight, now large, I kan devyse,
That men sholde, for syngulerte
Beholde and lokyn upon me.”

In Verard's version this runs as follows :

“Nouvelletez se font par moy ;
A mon sens seullement ie croy.
Je fais chaperons pourfiletz,
De soye et dor entrelacez,
Chapeaulx, huppes, coquuz loquuz,
A marmousez platz ou crestuz,
Estroictes cottes par les flans,
Manches a panonceaulx pendans ;
A blanc surcot fais rouge manche,
A col et a poitrine blanche

Pride makes
embroidered
hats and caps,
high crests,
hanging
sleeves,
and coloured
coats.

Robe tres bien escoletee
 Pour mieulx veue estre et regardee ;
 Vestemens trop cours ou trop longs,
 Trop grans, trop petiz chaperons,
 Les houzeaulx petiz et estroiz ;
 Du si grans quon en feroit trois ;
 Graile ceinture ou large trop
 Dont se parent voire li clop,
 Le boiteux et esparueigne,
 Borgne, bossu, et meshaingne ;
 Telz choses fais pource que vueil
 Que chascun ait vers moy son oeil."

Very long or
 very short
 garments,
 and very
 large or very
 small hoods,
 boots and
 girdles

with which
 the halt,
 the blind,
 the lame and
 other cripples
 adorn them-
 selves.

(fol. lv.)

Some further details as to the development of the French original will be given in the chapter on Lydgate's Language and Style, but for the present these examples will be enough to show the manner in which he carried out his translation.

III. THE RELATION OF DE GUILLEVILLE'S TWO VERSIONS TO ONE ANOTHER.

We may now turn to the question as to how the second recension of De Guileville's poem is related to the first.

For the purposes of this comparison I have made use of Stürzinger's edition of the first version (Roxb. Club), and Verard's edition of the second, published in Paris in 1511.

The main features distinguishing the second version from the first may be placed in four categories.

A. The actual additions of arguments, episodes, characters, or other elements.

B. The amplification and elaboration of passages or ideas.

C. The absence of certain details mentioned in the first version.

D. Differences in the sequence of episodes which occur in both versions, and certain differences of detail.

A. The principal additions are as follows :

1. The discourse on dreams in the Prologue (Lydgate, l. 185-209), the description of the loss and re-writing of the poem (227-273), and the envoy to the poem (274-302).

In the second French the Prologue takes up 94 lines, but in the first version it only occupies 34 lines as follows :

"A ceuz de ceste region
 Qui point n'i ont de mansion
 Ains y sont tous com dit Saint Pol,
 Riche, povre, sage et fol,

Soient roys, soient roynes,
 Pelerins et pelerines,
 Une vision veul nuncier
 Qui en dormant m'avint l'autrier.
 En veillant avoie leu,
 Considere et bien veu
 Le biau roumans de la Rose.
 Bien croi que ce fu la chose
 Qui plus m'esmut a ce songier
 Que ci apres vous vueil nuncier.
 Or (i) viengnent pres et se arroutent
 Toute gent et bien escoutent,
 Ne soit nul et ne soit nule
 Qui arriere point recule ;
 Avant se doivent touz bouter,
 Touz asseoir et escouter.
 Grans et petits la vision
 Touche sans point de excepcion.
 En franchoise toute mise l'ai
 A ce que l'entendent li lai.
 La pourra chascun aprendre
 La quel voie on doit prendre,
 La quel guerpier et delessier.
 C'est chose qui a bien mestier
 A ceuz qui pelerinage
 Font en cest monde sauvage.
 Or entendez la vision
 Qui m'avint en religion
 A l'abbaye de Chaalit,
 Si com jestoie en mon lit." (Stürzinger's ed.)

2. The description of the pains of the martyrs who desired to enter Jerusalem, and of the manner in which they must enter (Ver. fol. ii, back ; Lyd. ll. 365-466).

3. The discussion on baptism and original sin (Ver. fol. iv, back, f. ; Lyd. 967-1290), the mention of the Pilgrim's godfather Guyllyam and of the black bird that escapes from the Pilgrim's breast (Ver. fol. vi, back ; Lyd. 1291-1344).

4. The Story on the Peril of Cursing (Ver. x, back ; Lyd. 2561-2602).

5. The passage containing the Pilgrim's assertion that some who have no subjects yet bear the sword, and Reason's explanation concerning the delegation of power (Ver. xii ; Lyd. 3072-3230).

6. The Testament of Jesus Christ, containing the bequest of His Soul and Body ; of His Mother to St. John, together with the

virtue of Perseverance; of His Blood and Wounds for Salvation, and of His Word and Laws (Ver. xvii, back; Lyd. 4782-4869).

This is all absent from the first version which only contains the bequest of peace.

7. The dialogue between Grace Dieu and the Pilgrim concerning the five senses and the transfer of eyes to ears (Ver. xxii, f.; Lyd. 6241-6581).

8. Three Latin poems on the Articles of the Creed (Ver. xxiv, f.; Lyd. pp. 185-190), on God in Trinity (Ver. xxvii, back, f.; Lyd. pp. 194-199), and on the Virgin Mary (Ver. xxix, back, f.; Lyd. pp. 199-201).

9. The explanation of why no armour for the legs is given to the Pilgrim (Ver. xxxiv; Lyd. ll. 8073-8100).

10. The gift of the stones and sling of David to the Pilgrim, and the meaning of the stones (Ver. xxxv, f.; Lyd. 8423-8686).

11. The discourse of Moral Virtue, who shows the Pilgrim the gate and posterns and speaks of virtues and their attendant vices (Ver. xlv, back, f.; Lyd. 11737-11954).

12. A long passage, containing the interview of the Pilgrim with Mortification of the Body, and the vision of the Wheel of Lust, with an account of the movements of the planets (Ver. xlvi, f.; Lyd. 11955-12673).

13. The Pilgrim's conversation with Venus concerning the *Romance of the Rose* (Ver. li, f.; Lyd. 13200-13292), and the episode of the Stranger maltreated by Venus (Ver. lii, back; Lyd. 13545-13651).

14. The *Prayer to the Virgin* (Ver. lxiii, back, f.; Lyd. pp. 437-456). This prayer, which in Verard's edition is given in Latin, replaces a short prayer to God which takes up 26 lines in Stürzinger.

15. Necromancy and her Messenger and the discussion between the Pilgrim and the Messenger concerning the invocation of spirits (Ver. lxxii, back, f.; Lyd. 18471-18924).

16. In Stürzinger, the five perils in the sea, Cyrtes, Charybdis, Scilla, Bythalassus, and Sirena, are described in ll. 11887-11970. In Verard and Lydgate all these are personified, and we find long accounts, with many incidents, details and arguments, of Fortune and her Wheel, representing Charybdis (Ver. lxxvi, back, f.; Lyd. 19423-19676): of Astrology and her scholars, representing Cyrtes (Ver. lxxx, f.; Lyd. 19989-20810): of Sorcery, with her face Physiognomy and her hand Chiromancy, who represents Bythalassus

(Ver. lxxxiv, back, f. ; Lyd. 21047-21312) : of Conspiracy and her hounds, representing Scilla (Ver. lxxxvi, f. ; Lyd. 21328-21458) : and of Worldly Gladness, with his revolving tower, who represents Sirena (Ver. lxxxvi, back, f. ; Lyd. 21473-21670). These are followed by a lamentation and prayer of the Pilgrim (Ver. lxxxvii, back ; Lyd. 21671-21716).

17. The character of Impatient Poverty (Ver. xciii, f. ; Lyd. 22715-22772).

18. The assault of Envy and her daughters on the convent, the Pilgrim's lamentation after the attack, the attempt of Ovid to comfort him, the Pilgrim's complaint, in the form of an acrostic on his name, and the return and proclamation of the King (Ver. xcv, f. ; Lyd. 23037-23359). This passage, however, includes the incident of the horse Good Renown (Ver. xcv ; Lyd. 23067-23150), which occurs in the first version on the occasion of the first fight of the Pilgrim with Envy and her daughters (Stürz. l. 8685, f.).

19. The Pilgrim's visit to convents, where he sees many abuses (Ver. xcvi, f. ; Lyd. ll. 23360-23996).

20. The character of Apostasy (Ver. ci, f. ; Lyd. 24002-24126).

21. The coming of Prayer and Alms to show the Pilgrim the way to Jerusalem (Ver. civ, back, f. ; Lyd. 24558-24700), which passage includes the story of the King who only reigned for one year.

22. Besides these passages, the dove of Grace Dieu, which at various times brings comfort or help to the Pilgrim, is found only in the second recension.

B. The amplification and elaboration of incidents and ideas is very marked throughout the whole poem, although we do occasionally find passages which are almost identical in the two French versions. It would, of course, be impossible to mention every passage that has been enlarged, but I have drawn up a list of some of the principal ones, and have also made a few extracts from the two French versions in order to give a general idea of the relation of the second recension to the first in those passages where no serious alterations or extensions have been made. Such a passage is the one on Spring, which I will give in parallel columns, with figures indicating the relation of the second recension to Lydgate's paraphrase.

1st Version (Stürzinger)	2nd Version (Verard)	
1567-1580		Lydgate
Nouvelles choses faiz venir	Nouvelles choses faiz venir	3449
Et les viez choses departir	Et vielles choses departir	3450

1st Version (Stürzinger)	2nd Version (Verard)	Lydgate
La terre de mes robes est	La terre de mes robes est	} 3451
Et en printemps tous jours la vest	Paree en printemps, ie la vest	
	Demy party d'herbe florie	} (3452)
	De rouge, de vert, de soucye	
	Et de toutes belles couleurs	3453
	Quon peut trouver en belles fleurs	
Aux arbres donne vestemens	Aux arbres donne paremens	} 3462-67
Contre l'este et paremens	Et contre leste Vestemens	
Puis si les refaiz despoillier	Puis si les refais despoiller	} 3468-
Contre l'iver pour eus tailler	Contre liuer pour les tailler	
Autres robes et cotelles	Autres robes autres cotelles	} 74
A ce semblant tout(es) nouvelles	Telles comme deuant nouvelles	
N(i) a bruyere ne geneste	Il nest bruyere ne geneste	} 3475-
N'autre arbricel que ne (re)veste.	Nabriceau que ie ne reueste	
	De mes robes bien floretees	3485
	Et tres gaiement desguisees	} 3486-
Onques ne vesti Salemon	Onques ne vestit salomon	
Tel robe com vest un buysson.	Tel robe que fait ung boisson	3492

The description of the Heavenly Jerusalem, taken from Verard, has already been given (p. xiii*), and it may be interesting to compare with it the description in the first version :

" Avis m'ert si com dormoie
 Que je pelerin estoie
 Qui d'aler estoie excite
 En Jherusalem la cite.
 En un mirour, ce me sembloit,
 Qui sanz mesure grans estoit
 Celle cite aparceue
 Avoie de loing et veue.
 Mont me sembloit de grant atour
 Celle cite ens et entour,
 Les chemins et les alees
 D'or en estoient pavees,
 En haut assis son fondement
 Estoit et son maconnement
 De vives pierres fait estoit
 Et haut mur entour la clooit.
 Mont i avoit de mansions,
 De lieus et d'abitacions.
 La estoit toute leece,
 Toute joie sans tristece.
 Illuec, pour passer m'en briefment,
 Avoit chascun generaument
 De tout bien plus que demander
 Jamais ne sceust ne penser." (ll. 35-58.)

We may now turn to the more important amplifications, which are fairly numerous. Among the chief of these are :

1. The extension of the incident of the marriage of two Pilgrims. In the first French this only occupies 17 lines (802-818), but the second French and Lydgate relate at some length the approach of the two, their request to the official, and his advice to them, the whole incident taking up ll. 1905-1979 in Lydgate, and 40 lines in Verard (fol. viii, back).

2. The complaint of the Pilgrim because Grace Dieu is given to others. In Stürzinger this only consists of a few words :

“Quant celle parole je ouy
Courroucie fu et esbahy.
En disant ‘ha las!’ que feray
S’ainsi Grace Dieu perdue ay?
Donnee l’a ce cornuaus
A ces novviaux officiaus
Asses miex amasse estre mort
Que point m’en eust fait tel tort.”

(ll. 1021-1028.)

In Lydgate this is expanded into 38 lines, which contain the expression of the Pilgrim’s first astonishment, his fear that no one would now give him a scrip and staff, and his address to Grace Dieu (ll. 2296-2332). In Verard the passage contains the same elements, but only consists of 20 lines (fol. x).

3. The passage about the blood-drops on the scrip is much extended, especially that part in which Grace Dieu laments that now-a-days there are none to put themselves in jeopardy for the faith, although there are some who boast that they are ready to do so. This passage is represented in Stürzinger by a few lines :

“Et bien te di que, se nouvelles
Fussent les gouttes, a bien belles
Les tenisses, mais lonc tens a
Que de son sanc nul n’i sema.
Les saignies si sont passees.” (ll. 3635-3639.)

In the second French this passage is 40 lines in length. It is given here as a good example of the way in which De Guileville amplified his first recension, as well as for purposes of comparison with Lydgate.

“Ceste escharpe est de verd couleur,
Car tout ainsi que la verdeur
Reconforte lueil et la veue
Et lesioyst moult et lague
Aussi fait foy bon pelerin ;
Car ia ne sera en chemin

As green
comforts the
eye, so faith
comforts the
pilgrim.

Se bien regarde sa verdeur
 Qu'en luy nait plus forte vigueur.
 Mesmement car elle est semee
 De sang tres vermeil et goutee,
 Et ny a goute si petite
 Qui trop mieulx d'une marguerite
 Ne vaille et qui plus precieuse
 Ne soit et trop plus vertueuse.
 Tres grant vigueur verdeur luy donne ;
 Le sang esmeut at achoisonne
 De prendre cueur et faire ainsi
 Que les glorieulx martirs, qui
 Trop mieulx amerent a respandre
 Leur sang pour leur foy fort deffendre,
 Quaucunement leur feust ostee
 Pour sa vertu qu'auoient goustee.
 Cest pour te donner exemplaire
 Que se tu trouues qui soustraire,
 La te vueille point ne oster
 Auant occire et decouper
 Te laisses plus tost que ten voyes
 Descharpey, car trop y perdroies.
 Bien scay que pieca les saignees
 Sen font en alees et passees,
 Car cherubin, comme tu vis,
 A son glaive ou fourreau remis.
 Nul ne se veult plus opposer
 Aux tirans, pour la foy garder.
 Bien dient les aucuns quilz yront
 Quant leur ventre remply bien ont
 Et iurent et se font croiser,
 Mais quant ce vient a lexploicter
 Nest rien si froit, tout est perdu,
 Plus ne deuroit tel estre creu."

The scrip is
 spotted with
 drops of
 blood, which
 are more
 precious than
 pearls.

The green
 gives vigour.
 The blood
 incites the
 Pilgrim to
 do as did
 the glorious
 martyrs who
 died for their
 faith,

and gives him
 an example
 that he should
 suffer himself
 to be killed
 rather than
 try to escape
 by giving up
 the scrip of
 faith.

Cherubin
 lets martyrs
 enter heaven
 freely.
 Now none
 will oppose
 tyrants for
 faith's sake.

People pre-
 tend to be
 Christians,
 but will not
 act as such.

(Ver. fol. xxiii, back.)

4. Sloth's two ropes, Sloth and Negligence, and her five cords—
 1. Hope of Long Life, 2. Foolish Fear, 3. Shame, 4. Hypocrisy, 5.
 Despair—are described in Lydgate in a passage extending from
 l. 13857 to l. 13948. In Verard (fol. liii, back, f.) a similar de-
 scription is given, but in Stürzinger only three cords are mentioned
 and described, viz. Negligence, Laschete or Fetardie (ll. 7208–7210),
 and Desperation (l. 7230.)

5. In the description of Avarice's hand, Treachery, there are
 various developments. Putting aside those due merely to extra
 wordiness, the most important is the short passage on the baptism of
 dead children and the trickery to which the priest resorts, which

has no counterpart in Stürzinger. The account of this practice, however, has not been translated by Lydgate. The whole description of the hand, which takes up 70 lines in Stürzinger (9905–9974), extends to 92 lines in Verard, and to just over 100 in Lydgate.

This list contains some of the most important enlargements of the first version, but there are, of course, many other passages which bear a similar character.

C. Passages and details which are present in Stürzinger, but which are absent or much shorter in the second French and in Lydgate. The number of these is not very large. We may mention first:

1. Nature's assertion that she is necessary to Grace Dieu and Grace Dieu's answer. This precedes Nature's submission in Stürzinger, so we might expect to find it after l. 3935 in Lydgate. However, Nature's argument is altogether absent, both from the second French and from Lydgate, though part of Grace Dieu's answer is absorbed into her long speech about her power, which extends from p. 97 to p. 104, in the English poem.

A few lines of Nature's argument may be quoted:

“Comme ne puet ouvrer,
Ne maison bonne edefier.
Le charpentier sans sa congnie,
Tout aussi ne devez vous mie
Nulle chose sans moi faire
Se vous ne voulez mefaire.”

(Stürzinger, 1877–1881.)

2. The complaint of the Pilgrim that his staff is not tipped with iron and Grace Dieu's answer:

“Toutevoies me deplaisoit
Du bourdon, que ferre n'estoit.
Dame, dis jē a Grace Dieu,
Je ne me puis tenir, par Dieu.
Que ne vous die mon pense
De ce bourdon qu'il n'est pas ferre;
Bien m'en desplaist, se sachiez vous,
Pour autres que voi ferrez tous;
Si me dites, se vous voulez,
Pour quoi tel baillie le m'avez!”

(Stürzinger, 3753–3762.)

To this Grace Dieu answers that the pommels will hold him up, and that a staff with an iron point is heavier and is liable to stick fast in marshy places. The Pilgrim replies that he needs it for

defence, and Grace Dieu tells him that the staff is to lean on, not to fight with, and that she will give him armour for defence.

3. "Tel Contenance ainsi doublee
D'aucuns Gaignepains est nommee,
Quar par li est gaignie le pain
Par qui rempli est cuer humain ;
Et ce fu figure piec'a
Ou pain que David demanda,
Quar Achimelech ottroier
Ne lui vout onques ne baillier
Devant quil sceut que engantez
Des Gaignepains fust et armez."

(Stürzinger, 4213-4222.)

This passage, which comes in the account of the Gloves of Contenance, has nothing corresponding to it in the second French and in Lydgate.

There are several other differences in the two accounts of the armour. For instance, the description of the girdle has less detail in Verard and Lydgate, and the Pilgrim's unwillingness to have the scabbard and girdle is not mentioned.

4. The refusal of the Pilgrim to wear armour, and Grace Dieu's rebuke and explanation of the difference between his case and that of David (Stürzinger, pp. 140-147). All the latter part of this is absent from Verard and from Lydgate's version, in which Grace Dieu consents to allow the Pilgrim to use the stones and sling of David, instead of wearing armour all the time.

5. In the argument between Reason and Rude Entendement, Reason scorns the latter and tells him :

- "Je tenoie une opinion
Que n'est pas un moi et mon non,
Quar de mon non se puet parer
Chascun larron qui va embler ;
Et pour ce' aussi de vous cuidoie
Quar pas apris encor n'avoie
Que vous et Rude Entendement
Fussiez tout un conjointement ;
Mais or voi bien, sans soupeon,
Qu'estes un sans distinction.
Vos exemples le m'ont apris
Et vos dis qui sont si soultis ;
Par vos paroles proprement
Sai qu'estes Rude Entendement.

Plus arguer vous ne pouez
Que seulement ainsi nommez
Soiez, quar par existence
Ce estes sans point de differencë."

(Stürzinger, 5365-5382.)

This jeer is not represented in Verard and in Lydgate, although, in the course of the conversation Reason addresses Rude Entendement in a sarcastic manner, but in different terms. (Lyd. 10713-10723.)

6. In Stürzinger (6694-6735) there is a short conversation between the Pilgrim and his body, in which the latter advises him not to listen to Labour's counsel to take the right-hand path, but to choose instead the path of Idleness, and answers the Pilgrim's objections by telling him that the dividing hedge will easily be passed when he wishes. In Verard and Lydgate it is Youth, not Body, who turns the Pilgrim aside (Ver. xlv, back; Lyd. 11549-11574), the Pilgrim makes no objections, and nothing is said about getting through the hedge.

7. Body's Counsel is discussed by Idleness and the Pilgrim (Stürzinger, 6769-6826). This conversation is also absent from Verard and Lydgate.

8. Grace Dieu rebukes the Pilgrim for listening to Idleness and for going on the wrong side of the hedge (Stürzinger, 6905-6992). In Verard and Lydgate the interview of the Pilgrim with Idleness is followed by the long episodes of Moral Virtue and Mortification of the Body, and the rebuke is absent.

9. The short prayer made by the Pilgrim after the attack of Tribulation, which begins:

"Merci, dis je, douz createur!
En ma tristece, en ma douleur,
Defaillant ne me soiez mie!
Se par Jeunece ai ma vie
Une piece use folement." (Stürzinger, 12283, f.)

—is absent from Lydgate, and is replaced by the prayer according to St. Bernard. In Verard's edition this is given in full, in Latin, but in Petit's it is abbreviated.

10. In Stürzinger (12623-12632) the Pilgrim is struck by the Porter, Fear of God, on entering the monastery, in order that he may find

"equipollence
De la haie de Penitance." (Stürzinger, 12607-8.)

—as Grace Dieu has promised him. In Verard and Lydgate the Porter lets him in freely, on hearing that his intent “Is to do servyse to the Kyng.” (Lyd. 22178.)

Lydgate does not translate the last lines of the poem, in which the poet describes how he wakes from his dream, and begs his readers to correct anything they may find amiss in his work. This passage, however, is present in De Guileville’s second version, and is printed by Dr. Furnivall at the end of Lydgate’s poem.

D. Under this head are included differences in the sequence of episodes and differences of detail.

1. The Pilgrim’s protests against wearing armour precede the giving of the armour in the second version (Ver. xxx, back; Lyd. 7237–7248 and 7267–7270). In Stürzinger there are no objections beforehand.

2. Grace Dieu’s rebuke to the Pilgrim for refusing to wear armour occurs in Stürzinger before the coming of the armour-bearer, Memory, and before the actual removal of the armour (p. 142). In the second version the rebuke is inserted in two places, just before the Pilgrim casts off the armour (Ver. xxxiv, back, f.; Lyd. 8283–8296), and after the coming of Memory (Ver. xxxvi, back; Lyd. pp. 246–247). There is, however, considerable difference of detail in the different versions, and, in fact, that passage in Lydgate in which Grace Dieu accuses the Pilgrim of unmanliness and cowardice has no exact counterpart in Stürzinger, and is much shorter in Verard.

3. In the first version the armour-bearer, Memory, is given to the Pilgrim immediately after Grace Dieu’s rebuke to him for removing his armour (Stürzinger, p. 149 f.), but in the second Grace Dieu first brings him the stones and sling of David, and only then presents Memory to him (Ver. xxxvi; Lyd. p. 242).

4. In Verard and Lydgate these episodes are followed by a long conversation between Grace Dieu and the Pilgrim on Body and Soul and their mutual enmity, and by the release of the Pilgrim from his body for a season (Ver. xxxvii f.; Lyd. pp. 248–281). In Stürzinger (p. 179) this conversation takes place between the Pilgrim and Reason, and, moreover, the whole episode is placed after the meeting with Rude Entendement, instead of just before, as in the second version.

5. After leaving Rude Entendement, the meeting with Youth follows in the second version (Ver. xliii; Lyd. pp. 303–307), after which comes the episode of the two paths divided by the hedge of

Penitence. In Stürzinger (p. 203 f.) this episode follows on the discourse about Body and Soul, and Youth is not introduced until much later (p. 368 f.), just after the description of Satan the hunter, and before the enumeration of the five perils in the sea.

There are some other slight differences in this part,—for instance, in the second version it is Youth that makes the Pilgrim turn towards the wrong path, while in the first it is Body. Also, in the second, Idleness tells him that Penance planted the hedge (Ver. xlv; Lyd. ll. 11689–11723), whereas in Stürzinger (p. 217) Grace Dieu tells him this, after he has started on the wrong path.

6. The episode of the horse, Good Renown, has already been referred to. In the first version it forms a part of the passage describing the first attack of Envy (Stürzinger, p. 270), in the second of the passage describing the attack of Envy on the monastery (Ver. xc v f.; Lyd. pp. 616–617).

7. In Stürzinger the threats of Wrath (p. 273–278) are followed by Memory's rebuke to the Pilgrim for not wearing his armour, and by the coming of Avarice (p. 282 f.), while in the second version Memory's rebuke is absent and Wrath's attack is followed by the coming of Tribulation (Ver. lxii f.; Lyd. pp. 425–436), by St. Bernard's Prayer, and then by the meeting with Avarice (Ver. lxvii f.; Lyd. pp. 460–493).

8. In Stürzinger (pp. 318 f.), after the episode of Avarice, the Pilgrim is attacked by Gluttony and Venus, and robbed of his staff. He laments, and Grace Dieu appears to him in a cloud and restores it to him, afterwards giving him a "scripture" which contains an A B C poem to the Virgin. In the second version Gluttony and Venus attack him much earlier, immediately before the coming of Sloth, and after the vision of the Wheel of Sensuality (Ver. xlix, back f.; Lyd. pp. 346–367). There is no loss of the staff, and the A B C comes between the incident of Fortune and her Wheel and the appearance of Astronomy-Astrology (Ver. lxxviii f.; Lyd. pp. 526–533).

9. Following on the A B C comes the bath of Repentance in Stürzinger (p. 351 f.). In the second version this comes after the appearance of the Ship of Grace Dieu (Ver. lxxxviii, back f.; Lyd. pp. 582–585).

10. Next come in Stürzinger (p. 357 f.) the description of the sea of the world and of the hunter Satan, the appearance of Heresy and Grace Dieu's explanation of the meaning of the sea of the world and the hunter. (In Verard and Lydgate Satan himself gives this explana-

ation.) In the second version, after the interview with Avarice, we find the episode of the Messenger of Necromancy (absent from Stürzinger), the appearance of Heresy, the description of the sea of the world, of the Hunter and of Fortune's Wheel, the Pilgrim's lament and the A B C. (Ver. lxxii-lxxix, back ; Lyd. pp. 494-533.)

11. As before said, the episode of Youth is inserted at p. 368 f. in Stürzinger, and is followed by the enumeration of the five perils in the sea (pp. 371-374). In Ver. (lxxx-lxxxvii, back) and Lydgate (pp. 534-578) we find the descriptions of four of the perils, that of Fortune, or Charybdis, having already been given.

12. Next in Stürzinger (pp. 374-380) comes Tribulation, and a short prayer of the Pilgrim to God. In the second version Tribulation, and St. Bernard's Prayer, replacing the short prayer, come between Wrath and Avarice (Ver. lvii-lxvi ; Lyd. pp. 425-458).

13. Tribulation's departure is followed in Stürzinger (p. 388 f.) by the arrival of the Ship of Grace Dieu. This comes in the second version after the peril of the Syren or Worldly Gladness, and is combined with the episode of the Bath of Penitence (Ver. lxxxviii-lxxxix, back ; Lyd. pp. 579-590).

14. Here, once more, the two versions begin to run more closely together.

The Pilgrim enters the monastery and meets various ladies, who are described, though their number and the order in which they are introduced differs a little. In Stürzinger we read of Obedience, Decepline, Voluntaire, Povreté, Chastité, Leçon, Abstinence, Oroison and Latria, and in Lydgate and Verard of Lesson, Hagio-graphy, Obedience, Abstinence, Willing Poverty, Impatient Poverty, Chastity, Prayer and Latria.

After this there are in the second recension certain episodes which are absent from the first, but such as exist in both versions follow the same order, with the exception of the incident of the horse, Good Renown.

These four categories include most of the important differences between the two versions and many of the minor ones ; and we may judge from the list that De Guileville did not spare trouble in rewriting his poem. As will be noticed, the interpolations of new matter are scattered with tolerable regularity throughout the poem, but variations in the sequence of events are practically absent from the first third, while they become more and more numerous as the narrative progresses, until, after the middle of the book has been

passed, hardly three episodes will be found coming in the same order in the two versions. It is a matter for doubt whether De Guileville always improved his poem by his rearrangements and additions. We admit that the introduction of Impatient Poverty adds point to the picture of Wilful Poverty, and certainly it is better that Youth should appear at an early stage of the narrative than three-quarters of the way through, as in the first version. The additions to the Testament of Jesus Christ are appropriate, and the personification of the Perils in the sea certainly adds interest to that part of the allegory. The coming of Prayer and Alms to act as messengers for the Pilgrim is a good touch, and the five stones of David,—Memory of Christ's Death, of Mary, of Heaven's bliss, of Hell-fire and Holy Writ, which are the sole defences of the Pilgrim who neglects to wear the armour of Righteousness,—supply a want.

On the whole, however, the additions and alterations tend towards tediousness and confusion. The long Latin poems on the articles of the Creed, on God in Trinity and on the Virgin Mary, are an interruption to the narrative, as are also the long prayer which De Guileville has adapted from the writings of St. Bernard, and the verses in alternate French and Latin lines which set forth De Guileville's name in an acrostic. Possibly the inserted discussions on original sin, free will, the senses, influence of the stars, etc., appealed to the public for which De Guileville wrote; and even to the reader of the present-day parts of them are by no means uninteresting. But these discussions are woefully long, and seriously interfere with the unity of the narrative.

The additions to the later part of the allegory, viz. the attack of Envy on the convent, the visits the Pilgrim pays to other monasteries, and the abuses he sees there, evidently reflect some personal experience of the author's. The latter episode is specially interesting as showing that the monastic abuses, of which we hear so much in England at this period, were evidently not confined to that country. Despite its interest, however, it is a very evident insertion, and has not much to do with the general allegory.

Not much fault can be found with the episode of Necromancy's messenger. Necromancy was a burning question of the day, and involved a real temptation to many people, and the introduction of this figure has no other effect upon the course of the narrative than to add to it so many more pages. But the appearance of Moral Virtue with her gate and two posterns, the episode of Mortification of

the Body, and the vision of the Wheel of Sensuality are different. The Pilgrim, having definitely entered upon the road to the Heavenly City, having been armed, having overcome Rude Entendement by means of Reason, and having been led by Youth to take the path of Idleness rather than that of Labour, is at once confronted by grave moral questions. Moral Virtue, as opposed to the recklessness and thoughtlessness of Youth, asserts herself, and this awaking to consciousness of the more serious side of the Pilgrim's character is at once followed by new temptations and new conflicts, Lust fighting on the side of Youth and Idleness, and Mortification of the Body on the side of Moral Virtue and Labour. The extra emphasis thus laid on the choice that the Pilgrim has to make is certainly desirable, and adds to the interest of this portion of the work. But as usual the additions are far too long and discursive. The introduction of Moral Virtue and her gates is most clumsily managed, and one gets into a hopeless maze among all the different paths that are mentioned. We are told that the main gate of Moral Virtue is set across the path of Idleness (Lyd. 11732-11744), whereas not long after we find that the Pilgrim is on the other side of the hedge, and that Youth takes him on her back and flies with him over the hedge back to the path of Idleness (12729-12734). Yet we are not told in the interval that he has passed from Idleness to Labour, but only that he has begun to consider which of Moral Virtue's posterns (against which she had been warning him) he shall pass through (11951-11957). The vision of the Wheel of Sensuality is also a somewhat clumsy expedient.

Speaking generally, we may say that De Guileville's first recension reads more closely, and forms a better artistic whole than the second version, but that some of the later additions distinctly add to the interest of the poem, though not invariably to its excellence as an allegory.

IV. LYDGATE'S METRE.

Before discussing the metre of the *Pilgrimage* it is necessary to consider in some detail the question of Lydgate's treatment of final *e*.

Roughly speaking, we may say that he follows the same general rules as Chaucer.

(1) Final *e* is sounded before a consonant when it is the remnant of a grammatical inflection or of a stronger vowel.

835 "Lo, her ys al : *avysë* the."

2950 "They mustë ffayllë bothë two."

19002 "An *huntë* stoodë with his home."

(2) It is sounded in many Romance words, as in French verse.

115 "I mene the book Pilgrimagë de Mounde."

808 "Humblë, benigne, & debonayre."

19 "Fortune is ladye with her doublë facë."

But—

4500 "And verray iustë confessioun."

(3) Final *e*, that would, according to the foregoing rules, be pronounced, is silent when immediately followed by a vowel.

4529 "I make hem fastë, preye and wake."

(4) It is silent before *h* in such slightly stressed words as hem, hyr, han, hath, etc., but is otherwise pronounced before *h*.

57 "To holde hys cours as ledeth hym the stream."

1519 "Softë handle the soor to seke."

(5) It is generally silent in the personal pronouns youre, hyre, etc., from want of stress.

46 "That yowre lyff her ys but a pylgrimage."

To the foregoing rules we may add these others :

(6) Lydgate very commonly does not sound the final *e* when it immediately precedes the cæsura. On this point, however, he allows himself considerable freedom.

14 "That kam with Ioye / departeth ay with sorwe."

72 "Wherefore I rede / lat euery whyht a-mend."

22 "And off al Ioye / that ys transytorye."

63 "Ytakyn innë / so as they dysserve."

(7) Final *e* preceded and followed by a dental is generally not sounded.

822 "With-oute that I thy gyardë be."

1840 "That keptë the entre and the paas."

11080 "Me sempte thys mayden off folye."

(8) Polysyllables often, though not always, lose final *e*, but most of the examples of this are doubtful, as usually some other law also comes into operation. Ten Brink says that the sounding is optional, and it seems to be the case that it rarely takes place when the preceding syllable is weak.

12348 "To the heuene callyd mobyle."

I will now analyze Lydgate's usage with regard to final *e* in the

italicized words of the following passage, indicating in each case by which of the preceding rules it is influenced.

- 806 " And by thys *dowe* / wych thow dost se,
 807 Wych I *bere* / with wyngës fayre,
 808 *Humble*, *benigne*, / & debonayre,
 809 I am tookenyd, / who lyst seke,
 810 With hyr goodly eyen meke.
 811 And so thow shalt me call in dede
 812 Whan thow hast on-to me nede,—
 813 And that shall be full *offtē* sythe
 814 That I may my power kythe
 815 *Telpē* the in thy pilgrymage.
 816 ffor fynaly in thy vyage
 817 As thow gost to that cyte,
 818 Thow shalt hawe *offtē* aduersyte
 821 Wych thow mayst nat in no degre
 822 *Passe* nor *endure* with-outē me,
 823 Nor that *cytē* never atteyne
 824 (Thogh thow euer do thy peyne,)
 825 With-outē that I thy gūydē be."

In *dowe* (l. 806) the *e* is not organic and is therefore not pronounced. In various other passages we find *dowh* written instead of *dowe*.

In *bere* (807), though according to rule 1 the *e* would be sounded, it is mute because it immediately precedes the cæsure.

Humble (808) has the *e* sounded according to rule 2.

benigne (808). The *e* is mute before a following vowel.

offtē (813) is the plural form of an adjective vowel, the *e* is therefore sounded according to rule 1.

Telpē (815). The *e* representing the Infin. ending is sounded according to rule 1.

offtē (818). The *e* is silent before a vowel.

endure (822). The *e* is mute before the cæsure.

With-outē (822). The *e* is sounded before a consonant according to rule 1.

cytē (823). The *e* is accented in French.

With-outē (825). The next word is *that*, and the *e* is elided between two dentals.

gūydē (825). Sounded according to rule 2.

There remains one word *passē* in l. 822, which falls under none of these rules, and for the mute *e* in which no reason can be adduced.

In the first seventy lines of the poem the greater number of the final *e*'s follow the above rules. There are, however, a few lines in which the reasons for sounding or non-sounding seem doubtful.

7 "Nor the *tresorë* / wych that ye possede."

The sounding of the *e* (it is neither written nor pronounced in l. 17) must be explained by the liberty that Lydgate allows himself before the cæsura, or by the fact that *tresovre* is a polysyllable with the accent on the second syllable.

11 "Whan folk lest *wenë* / and noon *hede* ne take."

This certainly seems to be the most natural way of reading the line, and we must put down the sounding of the *e* in *wenë* before a vowel to the fact that it occurs at the cæsura. The final *e* in *hede* is only added to show length and therefore it is properly mute.

15 "An thyng *ywonne* / with *Ioyë* and gladnesse."

Properly speaking, the *e* in *Ioyë* should be mute before *and*, and it seems to be sounded here for metrical reasons only. The *e* in *ywonne* is silent, according to ten Brink's rule that final *e* is not sounded in strong participles of short-syllabled verbs, when the *n* is lost. The observance of this rule seems to be common both to Chaucer and Lydgate.

25 "And hyr *sugre* [ys] vnder-spreynt wyth galle."

We should not sound the *e* in *sugre* if we considered only rule 4. It is best to read the line as one with missing auftakt, unless this is a case of cæsura licence.

From these examples we may draw the conclusion that though Lydgate generally followed the same rules as Chaucer he allowed himself more liberty. Especially was this the case with regard to polysyllabic words, in which he was accustomed to sound or elide the final *e* according to the requirements of the metre, irrespective of other consideration. When a final *e* preceded the cæsura he allowed himself an equal amount of liberty, and when it occurred in this position would frequently sound an *e* that, according to other rules, should have been silent, or omit to sound one which we should have expected him to pronounce.

The freedom he allowed himself in these respects was occasionally extended to other words in other positions, and we thus see the beginning of the N.E. pronunciation more clearly indicated in Lydgate than in Chaucer.

We may now turn to the question of metre.

The *Pilgrimage of the Life of Man* is written in rimed, octosyllabic couplets, the measure employed being iambic. Lydgate's Prologue, however—184 lines in length—is written in decasyllabic couplets.

The various types of Lydgate's 5-beat iambic line have been given by Schick, and I have nothing to add to his conclusions. Of the general features of his verse a few examples may be given.

Lydgate employed alliteration freely.

2551 "Nouther salue, That soor to sownde."

3350 "Sturdyly she sette a syde."

3352 "Brennyng bryht as any glede."

40 "Peplys to puttë in subieccyon."

3596 "Off boundys & off botaylle."

3711 "Unto the wylde swyn savage,

3712 Wych that renneth in hys rage."

But though these alliterative lines are fairly numerous they are employed with considerable self-restraint. For instance, in the 'Testament of Jesus Christ' (ll. 4773—5029) there are but 33 alliterative lines. In the description of Youth (ll. 11068—11212) there are but 22. Therefore the alliteration in Lydgate's verse never becomes burdensome, but rather tends to give it a little of the variety that it so much needs.

Elision is common and is responsible for what constitutes a very marked feature of this text, viz. the habit of combining the preposition *to* with the next word when it begins with a vowel or unstressed *h*.

Examples are :

1019 "*Talyved* enere, thys no lesyng."

1766 "Lyk *tamyghty* champyoun."

1967 "So *tenduren* al your lyff."

2385 "In *ta* pulpet that ther stood."

6302 "*Taparceyvë*, in thys matere."

6996 "And *tapoynte* yt ffetysly."

6999 "In travers wyse, yt *tenbrasse*."

The, this, that and *there* are often combined with the following word in the same way.

127 "In *thenpryses* wych he hath undertake."

7583 "*Thassaut* off brygauntys nyht & day."

7758 "*Tharmure* of thyn handys tweyne."

10869 "*Thenchesoun* & mutaciouns."

2701 "*Thys* to seyne, in your werkyng."

3053 "*Thys* he that haueth pleyn power."

2496-7 "And thus departyd ys your land
In double party (*thys* no doute)."

Sometimes this combination injures the metre, and restoring the *to* would mend it. This is the case in ll. 1766 and 2385 given above, and also in l. 7778 :

“Tarme a man in chastyte.”

It may be noticed that in the 1403 lines of the *Temple of Glas* there are but five examples of this characteristic.

- 449 “I shal, baspectes of my benygne face,
 450 Make him teschewe euere synne & vice.”
 517 “Ri3st so bensaumple, for wele or for wo.”
 660 “For whan þat hope were likli me tauaunce.”
 827 “But þis theffecte of my mater finale.”

We may imagine that this was a habit likely to increase with use, and in fixing the relative chronology of Lydgate's works it might be worth while to pay some attention to this point.

Cases of elision, not indicated by the spelling, and of syncope are also fairly common :

- 189 “Tyl effte agayn yt com(y)th to mynde.”
 344 “That thyder wentyn ev(e)ne ryht.”
 359 “As any ffyr, evene at the gate.”
 483 “By vertu of crystys gret suffraunce.”
 2724 “Yiff ye list to have knowelichyng.”
 3114 “Thorgh nat(u)rel Inclynaciouns.”
 3813 “Or fostre your sedys blosme or greyn.”
 10851 “The word(y)s that thow dost specefye.”

The cæsura in the octosyllabic verse is occasionally very varied. Its regular place is after the fourth syllable and second accent, but in the first few lines of the Prologue we find it falling with quite a pleasing irregularity.

“Full offte hyt happeth / in certeyn
 Of dremys-/ the wych that men ha seyn
 I nightys-/ after, whan they wake,
 fful lytel heed / there-of they take
 Tyl effte agayn / yt comyth to mynde
 That they / the veray trouthe fynde,
 O euery thyng / they saw to-forn
 ffor / of remembrauncè the thorn
 Pryketh here myndes / with hys poynt.”

This passage perhaps contains greater irregularities than most, though some of them are only apparent and are due to the fact that the line is acephalous. But throughout the poem it may be noticed

that Lydgate often places the cæsura in the middle of a foot, so that the number of syllables on each side of the pause is odd although the number of accents may be correct.

In his Introduction to the *Temple of Glas* Schick points out that the rime "is, in general, pure and skilfully handled," and that "the principles followed by Lydgate are much the same as those of Chaucer." He then proceeds to point out some peculiarities, to which I may add a few from the present text.

I have found no example of *-ye* riming with *-y* in the first 4000 lines of the poem.

As both Schick and Sieper point out, Lydgate shares with Chaucer an indifference as to whether sounds are close or open. Thus in l. 233 we find *brode* (O.E. brâð) riming with *stood* (O.E. stôð).

Words are occasionally rimed irrespective of length. In ll. 231-2 *wrote* rimes with *not* (=ne wot), and in l. 2615 *dele* rimes with *wel*. This last example however is rather an uncertain one, as in the expression *never-a-dele*, *dele* often lost its length through want of stress and was written *del*. So it is possible that Lydgate may have pronounced it short.

The riming of a word with itself or with another word of similar spelling occasionally takes place.

Ex. *poynt* . . . *poynt* 1581-2; *beheld* . . . *held* 1395-6; *wyse* . . . *wyse* 2523-4; *yseyn* . . . *seyn* 3291-2.

The infrequency of double rimes may be noticed. In the portion of the text that I have examined for this purpose I have found that (putting aside those formed by final *e*) they are of the most ordinary character and confined to a small range of words. Thus we find such rimes as *morwe* . . . *sorwe*, *glorye* . . . *transytorye*, *double* . . . *trouble*, *vyctorye* . . . *transytorye*, *neuere* . . . *dysseuere* repeated fairly often, and occasionally come across less obvious ones, such as *boundlys* . . . *founde ys* 3337-8, but much more frequently the rime is confined to the last syllable, and sometimes even when that syllable is a weak one.

Ex. *dever* . . . *power* 3558-9; *ffelonye* . . . *malencolye* 1561-2.

In such rimes as *ryping* . . . *gadryng* 1269-70 the accent was probably on the last syllable.

At intervals we come on rimes like *borne* . . . *to-forn* 1207-8; *pray* . . . *seye* 1214-5; *kepe* . . . *shep* 2159-60; *bed* . . . *drede* 1697-8; *crowne* . . . *doun* 1997-8; *sprynge* . . . *werkynge* 2924-5;

skyle . . . *wyl* 2689-90. Some of these may perhaps be put down to the copyist, but when all allowances are made we cannot help looking upon the frequency with which they occur as some proof of the extent to which Lydgate allowed himself to drop sonant *e* when convenient. *Skyle* . . . *wyl* is a specially good example, since the word *skyle* occurs also at ll. 2694 and 2741, and in both these lines it is essential that the *e* should be sounded. In l. 2681 it is found again, before the cæsura, with the *e* mute.

Lydgate is not strict in his use of the octosyllabic line, and several distinct types can be found.

According to Sieper these are:

(a) The normal line of 8 syllables and 4 accents (usually iambic).

(b) The headless line of 7 syllables (which is often partially or wholly trochaic in metre).

(c) The 7-syllabled line in which the first thesis after the cæsura is wanting.

The passage descriptive of the heavenly Jerusalem displays much variety in the line, so it may be well to analyze it as regards its metre.

Ll. 309-11 are regular.

312 "To Ierusalem / for to goon"

can be read as regular if Ierūsālēm be accented on the first and penultimate syllables. As Lydgate allowed himself some licence in the accentuation of names this is perhaps possible.

Otherwise the line must be read as acephalous with elision in Jerusalem.

313 "Grētly, mēvēd / in mȳ cōrāge"

must be regarded as an acephalous line with extra weak syllable before the cæsura, unless we can suppose that the *e* in the *-ed* of *mēved* was syncopated.

314 "ffor to dō / my pȳlgrymage,"
and

316 "And to tēll / the cāuse whȳ"

are both acephalous and belong to type B.

317 "Was, ffor me thouht I hadde a syht"

belongs to type A, but may perhaps be read with an inverted first foot.

319 "Off thāt hevenly / ffayr cȳtē"
i an acephalous line with resolution of the two syllables of *heven*.

321 Also belongs to B.

324 "Țt ȡxcēllȡde / ȡff bēwtē"

may be read as above accented or with syncopation of the *y* and sounding of the final *e* of excēll(y)dē. In either case it belongs to type B.

326 "ffōr Gōd hȡm selff / wās thē māsōwn"

belongs to type A, but with exceptional inversion of the first foot in the cæsura. Inversion of the first foot of the line is more common and occurs in

329 "ȡt tō cōnceȡve / in hȡs entēnt"

as well as in 346 and 348.

330 to 334 belong alternately to types A and B.

335 "Thē māsōwnȡ / wrōught fūl cleȡe"

is an example of type C, what Schick calls "the peculiarly Lydgatian type, in which the thesis is wanting in the cæsura, so that two accented syllables clash together."

340 "Thē wȡch / dāy nōr nȡht nē slēpte"

is another example of the same, but is rather exceptional because of the position of the cæsura.

341 "Kēpȡng sō strōngȡ / thē ēȡtrē"

belongs to type A, and contains an example of the accentuation of the ending of the present participle, unless we read it with a trochaic first foot. Sieper however considers that the accentuation of the *-ing* may almost be regarded, as a rule, with present participles. This line also contains an example of unnatural accentuation on *the*.

344 belongs to type A with syncopation in *ev(e)ne*.

351 "ffond, / onto hȡs pleasaunce"

does not at once conform to any of the types. We may perhaps say that it is acephalous, with a light syllable missing before the cæsura.

354 "Aȡd yēt thē ēȡtrē ȡȡ swȡch wȡse."

Accented in this way this is a regular line of type A. We may notice however that in l. 341, cited above, the accent is on the second syllable of *ēȡtrē*, and this is also the case in l. 430.

"Tō whōm theȡtrē wās nōt ffōrbōre."

Therefore it is possible that 354 should be read as an example of type C.

"Aȡd yēt thē ēȡtrē / ȡȡ swȡch wȡse."

In l. 1840 however the accent seems to be *ēȡtrē*.

358 "Havyng a swerd, flawmyng as cler,"

depends for its accentuation on the question of the accentuation of present participles. To my ears it reads best when accentuated as alternate trochees and iambs, but this may not have been so with Lydgate.

359 "Aš ānŷ ffŷr, / ēvene āt thē gāte"

belongs to type A with elision.

360 "Añd whō thāt wōld / ērlŷ oŷ lāte"

must surely have, like l. 326, inversion of the first foot of the caesura.

363 "Ne bet helpe, / ne bet refut"

must probably be explained in the same way as l. 313.

The remaining lines of the passage are regular examples of types A and B.

Other examples of type C are :

3979 "Añd Mōysēs ēk / dŷnēd hādde."

3981 "Hē māde Ā-nōōn / thŷs, the cheff."

Lines with redundant syllables are rare, but l. 2159 may be taken as such, unless we prefer to read it as a decasyllabic line.

"Your shepperde, / that taketh of yow kepe."

There are also, of course, a few lines which cannot be assigned to either of the types, such as :

1504 "With-oute eny flatrye."

2034 "Al the whyl that I dwelle,"

and perhaps l. 351, cited above, but they are wonderfully few in number. Altogether, Lydgate's own words in the *Troy Book* :

"And trouthe of metre I sette also a-syde ;

For of that art I hadde as tho no guyde

Me to reduce, whan I went a-wronge :

I toke none hede nouthur of short nor longe"—

are rather more severe than the case demands, and many lines, apparently irregular, may be normalized by syncopation, elision or by the uncertainty of word-accent common to both Chaucer and Lydgate. For a discussion on this last point I will refer the reader to the Introduction of *Reason and Sensuality*, in which the whole question of Lydgate's metre is treated with much detail.

V. LYDGATE'S LANGUAGE AND STYLE.

In his tribute to Chaucer on p. 527 of the *Pilgrimage* Lydgate speaks of him as

“my mayster Chaucer . . . :
That was the ffyrste in any age
That amendede our langage”—

affording thus an interesting proof that even as soon after his death as 1426 the writers of the period had a clear recognition of the debt that the English literary language owed to Chaucer.

Lydgate was one of those who were most influenced in this respect, and indeed, as Schick points out, he was even more modern in language than Chaucer himself. In phonology and inflexion, it is true, there is little difference between them, but Lydgate dropped many old English words which were retained by Chaucer and are now obsolete, and used instead words of Romance or classical origin which may be easily understood by us even if we do not actually use them. Both Chaucer and Lydgate belonged to the East Midland district, and, as we know, the dialect of this district was much more cosmopolitan than that of the others, both on account of its intermediate position and because of the fact that it was the dialect of London, and therefore more open to foreign influences than the dialects of more provincial districts.

An intimate acquaintance with French was, of course, at this time common among all men with any pretensions to education, but both Chaucer and Lydgate travelled in France, and there is even a tradition, which Schick however discredits, that Lydgate was educated in Paris. However this may be, it is practically certain, as Schick points out in his chapter on the chronology of Lydgate's writings, that Lydgate was in Paris about 1426, that is to say, about the time when the *Pilgrimage* was begun.

These things being so, we are not surprised that the *Pilgrimage* should contain a very large proportion of French words, especially when we consider two other points,—firstly, that it was a translation from the French, and therefore its author would naturally tend to use words of French rather than of Teutonic origin; and secondly, that it was largely concerned with questions of ecclesiastical interest, which, owing to the general use of Latin in matters of Church and Religion, would tend to increase the number of words of classical origin used by the author. That these last two considerations are

of considerable weight will be more evident if we study Chaucer's own translations from the French.

The deduction from the accompanying table, in which is shown the proportion of foreign words in passages chosen from the *Pilgrimage* and from various portions of Chaucer's writings, seems to be that in Lydgate the number of Romance or classical words is nearly 1 in 5, while in Chaucer it is about 1 in 8. The passages chosen from Chaucer are various in character and drawn from his original works; those from the *Pilgrimage* have been selected so as to cover a considerable variety of subjects in order that the influence of subject on vocabulary might be minimized.

Pilgrimage.

Lines		Words.	Fr. or class. words.
1-50	Decasyll.	354	67
309-359	Octosyll.	279	52
3436-3485	"	294	50
7301-7350	"	259	56
7351-7400	"	256	59
18799-18849	"	291	49
20031-20080	"	267	48
		<hr/>	<hr/>
		2000	381
		<hr/>	<hr/>

CHAUCER.

	<i>Cant. Tales. Prolog.</i>		
1-50	Decasyll.	361	43
	<i>Knight's Tale.</i>		
1881-1930	Decasyll.	349	66
	<i>Nonne Prieste's Tale.</i>		
4405-4454	Decasyll.	370	38
	<i>Hous of Fame.</i>		
1-49	Octosyll.	280	37
1091-1140	"	324	39
	<i>Book of the Duchess.</i>		
1-50	Octosyll.	316	20
		<hr/>	<hr/>
		2000	243
		<hr/>	<hr/>

But if we take a poem translated by Chaucer from the French, the result is different. Thus in the first five verses of the *A B C Prayer* to the Virgin there are 306 words, 62 of which are of Romance origin,—a proportion of about 1 in 5, as in the *Pilgrimage*,

while in the first 300 words of the translation from Boethius the proportion is 1 in 6.

On the other hand, in Lydgate's *Temple of Glas*, which is not a translation from the French, the proportion of French words in the first 50 lines is only about 1 in 8, and in the first 6 verses of the *Complaint to Venus* in the same poem the proportion is about 1 in 7.

From these examples we may draw the conclusion that the great preponderance of words of Romance origin in the *Pilgrimage* is largely due to the fact that it is a translation from the French. But while we make allowances for this fact in comparing Lydgate and Chaucer, we must admit that even in those cases where the proportion of French words is not very different, the number of concrete words of Teutonic origin used by Lydgate is much smaller than is the case with Chaucer, while those used are, with comparatively few exceptions, such as may be easily understood even by the reader who has not studied the early forms of his native tongue.

Lydgate is, in fact, very easy to read, though there are a certain number of words employed by him which we seek for in vain in the works of Chaucer or his other English contemporaries. Some of these are Latinisms lifted bodily from any text he might be engaged in translating or paraphrasing. Such are *porrect* (448/16709) and *procelle* (456/16995), both occurring in his adaptation of St. Bernard's Homily. Certain other forms, such as *swyd* 350/12882, *wrak* 569/21339, and *towched* 597/22356, are possibly scribal errors, but there remain a few, such as *bessellys* 306/11191, *botevaunt* 492/18427, *devaunt* 492/18428, *stoupaille* (for *stoppel*) 646/24110, *treygobet* 317/11623, and *turneys* 146/5569, which, as far as I can discover, seem to be peculiar to him. *Skouren* also (106/4011) is used in an unusual sense.

The question of Lydgate's grammar and inflexions has been so thoroughly treated already that I do not propose to enter upon it, but will pass on to the question of his literary style.

With regard to this he was himself as modest as other writers were laudatory.

"On makyng I ha no suffysaunce"

he says in the prologue to the *Pilgrimage*, and again :

"I am bareyn of all eloquence.

Therfor I pray, what so that be seyde,

Off gentyllesse not to be evel payde

And my rudnesse helpyn to excuse,
ffor in metre I ha with me no muse :
Noon of the nyne that on Parnase duelle,
Nor she that ys the lady of the welle,
Calliope, be syde cytheron,
Gaff to my penne, plente nor fuson
Of hyr licovr, whan thys work was begonne.
Nor I drank no-wer of the sugeryd tonne
Off Iubiter, couchyd in his celer,
So strange I fonde to me hys boteler
Off poetys icallyd Ganymede.

But to my labour now I woll me spede,
Prayng ech reder me to reconforte,
Benignely my rudenesse to supporte."

Other examples are given by Schick in his chapter on the style of the *Temple of Glas*, and on reading his works one cannot escape from the conviction that Lydgate was justified in his modesty.

Some of the principal points to be noted in considering Lydgate's style are his immense prolixity and love of circumlocutions, and of conventional phrases. He is entirely deficient in that essential mark of the stylist—the knowledge when to stop. In fact, he sees no reason for stopping at all. His words, his lines flow forth in a steady stream at a steady pace. They come apparently with little difficulty, and when difficulties do arise they may always be met by the reduplication of a sentence in slightly different form or by the interpolation of some conventional phrase.

These conventional phrases, very frequent in all of Lydgate's works, abound in the *Pilgrimage* to a ridiculous extent. Here are a few examples of them :

- 3541 Nor grucche (in myn oppynyoun)
- 3765 As a chamberere (in sothnese)
- 4303 And on thys werm (yiff ye lyst se)
- 4553 And sothly (yiff I shal nat feyne)
- 4564 And told the cause (yiff ye be wys)
- 4567 And sette me ek (yt ys no fable)
- 6115 Consydred how (in sothfastnesse)
- 6123 As she that ys (shortly to fyne)
- 6947 Yet, by ther chymyng (in substaunce)
- 19413 f. Many a perel (I 3ou ensure)
And many a straungë aventure.
- 19417 And many a tempeste (in certeyn)
- 15439 f. Thys secounde cours (yt ys no dred)
Doth gret good unto hyr bed.

These expletive phrases put in to fill up a line or for the sake of rime, make up no inconsiderable proportion of some passages. Opening the book almost at random I find that in the hundred lines between 13200 and 13300 there are no fewer than 22 lines finished in this manner.

13207 (yiff thou lyst se)	13217 (in conclusioun).
13219 (when al ys do)	13223 (yiff thow kanst se)
13225 (yt ys no doute)	13229 (yt ys no dred)
13237 (who kan ffele)	13239 (yt ys no nay)
13241 (who haue a syht)	13257 (as to myn entent)
13260 (as ye shal here)	13265 (by couenaunt)
13268 (and lyst nat spare)	13268 (yt ys no lye)
13276 (as ye may se)	13279 (who kan se)
13283 (est and south)	13285 (who that touche)
13289 (voyde of al ffavour)	13293 (who taketh hed ther-to)
13399 (yt ys no drede)	13300 (in verray dede)

In the hundred lines between 15650 and 15750 there are 19 of these phrases; between 17700 and 17800 there are 16; between 20370–20470 there are 14;—indeed it is hardly possible to open a page without finding two or three and often many more. It is not necessary to expatiate on the poverty of the verse which has to be eked out by such devices, for, as a study of any of the above-mentioned passages will show, not one in ten of these phrases has any real connection with the subject-matter of the lines, or throws any further light upon what the writer is saying. No, they are padding pure and simple, usually inserted for the sake of rime, or to piece out an idea which will not naturally extend to the length of a couplet.

In most cases these phrases occupy the second half of a line. More rarely, but yet very often, one is found covering a whole line, as in the following examples :

- 13232 f. But to declare the trouthe pleyn,
He dyde nat so, no thyng at al,
In straunge feldys, for he yt stal,
(Al be yt by fful gret lak)
He put al in hys ownē sak.
- 2005 (Lyk as I shal yow dēvysē,
2901 (As clerkys wel rehersē kan).
3073. (Yiff ye lyst to herē me).
3171 (Who that kan the trouthe seke).

- 3203 (To seyn shortly, and nat tarye)
 3235 (As I bē-held tho douteles)
 3539 (To speken in espeçyal).

Very occasionally the expletive phrase occurs in the first half of the line. I have only been able to discover three examples of this in Part I. of the *Pilgrimage*, viz.:

- 6474 f. Lokyng, with wych men do se,
 Unto the Eye ys porter
 (As thow well wost) and inassager.
 7199 f. The tyme ys good and couenable,
 (As I ha sayd), and acceptable.
 8344 f. But Gracē Dieu was nat wel playedyd
 (Shortly) of my gouernaunce.

Examples of these inanities might be multiplied indefinitely, and it will be enough to note that the greater proportion of them may be arranged in five classes.

(1) Those which make some appeal to or assertion of the good judgment and intelligence of either the reader or of the poet himself.

As thow well wost, 6476; who so understande kan, 4158; who kan se, 13279; who can discerne, 20711; who lyst to se, 20618; to thyn entent, 9759; yiff ye lyst to wyte, 219; who can conceyue, 18683; by cler inspeccioun, 15013; as to myn entent, 13257; off entencioun, 15745; by good avys, 20097; yiff they be wys, 12095; who consydreth al, 11331; who lyst taken kep, 8697; who lyst loken her-wyth-al, 20119; who loketh al, 20133; who loke wel, 21922; yiff thow konne espye, 13302; yiff yt be souht, 12436; to myn oppynyoun, 17301; me semeth so, 17303.

(2) Phrases that are strongly affirmative or confirmative of some preceding point. Such are: yt ys no nay, 10809; yt ys no drede, 12117; yt ys no doute, 12209; I the ensure, 12217; wythoute doute, 12238; wythoute gesse, 11443; off verray soth, And off no Iape, 21135; in certyn, 12223; douteles, 21883; I dar undertake, 21903; of verray ryght, 2556; yiff I shal not lye, 3333; in sothnesse, 3925; yt ys no fayl, 4015; be wel certeyn, 5395; yt ys no fable, 2158; yt ys no jape, 12119; and many other similar expressions. To these also may be added phrases like the following:

- 9286 I wolde abyde (& not remewe).
 21583 In thykke dyrkē ffyr (nat bryht).
 21723 I sawh a croos stonde (and nat flytte).

(3) Those that contain reference to authority, such as:

- 444 f. ffor, by record off Seyn Matthew,
The hevene (as by hys sentence,)
Wonnen is by vyolence.
- 621 As the phylisofre seyth.
- 2901 As clerkys wel rehersë kan.
- 14447 As the byble kan wel tel.
- 14453 In hooly wryt, as yt ys ryff.
- 21885 the byble seyth apert.
- 13635 as I ha told.
- 12043 thus seyth he.
- 11457 As clerkys wrytë that be sad.
- 9968 As I kan reporte.
- 18355 As clerkys teche.

(4) Such expressions as 'in substaunce,' 21871; 'for to dyffyne,' 17537; 'at a word,' 21591; 'to rehersyn euery del,' 21913; 'fynally,' 21595; 'shortely to specefye,' 21621; 'for short conclusioun,' 20931; 'shortly to telle,' 17403; 'in conclusioun,' 15703; 'thus I begynne,' 11441; 'in wordys fewe,' 9119; 'wythoutë more,' 20941—which have reference to the form in which the poet puts his assertions, and to the progress of his work.

(5) Certain adverbial expressions of place or time which are meant to give additional weight and detail to the circumstance mentioned by the poet.

- 6507 f. The Messagerys (erly and late)
Conveye yt by the samë gate.
- 9899 f. Retrussen hym, and ek recharge
(Bothe in streyth & ek in large.)
- 12027 f. To kepe me bothë ffer and ner)
ffrom al pereyl and all daunger.
- 12079 f. myn enmyes many tyme,
(Bothe at eue and ek at prime.)
- 21988 f. Nauffragus fful long I-be,
And suffred (bothe este and weste)
Many perel and greet tempeste.

Besides these there are a certain number of phrases which can hardly be classed, and which appear to be inserted quite irrelevantly, such as 'lych myn entent,' 17749; 'wythoute grace,' 17754; 'in especyal,' 17177; 'off entente,' 17405; 'in sentence,' 14431.

The question of the reduplication of expressions has been treated at some length by Sieper, but as this is a very marked characteristic of the *Pilgrimage* I may give a few more examples here.

Examples of the reduplication of an idea by the employment of synonymous or almost synonymous adjectives, adverbs or nouns will be found on nearly every page. For instance :

- 1324 After the custom and usaunce
- 1421 f. And Receyvede ther by Ryht
 Vertu, force & gostly myght.
- 1551 f. Debonayre and mercyable,
 Sofftē, goodly, and tretāble.
- 1584 For punyshynge and Correccioun.
- 1646 Thogh thyn hornys be sharp & kene,
- 1647 Was humble, meke, & debonayre,
- 1687 Portreye or peynthe
- 1752 f. And longe held her pocesseyon
 Lordshepe ek & gouernaunce.
- 1780 Maugre hys myght & his powste.
- 1823 Whan thow fyndest or dost espye.
- 1844 Kepte the fredam and fraunchyse
- 2012 Ben yclyped and yshaue
- 2058 Proud of your port, & ek ellat.
- 1540 f. For they mynystre ther oynement
 To boystously, & no thing soffte.

But Lydgate is not content with merely reduplicating epithets or single words in this manner, for very frequently we find whole sentences repeated, with some difference in wording but practically none in idea.

- 5 f. ffor shortly herē yovre poscesseyon
 ys yove to yow but for a schort sesoun
 Nor the tresovrē wych that ye possede
 Ys but thyng lent ho so kan takē hede.
- 14 f. That kam wyth Ioye departeth aye wyth sorwē;
 And thyng ywonne wyth Ioyē and gladnesse,
 Ay dysseuereth wyth wo and bevynesse.
- 2135 f. Thys worldys veyn playsaunce
 Wych ys so ful off varyaunce,
 So ful of chang and dovbylnesse.
- 2529 f. Yiff he be proud or obstynat,
 Dysobeyynge or ellaat,
 Hys trespace to amende
 And ne lyst nat to entende
 To be redressed by meeknesse,
 And, thorgh pryde or Frowardnesse,
 Wyl takē no correccion.

- 2579 f. Of wych thyng he wex al sad
And in hys hertē no thyng glad.
3771 f. The boundys cōnstreyne your party ;
But, for al that, I go frely
Wher that me lyst, at lyberte :
They boundē yow, & no thyng me ;
Close yow out, that ye nat passe ;
But I go fre in euery place.

We may also notice a few examples of the reduplication of an idea produced by a negative statement following an affirmative one. Such are ll. 9286, 21583 and 21723 quoted on p. xlvī* as well as l. 14917 :

“Yt maketh me glad, and nothyng dul.”

Without multiplying examples, which would only be tedious, I may point out that in some cases the parallelism persists throughout quite long passages. For instance, in the passage on page 68 on the punishment of the proud, from which a few lines have been quoted, nearly every sentence is reduplicated, and much the same is the case with the description of Fortune in the Prologue.

Sieper has pointed out that “wide indeed though the gulf is which separates his rapid verse, betraying in every line the traces of decadence, from the inimitable creations of Israel's golden youth, Lydgate is, in point of fact, not so far removed from a mere parallelism such as meets us in the poetry of the Hebrews,” and if we compare with some of the examples given above the following verses from the 18th Psalm, it will be evident that as far as technical construction goes there is a strong resemblance between Lydgate's parallelisms and those of the Psalmist.

“He rode upon the cherubims, and did fly :
He came flying upon the wings of the wind.
He made darkness his secret place :
His pavilion round about him with dark water,
And thick clouds to cover him.”
. . . He sent out his arrows, and scattered them :
He cast forth lightnings, and destroyed them.”
“ . . . With the holy thou shalt be holy :
And with a perfect man thou shalt be perfect.”

Remnants of parallelism are also found in some of the Old English poems, arising, it is supposed, from the same cause that produced it among the Hebrews, viz. the construction of poems in

strophe and antistrophe for the voices of alternating choirs. We have not much reason however for thinking that Lydgate was influenced by Old English poetry in his choice of this style. It is more likely that he observed its use in the Psalms, with which, as a monk, he must have been very familiar. In any case, it is a construction which would appeal greatly to any one with such an extensive vocabulary and such a love of prolixity and diffuseness as Lydgate, and, as Sieper points out, it was with him "a principle of art consciously employed and systematically carried through."

In fact, all through the poem Lydgate gives one the impression that he is striving with all his might to express himself with the utmost effectiveness combined with the utmost truth, but that as he has no infallible command of the "mot juste" and lacks the art to represent the whole by depicting only the essential lines, he seeks to attain his end by the employment of conscientious and laborious detail and by a free use of epithet and paraphrase. Other characteristics of his verse are the great length of his sentences and the freedom with which he employs the parenthesis. The result of this is that he often loses sight of the main current of his idea and produces a passage which is a mere conglomeration of sentences and phrases, without a shape or centre, and sometimes united by a faulty syntactical construction. He often gives the impression that he is afraid of forgetting some point that has struck him, and so writes it down directly it comes into his mind, careless whether or no it interferes with the course of his sentence. His verse is still further complicated by the use of the various devices of which examples have already been given, and the general impression we gather as we read is that it is not so much composed as strung together. We must remember, however, that in this poem at least De Guileville as well as Lydgate must bear the responsibility for some of the defects. The general construction, the monotonous manner of introducing the characters, the insertion of long arguments and descriptions are primarily due to him, as are even some of the expletive phrases and repetitions. Take for instance these lines :

"Quant dieu, dist elle, adam, ton pere,
Eut cree et eue, ta mere,
Il leur fist si grant courtoisie,
Et leur donna tele franchise
Quilz pouoient viure san languir,
Sans necessite de mourir ;

Et tel grace leur octroya,
 Que rectitude leur donna,
 Et droiz les fist en liberté
 Et franchise de volente
 Pour bien garder en eulx droicture
 Selon justice par mesure,
 En tel maniere que le corps
 Obeissoit a son ame lors;
 Et si rendoient subiection
 Les forces basses a raison,
 Ce quest bas a ce que dessus,
 Les moines dignes aux dignes plus." (Petit. fol. iv.)

This passage, represented in Lydgate by ll. 1011-1037, contains, as we may see, fully as many parallelisms as Lydgate was accustomed to employ, although we cannot deny that in some cases Lydgate would take one single idea of De Guileville's and express it under two or three forms.

"Car, a leur dieu ilz desobeirent,
 Et perdirent lauctorite
 De quoy dessus ie tay parlè;" (fol. iv. back.)

In Lydgate we find (ll. 1055-1061):

"But whan they gan to God trespace,
 They lost *ther fredam and ther grace*,
Lyff also, and liberte
 And hooly ther auctoryte,
 Off wych thou hast herd me seye."

Again we read in the French:

"Mais a quelle fin ien vendroie
 Encor pas bien pense nauoye." (fol. x.)

Lydgate represents this by:

"*This fantasye fyl in my thouht*;
 But, Got wot, I wyste nouht,
Nor knewe ful lytel (at the leste)
 What was the fyn of my requeste,
Nor took but lytel heed ther-to." (2813-17.)

In these extracts I have italicized those portions that have no exact counterpart in the French.

There is not much to be said for the style of the *Pilgrimage*, but the little that there is it would be ungracious to omit. We must therefore observe that in a few passages Lydgate really seems to take considerable pleasure in what he is describing and expresses his feelings with some vigour, freshness and poetic feeling. The best examples of this are the description of the heavenly Jerusalem

(ll. 323-53), the account of Youth (ll. 11133-11212), and especially the passage on the revivifying power of Nature (ll. 3434-3523).

The whole question of Lydgate's style has been treated with so much detail and so many examples in the Introduction to *Reason and Sensuality* that it seems unnecessary to expatiate further upon its peculiarities. I will therefore conclude this study by giving one more parallel passage which illustrates in a marked degree many of the characteristics referred to above, especially Lydgate's love of amplification, explanation, and parallelism.

C'est une main qui introduit

En la maison de iesu christ

Par faulses broches et pertius
Les larrons sans entrer par l'huis

Et quant dedans les a tirez
Et a son croc acrochetez

Du mesme croc croches leur faiz.
Et pasteurs de brebis les faiz

Pasteurs dis ie / mais ceulx ce font
Qui se paissent et qui tant font

Que mieulx les doit en loups clamer
Que pasteurs douailles nommer

Ceulx sont qui veulent eslochiez
Grace de dieu et descrochiez

Du throsne de sa maieste
Par dons de temporalite

Une foiz sen font acheteurs
Et lautre foiz in sont vendeurs

"And fyrst thow shalt wel understand
That by falsnes of this hond
most horryble and odyous
was brought fyrst in-to christis hous
the falsē vyce of symonye
and by his feyned trecherye,
by his sleyte, and by his gyn,
at the dore he cam not in ;
but at some travas, lych a theffe,
wher he dothe full gret myschefe ;
for wher so ever he dothe aproche
with this staffe he can a-croche
the herts of folke by covetyse
and ordeynythe in full cursyd wyse
sheppards to kepē christis shepe
whiche of theyr offyse toke no kepe.
An herdman is [y]sayd, in dede,
only for he shuld[ē] fede
his shepe with spyrituall doctryn ;
but they draw by an othar lyn :
they may be callyd, for ther werkynge,
pastours only of fedyngē,
They fede themself with haboundaunce,
and let ther shepe go to myschaunce ;
I trow it is full well ysene,
them selfe be fatt, ther shepe be lene
I trow, the most[ē] part of all,
mēn shuld them rather wolv[ē]s call
than trwē herd[ē]s ; yong and old
they come to robb[ē] christis fold ;
they shuld ther shepe from wolv[ē]s
were ;
the wool, the mylke, away they bere.
I can not se wher-of they serue,
that lat ther shepe at meschefe starue,
and put them selfe in gret defame.
And they would ekē makē lame
gracē dieu of cursydnesse,
lyke as I shall a-non exprese,
from the trone of hir mageste
by gyfte of temporalite :
his fals office I can well tell ;
he can now byen, he can now sell,
By boundys of collusyon
and all comythe in by syr symon.
(ll. 17965-99.)

VI. LYDGATE AND BUNYAN.

An edition of Bunyan's works, edited by Dr. George Offor and published in 1853, contains, as an appendix, a defence of Bunyan's originality, upon which doubts had been thrown by various authors, some of them of high repute.

Dr. Dibdin in *Typographical Antiquities*, speaking of the *Pilgrimage of the Soul*, says: "This extraordinary production, rather than Bernard's *Isle of Man*, laid the foundation of John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*." Dr. Adam Clarke, as he states in a postscript to a *Life of Bunyan*, considered that either Bernard's *Isle of Man*, or Spencer's *Faëry Queen*, "if not both, gave birth to the *Pilgrim's Progress*." Mr. Montgomery thought that the print and verses called *The Pilgrim* in Witney's *Emblems* suggested the idea of the book. Mr. Chambers, of Edinburgh, considered that Bunyan could not have been ignorant of Gavin Douglas's *Palace of Honour*. D'Israeli, in his *Amenities of Literature*, made the tentative suggestion that there was some connection between Bunyan's masterpiece and *Piers Plowman*.

These ideas are briefly and in most cases effectively disposed of by Dr. Offor, who (after his study and analysis of these and many other allegorical works) had come to the sincere conclusion that not a sentence in the *Pilgrim's Progress* could be proved to have any other origin than the Bible or Bunyan's own mind.

Amongst the allegories cited by him we find the *Pilgrimage of the Life of Man*, of which he gives a somewhat insufficient analysis. No one had so far asserted that Bunyan owed any debt to this particular work; but only a few years after Offor's edition of the *Pilgrim's Progress* was published just such a suggestion appeared.

In 1858 was published by Basil Montagu Pickering *The Ancient Poem of Guillaume de Guileville, entitled le Pelerinage de l'Homme, compared with the Pilgrim's Progress of John Bunyan*.

This book was compiled from notes collected by the late Mr. Nathaniel Hill, and contained a comparison of various passages from Bunyan and from the second version of De Guileville's poem, as well as an appendix consisting of long extracts from Lydgate's version and a prose synopsis of many parts not thus quoted.

Nathaniel Hill's argument takes the following course. He first points out the prevalence of allegorical writing for more than three centuries before Bunyan, and then indicates the sources from which

De Guileville and Bunyan “drew and embellished their compositions,” viz. the Bible, chivalrous literature, and the traditional literature of the people, such as ballads, chap-books, and the popular romances of *Guy of Warwick*, etc.

After a dissertation on the great extent to which writers of genius have made use of already existing literary material, Nathaniel Hill goes on to bring forward evidences of the popularity of De Guileville’s *Dream* in England, such as Chaucer’s translation of the *A B C* poem to the Virgin, his imitation of the final passage in the *Book of the Duchess*, and the numerous translations of it which exist, both in prose and verse.

He gives a list of these versions, among which he includes, however, several MSS. and one printed edition of the *Pilgrimage of the Soul*. To these I have not had access, but most probably they are translations of the second portion of De Guileville’s great poem, that of the pilgrimage “*de lame séparée du corps*.”

Next, “in order still further to show the concurrence—at least of ideas, if not of diction—between De Guileville and Bunyan” Hill quotes a large number of passages from the French of De Guileville and from Bunyan’s *Pilgrim’s Progress*, and concludes with various extracts from other poets—such as Langland, Walter Mapes, Hampole, Dunbar and Hawes—by means of which he designs to illustrate some traditional forms of expression common in the 14th and 15th centuries, and also used by Bunyan.

The general trend of his argument is, of course, to show that Bunyan was acquainted with De Guileville’s *Pilgrimage* and was influenced by it to a considerable extent in writing his *Pilgrim’s Progress*. As his editors point out, “The late Mr. Nathaniel Hill intended to have made the following Papers the groundwork of a larger publication on the *Pilgrim’s Progress* of Bunyan, in which he proposed showing that Bunyan had been indebted, for many portions of his story, to some of the early mediæval Romances.”

His death prevented the carrying out of this design; but as it was on De Guileville’s poem that Mr. Hill’s views were principally founded, this is the less to be regretted.

The question now to be considered is how far Mr. Hill proved his case, and how far Bunyan appears really to have been influenced by mediæval writers, and especially by De Guileville.

That there are undoubted correspondences between the two pilgrimages may be at once admitted.

Each is in the similitude of a dream and describes the journey of a pilgrim to the Celestial City. In each case a heavenly guide to point out the way, to rebuke or to encourage, is given to the pilgrim; in Christian's case Evangelist, in De Guileville's Grace Dieu. Each pilgrim also receives a mark of consecration, though De Guileville is "crossyd" at his baptism, and Christian's mark in his forehead is not given him until he stands before the Cross of Christ. Each is beset in his path by difficulties and adversaries. Christian meets with Worldly Wiseman, Apollyon, Vanity Fair and its inhabitants, Demas who tempts him to turn aside for money, Giant Despair who catches him as he wanders in By-Path meadow, the Flatterer, Atheist and Ignorance. In De Guileville we get figures corresponding to all or nearly all of these. Beside Ignorance we may place Rude Entendement. For Apollyon we have Satan the Hunter, for Demas, Avarice with her golden idol. Giant Despair catches the pilgrim who seeks easy going in a by-path, the cord of Desperation is ready for him who is overcome by Sloth.

For Vanity Fair we have the Sea of the World; and for Envy, Superstition, Lord Casual Delight, Lord Desire-of-Vain-Glory, Mr. Malice, Mr. Love-Lust and the others we find Envy, Astrology, Fortune, Conspiracy and Worldly Gladness, who possess between them nearly all the amiable characteristics Bunyan has personified in his description of the inhabitants of Vanity Fair.

Instead of Worldly Wiseman we have Reason and Nature, who resent the doings of Grace Dieu as Worldly Wiseman scorns the counsel of Evangelist.

The house of Grace Dieu in which the Pilgrim sees the wonders of the ointments, the sword and keys and the sacramental change, and hears the explanations of these things from Reason and Grace Dieu, is represented in Bunyan by the Interpreter's House, in which Christian is taught many profitable things; and the "chaumbre ful secree" into which Grace Dieu leads the Pilgrim to receive his armour stands perhaps for the House Beautiful in which Christian is similarly endowed. The meaning of the armour is the same in each narrative, and it even seems to me that I can perceive some concurrence of idea in the fact that Grace Dieu suffers the Pilgrim to go unarmed, save for sling and stone, while Faithful also passes on his pilgrimage without visiting the House Beautiful or receiving the armour.

There are other correspondences of a more or less doubtful

character. The wicket-gate, placed by Bunyan at the beginning of the path, is mentioned by De Guileville as the actual entry to the Celestial City, while either Moral Virtue's gate or the river of baptism corresponds more nearly to Bunyan's wicket. (Nathaniel Hill compares this river with the Slough of Despond.)

Christian and Faithful receive certificates on starting, which are to be given in at the gate of the city when they arrive. De Guileville's Pilgrim is presented with a scrip and staff "wych al pilgrymes ouhte to have," and which they leave outside the gate on entering.

Christian receives a roll of promise after the sight of Christ's Cross has freed him from his burden. De Guileville's Pilgrim also receives rolls at various times for his instruction or comfort, such as the poems on the Creed and the Trinity, and the bill of Grace Dieu containing the *A B C*, which is brought to him after he is cast off by Fortune. In more close correspondence with Christian's roll, however, is the Testament of Christ in which the gift of peace is bequeathed to man.

But, close though some of these resemblances may seem to be, the differences, and especially the implicit ones, are far more striking. Thus, though both Christian and De Guileville's Pilgrim are moved by powerful impulses to go on pilgrimage, the manner of the incitement is sharply contrasted, since in Christian's case the moving cause is fear of judgment, while in De Guileville's it is the vision of celestial happiness.

It must be noticed, however, that as Christian walks with Pliable towards the wicket-gate, he discourses to him concerning the Heavenly Kingdom in terms which bear some resemblance to those of De Guileville's vision. (Lyd. 345-438.)

"There is an endless kingdom to be inhabited, and everlasting life to be given us, that we may inhabit that kingdom for ever. . . . There are crowns of glory to be given us; and garments that will make us shine like the sun in the firmament of heaven. . . . There shall be no more crying nor sorrow; for He that is owner of the place will wipe all tears from our eyes. . . . There we shall be with seraphims and cherubims, creatures that will dazzle your eyes to look on them. There also you shall meet with thousands and ten thousands that have gone before us to that place. None of them are hurtful, but loving and holy, every one walking in the sight of God, and standing in his presence with acceptance for ever. In a

word, there we shall see the elders with their golden crowns; there we shall see the holy virgins with their golden harps; there we shall see men that by the world were cut in pieces, burnt in flames, eaten of beasts, drowned in the seas, for the love that they bore to the Lord of the place, all well, and clothed with immortality as with a garment."

Very marked is the difference between the ways in which the two Pilgrims are freed from the burden of sin. To begin with, Christian is conscious of the burden; its presence is terrible to him and he seeks earnestly to be rid of it. De Guileville's Pilgrim has apparently no sense of sin:

"What nedyth yt to wasshë me,
Or bathë, when yt ys no nede;
ffor I am clenë washe in dede
ffrom al felth and uncleynesse." (ll. 970-973.)

—and even after Grace Dieu's long explanation of the doctrine of original sin, he does not appear to be inwardly convicted so much as convinced of the hopelessness of rebelling against authority:

"Thanne me sempte yt was but veyn,
More for me to speke ageyn,
Or makë replycacioun
Ageynys her oppynyoun." (ll. 1291-1294.)

The Pilgrim is freed from this original sin by the washing of baptism, but Christian bears his burden long after he has entered upon the strait path, nor does he leave it in the Interpreter's House (which, as above said, may be taken to correspond to the Church, or house of Grace Dieu), but only before the Cross of Christ.

There is, however, a passage further on in the *Pilgrimage*, in which the Pilgrim admits his inability to return to innocence through his own efforts, and is directed by Grace Dieu to look for help to the four parts of Christ's Cross (12441-12673), which may be compared with the loosing of Christian's burden before the Cross.

Another point of difference is that De Guileville's allegory is a pilgrimage of the *life of man*, and follows the Pilgrim from birth to death (see ll. 643-651 and l. 975)—though the device by which an infant is made to discuss the doctrine of original sin seems somewhat lacking in even allegorical fitness,—while the Pilgrim's Progress only begins when Christian is first awakened to the sense of sin, and deals purely with his *spiritual* experiences. The *Pilgrimage* also is chiefly concerned with spiritual experiences, but when we

reach the part at which the Pilgrim enters the monastery, the allegory frequently fails, and we are treated to long descriptions which, though symbolical in a way, are yet distinct deviations from the original path of the allegory, and represent rather objective occurrences than the personal experiences of the soul.

But the greatest difference of all consists in the fact that De Guileville's poem is to a great degree an exposition and enforcement of the chief doctrines of the Roman Church, and the experiences through which the Pilgrim passes are such as would best throw into relief the powers and prerogatives of that Church. Thus all the preparation which the Pilgrim receives for his journey is Church preparation. He is baptized, he is instructed in the Sacraments, and in the points of priestly dominion, he is taught (by the extraordinary episode of the placing of his eyes in his ears) to rely upon authority only, he is warned against too great reliance on reason, he is presented with the

“articles off our creauunce,
The wych wer mad (with-outē stryff)
(6911-6914) In hooly cherchē prymtyff.”

And then, finally, when he has passed through the various incidents of his progress, and with stained conscience cries to God for help, it is to penance and the discipline of the Church, as exercised in monasteries, that Grace Dieu bids him resort in order to defend himself

(22111) “Ageyne the ffende and alle his myght.”

We see therefore that the spirit pervading the *Pilgrimage of the Life of Man* is, in spite of many resemblances of detail, very different from that which animates the *Pilgrim's Progress*. This, however, would not in itself be enough to prove that Bunyan was not influenced by the older work, for we might well suppose that if he were acquainted with the allegory he might adopt the general idea and such details as pleased him, and throw them into a form accordant with his Puritan theology, while rejecting all those parts which were an offence to him.

But there are other arguments against this theory.

First we may notice that Bunyan is not at all likely to have had any acquaintane with the *Pilgrimage*. Lydgate's poem had never been printed, only three copies of it are known, and therefore its circulation must have been comparatively small; nor can we suppose that Bunyan, an unlearned man of low rank, would be likely to

have access to such a manuscript, or that he would be able to read it even if he had come across it.¹

We have what seems to be a fairly trustworthy record of the meagreness of Bunyan's library. He was put to school as a boy and taught to read and write, "the which I also attained, according to the rate of other poor men's children, though to my shame I confess I did soon lose that I had learned even almost utterly, and that long before the Lord did work his gracious work of conversion upon my soul."

We see, from this passage, that Bunyan cannot have read much prior to his conversion. Serious books we know he avoided, for he tells us that "when I have seen some read in those books that concerned Christian piety, it would be, as it were, a prison to me."

Books of a more worldly type were perhaps occasionally read by him if we may take as embodying personal experience the passage in *Sighs from Hell* where a lost sinner confesses to Abraham the manner in which he treated the Scriptures. "The Scriptures," thought I, "what are they? . . . Give me a ballad, a news-book, George on Horseback, or Bevis of Southampton." But it is not likely that such books were a great temptation to him, or we should surely have had detailed reference to them, along with the other temptations of his youth, in *Grace Abounding*.

It is expressly recorded that at his marriage his wife brought him two books, *The Plain Man's Pathway to Heaven* and the *Practice of Piety*, and that these he sometimes read. Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* was one of his most cherished possessions, and Luther's *Commentary on Galatians*, which he happened to come across in a time of conflict and darkness, drew from him the testimony that he preferred it before all the books that ever he had seen, excepting the Holy Bible, as most fit for a wounded conscience.

So far, then, as we can gather from existing records these few books, together with the Bible, formed his library. Of course it is possible that there may have been others, but it is unprofitable to speculate on the point since in one Book alone—the Bible—supple-

¹ It is however true, as has been before noted, that a condensed English prose version of De Guileville's poem, a copy of which is found in St. John's Library, Cambridge, existed in the seventeenth century; and though it is not very likely that Bunyan saw even this, it is possible that the story may have been told to him by one who had done so.

mented by Bunyan's own experience, we may trace all the influences necessary for the production of the *Pilgrim's Progress*.

As the numerous marginal references show, the very passage on the Heavenly Jerusalem, which has been compared above with Lydgate's description of the same, is drawn in almost every particular, and sometimes word for word, from the Bible. Christian's armour is the armour of God described in Ephesians vi. 11-17. The fight with Apollyon is an amplification of the text "Resist the devil and he will flee from you" (James iv. 7). The description of the Valley of the Shadow of Death is drawn from various passages in the Psalms and in Job; the origin of the idea of Vanity Fair is indicated by many references,—to the kingdoms of this world shown to our Lord by the Tempter (Matt. iv. 8; Luke iv. 5, 6, 7); to the necessity for passing through the temptations of the world (1 Cor. v. 10); to the lamentations over the vanity of transitory things in Ecclesiastes. All through the book the language of the Bible is employed; the figures and symbols used are those drawn from Holy Writ; the doctrines insisted upon are supported by scriptural reference after reference.

And what of the general course of the allegory and the personages represented in it? In almost every point it may be brought into line with Bunyan's own experiences. The course of his early religious life—his first awakening, his attempts to attain righteousness by the deeds of the law, his despair when he discovered the shallowness of this reformation, the instruction he received from the Baptist minister, Mr. Gifford—are all faithfully reflected in the experiences of Christian as he travels towards the wicket-gate, in his acceptance of the arguments of Worldly Wiseman, in his struggles in the Slough of Despond, in the character and words of Evangelist.

It was a sermon on the love of Christ which opened the wicket-gate to Bunyan's soul, and revealed to him the mind of that One who was "willing with all his heart" to let him in. In the character and house of the Interpreter we may trace again the figure of Mr. Gifford and the religious assembly over which he presided; in the terrible picture of the Valley of the Shadow of Death we may follow the experience of those months of conflict during which Bunyan was so tormented by spiritual temptations and by the influence of his early sins, that nothing but the grace of God can have preserved the balance of his reason. It

was at this point that he came upon Luther's *Commentary on Galatians*; and, as Dr. Cheever points out, this may be "the original of just that beautiful incident recorded in the progress of Christian through the Valley of the Shadow of Death, where, when Christian had travelled in this disconsolate condition some considerable time, he thought he heard the voice of a man as going before him, saying, 'Though I walk through the Valley of the Shadow of Death, I will fear no ill, for Thou art with me.' This, doubtless, was Luther's voice; and by it Bunyan perceived that some others who feared God might be in this valley as well as himself, and that God was with them."

Nor can we fail to trace in the other personages of the allegory a resemblance to many he must have met, especially in such characters as Pliable, Talkative, Little Faith, Worldly Wiseman, and the Judge and Jury in Vanity Fair, all of them types likely to be produced by the political and religious conditions which prevailed at the time when the *Pilgrim's Progress* was written.

It is unnecessary to pursue this line of argument further, and I will conclude with Bunyan's own testimony to the originality of his work.

"The Bible and the Concordance," he says in one place, "are my only library in my writings, and I never fished in other men's waters."

Again, in the poetical preface to the *Holy War*, writing to defend himself against the assertion that the *Pilgrim's Progress* was not his, he says:

"It came from mine own heart, so to my head,
And thence into my fingers tricklèd;
Then to my pen, from whence immediately
On paper I did dribble it daintily.
Manner and matter, too, was all mine own,
Nor was it unto any mortal known
Till I had done it; nor did any then
By books, by wits, by tongues, or hand, or pen,
Add five words to it, or wrote half a line
Thereof; the whole, and every whit, is mine."

In *The Author's Apology for his Book* prefixed to the *Pilgrim's Progress* there is further evidence to the same effect. This apology contains Bunyan's reasons for writing in the allegorical style, a style which he defends by reference to the symbols and parables of Holy

Writ, and he gives also an account of the inception and beginning of the *Pilgrim's Progress*.

“When at the first I took my pen in hand
Thus for to write, I did not understand
That I at all should make a little book
In such a mode ; nay, I had undertook
To make another, which when almost done,
Before I was aware, I thus begun.

And thus it was : I, writing of the way
And race of saints in this our gospel-day,
Fell suddenly into an allegory
About their journey and the way to glory,
In more than twenty things, which I set down ;
This done, I twenty more had in my crown ;
And they began again to multiply,
Like sparks that from the coals of fire do fly.
Nay then, thought I, if that you breed so fast,
I'll put you by yourselves, lest you at last
Should prove *ad infinitum*, and eat out
The book that I already am about.”

These extracts make it evident that Bunyan (even though further on he declares that for the practice of using figures and similitudes he has

“Examples, too, and that from them that have
God better pleased by their words or ways
Than any man that breatheth now-a-days,”)

was certainly not aware of being affected by any external influences. Of course it is possible that there may have been literary influences at work of which he was not conscious, and that the idea of the dream, the journey from this world to the next, and perhaps a few minor details may have been due to such. But it has been pointed out that there is no necessity to resort to the theory, nor are the correspondences between Lydgate's *Pilgrimage* and Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* sufficiently unmistakable to counterbalance the improbability of the assumption that the younger writer should ever have come across the work of the elder.

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14 cent. Cotton Coll. Tiberius A 7. The Pilgrim. Vellum, imperfect. Pilgrimage of the world, by commandement of the Earle of Salisbury, 1426. Alluded to by Thomas Speght, in his list of Lydgate's works at the end of his Siege of Thebes. Fol. 394 in Chaucer's Workes, 1598, ed. Speght.

This must be the Stowe MS. 952, as Speght says it is "in the custodie of" John Stowe.

PILGRIMAGE.

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PROSE.

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Colophon. "Written according to y^e first copy. The originall being in St. John's College in Oxford (now in Bodleian), and thither given by Will. Laud, Archbp. of Canterbury, who had it of Will. Baspoole, who before he gave to y^e Archbp. the originall, did copy it out. By which it was verbatim written by Walter Parker, 1645, and frō thence transcribed by G. G. 1649. And frō thence by W. A. 1655."

St. John's College. (G. 21.) Northern dialect.

Magdalene College. MS. Pepys 2258.—Same title as Ff. 6. 30. *Univ. Lib.* The colophon runs:—"Heere ends the Romance of the Monke which he wrote of the Pilgrimage of the life of the manhoode, which he made for the good pilgrims of this world that they may know such way as may bring them to ye joyes of Heaven. Pray for him yt made it & gratis¹ writt it for the love of good Christians in the yeare one thousand three hundred thirty & one."

Folio, illustrated with coloured drawings.

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Le pelerinage de l'homme. Nouvellemēt imprime a paris. Le quatriesme iour dauril mil cinq cens et onze deuât Pasques Pour anthoine Verard demourant en la dicte Ville. (Douce, G. 285.) (Also in Brit. Mus.)

Le pelerin de vie humaine tres utile et profitable pour cōgnoistre soymesmes. Known to be by Jean Gallopes, though he does not give his name. This version was made by order of "Dame Jehāne de Laual royne de Iherusalem et de Secille, duchesse daniou et de Bar contesse de Prouence." Printed at Lyon by Claude Nourry in 1504. (Douce, P. 339.)

Delft Edition. "Die is dat boeck vanden pelgrim welck boeck nuttich ende profitelick is allen kersten menschen te leren den wech welcken wech men sculdich is te ghaen ofte laten, die haer pelgrimage doen moeten in deser warelt tot dē ewighē leuen." (Douce, 46.)

¹ Should this be *gart* = *caused*, as in another copy?

Colophon. "Hier eyndt dat boeck vanden pelgrym. En is gheprincte Delf in Hollant. By mi heynrick Eckert van Homberch, Intiaer ons heeren M.CCCC VIII. den vutsten dach van april." The Royal Library at the Hague contains another edition of this book, printed at Haarlem, similar to the Delft edition in illustrations and text, except that a few words, relating how the author awoke from his dream, are added at the end, and that there are some variations in spelling.

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Le Pelerinage de vie humaine. Ed. by J. J. Stürzinger, Roxburghe Club, 1893. First recension.

"The Peregrination of Mannes Lyfe," enumerated by Skelton as among his prose works. Warton (*Hist. of Eng. Poetry*, III, 163, ed. 1824) thinks this may have been a translation "from the French, perhaps of Guillaume, prior of Chaulis." (Not extant.)

On the fly-leaf of Verard's edition is the following MS. note: "This Romance had been printed in the Castilian language as early as 1480 under the following title—'El peregrinaje de la vida humana compuesto por Fray Guillelmo de Gralleuille Abad de Senlis, traduzido en volgar Castellano por Fray Vincentio Mazuello en Tolosa por Henrique Aleman, 1480, in folio. V. Marchand, *hist. de l'imprimerie*.'"

The book in Queen's College Library, Oxford, called in the catalogue "The booke of the pilgrymage of Man. (Translated into English metre, by an anonymous writer, from a prose version by William Hendred, Prior of Leominster, of the French work of Guillaume de Guilleville.) London. Richard Faques (about 1525?)" is not a translation of the *Pilgrimage of the Life of Man*, but is quite a different poem.

As above noted, the second recension of Deguileville's poem, which is the version afterwards put into English by Lydgate, exists in England in MS. in Lord Crawford's Library, and in print in the Brit. Mus., in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and in the library of Mr. Alfred Huth. In both the Brit. Mus. and the Bodleian we find two editions.

(1) *Le romant des trois Pelerinaiges. Le premier pelerinaige est de l'homme durât quest en vie.*

Le second de lame separee du corps.

Le tiers est de nostre seigneur iesus en forme de monoteseron: cest a sauoir les quatre enaigiles mise en une: et le tout magistralement cointemēt et si utilemēt pour le salut de lame qu'on ne pourront mieulx dire ne escrire, fait et compose p^r frere guillaume de deguileville en son viuāt moyne de chaalitz de lordre de cisteaux.

This edition was printed in Paris by B. Rembolt for Bartholde and Jehan Petit. It bears no date, but is ascribed by Stürzinger to about the year 1500.

(2) *Le pelerinage de l'homme. nouellemēt imprime a paris. Le quatresme iour dauril mil cinq cens et onze deuāt Pasques. Pour*

anthoine Verard demourant en ladicte Ville Et a le roy nostre sire donne au dit Verard lettres de priuilege et terme de trois ans pour Vendre et distribuer ses ditz liures affin destre rembourse de ses fraiz et mises et deffend le dit seigneur a tous libraires / imprimeurs et autres de ce royaulme de imprimer ce present liure iusques apres trois ans du iour de la date cy dessus mise sur peine de confiscation des ditz liures. This edition (which contains only the first of the three pilgrimages) is slightly different from that of B. and J. Petit. The differences, in most cases, are verbal variations not affecting the sense, though in a few places the wording of as many as four or five lines is distinct. The prose prayer according to St. Bernard is present in Verard, but in Petit is replaced by about a page of De Guileville's verse.

The other differences are editorial. Verard contains a table of contents according to the chapters,—Petit has an alphabetical table. Each contains a Prologue du Correcteur, identical as to the earlier verses. In the last verse, however, there is a variation, according as the publication of the book had to be ascribed to Bertholde (Petit) or to Anthoine Verard, and Petit's Prologue contains two extra verses, which explain that the Jerusalem spoken of in the poem is the Celestial Jerusalem, and that the contents of the book must be understood "moralement et non pas litteralement."

THE MSS. OF LYDGATE'S POEM.

Cotton. *Vitellius C. 13.* *Brit. Mus.* Vellum. Folio.

THIS MS. belonged to the collection of Sir R. Cotton, and was injured in the fire at his library. It has been burnt and torn at the top, with the result that the script in this part of the pages is frequently illegible. Otherwise, however, it is in good condition, and, with the exception of fol. 1, the ink has kept its colour well.

The script, which is fifteenth century in character, is small, neat and legible.

The MS. is written in black ink, without illustrations, ornamental capitals or decoration, although spaces for illustrations have been left. Red ink has been used to touch up the initial letters of the lines as far as fol. 155, and red ink headings and phrases are to be found, but in some parts they are written in black, as are also the occasional sidenotes. Here and there the headings have been omitted, and have been put in by another and later hand.

Portions of the cover and fly-leaves remain. The fly-leaf at the end is scribbled over in various hands on one side, and on the reverse is a note:—"Our Ladye's A. B. C. 50 leafes from the end." In the MS., however, the A. B. C. does not appear, though there is a blank left for it.

The MS. consists of 311 folios, including fly-leaves, and contains about 21,600 lines of Lydgate's poem, about 3,200 lines being missing. The principal gaps occur after fol. 253, between the lines—

"I holde thys falsë pardownerys" (l. 17901), and

"And fro my whel when they are falle" (l. 19551).

The next considerable gap comes at fol. 286, between the lines—

"Ma dame then anoon quod I" (l. 21949), and

"How euerych dede in his degré" (l. 23367),

and after fol. 241—

"That they resowne no maner thyng" (l. 16080), to

"Wych by the ground ful lowë lay" (l. 17062),

which passage includes the whole of the prayer according to St. Bernard.

Cott. *Tiberius A. 7.* *Brit. Mus.* Vellum. Quarto.

The volume in which this Lydgate MS. is found contains also some Latin Chronicles and Poems. The fragment of Lydgate's poem begins at p. 39 of the volume with the conversation between the Pilgrim and Avarice, at l. 18313, "May into heven have none entre," and consists of rather less than 4000 lines.

The first page is much stained, and at intervals throughout the MS. there are portions scorched or injured by the use of galls, but in most cases the injury is not enough to render the script illegible. At fol. 98 of

the volume, however, the work of the fire becomes more evident, and as we go on we find that the MS. becomes illegible in the midst of the conversation between the Pilgrim and Obedience, and ends with fol. 106 of the volume. After fol. 62 some leaves are missing after the catch-words, "Or what answere" (l. 19712), until "Thys tooknys nor thys bowys grene" (l. 20416), and also after fol. 64, from "And in this world (bothe fer & ner)" (l. 20557), to "That god wolde helpe me on my weye" (l. 20812). The fragment ends with l. 23676, "And the fatte away thei pulle."

The MS., which is on vellum, is beautifully written in a neat and very legible fifteenth-century hand, and is illustrated with fifty-three coloured drawings. It is also decorated on several pages with tail-pieces of a floral design, enclosing catch-words intended to secure the sequence of the sheets.

The MS. is written in black ink, proper names, some notable phrases, and the few sidenotes being in red. The capitals are in red and blue, with elaborate red flourishes, which in some cases extend nearly the whole length of the page.

The illustrations, although grotesque, are not lacking in a rude impressiveness, and the figures often have considerable vigour of action and expression, in spite of the imperfections of the drawing.

The illustrations represent the following subjects:

- (1) Avarice and Death showing their boxes.
- (2) The martyrdom of St. Lawrence.
- (3) Avarice and Youth.
- (4) The Pilgrim and the Messenger of Necromancy.
- (5) The pavilion of Necromancy.
- (6) The Messenger demonstrates how spirits are raised.
- (7) The Duke of Friesland refuses to be baptized.
- (8) Necromancy, the Messenger and the Pilgrim.
- (9) Heresy calls to the Pilgrim.
- (10) Heresy trying to reshape the Pilgrim's scrip.
- (11) Satan and Heresy trying to catch the Pilgrim in nets.
- (12) Satan and Heresy casting nets into the sea.
- (13) Satan fishing for Pilgrims in the sea.
- (14) A hermit, deceived by Satan, kills his own father.
- (15) Satan the hunter lamenting.
- (16) The Pilgrim swimming in the sea.
- (17) The Pilgrim cast on Fortune's Wheel.
- (18) Fortune on her Wheel.
- (19) A carpenter kneeling before an idol in the house of Idolatry.
- (20) An altar-piece of Christ, Apostles, Prophets and Martyrs.
- (21) The Pilgrim caught by Sorcery.
- (22) The school of Satan, in which Sorcery learnt.
- (23) The Pilgrim, on an island, is attacked by Conspiracy.
- (24) Two kings, and the treacherous soldiers of one surrendering to the other.
- (25) The Pilgrim on an island in the sea.
- (26) The Pilgrim and the flaming tower.
- (27) Worldly Gladness, a bird-man, flying to the Pilgrim.
- (28) The worldly joys of love and gambling.
- (29) Worldly Gladness casts the Pilgrim into the sea.
- (30) The Pilgrim lamenting on his island.
- (31) The ship of Religion comes to the Pilgrim.
- (32) Grace Dieu descends from the ship to meet the Pilgrim.

- (33) Grace Dieu descends from the ship to meet the Pilgrim.
- (34) Grace Dieu shows the Pilgrim the bath of Repentance.
- (35) The Pilgrim in the bath of Repentance.
- (36) Grace Dieu shows the Pilgrim four monasteries.
- (37) The Pilgrim before the porter of the monastery of Citeaux.
- (38) The refectory at Citeaux.
- (39) The Pilgrim meets Lady Lesson in the monastery.
- (40) Hagiography shows her books to the Pilgrim.
- (41) Hagiography shows her mirrors to the Pilgrim.
- (42) A king being deceived by flatterers.
- (43) The Pilgrim looking in the mirror of Conscience.
- (44) The Pilgrim with Obedience and Abstinence.
- (45) The dead serving the living at table in the monastery.
- (46) Chastity making beds. Wilful Poverty singing.
- (47) Wilful Poverty speaking to the Pilgrim.
- (48) Wilful Poverty shows Impatient Poverty to the Pilgrim.
- (49) The Pilgrim and Dame Chastity with her mailed hands.
- (50) The Pilgrim and Prayer.
- (51) The Pilgrim, Prayer and two skeletons.
- (52) The Pilgrim finds the handmaid Latria, blowing a horn.
- (53) Abusion with her mason's rule and spoon. (This illustration is not correctly placed in the MS.)

Stowe 952. *Brit. Mus.* Paper. Quarto.

This MS. belonged to John Stowe, the Elizabethan tailor and collector of MSS. and antiquities, and consists of 379 folios in which are contained the whole of Lydgate's poem. The passage from l. 16081 to l. 17062, including the prayer of St. Bernard, is found only in this MS. as is also the case with ll. 17901-18312. Up to fol. 304 the Stowe MS. is written in a late fifteenth-century hand, but the remainder of the poem, beginning at l. 17198, "She held also a gret ballaunce," has been copied by Stowe himself from another MS.

At fol. 3 occurs the following note in Stowe's writing: "pilgrimage de monde, y^e pilgrimage of y^e world, translated out of Frenche into Englyshe by John Lydgate, monke of bery at y^e comandement of y^e earle of Salisbery."

Following this is a note in another hand: "Thomas Montacute, E. of Sa: in the tyme of H. 6. He was slayne at the siege of Orleans by a bullet of stone, shot from the enemye's fort as he was looking out at a windowe from a high Tower that overlookd the citty. He dyed 3 dayes after his wounding, being the 3 of Novemb. 1428 7 H. 6. His bodye was brought into England & buried in the Abbey of Bristleham or Brickham in Berkshire."

On p. 1 is the name W. Browne, which may possibly indicate that the MS. was originally the property of the author of *Britannia's Pastorals*.

The hand in which the first two-thirds of the MS. are written is much less compact and neat than that of either Vitell. c. XIII or Tib. A. VII, as the scribe has made much use of flourished capitals and long tails to his letters. It is, however, legible for this style of writing.

GUILLAUME DE GUILEVILLE.

Of the author of the *Pèlerinage de la Vie Humaine* practically nothing is known besides what can be gathered from the poem. From this we learn that Deguileville was a monk of the Abbey of Chalis, in Valois, near Senlis, founded by St. Louis, and that he wrote there in the years 1330-31 a poem recording a vision which he had had.

“Pourtant le dye car une foiz
L'an mil trois cēs dix & trois foiz
Ung songe vy bien merueilleux
Lequel ainsi com sommeilleux
J'escriptz a mon reueillement.” (Ver. fol. i. back.)

In the commission of Reason against Rude Entendement the date 1331 is mentioned.

This first recension of the poem was stolen from him before he had been able to put it into final shape, and after the MS. was stolen it was copied, and copies of the unauthorised version were dispersed throughout France. Displeased at this, Deguileville undertook the immense task of rewriting the poem and issuing the new version to all those places in which copies of the first recension were to be found. This second version was not made until twenty-five or twenty-six years after the first, as we learn from the envoy to his dream :

“Et si soyes loyal messaige
De trestout mon pelerinaige
Disant a tous comment mauint
Passe a des ans vingt cinq
Du monastere de chaliz
Qui fut funde par saint loys.” (fol. ii.)

In Lydgate's version (l. 304) “syx and twenty yer” is the time mentioned.

Besides the Pilgrimage of the Life of Man, De Guileville wrote also the *Pèlerinage de l'Âme*, containing an account of the judgment of the soul, and its passage through Purgatory, and the *Pèlerinage de Jesus crist*.

We learn from the first recension of the first pilgrimage that De Guileville was thirty-six years of age at the time that it was written.¹ He must therefore have been born about 1294 or 1295. The date of his death is not known, but in the prologue to the *Pèlerinage de Jesus crist* there is a mention of the date “Lan mil trois cens cinquante huit,” which proves that he must at least have passed the age of sixty-four.

The name of the poet's father was Thomas de guilleville.

¹ “Thou hast nourished him (the body) A gret while it is that thou bigunne and neuere si the stindedest Thouh j seide 36^{ti} winter j failede j trowe but litel.” (Camb.)

"God is thy ffader tak hed her to
And thow art hys sone also

ffor of Thomas de guillévyle
Thow art not sone on that party."

(MS. Cott. Vitell. C XIII, fol. 147.)

He was called William after his godfather :

"Gnyllyam ffor-sothly he hyhte
Hys surname I nat ne knew." (Lydgate, l. 1308-9.)

and he had as his patron saint St. William of Chalis, "the abbot of Chalyt, thy good patroun seint William."

De Visch speaks of him as a Parisien by birth and as monk and prior of Chalis. Jean Galoppes, the author of the prose version of the Pilgrim-age, also speaks of him as "Guillaume prieur de l'abbaye de Chaaliez."

De Guileville remained in the abbey of Chalis for thirty-nine years :

"for taccounte the terme entier
the space of XXXIX yere
I was bound of volunte." (l. 23029-31.)

From these dates we may gather that he was born in 1294, entered the monastery at the age of twenty-two in 1316, wrote the first version of his poem at the age of thirty-six in 1330, and the second version in 1355, after he had been thirty-nine years a monk.

Meyer says "l'auteur tirait son surnom de Digulleville, commune de l'arrondissement de Cherbourg, canton de Beaumont-Hague." The only other fact of Deguileville's life that seems clear is that he was acquainted with Jean de Meun (b. 1250, d. 1322 c.), the author of the second part of the *Romance of the Rose* :

"I knowe that man fful wel
With every maner cylumstaunce,
Wych that madè that Romaunce."
(Lydgate, p. 358-9, ll. 13214-16.)

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AFTERWORDS.

BY F. J. FURNIVALL.

"LADIES first" is a good rule, so my Forewords of 1899 to Part I, together with these Afterwords, had better follow Miss Locock's Introduction, etc.

Two mistakes on p. vi have to be corrected.

1. It is only in MSS. of the 2nd version of *De Guileville* that the British Museum is deficient: of prints it has both Petit's (?1500) and Verard's (1511) of the 3 pilgrimages, man, the soul, and Jesus Christ. 2. For 'husband's' in the last line of note 3, read 'father's.' No conclusive evidence has yet been produced that Thomas Chaucer was Geoffrey's son.

To the top list on p. xi of *to* run into its next vowel-beginning word, add—

tadwellyd, 260/9422, to have dwelt.

tassaye, 262/9502, to assay, try.

tassaylle, 276/10,059, to assail.

Compare (make) maryue, 270/9802, me arrive.

With regard to the supposed omission in the prose tract on the Virgin as the Consolation of Afflicted Hearts, p. 447, the original Latin in Verard's edition of 'Le pelerinage de l'homme,' Fueillet, lxv, col. 1 at foot, shows that nothing is left out. Lydgate's words at the foot of p. 446 and on p. 447, english and paraphrase this Latin :

"Et ideo tibi possum dicere illud Hieremie xiiii¹: 'Spes mea tu / in die afflictionis.' Et hec est prima consolatio mea, que est mentis spes oppresse percipio ad oculum. Tu secunda consolatio mea est, quia cum desinat [col. 2] mundus esse, non desinis in seculum, Tu es. Si visione stelle maris oculum mundi claudente nocturno supercilio gaudent nauigantes in mari / non solum quia micans et rutillans apparet, sed etiam quia semper fixa existens, errantes ipsos dirigit, & nunquam tendit ad occasum; multo magis ego, in mari hoc magno et spacio² positus, in mari utique ubi sunt reptilia quorum non est

¹ That is, xvii. 17: 'Non sis tu mihi formidini, spes mea tu in die afflictionis.'

² spaciosa, Verard.

numerus in mari, vbi circumquaque vndis tribulationum impetu et perflatu spiritus procellarum concutitur cordis mei / gaudete & consolari debeo, tum cognosco et scio te esse signum directum veniendi ad salutis portum, dum percipio te verissimam stellam maris. Stellam, inquam, a stando dictam. . . .”

For l. 16945, etc., the poem on pages 454–5, Verard's edition, Fueilllet, lxvi back, col. 1, has :

“Ergo beata miseros, quorum te clausa beaut, Ecce quomodo te iura te vindicare possum, esse refugium meum, Hieremie .xvi. [19] ‘fortitudo mea¹ et robur meum [et refugium meum] in die tribulationis.’ Et in hoc consistit quarta consolatio mea, quia ius exigit, et necesse esse michi hoc patulum Meum. Et sic te vendico esse illam per quam credo consolari, cum dico ‘Tu es refugium meum.’² Secundo tibi fatur expresse a quo scio me fugari A tribulatione. [16983 L.] Si dicere vellem quod voluntate spontanea ad te venissem, quod deuotione non coacta ad te fugissem, vere et in me veritas nulla esset, et oculos tue circumspectionis latere numquam posset.” . .

Supposing that the Latin tract printed by Verard was a copy of that in the MS. which Lydgate used, he has treated it with great freedom, adding to it in many places, and shortening it in others. The French lines that are substituted for it in Petit's edition—which I promist, in the note on p. 624 of the text, to print here, have already been printed by Miss Locock on p. 684.

In mitigation of the general opinion as to the poorness of Lydgate's verse, Prof. Churton Collins urges that credit should be given him for some beautiful lines—one out of more than a hundred poor stanzas—in his *Testament*, and in other works where he describes the spring and outward nature. The *Testament* stanza is the 118th and last :

“Tarry no longer toward thy heritage ;
Haste on thy way, & be of right good chere ;
Go each day onward on thy pilgrimage ;
Think how short time thou shalt abide here !
Thy place is built above the starrës clere,
No earthly palace wrought so stately-wise ;
Come on my friend, my brother, most entere !
For thee I gave my blood in sacrificise.”

Minor Poems (1840), p. 261 (modernised & emended).

¹ meo, Verard.

² Tu es refugium meum a tribulatione.—Ps. xxxi. 7. Fortitudo mea et refugium meum es tu.—Ps. xxx. 4. Firmamentum meum et refugium meum es tu.—Ps. lxx. 3.

The poet Gray's praise of him should also be remembered. See "Some Remarks on the Poems of John Lydgate" in Gray's Works, Aldine edition, 1858, v. 292, etc., or i. 387-409, etc., ed. Gosse, 1884:

p. 397. "To return to Lydgate. I do not pretend to set him on a level with his master, Chaucer, but he certainly comes the nearest to him of any contemporary writer that I am acquainted with. His choice of expression, and the smoothness of his verse, far surpass both Gower and Occleve" [?].

Gray then cites five stanzas on the condemnation to death of Canace for incest with her brother Macareus, including her appeal for their child:

But welaway! most ángelik of face,
Our childë, young in his pure innocence,
Shall, agayn right, suffer death's violence,
Tender of limbes, God wote, full guiltëless,
The goodly faire, that lieth here speechlëss.

A mouth he has, but wordis hath he none;
Cannot complaine, alas! for none outráge,
Nor grutcheth not, but lies here all alone,
Still as a lambe, most meke of his visage.
What heart of stele could do to him damáge,
Or suffer him dye, beholding the manere
And looke benigne of his tweine eyen clere?

Falle of Princes, Bk. I, fol. 39.

After other remarks on Lydgate's pathos, Gray allows "that in images of horror, and in a certain terrible greatness, our author comes far behind Chaucer. . . yet is there frequently a stiller kind of majesty both in his thought and expression, which makes one of his principal beauties. The following instance of it (I think) approaches even to sublimity:

God hath a thousand handès to chastyse,
A thousand dartès of punición,
A thousand bowès made in uncowthe wyse,
A thousand arblastes bent in his doungeon,
Orderid each one for castigaciõ;
But where he fyndes mekenes and répentance,
Mercy is mistresse of his ordinaunce."—*Ib.*, Bk. I, fol. 6.

One is glad to hear pleas in Lydgate's favour, and to allow that here and there a nugget of ore is found in his acres of clay, but his average work is decidedly below Gower's, and none of his poems of

the length of Hoccleve's 'Mother of God' is equal to that.¹ He cannot keep on the wing. If he does get a few lines right, now and then, he generally spoils em by setting wrong ones near em :

The rémembrance of every famous knight—

Ground considred built on righteousness,—

Raiz out each quarrel that is not built on right.

Withoutè truth, what vaileth high noblesse ?

Laurear of martirs, founded on holynesse :

White was made red, their triumphs to disclose ;

The whitè lily was their chaste clennesse ;

Their bloody sufferance was no summer rose.

L.'s *Minor Poems* (1840), p. 26, modernised.

¹ Prof. W. P. Ker agrees in this.

NOTES.

2/30. *Chauntepleure*. This is the name of a thirteenth-century French poem, addressed to those who sing in this world and will weep in the next. Hence the name is applied to any alternation or mixture of joy and sorrow. Cf. Chaucer, *Anelida and Arcite*, 320 :

"I fare as doth the song of Chaunte-pleure,
For now I pleyne, & now I pleye."

4/122. *My lord of Salisbury*. See note in the description of the Stowe MS. There is an illumination in the Harl. MS. 4826, representing "Lydgate presenting his booke called þe Pilgrime unto þe Earle of Salisbury." Underneath the drawing is written "Thomas Montacute Earle of Salisbury." The earl is represented as a young man clothed in armour. This Thomas de Montacute, born 1388, was summoned to Parliament as Earl of Salisbury in 1409, but not fully restored to his father's rights (which had been forfeited through treason) till 1421. He engaged actively in the French wars, being the most famous and skilful captain on the English side, and noted for his courtesy, liberality, and bravery. His death at the siege of Orleans in 1428 was much lamented, and greatly affected the course of the war.

5/173. *Calliope, be syðð cytheron*. Calliope was the muse who presided over eloquence and heroic poetry; Citheron, a mountain of Bœotia, sacred to the Muses and named after king Cithæron. In the *Secrees of Old Philisoffres* the seeker after wisdom expresses his desire

"To taste the licour of Cytheroes tonne."

5/176-7. *The sugryd tonne Off Iubiter*. This is the nectar of the gods, which was served by a beautiful Phrygian youth called Ganymede, who was carried up to Heaven by Jupiter to take Hebe's place as cupbearer.

9/307. *In the Abbey of Chalys*. The Cistercian abbey of Chalis, Chaalit, Chaslis or Chailly in the diocese of Senlis was founded by St. Louis, in the twelfth century. According to the prologue of the monk who corrected the undated Paris version of De Guileville's second recension, Chalis was an offshoot of the abbey of Pontigny, "chaliz de pontigny fille."

10/355. *strongly kept ffor coming in*. ffor=against. For this meaning of *for* cf. *Piers Plowman*, Passus VI, 9 :

"Somme shal sowe þe sakke," quod Piers, 'for shedyng of þe whete';" and *Sir Thopas*, l. 150 :

"And over that an habergeoun
For percinge of his herte."

12/444. *By record of Seyn Matthew*. Matt. xi. 12 : "The kingdom of heaven suffereth violence, and the violent take it by force."

12/447. *Chrysostom recordeth ek also*. It is not to Chrysostom but to St. Jerome that this saying should be ascribed, as has been pointed out to me by Dom John Chapman, O.S.B.

The passage comes from St. Jerome, *Comm. in Matt.* ii. 11, on Matt. xi. 12 : "Grandis enim est violentia, in terra nos esse generatos et coelorum sedem quaerere, possidere per virtutem quod non tenuimus per naturam."

The quotation in the margin, however, is not from St. Jerome direct, but from the Glossa Ordinaria of Walafrid Strabo.

15/535. *Grete noumbre of thys Iacobins.* *Jacobins* was a name applied to the Dominican monks of France from the fact that their chief Paris monastery was that of St. Jaques (Jacobus).

The name of *canons* was applied to ecclesiastical officers attached to cathedrals or churches. They were divided into two orders, *canons regular* and *canons secular*. The latter lived in the world; the former in communities and under some rule, though their discipline was usually less severe than that of regular monks. The rule of St. Augustine was that usually observed by the canons. The Augustinians included, besides the canons, those other monastic fraternities which followed the rule deduced from the writings of St. Augustine. The chief of these were the Begging Hermits or Austin Friars, and the Dominicans.

The Mendicant orders were those communities which, having taken vows of poverty, supported themselves by begging. They included the Dominicans, Franciscans, the Austin Friars and the Carmelites.

16/574. 12 *greës of humylyte*. The reference is to the twelve monasteries founded by St. Benedict (*Greg. Dial.* II. 3). The number of monks in each of these was restricted to twelve.

24/912. *And yet somme ha entryd in.* In the Cambridge prose this passage is more precise: "Heere is the firste passage of alle goode pilgrimages ther is noon oother wey bi noon oother place, saue onliche bi cherubyn; Therforth hauen somme passed, and in here owen blood han wasshen hem."

37/1387. *A sygne of Tav wych ther stood.* The implement of crucifixion used by the Romans varied in form. Malefactors were sometimes impaled upon or nailed to an upright stake. At other times a cross-piece for the arms was affixed to the upright, sometimes obliquely, in which case the cross was called *crux decussata*, sometimes at right angles below the top, when it was called *crux immissa*, and sometimes at right angles across the top, when it was called *crux commissa*. It is of course the latter to which the name of Tau, the Greek T, was given, and though never so common as the *crux immissa* the Tau form of cross is not infrequently found in mediæval art.

37/1402. *The prophete whylom wrot. / Ezechyel.* "And He called to the man clothed with linen, which had the writer's inkhorn by his side; and the Lord said unto him, Go through the midst of the city, through the midst of Jerusalem, and set a mark upon the foreheads of the men that sigh and that cry for all the abominations that be done in the midst thereof."—Ezekiel ix. 3, 4.

See Bishop Andrewes' *Sermons* (Luke xvii. 32). "This reward (Ezek. x. 4) is for those whose foreheads are marked with a Tau."

45/1683. *In Elenchis thou mayst rede.* Elenchus was the name of a treatise by Aristotle concerning sophistry and fallacious arguments.

49/1839-40. *Seyn Thomas That kept the entre & the paas.* The reference is to Thomas à Becket and his sturdy maintenance of the rights, privileges and prosperity of the Church against King Henry II. and his officers.

49/1852. *Seynt Ambrose in the samē case.* St. Ambrose was bishop of Milan in the fourth century, and was specially remarkable for the energy and firmness with which he defended the faith, discipline and integrity of the Christian Church. The incident referred to in the text is as follows: The Arians, headed by the Emperor Valentinian II. and his mother,

demanded the use of two churches in the city for their own worship. Ambrose refused,—the Arians tried to seize the churches by force, and when Ambrose was requested to restore peace by submission to the emperor's will, he replied: "If you demand my patrimony, which is devoted to the poor, take it; if you demand my person I am ready to submit; carry me to prison or to death, I will not resist; but I will never betray the Church of Christ. I will not call upon the people to succour me; I will die at the foot of the altar sooner than desert it."

55/2079. *Venus thenys doth me chase*. See the pseudo-Chaucer *Romaunt of the Rose*, l. 5135:

"Thus taught and preched hath Resoun,
But Love spilte hir sermoun,
That was so impied in my thought
That hir doctrine I sette at nought."

65/2449. *For thys word Glayve*. Aldis Wright gives this note: "Isidore of Seville, in the 18th book of his *Origines*, chap. vi, says of the etymology of *gladius*, 'Proprie autem appellatur gladius, quia *gulum dividit*, id est cervicem desecat.'"

66/2458. *Thys Iamnuence recordeth so*. The reference is to the *Catholicon seu universale vocabularium ac summa grammatices* of F. Johannis Genuensis. The quotation in the margin of the text is from this vocabulary.

92/3449. *I make alday thyngës newe*. The worst poets of this period became poetical in speaking of Spring, and Lydgate is no exception to the rule, for though he only uses the common images which formed the stock in trade of all his contemporaries, yet his delight in the subject is so evident that we cannot help being carried away by it. With this passage however we may compare the description of Spring in *Reson and Sensuallyte*, which shows us that, true as Lydgate's enjoyment of the season was, he did not know more than one way of expressing it:

"This is the lusty seson newe,
Which every thing causeth renewe,
And reioyseth in his kynde,
Commonly, as men may fynde,
In these herbes white and rede,
Which springen in the grenë mede,
Norysshed with the sonnë shene,
So that all the soyl is grene,
Al ouersprad with sondry floures,
With bawme dewed, and sootë shoures, . . .
And euery bough, braunch, and tre
Clad newe in grene, men may se,
By kyndely disposicion
Ech to bere fruyt in ther seson. . . .
And Zepherus, the wynde moost soote,
Enspired bothë croope and roote
Of herbës and of flourës newe
That they wern alway fresh of hewe."—(l. 101 f.)

95/3589. *Off on callyd Architeclyn*. The name should be Architriclin, "the master of the feast," and is written so in *Camb*. From Gk. ἀρχι, chief, and τρικλῖνος, a couch for reclining on at supper, and hence a dining-room. The Greek word was preserved in the Latin translation of St. John, and was taken to be a proper name.

98/3696. *Boundys and botaylle*. *Botaylle* seems to be a variant of *buttal* = a bound or boundary. Other forms are *buttel*, *buttelle*, *buttle*,

butle. 1577 Test. 12 Patriarchs (1604) 85. "I have not . . . removed the bounds and buttles of lands."—(N. E. D.) Cf. the modern *abut*, used in describing boundaries in a legal conveyance.

101/3795. *The mevyng of the hevene And the planetys allë seuene.* According to the Ptolomaic system of Astronomy the earth was encircled by seven spheres named after the principal planet of each, the Moon, Mercury, Venus, the Sun, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn. Beyond these was the sphere of the Fixed Stars, which was supposed to make one revolution in twenty-four hours. To account for various irregularities in the heavenly motions two extra spheres were added in the Middle Ages—viz. the Crystalline and the Primum mobile or "first moved," which was supposed to communicate its movement to all the inferior spheres.

101/3823. *The paynym Arystotyles.* See Aristotle, *De generatione animalium*, II. 3. 4; where we are told that the sun's heat, and that secreted in the bodies of animals, are of the same nature, and form the essential life-principle.

101/3836. *Skyes dyrke & donne.* Cf. *Life of our Lady*:

"I fynde also that the skyes donne
Whiche of custome curteyne so the nyght,
The same tyme with a sodayn light
Enchaced were that it wexid al light."

Cf. also *Temple of Glas*, 2/30-31:

"Til at(te) last certein skyes doune
With wind Ichaced, haue her cours Iwent."

106/4011. *To skouren chyldern and chastyse.* The ordinary meaning of *scour* is to cleanse, from Lat. *excūrāre*, to take great care of (Skeat's *Concise Dict.*). But in this passage it evidently stands for *scourge*, and is from Lat. *excoriāre*, to flay off.

115/4354. *Dyvers gatys mo than on.* See Nehemiah iii. 14 and 26, where the dung-gate and the water-gate are mentioned. Psal. cvii. 16: "He hath broken the gates of brass." Math. xvi. 18: "The gates of hell shall not prevail against it." Gen. xxviii. 17: "This is the gate of heaven." Acts xii. 10: "They came to the iron gate which opened."

118/4487. *A child an hundryd wynter old.* The quotation is incorrect. The passage from Isaiah runs as follows:

"There shall be no more thence an infant of days, nor an old man that nath not filled his days: for the child shall die an hundred years old; but the sinner being an hundred years old shall be accursed."—Isaiah lxx. 20.

121/4613. *Maunde*, in this sentence, stands for the supper at which Christ gave to His disciples the "new commandment" "to love one another." The word *maunde* is the M.E. form of Lat. *mandatum*, meaning a command or charge. (See Skeat's *Concise Dictionary*.)

123/4675. *Seyn Martyn.* Saint Martin, while yet a catechumen, was one day riding when he met a half naked, shivering beggar. Touched with compassion he cut his cloak in two with his sword and gave half to the beggar. The same night he had a dream in which Christ appeared to him wearing the cloak and saying to the angels: "My servant Martin, though yet unbaptized, hath done this."

125/4773. *The Testament of Cryst Ihesus.* We may compare this Testament with that of *Piers the Plowman* in Langland's vision (Passus VI, l. 88 *et seq.*), which begins:

"He shal haue my soule þat best hath yserued it,
And fro fende it defende for so I bileue."

Dr. Skeat tells us that, according to Whitaker, the committal of the soul to God alone, and not also to the Virgin and saints, was held to be heretical at the beginning of the sixteenth century.

129. P. A. X. "One clause of this will or testament bequeathes to mankind Pax Triplex—"triple tranquillity." The three things signified by the three initial letters, at the three corners of a right-angled triangle, formed by the stem and one limb of a Latin cross are—X, the initial of *Χριστός*, 'Christ'; A, of *Anima*, 'the soul'; P, of *Proximus*, our 'neighbour.' When these three are properly disposed towards each other, there is a firmly-established peace of mind; since they indicate the whole duty of man's life, viz. his love to God and his neighbour."—N. Hill in *the Ancient Poem of Guillaume de Guileville*.

130/4962. *Synderesis*. This word appears to be made up of Gk. *συν*, meaning *with* or *together*, and *διαίρεσις* = division or separation, and if so would probably stand for that faculty of man which discriminates. In the *Pylgremage of the Soule* Sinderesis is called the Worm of Conscience, and is represented in the woodcut in Verard's edition as a woman with a serpent's head. Sathanas calls it "thou foule Synderesys," and it is described as "wonder hydous to loke upon, and of ful cruel semblaunt." It says of itself, "In al places I am byleued of trouthe. I knowe wel apertly all thy thoughtys, thy dedes and thy wordes."

146/5569. The proper meaning of *turneys* is given by Roquefort as *pont-levis*, or drawbridge.

161/6148. *With yow to holden chaumpartye*. *Chaumpartye* comes from French *champ parti*, and means equality or division of power. See Chaucer, *Knight's Tale*, 1091 :

"Ne may with Venus holde chaumpartye."

"Lydgate seems to have known the word only from this phrase of Chaucer's, which he misunderstood and took as meaning, 'to hold rivalry or contest, to hold the field against, to resist.'"

In English Law champerty,—*campi-partiti*,—is a bargain with a plaintiff or defendant *campum partire*,—to divide the land or other matter sued for if he prevail at law; the champertor being bound to carry on the party's suit at his own expense. (See *Blackstone*, Bk. 4, chap. 10, p. 134. Ed. 1825.)

169/6442. *The wyttys five*. We should say "the five senses." *Wits* however was commonly used with the meaning of *senses*. Cf. *Everyman*, in which *Five Wits* refuses to accompany the hero to the grave.

In *The World and the Child*, Dods. I, p. 273, *Age* says :

"Of the five wits I would have knowing.

Pres. Forsooth, sir, hearing, seeing, and smelling,

The remenant tasting and feeling :

These being the five wits bodily."

We may compare with these five gates the five described in Bunyan's *Holy War* :

"The famous town of Mansoul had five gates, in at which to come, out at which to go, and these were made likewise answerable to the walls,—to wit, impregnable, and such as could never be opened nor forced but by the will and leave of those within. The names of the gates were these : Ear-gate, Eye-gate, Mouth-gate, Nose-gate, and Feel-gate."

We still use the word *wit*, in the sense of the text, in such an expression as "He has lost his wits."

174/6640. *How he to hellë ys descended.* The belief in the descent of Christ into hell during the period between His death and resurrection was founded upon 1 St. Peter iii. 19, "He went and preached unto the spirits in prison," and upon the apocryphal gospel of St. Nicodemus.

It was a popular subject in mediæval art and poetry. One of the finest of Fra Angelico's frescoes in San Marco deals with this tradition, and Dante refers to it in the fourth canto of the *Inferno*, ll. 52 f. :

"Io era nuovo in questo stato,
Quando ci vidi venire un Possente,
Con segno di vittoria incoronato.
Trasseci l'ombra del primo Parente
D'Abel suo figlio, e quella di Noè . . .
Ed altri molti ; e fecegli beati."

It was one of the stock incidents in miracle plays, and forms the subject of the earliest extant English Miracle, *The Harrowing of Hell*. This play begins with a conversation between *Dominus* and *Satan*, of which the following lines form a part :

Dominus. "Adam, thou hast dere aboht,
That thou levedest me noht ;
Adam, thou havest aboht sore
And I nil suffre that na more :
I shal the bringe of hellë pine
And, with the, allë mine."

Satan. "Who is that ich herë thore
I him redë speke na more." . . .

Dominus. "Wost thou never, what ich am ?
Almost the thridde winter is gan,
That thou havest fonded me
For to know[en] what I be ;
Sinnë found thou never nan
In me, as in other man ;
And thou shalt witë well to-day
That mine will I have awei,
Whan thou bilevest al thin one,
Than miht thou grete & grone."

180/6875. *Somme wer callyd Arryens.* The Arian heresy arose from the opinions of Arius concerning the Trinity and the nature of Christ, whom he declared to be different in substance from the Father, to have been created by Him before the world, and hence to be inferior to Him.

The Pelagian teaching was a reaction against Manichæism and Fatalism. Its principal points were the denial of original sin ; the possibility of living without sin ; and the sufficiency of free-will and the knowledge of the law for salvation.

192/7105. *The Charbouncle.* The carbuncle or ruby seems to have been a favourite stone with Lydgate. In the *Secrees of Old Philisoffres* we also find references to its supposed power of shining in the dark :

"As a charbouncle ageyn dirknesse of nyght ;" (l. 444)
"Rubyes that yeve so cleer a light
On hooly shrynes in the dirk nyght." (ll. 552-3)

In *Barth. Angl.* xvi. 26, the following note is found : "Carbunculus is a precious stone and shyneth as fyre whose shynynge is not overcome by night. It shyneth in derke places and it semeth as hit were a flame."

In the *R. de la R.* the carbuncle worn by Richesse is described in the following terms:

“Une escharboucle ou cercle assise,
Et la pierre si clere estoit
Que, maintenant qu’il anuitoit,
L’en s’en veist bien au besoing
Conduire d’une liue loing.” (ll. 1106-10)

203/7259. *Ther saw I helmys & haberiouns.* The armour of a mediæval knight was both complicated and cumbrous, and often consisted of many more articles than those mentioned in the text.

Beneath the armour was worn the *gambison*, a thickly padded tunic, intended to keep the mail from bruising the body. It was usually quilted, and hence was often called the *purpoint*.

The *habergeon* or *byrnie* was, as the name implies, a protection for the neck and breast. In this case it was probably made of chain-mail (l. 7576), but sometimes it consisted of leather or some strong material sewn with over-lapping rings. In *Sir Gawayne & the Grene Knigt* we are told that

“De brawdren bryne of bryzt stel rynges,
Vmbe-weued þat wyȝ, upon wlonk stuffe.”

The *helmet* given to the Pilgrim was needful

“For to makē résistance
At Nase, at Ere, & at the Syht.”

Helmets of many shapes existed at this period. Some of these were hoods of chain-mail, with loose flaps, which could, when required, be fastened across the lower part of the face. These, however, left the eyes and nose exposed, so the Pilgrim's helmet was possibly one of the steel barrel-shaped ones which covered the whole head, or, more probably, a steel casque with movable vizor. (Cf. ll. 7642-48.)

The *gorger* or armour for the throat is said in l. 7628 to be made of plate. In l. 7700, however, we read:

“Thys Armure hath a double maylle.”

The *gorger* of mail was more properly called a *camail*, and usually consisted of a shaped curtain of mail, which was attached to the helmet and fell down over the neck and upper part of the body.

The *gloves* (ll. 7628 f.) of this period were usually made of steel plates, rather than of the ring-mail or studded leather common at an earlier date. They often consisted merely of gauntlets, articulated at the wrist, with steel plates attached, which covered the backs of the hands but left the palms free. In some engravings, however, we see gloves with elaborate articulated steel fingers.

The *girdle*, worn round the hips, was usually much ornamented and fastened in front with a buckle of varying form. It supported the *sword* which was generally cross-hilted, and was enclosed in a scabbard of leather, often studded with metal. In the text we are told that the Pilgrim's scabbard;

“Ys makyd off A skyn mortal.” (l. 7940)

The shield generally used at this time was short, and often triangular in shape. The Pilgrim wore no armour on his legs. These would ordinarily have been covered with greaves for the legs and cuisses for the thighs. Frequently only the fronts of the legs were thus protected.

216/7730. *Seyn Wylliam of Chalyis.* St. William of Chalis was Guillaume de Donjeon, at one time abbot of Fontaine-jean. He became

abbot of Chalis in 1187, was made Archbishop of Bourges in 1200, and died in 1209. He was canonized by Honorius III. in 1218.

He took the habit of a monk in the order of Grammont, but afterwards passed over to the Cistercian order and entered the abbey of Pontigny.

219/7839. *The swerd of goode Oger.* The feats of Ogier the Dane are told in many metrical romances, the longest of which is called *Les Enfances d'Ogier le Danois*, by Adenez, herald to Henry III., Duke of Brabant. Ogier seems to have been a real man, living in the time of Charlemagne. He was supposed to be the son of a king of Denmark, but falling into the power of Charlemagne as a hostage, he became one of his knights and went through many adventures.

His swords were called *Curtana* and *Sauvagine*. They took the smith Munifican three years each to make.

The sword of Roland was a famous weapon called *Durendal*, with which he is said to have cloven a rock in the valley of Roncesvalles and to have made a fissure 300 feet deep. According to one legend he threw it, before his death, into a poisoned stream, where it still remains. Oliver's sword was called *Hauteclaire* or *Glorious*. With it he hacked to pieces nine swords made by the smiths Munifican, Ansias and Galas, each of which had taken three years in the making.

220/7882. *As seyn Benyth dyde of old.* The asceticism of St. Benedict of Nursia is well known. There is a story that while yet a boy he retired to Subiaco and lived there as a hermit, and the place is still shown where he is said to have rolled in thorn-bushes to overcome sensual temptation.

227/8150. *Venus ys sayd off venerye.* Lydgate was fond of seeking for fanciful derivations of the name Venus. In *Reason and Sensuality* we find two more:

"Venus is said of venquissching,
For she venquysssheth everythyng." (120/458¹-2.)

"Affir ethymologie
Venus, by exposicion
Is seyde of venym & poysovne." (89/3386-88.)

234/8433. *Martews.* Dr. Furnivall gives the following note:

"Et cinq pierres i met petites
Du rivage de mer eslites,
Dont puceles as martiaus geuent,
Quant beles et rondent les treuent."

Roman de la Rose, 21767-70, IV. 320 *Bibl. Elzev.*

Jouer aux marteaux, signifiât lancer des petits cailloux ronds en l'air pour les recevoir dans l'une et l'autre main, en les faisant choquer. C'est un jeu analogue à notre jeu d'osselets: *ib.* v. 216-7.

Osselets. The game termed Cockall or Hucklebones. 1611. Cotgrave.

238/8602. *Albeston.* This is a corruption of *asbestos*, which by its derivation means unquenchable. There is perhaps some confusion with *albus* and *stone*.

See also the note to p. 66, ll. 539, etc., of the *Temple of Glas*, in which Dr. Schick gives the following references to Albeston. "For in a temple of Venus was made a candylsticke; on whyche was a lantern so brennyng that it myght not be quenched wyth tempeste nother with reyne." (Bartholomæus, *De Proprietatibus Rerum*, xvi, ii.)

"Isidore sayth in his xvi booke, that in a certaine temple of *Venus* there was made and hoong up such a Candlesticke wherin was a light burning on that wise, that no tempest nor storm could put it out, & he beleueth that this candlesticke had somewhat of Albeston beset within." (John Maplet, *A greene Forest*, fol. 2.)

In the *Complaynt* at the end of the *Temple of Glas* the following lines occur (p. 66, ll. 537-552):

"Myn hetē is so violent
Wherwyth myn pitous herte is brent,
That may ben likkenyd to a ston,
Which is I-callyd albiston,
That onys whan it bath caught feer,
Ther may no man the flaumbē steer,
That it wel brennē aftir euere,
And neuere from the fer disseuere,
So they acordyn of nature.
And for this ston may longe endure,
In fer to brennē fayr & bryght,
As sterrys in the wyntyr nyght.
I fynde, in Venus oratorye,
In hir worshepe & memorye
Was made a laumpē of this ston,
To brenne a-fore here, euere in on."

247/8923. *Sende*. In Stowe we find *ffende* = defend.

261/9458. *Tarage*. See note to l. 3812 of *Reson and Sensuallyte*. The meaning seems here to be *quality* or *kind*.

266/9670. *And whylom blindē was Tobye*. See Tobit ii. 10 and chap. iv, in which the blinding of Tobit is described, and his counsels to his son are given.

279/10184. *The precept off kyng salomoun*. This precept is, of course, in the book of Proverbs (vi. 6), not in Wisdom, as Lydgate seems to imply.

295/10763. *No man to bern*. See Matt. x. 9, 10: "Provide neither gold, nor silver, nor brass in your purses, nor scrip for your journey, neither two coats, neither shoes, nor yet staves."

297/10864. The author shows here more wisdom than many biblical commentators, who, by refusing to recognize the principle of progressive revelation, involve themselves in many unnecessary difficulties.

304/11137. *As wilde coltys in Arras*. Dr. Skeat suggests that instead of *Arras* we should read *harras* or *haras*, meaning a stud of horses.

305/11141. *And now I lepe Iowy pe*.

"And now I leap with merry foot."

Camb., however, has "joynpee," and in Verard's edition of Deguileville's second recension we read "pieds jointcs."

305/11160. *As whylom was Asael*. 2 Sam. ii. 18-23: "Asahel was as light of foot as a wild roe. And Asahel pursued after Abner; and in going he turned not aside to the right hand nor to the left from following Abner. . . . And Abner said again to Asahel, Turn thee aside from following me: wherefore should I smite thee to the ground? . . . Howbeit he refused to turn aside: wherefore Abner with the hinder end of the spear smote him under the fifth rib, that the spear came out behind him."

306/11181, etc. *Pleye at the cloos*, etc. In the statutes of Ed. IV. (17

Ed. IV. cap. 3), and in 18 and 20 Hen. VIII., the game of closh or cloish is mentioned and prohibited. According to J. Strutt (*The Sports and Pastimes of the People of England*) it was a game much like ninepins.

It seems to have been Dutch in origin. Flem. and Du. *klos* = bowl (for playing). Kilian has *klos*: globus, sphaera; *klos-beytel* = flagellum. Plantin has *klos* = une boule; *klos-porte* = une porte à bouler, anneau de fer à passer la boule; *klos bane* = parc à bouler; *klossen-bouler* = jouer à la boule par travers un anneau de fer. From this we may gather that the *klos* was struck through the *klos-porte* with the *klos-beytel*.

The next game (ll. 11182-3) seems to be hockey, but the nature of the *kampyng-crook* mentioned in the following line is not quite clear. Taken by itself one would think it meant hockey-stick, but in l. 11183 "a staff mad lyk an hook," which must surely be a hockey-stick, has already been mentioned.

The game of camp-ball was a game much like foot-ball, though the ball was thrown, not kicked, but no staff or crook seems to have been used in it. The vb. *camp* also means to contend in athletic contests. The *N. E. D.* gives the following example: 1774-6, J. Bryant, *Mythol*: "In our island the exhibition of those manly sports in vogue among country people is called camping: and the enclosures for that purpose, where they wrestle and contend, are called camping closes." *Kampyng crook* might therefore stand for some kind of a staff used in athletic contests. One of the definitions of *crook* in the *N. E. D.* is "a barbed spear," but it can hardly have that meaning in this place, as the crook mentioned does not seem to be a warlike weapon.

Dr. Skeat suggest that *bessellys* may stand for *baissel(le)* from Fr. *baïsser*, to lower, and refers to the term "knock-em-down" as applied to a skittle. *Shetyn at bessellys* may thus mean to play or shoot at skittles. I have, however, since seen in Halliwell and the *N. E. D.* *bercel*, meaning a mark to shoot at, an archer's butt. In the *Prompt. Parv.*, pp. 32, 56, this word appears under five different forms, *bercel*, *berseel*, *bertel*, *byrselle*, *bersell*. Cf. *Pilg.* l. 15305, where Lydgate writes *mosselles* for De Guileville's *morceaulx*.

Merelles was another name for nine men's morrice. This game is played with nine pieces a side, on a board marked with points and intersecting lines. The aim of each player is to place three of his men in a row, which gives him the right of removing one of his opponent's pieces. The game is won by the player who succeeds in reducing his opponent's pieces to two.

Hazard and *passage* were both games of dice. In *hazard* the chances were complicated by many arbitrary rules. "There were two kinds: French *hazard*, in which the players staked against the bank, and English, or chicken *hazard*, in which they staked against each other."

"Passage is a game at dice, to be played at but by two, and it is performed with three dice. The caster throws continually till he hath thrown dubblets under ten, and then he is out and loseth, or dubblets above ten, and then he *passeth* and wins."—*Compleat Gamester*, 1680, p. 119.

The game of *tables* is the same as backgammon.

Keyles was the original form of the modern game of ninepins. It was played in various ways and with an uncertain number of pins, which, according to ancient engravings, were placed in a single row and knocked down by throwing a club at them.

Quek or *quickboard* was, with many other games, forbidden in the reign of Edward IV. The *N. E. D.* says it was 'A chequer or chess-board, some game played on this,' and cites from Riley, *Lond. Mem.* 395, with the

date 1376: "A pair of tables, on the outside of which was painted a chequer-board that is called a 'quek.'"

The passage describing Youth and her games runs as follows in the first French version, and is almost word for word the same in the second:

Jeunece sui, la legiere
La giberresse et coursiere
La sauterelle, la saillant
Que tout dangier ne prise un gant
Je vois, je vieng, sail et vole.
Je espringale, je karole,
Je trepe et queur (et) dance et bale
Et vois a la huitefale,
Je luite et sail fossez piez joins
Et gete la pierre au plus loins
Et nulle fois (je) ne m'esmaie
De trespasser mur (et) ou haie.
Se des pommes a mes voisins
Veul avoir, tost en leurs gardins
Sui saillie et sur i pommier
Sui tost rampee et de legier.
Pour nient (je) ne sui pas duvee
Mes pies ne si emplumee.
Mes piez me porte ou je veul.
Eles ont, tu le vois a l'ueil.
Asael jadis les porta
Mes chierement les compara
(Trop) grant legierete n'est mie
Souvent bonne a la vie.
Miex vaut i saige a pies pesans
Que quatre folz or piez volans.

(Et) pour ce piec'a sainte eglise
Ordena que ne fust mise
Personne pour li gouverner
Qui n'eust pies de plonc pour aler
Si ques de ce (je) sui privee,
Tant com serai (ain) si duvee.
Un estuef me faut pour jouer
Et une croce a souler;
Autre croce ne me faut mie,
Se (je) l'ai, ce sera folie,
Mes piez tenir ne se pourront
De voleter ne ne vourront;
Encor ne sui (je) pas saoule
De jouer au gieu de (la) boule,
D'aler quillier, d'aler billier
Et de jouer au mereillier,
D'ouir chancons et instrumens
Et querre mes esbatemens.
En ma pelote jour et nuit
Ai plus soulas et plus deduit
Qu'en quanque me dit mon pere
Ne (en quan)que m'enseigne ma
Je la tourne et la manie, [mere.
(Je) m'en gene, c'est me'studie.
Soing n'ai fors que de moi jouer
Et de mes soulas procurer.

(Stürzinger, 11803-55.)

311/11382. *Lat men lyuen lyk her degres.* This passage bears a marked general resemblance to Passus VI. of *Piers Plowman*, in which Piers insists that all men should work in their several ways for the general good of the community:

'Bi crist,' quod a knyzte þo · 'he kenneth us þe best,
Ac on þe teme trewly · tauzte was I neuere.
Ac kenne me,' quod þe knyzte · and, bi cryst, I wil assaye;
'Bi seynt Poule,' quod Perkyn · 'þe profre yow so faire,
þat I shal swynke and swete · and sowe for us bothe.
And oþer laboures do for þi loue · al my lyf-tyme,
In couenaunt þat þow kepe · holi kirke and myselue
Fro wastours and fro wykked men · þat þis worlde struyeth."

(ll. 22-29.)

313/11476. *In that noble universyte.* The university of Paris was one in which the speculative rather than the practical side of learning was encouraged. It arose from a movement carried out by teachers on the Ile de la Cité, who taught under the licence of the chancellor of the cathedral, and of whom Abelard was one of the greatest. It was around this community of teachers that the university grew up, and between 1150-1170 came formally into existence, though its statutes were not compiled until 1208.

It became the model of Oxford and Cambridge as well as of most of the universities of central Europe.

314/11503. *raye*. *Raye* (from Lat. *radius*) was striped cloth, often spoken of as *cloth of raye*. Lydgate mentions it in his *London Lyckpenny*:

"In Westminster Hall I found out one
Which went in a long gown of raye."

It was commonly worn by the legal profession, but was not confined to them. A Royal MS. 15. E. 4, has drawings of a country woman and a husbandman wearing clothes with stripes running round the body.

In a political song of the time of Ed. II. a change of fashion in the direction of the stripes is mentioned:

"A newe taille of squierie is nu in everi town;
The raye is turned overthuert that sholde stonde adoun;
Hii ben degised as turmentours that comen from clerkes plei."

317/11614. *Balladys, Roundelayes, vycelayes*. The *ballade* is a poem, usually consisting of three seven-lined stanzas and an *envoy*, which is sometimes of seven and sometimes of four lines. Each stanza, as well as the *envoy*, ends in a refrain. Three rimes only are employed.

A *roundelay* might be either a dance or a song. The latter consists of thirteen verses on two rimes. Lines 1 and 2 are repeated at ll. 6 and 7 and 11 and 12, while l. 3 is repeated at l. 13. The rimes run ABB ABAB ABBABB.

A *vielay* is an ancient French poem, composed of short lines on two rimes. The essential point of a *vielay* is the repetition of the same rimes in different order. (See Dr. Skeat's note on Hoccleve's Rhymes and Chaucer's *Virelays*, inserted in the E. E. T. S. *Hoccleve's Works*, iii.)

317/11623. *At treygobet & tregetrye*. The passage in Verard's edition, describing the diversions of Idleness, runs as follows:

Par luy ie meyne gens au bois	Dont long le parlement seroit
Cueillir fleurs, violettes et nois,	Qui toutes dire les vouldroit,
En esbatement, en deduit,	Et la leur fois ie veoir danseurs,
En lieu de ioye et de delict;	Jeux de basteaulx et de iougleurs,
Et la leur faiz oyr chansons,	Jeux de tables et d'eschiquiers,
Rondeaulx, balades et doulx sons	De boules et de mereilliers,
De herpes et simphonies,	De cartes iex de tricherie,
Et plusieurs autres melodies	Et de mainte autre muserie.

(Ver. fol. xlv.)

According to Halliwell *treygobet* is "an old game at dice." Dr. Skeat points out that the word is evidently composed of *trey*, *tray*, meaning "three," and the Eng. *go bet* (as in Chaucer's *Book of the Duchesse*, 136), meaning "go more quickly," "hurry up." Perhaps, in this case, *go bet* might be taken literally (cp. *N. E. D.* "to go one better"). In any case, the word probably represents some call or exclamation connected with the game.

In the *Frere and Boy* (1617) III. 73, we read:

"Ye hath made me daunce, maugre my hede,
Amonge the thornes, hey go bet."

Tregetrye means juggling, mumming, conjuring. Chaucer's *Franklin's Tale* contains (ll. 413-20) a description of some of the doings of *tregetours*.

Karyyng. I have been unable to find any example of this word in an appropriate sense. Can it be connected with Fr. *carriere*, meaning a race? Cotgrave gives, "A Careere, on horse-back, and (more generally) any exercise or place for exercise on horse-back; as, a horse-race, or a place for horses to run in, and, their course, running, or full speed therein."

318/11665. *Wernays take*. In Stowe we find *wormes*. The parallel passage in Camb. runs as follows: "And sum time j make wormes come in the hondes for to digge in hem to tile hem and to ere hem with oute any sowinge."

321/11768. *fforeyn*. According to Godefroy, *forain* = du dehors, extérieur, écarté. "Avoit este ordené que à la venue ou entrée du dit palais nul ne s'arrestast devant la dite porte, mais passast oultre chacun à cheval, et s'espandissent parmi les rues *foraines*, afin de y avoir moins de presse." (*Gr. Chron. de Fr. Charl. V.*, lx.—P. Paris.)

332 *et seq.* The editor of *Reson and Sensuallyte*, in his note on 637 ff. compares this discourse in the *Pilgrimage* with the mystical speculations of Alanus ab Insulis, concerning the two opposite rotations of the firmament,—the account in *Reson and Sensuallyte* being founded on these speculations.

Alanus takes the opposite rotations of the celestial bodies to signify the contest between the spiritual and sensual parts of man.

332/12257. *Of hym orygynal begynnynq.* Other passages, containing the same idea will be found beginning at l. 12301 and l. 12377. Cf. also l. 847-50 and l. 1245-1277 of *Reson and Sensuallyte* and Prof. Sieper's note on the first of these passages.

335/12330. *Ay toward the oryent.* Barth, *De Prop. Rerum*, Lib. xix, cap. 22. "All the planets move by double moving; by their own kind moving out of the west into the east, against the moving of the firmament; and by other moving out of the east into the west, and that by ravishing of the firmament. By violence of the firmament they are ravished every day out of the east into the west. And by their kindly moving, by the which they labour to move against the firmament, some of them fulfil their course in shorter time, and some in longer time."

336/12338. *Celum Mobile*. See note to 101/3795.

336/12356, etc. *In the Epicycles*, etc. Barth. *De Prop. Rerum*, Lib. xix, cap. 22. "The first moving of a planet is made in its own circle that is called Eccentric, and it is called so, for the earth is not the middle thereof, as it is the middle of the circle that is called Zodiac. Epicycle is a little circle that a planet describeth, and goeth about therein by the moving of its body, and the body of the planet goeth about the roundness thereof. . . . Also in these circles the manner moving of planets is full wisely found of astronomers, that are called Direct, Stationary, and Retrograde Motion. Forth-right moving is in the over part of the circle that is called Epicycle, backward is in the nether part, and stinting and abiding or hoving is in the middle."

336/12370. *Syth Mycrocosme men the calle.* (See also 421/15638 and 567/21168.) Microcosm in Gk. = little world. Ancient philosophers considered the world to be a living creature, and man being looked upon as a world in miniature they supposed that the movements of man and the world corresponded, and that the fate of man could be made out by observing the movements of the stars.

In Appendix IV to the E. E. T. S. edition of the *Secrees of Old Philisoffres* this idea is expanded:

"Oolde filosofris put in remembraunce
pat in man is founde grete myracle,
namyd þe lytulle worlde by autores allegaunce . . .
. . . He is hardy as a lyon, dredfulle as þe hare,
Large as þe cok, and as a hound couetous,
harde as a herte in forest which doth fare;

Buxum as þe tyrtylle, as lionesse dispitous,
 Simple as þe lambe, lyke þe foxe malicious . . .
 . . . Note this processe in þe audith countable
 Of þe remembraunce, and knowe redelie
 þat in beeste nor thyng vegetable
 No thyng may be vniversally,
 But if it be founde naturally
 In mannes nature; wherfor of oon accorde
 Olde philesofris callidy hym þe lytelle worlde."

348/12830. *Romney, clarre, ypocras*. *Romney* was a sort of Spanish wine, dark in colour, strong and thick.

Hippocras was a wine, usually red, medicated with sugar and spice. It was called by apothecaries *vinum Hippocraticum* after Hippocrates, the celebrated Greek physician. The following is a recipe for Hippocras:

"Take of cinamon 2 oz., of ginger $\frac{1}{2}$ an oz., of grains a quarter of an oz.: punne (pound) them grosse, & put them into a pottle of good claret or white wine with half a pound of sugar; let all steep together, a night at the least, close covered in."—1589. *Haven of Health*.

Clarre was wine mixed with honey and spices. It obtained its name from the fact that it was strained to make it clear.

Malvesyn was malmsey, a corruption of O.F. *malvoisie*, from *Malvasia*, a town in Greece. It was a strong, sweet wine.

Osey. Dr. Skeat has a note on this wine in his edition of *Piers Plowman*. He says that it seems to have been a sweet straw-coloured wine, and considers that the name is a corruption of Alsace, which in the *Romance of Partenay* is written *Ausoy*. The wine however is said by Hackluyt to come from Portugal.

349/12853. *Mokadour*. Cotgrave gives as the gloss of *bavarette*, "A bib, moket or mocketer, to put before the bosome of a child." Fairholt quotes from the *Coventry Mysteries*:

"Goo hom, lytyl babe, and sytt on thi moder's lappe,
 And put a mokador aforñ thi breast;
 And pray thi modyr to fede the with pappe."

The word sometimes means *handkerchief* (Halliwell), and in this sense seems to be the same as *muckinder*, a handkerchief which was generally worn affixed to the girdle. See Fairholt's *Costume in England* (Glossary).

349/12857. *Bel*, *Of whom that speaketh Danyel*. The history of Daniel and Bel is found in the Apocryphal book of *Bel and the Dragon*. The comparison of Gluttony to Bel, "the ydole that deuoured all," is not however sustained by the story, which sets forth how Daniel proved to the king that the sacrifices, which Bel was supposed to devour, were really consumed by the priests and their friends.

354/13031. *Lyk a botore*. See Batman vpon Bartholome, his Booke *De Proprietatibus Rerum*, Bk. xii, ch. 28, ed. 1582, p. 186-7:

"Of the Miredromble.

The Miredromble is called *Macrocalus*, and is a bird that maketh noyse in the Winter, and hath small chins in his iawes, in which hee taketh first meate, and then sendeth it to the second wombe; For he hath two wombes: in that one onely hee taketh meate, and in that other onely he seetheth and defieth. But the first is taken instead of the crop of the throat, as Isidore saith. In Greeke *Onacrocalus* is called a Birde with a long bill: and there be two manner kindes: One is a water foule, and that other a foule of desart; and he that dwelleth in Water is

a bird of great gluttonye, and putteth the bill downe into the water, and maketh a great noise, and is enimie namely (specially) to Eeles, and the pray that hee taketh, he swalloweth sodinly, & sendeth it into his wombe. And then he cheweth and moueth his iawes, as he held meate in his mouth." . . . [*Batman*: "*Onocrotalus* is as bigge as a Swan, which, putting his head into the water, brayeth like an asse."]

In Verard's edition the lines run as follows :

"Pour neant nay pas comme ung butor
Deux ventres, car butordement
Je parle a chascun lourdement." (fol. 1, bk.)

For the history of the word *botore*, see the *N. E. D.*

360/13269. *Malebouche*. Malebouche, Danger and Shame were the guardians of the Rose-tree in the *Romance of the Rose* :

"And yet of Daunger cometh no blame,
In reward of my daughter Shame,
Which hath the roses in hir warde,
As she that may be no musarde.
And Wikked-Tunge is with these two
That suffrith no man thider go ;
For er a thing be do he shal . . .
Seye thing that never was doon ne wrought ;
So moche treson is in his male." (ll. 3252-63, Skeat's ed.)

Jean de Meun says also that Wikked-Tunge kept the fourth gate

"with soudiours of Normandye." (l. 4234.)

—and speaks in another place of the hinder gate :

"That Wikked-Tunge hath in keping,
With his Normans, fulle of jangling." (ll. 5851-52.)

367/13539. *bonchë sore*. "To bounche or pusshe one ; he buncheth me & beateth me ; il me pousse." Palsgrave. Compare *Piers Plowman*, Prol. 74 :

"He bonched hem with his breuet & blered here eyes."

375/13857-8. "*Be no ropys mad at Clervauls
ffor they wer maked at Nervauls.*"

Camb. has : "Thei ben not cordes of cleernans (for cleeruaus) but thei were made of synewes al blak and twyned and out of my wombe drawn."

In Petit's edition these lines run :

"Ne sont pas cordes de clervaulx
Ains furent faictes a noirvaulx."

383/14180. *The castel of landoun*. Possibly to be identified with Château Landon, formerly the chief town of Gâtinais, which was taken by the English in 1436 and rescued by the French the following year. (See *Notes and Queries*, Ser. VII, vol. ix, p. 177.) I cannot however establish any connection between this place and the idea of scorn and contempt.

385/14224. *That the cyte of Babiloun*. Daniel iv. 30 : "The king spake, and said, Is this not this great Babylon, that I have built for the house of the kingdom by the might of my power, and for the honour of my majesty ?"

385/14224. *A Reuene*. See Æsop's fable of the Fox and the Crow.

394/14605. *And as the fox*. This story is to be found in the *Roman du Renart*. "Si coume Renart manja le poisson aus charretiers."

395/14654. *My song to hem is "placebo."* To sing "*placebo*" meant "to flatter." The expression is used in this sense in Chaucer's *Somnour's Tale*, l. 366:

"Beth war therefor with lordes how ye pleye.
Singeth *Placebo*, and I shal, if I can,
But if it be unto a povre man.
To a povre man men sholde hise vyces telle
But nat to a lord, thogh he sholde go to helle."

397/14720. *The unycorn.* The reference in this passage is probably to some traditional mode of hunting the unicorn. One way of using the mirror in hunting is described by Bartholomæus Anglicus in his description of the tiger in *De Prop. Rerum*, Lib. xviii, cap. civ. "He that will bear away the whelps, leaveth in the way great mirrors, and the mother followeth and findeth the mirrors in the way, and looketh on them and seeth her own shadow and image therein, and weeneth that she seeth her children therein, and is long occupied therefore to deliver her children out of the glass, and so the hunter hath time and space for to scape, and so she is beguiled with her own shadow, and she followeth no farther after the hunter to deliver her children." (R. Steele's edition.)

In *Julius Cæsar*, Act II. sc. i. we are told

"That unicorns may be betray'd with trees,
And bears with glasses, elephants with holes,
Lions with toils, and men with flatterers."

There were various traditions about the untameable fierceness of the unicorn. Gower refers to one in the *Mirour de l'homme*, 1563-1569:

"Del unicorn ce dist Solyn,
N'il poet danter aucun engin,
Mais moert ainz qu'on le poet danter,
Tant ad le cuer gross et ferin."

Topsell also, in his *History of Four-footed Beasts*, bears testimony to the fierceness and wildness of the unicorn, but adds that a young virgin has an irresistible attraction for him, so that in her presence he would become gentle and tame, and might easily be captured by the hunters.

402/14920. *ffor taslayn Kyng Davyd.* See 1 Samuel xviii. 6-11.

406/15078. *Tryphon.* See Maccabees xii. 39, xiii. 1-34. Tryphon, having placed Antiochus upon the throne of Asia, afterwards plotted to depose him. He was opposed by Jonathan Maccabæus, and fearing him, he met him deceitfully with gifts and good words and enticed him to enter the town of Ptolomais, where he slew his men and kept Jonathan a prisoner. Then Simon Maccabæus rose up to deliver his brother, and Tryphon treated with him, promising to release Jonathan if money and hostages were given. These were sent by Simon, but still Tryphon did not let Jonathan go, and presently slew him.

After this he killed Antiochus and made himself king in his stead, and "brought a great calamity upon the land."

410/15226. *St. Nicholas.* The story here referred to is that of one of the most startling miracles of St. Nicholas of Myra.

A certain innkeeper was accustomed, in a time of scarcity, to steal children, and serve up their flesh to his guests. On one occasion St. Nicholas came to his inn, and the host placed before him part of the bodies of three boys, whom he had kidnapped, murdered and salted in a tub. Nicholas, however, at once perceived the nature of the food placed before him, and going to the tub he made over it the sign of the cross, whereupon the three children rose up whole and sound.

The life and miracles of St. Nicholas are recounted at length in Mrs. Jameson's *Sacred and Legendary Art*.

413/15338. *Tryacle*. This word, which has been fully explained by Morley in his *Lib. of Eng. Lit.*, p. 21, comes from *theriaca*, the name of a medicine, supposed to be capable of preventing or curing the effects of poison, compounded by Andromachus, physician to Nero. Modern *treacle* is a corruption of it. The word is frequently found in writers of this period. Cf. *Piers Plowman*, I. 146:

"Loue is triacle of heuene."

Chaucer, *Cant. Tales* (Skeat), C 314-17:

"By corpus bones ! but I have triacle . . .

Myn herte is lost for pitee of this mayde."

413/15352. *I make mortrewes & colys*. Mortrewes was a kind of soup made either of meat or fish and other ingredients, stamped and crushed in a mortar. See Skeat's note to Chaucer's *Prologue*, l. 384.

Colys (Fr. coleis) was also a kind of broth. Mrs. Glass (1767) uses this word in the form *cullis*, as do modern cookery-books.

416/15459. *For thogh in helle wer seyn Iohn*. These lines, as well as ll. 21218-21222 on p. 566, bear a striking correspondence to the words of Marlowe and Milton on the same subject, and show that the materialistic view of the future life was not the only one prevalent in the Middle Ages. Milton's words—put into the mouth of Satan—are well known:

"The mind is its own place, and in itself

Can make a heav'n of hell, a hell of heav'n."—Bk. I. 254-5.

"Which way I fly is hell; my self am hell."—Bk. IV. 75.

"the more I see

Pleasures about me, so much more I feel

Torment within me, as from the hateful siege

Of contraries; all good to me becomes

Bane, and in heav'n much worse would be my state."

Bk. IX. 119-23.

Perhaps less familiar are Marlowe's lines:

Faustus. "How comes it then that you are out of hell?"

Mephis. "Why, this is hell, nor am I out of it;

Think'st thou that I who saw the face of God

And tasted the eternal joys of heaven

Am not tormented with ten thousand hells

In being deprived of this?" (Sc. iii.)

Mephis. "Hell hath no limits, nor is circumscribed

In one self place; for where we are is hell,

And where hell is, there must we ever be;

And, to conclude, when all the world dissolves,

And every creature shall be purified

All places shall be hell that is not Heaven." (Sc. v.)

420/15608. *For I have 'carmen et ve.'* See Dr. Aldis Wright's note in the Roxburghe Club edition of Camb., p. 220, in which he points out that the Laud MS. has *curamen in ve*, and that Petit has *carmen en ve*. Camb. has "sorwe & waylinge," which gives the sense we should expect. If we take *curamen* to mean the same as *cura*, we get the same meaning as in Camb. *Ve* stands for *ve* (adv.).

421/15666. *Iudicum maketh mencion*. Judges ix. 15: "And the bramble said unto the trees, If in truth ye anoint me king over you, then come and put your trust in my shadow: and if not, let fire come out of the bramble, and devour the cedars of Lebanon."

428/15944. *Adonay*. Adonai was a Hebrew name for the Almighty, being the plural form of Adon = Lord. It was used by the Jews instead of *Jehovah*, for fear of breaking the third commandment by the direct mention of the most Holy One.

435/16195. *Theophilus*. This Theophilus was a legendary bishop of Adana in Cilicia. He was deposed from his office through slander, and in order to be reinstated, sold himself to the devil. On his repentance and prayer, however, the Virgin Mary came to his assistance, and, taking the bond he had signed from the devil, restored it to Theophilus. See also p. 446/11613.

437/16256. *That I radde onys off seynt Bernard*. In Verard's edition there follows a prose Latin treatise or prayer which was translated into English by Lydgate. In Petit's edition, however, the prose is absent and we find, instead, the following lines, Foeillet, lvii. col. 2 :

Et que me vint a remembrance
D'une parolle que iadis
J'auoie veu et leu es escripz
Sainct Benard, qui ainsi disoit :
Qu'à trestous les griefz qu'on auoit,
On deuoit son refuge faire
A la dame tout debonnaire,
Mere de Dieu, Vierge Marie,
Qui, a bien aider, ne fault mye
A ceulx qui s'enfuyent et s'en vont
A elle / à tous besoins qu'ilz ont.
A lui donc, de cuer fiz mon pry,
Et d'elle ie fiz mon refuy,
De mon pouoir la collaudant,
Et ce que s'ensuit lui disant :

O Royne de misericorde,
De paix, de douceur et concorde,
Après, de mes maux, le deluge,
Je m'en viens à toy, à refuge
En ma tres grant necessité,
Selon que i'en suis excité
Par saint Bernard, mon deuot père,¹
Qui me dit, ' que ie te requiere
En tout ce que i'auray mestier
Et besoing, sans rien excepter.
Se les vens de temptation
(Dit il) ou tribulation
T'assailent / regarde l'estelle.
Et appelle Marie la belle.
Se d'orgueil ou d'ambition,
D'enuie ou de detraction
Tu es infeste / n'oblie mye
De tantost inuoyer Marie.
Se paresce / ire / ou auarice,
Luxure, ou quelconque autre vice
Hurte la nef de ta pensée,
A celle qui onques lassée
Ne fut, de benefices faire,
La douce Marie debonnaire.
T'en fuy / et la prie qu'elle ait soing

Cil qui du cuer t'inoquera
En toutes affaire(s) qu' aura,
Se tu ne lui es gracieuse
Doulce et misericordieuse,
Pour ce, mère du souverain iuge,
Humblement viens a mon refuge.
Aide moy, dame de pitié,
En ceste grand aduersité
Ou tu me vois du tout perdu,
Se par toy ne suis secouru !'
Et, se tu dis que n'ay mery
Enuers toy d'obtenir mercy,
Ne iamais pardon recouurer,
Par ce que tousiours retourner
J'ay voulu, a ma vie damnée [57/4]
Encores tousiours empirée,
Sans point me vouloir tenir quoy,
Helas, dame ! ce poise moy.
Bien sauez que presentement
Ay bon vouloir d'amendement :
Auec ce / tant onc ne mesfiz
Enuers vous n'euers vostre filz,
Comme fist iadis Theofile ;
Car se i'ay fait des maux cent mille,
Toutesfois n'ay ie pas nye
Vostre bonte / ne renye
Le doulx Iesus, ainsi qu'il fist
Pardon, après vous en requist,
Et doucement luy pardonnastes,
Et vers vostre filz impetrastes
Pour luy grace et reunion,
Et pleniére remission,
' Dame, pas pis ne me ferez,
Et grace vous m'ympterez
Maintenant, et toute mon aage
De faire mon pèlerinage
Si bien et conuenablement,
Qu' auecques vous, finablement,
Et auec vostre benoist filz,
Puisse regner en paradis.'

¹ back.

De t'aider à ce grant besoing.
 Se, par multiplication,
 Ou par reiteration,
 De tes pêchés es inuolué
 De tous pointz / et enuelopé
 En trop dure obstination,
 Et es en desperation
 De iamais point ne t'amender,
 Ne a bonne vie retourner,
 Rue toy, plorant, deuant Marie,
 Et qu'elle t'ayde / la supplie,
 Lui disant, par bonne fiance,
 Bon amour et bonne esperance,
 Ce que la deuot saint Benard
 Lui disoit en vne autre part :
 'Cele et nye ta misericorde,
 (Disoit il), dame de concorde

Ainsi comme l'eü fait mon pry,
 La fauresse qui m'eüt oy,
 Me dist, puis que mis ie n'auoye
 Jus mon bourdon, et quis auoye
 Refuge bon et suffisant,
 Qu' elle se cesseroit a tant.
 ¶ 'Je suis (distelle) tout ainsi <sup>Tri-
bula-
tion.</sup>
 Que le veut, qui maine à l'abry, ^A
 Et destourne les fueilles cheués,
 Ou les rachasse vers les nues.
 A refuge t'ay fait aler,
 Et deuers les nues regarder,
 Qui es vne fueille seichée,
 Et deiectée et desuoyée
 En cestuy chemin maleureux,
 Ou n'est pas (dont meschief est) seulz.

447/16652. *Ad oculum*. The apparent gap, referred to on p. 447, appears not to exist, as the contents of the next passage in Verard are much the same as in Lydgate. The next sentence in Ver. begins: "Tu secunda consolatio mea est." Possibly some copyist put the Latin catchword by mistake.

447/16668. *To declyn by medyacion*. *Mediation* is an astrological term, meaning either (1) mid-day, or (2) the moment of the culmination of a star.

448/16713. *Cum beato Petro*. See St. Matt. xiv. 28.

450/16784. *Thylke Tree which that Danyel spak off*. Dan. iv. 10-12: "I saw, and behold a tree in the midst of the earth, and the height thereof was great. . . . The leaves thereof were fair, and the fruit thereof much, and in it was meat for all: the beasts of the field had shadow under it, and the fowls of heaven dwelt in the boughs thereof, and all flesh was fed of it."

451/16808. *Walkyn as a man deiect with Nabugodonoser*. Dan. iv. 33: "The same hour was the thing fulfilled upon Nebuchadnezzar: and he was driven from men, and did eat grass as oxen, and his body was wet with the dew of heaven, till his hairs were grown like eagles' feathers, and his nails like birds' claws."

451/16825. *Oure ferme fader*. *Ferme* or *forme*, meaning *first*, was one of the few remnants in M.E. of the old superlative in *-ma*, of which we still have traces in *uttermost*, *innermost*, etc. The O.E. word was *forma*, Goth. *fruma*. In N.E. we have *foremost*, which is really a double superlative.

456/17017. *In Tribulacione inuocasti me*. Psal. lxxxi. 7: "Thou calledst in trouble, and I delivered thee."

462/17243-4. *The maner ek off thy mawmet, Shapē lyk a marmoset*. *Mawmet* is a corruption of *Mahomet*, and came to stand for anything worshipped idolatrously.

O.F. *Marmoset* comes from L. Lat. *marmoretum*, a grotesque figure, orig. a small marble figure adorning a fountain.

463/17269-71.

An abbey wych . . .

Was foundyd besyden a cheker.

"Fr. *eschiquier*. This word is thus explained by Roquefort: 'Lieu où s'assembloient les commissaires que le Roi, les Princes souverains ou

grands vassaux envoioient dans leurs domaines. Dans la province de Normandie cette cour étoit permanentre, et en 1250 on y portoit appel des sentences des bailiffs.' See also Du Cange's Glossary, sub voc. 'Scacarium.' The word is introduced here as being radically connected with the game of 'eschecs' or 'chess' which is described, and the reader will at once recognize in it the origin of our *Court of Exchequer*.—(Ancient Poem of *Guillaume de Guileville*, Note, p. xxxv.)

468/17474. *For I resemble unto that hound.* See Æsop's fable of *The Dog in the Manger*.

479/17902. *I will not spekyng of no frerys.* See note to 15/535.

479/17914. *Processionerys.* This word is written *pocessionerys* in the MS. Possessioners were, according to Mr. Wright, "the regular orders of monks, who possessed landed property and enjoyed rich revenues." Dr. Skeat thinks that in some cases the word may have been applied to beneficed clergy.

480/17940. *Symon Magus & Gyosy.* For Simon Magus see Acts viii. By Gyosy is to be understood Gehazi (2 Kings v. 20-27).

480/17973. *travas.* I have been unable to find the word in this form. It probably stands either for (1) *traverse* = a pass: "The fabricke was a mo intaine with two descents and severed with two traverses" (*Masque of the Inner Temple and Gray's Inne*, 1612); or for (2) *travers* = a barrier, a sliding door or movable screen. "A travers slid away." *Masque at Ashley Castle*, Marston.

481/17987. *They feed themselves with haboundaunce.* We may compare with this passage Milton's indictment of the clergy in *Lycidas*, in which he brings against them the very same accusations as were made by Lydgate in this poem. Cf. also *Piers Plowman*, Prol. 83-99, where Langland gives an account of the clergy who forgot that they had received their tonsure:

"in tokne

And signe þat þei sholden shryuen here paroschienes,

Prechen and prey for hem and the pore fede,"

and went instead to London to seek for sinecure offices with rich emoluments attached to them.

483/18088. *And whan that I am an drapere.* In *Piers Plowman*, V. 209, Avarice resorts to the drapers to learn how to cheat:

"Thanne drowe I me amonges draperes my donet to lerne
To drawe þe lyser alonge þe lenger it semed;
Amonge þe riche rayes I rendred a lessoun,
To broche hem with a paknedle and plaited hem togyderes,
And put hem in a presse and pynned hem þerinne,
Tyl ten ȝerdes or twelue hadde tolled out þrettene."

484/18103. *I walke abouten with pardons.* Cf. with this passage Chaucer's *Prologue*, l. 692 f., and the *Prologue to the Pardoner's Tale*, l. 335 f., as annotated in Morris and Skeat's editions.

In the second French version there is an interesting addition to this list of wonders in the shape of an account of the practice of baptizing dead children:

"Aucuneffois faiz baptisez
Daucuns petiz enfans mors nez.
Dessus lautier ie les faiz mectre
Qui ressemble tout massis estre,
Mais il est tout creux par dedens;

Et par certains soubzterremens
 Des charbons ardans ie soubzmeetz
 Et laultier eschauffer ie faiz,
 Qui a lenfant donne chaleur.
 Et puis ie monstre que vigueur
 Il ya et dy quil est vivant
 Ia soit ce quil soit tout puant
 Et tel puant ie le baptise.
 Et par ainsi a moi iatise
 Or et argent a ma prebende.
 Qui chose est horrible et horrible
 De baptizer une charoigne." (Ver. fol. lxxi.)

484/18130. *fret-ful* = freightfull, fully loaded. *fret* = the fraught or freight of a ship. (Cotgrave.)

489/18308. *Of colore adust*. *Adust* comes from Lat. *adustus*, pp. of *adurere*, to burn, scorch. The term was much used in medicine and was applied to a supposed state of the body which included dryness, heat, thirst, and a burnt colour of the blood. See exs. in *N. E. D.*

492/18414. *In colys to rostē Seynt Laurence*. The story of St. Laurence is told at length in Mrs. Jameson's *Sacred and Legendary Art*. The episode referred to in the text is as follows. When Sixtus II. was condemned to death he commanded his deacon Laurence to distribute the church treasures to the poor, in order that they might not fall into the hands of the tyrannical prefect of Rome. This Laurence did, and when the prefect demanded the treasure, he gathered together all the sick and poor of the city, and presenting them to the prefect, said: "Behold, here are the treasures of Christ's Church." In revenge for this the prefect caused Laurence to be stretched on a gridiron above a furnace.

492/18427-8: *At merels & the botevaunt*
At hasard & at the devaunt.

For *merels* and *hasard* see note to 306/11181, etc. I have not, so far, been able to identify *botevaunt* and *devaunt*. The passage in Verard runs as follows:

"Et que ien pers souvant ma cote
 A mains ieux qui font denyez
 Aux mereles, quartes et dez
 Et que ien vois a val la rue
 Comme ung oblauer toute nue."

Dr. Skeat points out that O.F. *devant* means "in front of, ahead of," and suggests that *devaunt* is a game, gained by him who is *devant*, or "in front of the rest." From the context and the French original we may assume that it was a game of cards or dice.

Dr. Skeat thinks also that *botevaunt* looks like *bot-devaunt*, compounded of *bot*, a butt, a thing to aim at, and *devant*, in front of. If this is so, it may have been one of the many varieties of the game of skittles.

The "early mention of cards, sixty years before the date of their introduction into France, (was) supposed to be an interpolation of *Pierre Virgin*, in retouching the poem of De Guileville; but . . . they are mentioned in the Stadtbuch of Augsburg, in 1275. . . . The *invention*, therefore, cannot be ascribed to the French in 1390, as Mezérai asserts." (*Pilg. of Man*, 1859, p. 34.)

494/18488. *ffrenche nor Latyn he spak noon*. This is probably an allusion to the fact that the knowledge of magical arts came from the East, and their principal exponents were found among the Arabians.

496/18586. *I make a cercle large and round.* For an account of the process of incantation and invocation of spirits see *Secrees of Old Philisoffres*, note to p. 16, l. 495. The pentangle mentioned in this description, within which it was necessary to stand, was a pentagon inside a circle, and not the "endless knot" or five-pointed star of *Sir Gawayne and the Grene Knight*.

500/18735. *As whylom was Kyng Salamoun*, etc. Solomon was said to be the king of the jinns and fairies, and to be able to command them to do anything he chose. Amongst other works he employed the genii in building the Temple. According to the rabbis he had a signet-ring which revealed to him all he wished to know, and gave him power over the inhabitants of the unseen world.

Virgil. Tales of his magical powers grew up during the Middle Ages (not from any contemporary records), and were very widely dispersed. Amongst other stories there is one that, finding the devil in a bottle, he undertook to release him after learning all his arts, and that he first employed his magical power in the creation of a perfect woman. Some critics consider these tales to be of popular and Neapolitan, others of literary origin.

For *Albalart* we should read *Abelard*, the name being printed *Abe-leard* in Verard's edition. But for this, I should have taken the reference to be to Albertus Magnus, since the rationalistic views of Abelard seem very far opposed to any spiritualistic and magical practices. His unorthodoxy and scepticism, however, being misunderstood, probably gave rise to tales of his propensity for necromancy.

Cyprian was a magician of Antioch, a learned man, deeply versed in astrology and necromancy, and of great power to raise demons. To this man there resorted a certain youth, who desired to win the love of a Christian girl called Justina, who, however, had devoted herself to chastity and the service of God. Cyprian undertook to help the youth, but on seeing Justina he fell so deeply in love with her that he determined to win her for himself, and employed all his arts to that end. Justina, however, resisted him, and by her purity and steadfastness so worked upon the mind of Cyprian (who found that not even his familiar demon had power over her) that he himself became a Christian, and finally suffered martyrdom with her in the Diocletian persecution.

(See Butler's *Lives of the Saints*, and Mrs. Jameson's *Sacred and Legendary Art*.) In the *Secrees of Old Philisoffres*, 1187-90, Lydgate again refers to Cyprian.

502/18792. *Duke of Fryse.* This story is told of the Frankish missionary, St. Wulfran, and a certain King Radbod. Radbod, having been deeply touched by Wulfran's teaching, consented to become a Christian. At the last moment, however, just as he was about to receive the sacrament of baptism, he inquired of Wulfran what had been the fate, after death, of all his ancestors who had died in a state of heathenism. Wulfran promptly replied that they were undoubtedly damned, whereupon Radbod, declaring that if that were so he would be damned with them, refused to be baptized, and relapsed into heathenism.

(See *Lives and Legends of English Bishops, Kings*, etc., Mrs. Arthur Bell.)

503/18835. *And is in heuene stellified.* This is a common expression. Cf. *Temple of Glas*, 6/135-6:

"She was magnified
With Iubiter to bein Istellified."

Cf. also Chaucer's *Hous of Fame*, 1001-8:

"How goddes gonne stellifye
Brid, fish, beste, or him or here
As the Raven, or either Bere . . .
How alle these arn set in hevене."

506/18972. *The greete counceyle at Nycene*. The great Council of Nicea was summoned by the Emperor Constantine, A.D. 325, in order to settle the questions raised by the Arian heresy. St. Augustine was one of the greatest opponents of heresy, and was especially engaged in the refutation of the errors of the Pelagians and the Donatists.

511/19163. *Ortigometra*. This is supposed to be the landrail or corn-crake, which belongs to a group of birds fitted for progress on either land or in water, and with wings not very well adapted to long flights.

515/19288. *And to an heremyte in desert*. I have been unable to identify this tale. Stories of the wives of the devil were, however, very common, and Dom John Chapman, O.S.B., has called my attention to one in Cassian, *Coll.* ii. 7: "De monacho qui, deceptus a diabolo, voluit filiam suum immolare." In this story, the devil appears to the monk as an angel of light, and leads him to believe that it would be pleasing to God if he were to sacrifice his son to Him.

517/19368. *harow*. *Crier haro ou harol sur* = to cry out upon, or to make a hue and cry after. According to the ancient opinion this cry was used in Normandy by those who were wronged, as if to implore the aid of Duke Rol, but modern etymologists throw doubt upon this derivation. Diez suggests O.H.G. *hara* = here.

"*Clameur de haro* = a claim of those who are in possession of land which others seek to put them from."

In Gilbert Parker's *The Battle of the Strong*, the scene of which is laid in Jersey, the heroine says before the magistrates: "Haro! Haro! Monsieur le Prince, on me fait tort!" No prince was present, but this was the formula.

517/19386. *Ryght as dydȝ Julyan*. The emperor Julian was brought up as a Christian, but afterwards became a pagan. There is a legend that he made a compact with Mercury to sell his soul to paganism in return for the promise of the Imperial crown. He devoted much of his energy to an attempt to discredit the Christian prophecies and to restore paganism. He wrote a book against the truth of Christianity, and is said to have indulged in divinations and secret arts, whence he came to be regarded as a powerful necromancer, who had sold himself to the devil.

527/19755. *My mayster Chaucer*. Ten Brink considers that Chaucer's translation of De Guileville's *ABC* belonged to about the same period as his version of the legend of St. Cecilia. He points out that Chaucer's *ABC* is rather an imitation than a translation of De Guileville's. "The stanza of the original, which consisted of twelve short lines of very involved rhyme, was changed by Chaucer into the more dignified and serious form of a stanza of eight decasyllabic lines. The imitation is also rather free in things of greater importance; the French stanza most frequently sketches out the thought in a general way, while the corresponding English stanza gives it more exhaustively, or enlarges upon it; in other cases when the parallel stanzas have the same contents, there are often deviations in the arrangement of the thoughts."

Two stanzas of De Guileville's Poem are given for purposes of comparison.

A toy du monde le refui
 Vierge glorieuse, m'en fui
 Tout confus, ne puis miex faire,
 A toy me tien, a toy m'apuy
 Relieve moy, abatu suy:
 Vaincu m'a mon aversaire.
 Puis qu'en toy ont tous repaire
 Bien me doy vers toys retraire
 Avant que j'aie plus d'annuy.
 N'est pas luite necessaire
 A moy, se tu debonnaire,
 Ne me sequeurs comme a autrui.

Bien voy que par toy confortés
 Sera mes cuers desconfortés.
 Quer tu es de salu porte.
 Si je suis mal tresportez
 Par vii larrons, pechiés mortez
 Et erre par voie torte,
 Esperance me conforte
 Qui à toy hui me raporte
 A ce que soie deportez
 Ma povre arme je t'apporte:
 Sauve la: ne vait que morte
 En li sont tous biens avortez.

533/19953. *And eek that Longius his hertē pighte.* Longius, usually called Longinus, was the Roman soldier who pierced the heart of our Saviour. He is said to have been afterwards converted to Christianity, and to have suffered martyrdom. The spear with which he delivered the blow is said in the *Romance of King Arthur* to have fallen into the possession of Joseph of Arimathea, who brought it to England. There is also a tradition that it is preserved among the treasures of St. Peter's at Rome.

533/19967. *Zacharie yow clepeth þe opene welle.* Probably a reference to Zechariah xiii. 1.

535/20040. *The noble wysē Tholomee.* In this passage Claudius Ptolemaeus, the chief exponent of the system of astronomy which was called after him, and which continued in universal acceptance until the sixteenth century, is confused with one of the kings of Egypt of the same name. Claudius Ptolemy was himself a native of Egypt, and flourished in Alexandria about the middle of the second century A.D. His *Centyloge*, mentioned in l. 20615, is a work called *Centiloquium*, from the fact of its containing a hundred aphorisms on astrological subjects.

538/20152. *And as the doctour seynt Austyn.* In Verard's edition, the sidenote to this passage gives the reference Lib. V. *De Civitate*, cap. vi. This chapter, however, which is upon the difference in the sexes of twins, and the resulting differences in their future lives, is really an argument against the influence of the stars. St. Augustine says plainly:

"The mind of man is not subject unto any of these phases of the stars; those artists, now desiring to bind our acts unto this that we see them free from, do shew us plainly that the effects of the stars have not power so much as upon our bodies . . ."

"What fonder affection can there be than to say that that figure of Heaven which was one in the conception of them both had not power to keep the sister from differing in sex from her brother, with whom she had one constellation, and yet that the figure of heaven which ruled at their nativity had power to make her differ so far from him in her virgin's sanctimony."

It is rather difficult to see how De Guileville could have so far misunderstood St. Augustine's meaning, if Verard's sidenote really gives the proper reference.

539/20182. *The Stocyenēs.* *De Civitate*, Lib. V. cap. viii. "Of their opinion that give not the name of Fate the position of the stars, but unto the dependance of causes upon the will of God" seems to be the ground of these lines, and of the assertion concerning the opinion of Homer on this point.

"Homer's verses, translated into Latin by Tully, are as these are:

'Tales sunt hominum mentes qualis pater ipse
 Iupiter auctiferas lustravit lumine terras.'

'We would not bring poetic sentences for confirmation of this question, but because that Tully saith, that the Stoics, standing for the power of Fate, use to quote this place of Homer, we now alledge them, not as his opinion, but as theirs, who by these verses of Fate shewed in their disputations what they thought of Fate, because they call upon Jove, whom they held to be that great God, upon whose directions these causes did depend.'"

539/20185. *Mathesis*. This is the Greek *μαθησις*, meaning "learning." The word was very commonly employed in the Middle Ages, and eventually came to be personified.

545/20416. *Thys tooknys nor thys bowys grene*. Cf. the proverb, "Good wine needs no bush." The custom of indicating a public-house by a bush or bough, hung outside, was Roman, and there was a Latin proverb: "Vino vendibili hedera non opus est." In France a peasant who wishes to sell his vineyard places a green bush over his door.

549/20595. *ffor whan cryst, in swych A cas*. See St. John ix. 1-3.

549/20608. *And davyd seyth*. See Psalm xix. 1, 2.

550/20615. *And in hys Centyloge*. See note to 535/20040.

552/20698. *Pyromaneye*, etc. See the explanations of these modes of divination in the notes to p. 16 of the *Secrees of Old Philisoffres*. See also *The Assembly of Gods*, notes to p. 26/867-870.

552/20714. *The myghty man Neptanabus*. The name should be Nectanabus. He was the reputed father of Alexander the Great.

According to the legend, Nectanabus, a king of Egypt, foresaw, through his magic, that he should be overcome by his enemies, and this befalling, he fled to Macedon. There seeing the queen Olimpias, wife of Philip, he fell in love with her, and by means of a dream, induced by magic, brought her to believe that she was destined to be the paramour of a god. Having deceived her thus, he was able, through his magic arts, to take advantage of her delusion, and the outcome of this union was a son, who afterwards became Alexander the Great. The story is told at length in Gower's *Confessio Amantis*, Bk. VI.

555/20800. *Cyrces*. For Cyrces we should read *Syrtes*, meaning quicksands, or sandbanks. The name is specially applied to two sandbanks on the north coast of Africa.

561/21060. *Bythalassus*. Can this be a miswriting (both in the French and English versions) for Di-thalassos? The latter word means either (1) divided into two seas, or (2) between two seas, where two seas meet, as off a headland; used for the meeting of currents in the Syrtes.

The second sense agrees well with the context.

566/21222. *That is hys hevене & nothyng ellys*. See note to p. 416/15459.

567/21268. *Yt ffyl thus of Ypocras*. This story of Philemon (or Polemon) and Hippocrates is also given, with extra details, in the *Secrees of Old Philisoffres* (ll. 2479-2520). As the editor of that text points out in the notes, the story is really told of Zopyrus and Socrates. "Polemon was the only writer on physiognomy known to the Arabs, and Socrates is not very different in its Arabic form from Hippocrates, who was far better known."

570/21359. *I chace at hem that ther-in Rowe*. "To row" here means "to swim." We may compare *Beowulf*, l. 512:

"pā git on sund reōn,
 pær git eāgor-strēam earmum pehton."
 "Then you swam in the sea
 Where you covered the ocean-stream with your arms."

573/21508. *pawnyys* = palms of the hands. "But it is such safe travelling in Spain that one may carry gold in the pawn of his hand."—*Howell's Letters* (Nares).

576/21583. *In thylke dyrkē fyr (nat bryht)*. We may compare with this line Cynewulf's idea of the appearance of the flames of hell.

"ðonne eall prēo on efen nimeð
 Won fyres wælm wide tosomne
 Se swearta lig."—*Christ*, Pt. III. ll. 963-5.

"When the pallid surge of fire, the swarthy flame
 Shall seize all those three things, at once, alike,
 And far and wide."—*Gollancz's trans.*

585/21932. *Wrappyd*. This seems to stand for *rapt*, ravished or carried away. Cf. *Ferrex and Porrex*:

"His noble limmes in such proportion cast
 As would have wrapt a sillie woman's thought."

It cannot be taken in its ordinary sense, since the next line contradicts it. Possibly, however, it might be metathesis of *warpyd*, cast.

590/22095. *The Cysteus*. The order of the *Cistercians* was founded towards the end of the eleventh century by Robert, Abbot of Moleme, in Burgundy. He endeavoured to restore the exact observance of the rule of St. Benedict in his monastery, but failing, retired with twenty monks to Cîteaux, near Châlons, where he founded the first monastery of the Cistercian order.

The order of *Clugni* was the first branch of the Benedictine order. It was founded in 910, by Abbot Bernon at Clugni, on the Garonne. The Cluniac monasteries were remarkable for the severity of their discipline.

The *Carthusians* were founded in 1080 by a certain Bruno, professor of Philosophy at Paris. The first monastery was built at Chartreux near Grenoble. Strict seclusion and almost perpetual silence were distinguishing points in the discipline of the order.

Fratres Minores was the name applied in humility by St. Francis of Assisi to the order of monks instituted by him, better known as the Franciscans.

Preaching Friars was another name for the Dominicans, who had received special authority from the pope to preach. At first the work of preaching was not permitted to friars.

597/22356. *Towched*. Can this stand for *to-sched*, meaning "divided, separated," from M.E. *to-schæden*? Stowe has *couched*, which makes good sense.

598/22417. *Somme callen hir Placebo*. See note to p. 395/14654.

615/23030. *The space of xxxix yere*. This is one of the indications from which we are enabled to gain some knowledge concerning the life of De Guileville. The following account, of the entrance of Envy into the monastery, is probably the reflection of some actual experience of the writer's.

617/23107. *frolage*. Neither Godefroy nor Littré give this word. It seems however to be connected with *frôler*, the ordinary sense of which is *to touch lightly*. Littré says, "(Berry.) *frôler*, battre, étriller; *frêler*, même sens; genev. *frouler*, norm. *freuler*. D'après Diez, *frôler* est pour

frotter, dim. de *frotter*. On pourrait croire aussi qu'il est pour *frossler*, de froisser."

620/23249. *Terra sibi fruges*. Ovid. *Ibis*. 107-8:

"Terra tibi fruges, amnis tibi deneget undas
Deneget adflatus ventus et aura suos," etc.

Verard quotes sixteen lines.

633/23618. *The Prophete Ezechiel*. Ezekiel xvi. 49: "Behold, this was the iniquity of thy sister Sodom, pride, fulness of bread, and abundance of idleness was in her and in her daughters, neither did she strengthen the hand of the poor and needy."

635/23701. *took of Egypt the Tresour*. See Gen. xi. 2 and xii. 35.

637/23773. *In Egipt whilom*. See Gen. xli.

645/24093. *Seyn Poule hym-silfë saith*. See Acts xxvii. 31.

655/24443. *mylk is nothyng elles*. See Arist. *Hist. Animalium*, B. vii. iii. 2.

658/24620. *As Barlam telleth of a kyng*. This story is also found in the *Talmud*, where we are told that a certain rich man released a slave and sent him forth with a ship of merchandise to seek his fortune. The slave was wrecked upon an island and lost all he had, but the people of the island received him with acclamations and made him their king.

The slave, amazed and dazzled, could not understand the reason of his good fortune, but on inquiring of those around him he was told that the island was inhabited by spirits who had prayed to God that He would send them yearly a man to rule over them. This prayer had been granted, but each king was permitted to reign for one year only, and at the end of that time was stripped of all and conveyed to a desolate uninhabited island. Former kings had been content to enjoy their year of power without considering the future, but he, if he were wise, would send workmen to the island, to till the ground and erect houses, in order that when the time came for his removal thither he might find a fertile and inhabited place ready to receive him.

The slave, wiser than his predecessors, followed this advice, and upon the expiration of his year of power, entered upon a new kingdom, in which he might henceforth dwell in security and enjoyment.

The story was known to De Guileville in the romance of *Barlaam and Josaphat*, which was one of the richest storehouses of legend of the Middle Ages. It is told in a Greek book, long ascribed to John of Damascus. M. H. Zotenberg, however, holds the opinion, in which Gaston Paris concurs, that it was composed a hundred years earlier, in the first half of the seventh century, by a monk of the convent of St. Saba. The story of *Barlaam and Josaphat* is supposed to be a Christianized version of the life of Buddha. Barlaam was a Christian hermit, who, in the third or fourth century, converted an Indian prince called Josaphat, and as a means to his end made use of a large number of ancient folk-tales and fables, which he interpreted spiritually.

The romance was translated into nearly every European language during the Middle Ages. For a full account of it see *Poèmes et légendes du Moyen Age* by Gaston Paris, and *Barlaam and Josaphat, English Lives of the Buddha*, by Joseph Jacobs.

660/24653. *As whylom dedë seynt Lowys*. The prayers and fastings, the alms, and compassion of St. Lewis, "his mercy meynt with ryghtwenesse" may be illustrated by many incidents and habits of his life. Amongst the religious or charitable monuments erected by him were the

abbey of Royaumont, on the building of which he sometimes worked with his own hands, several hospitals, the two monasteries of Franciscans and Dominicans in Paris, and many churches and chapels.

He was accustomed to indulge in many of the practices of asceticism, such as the wearing of hair-cloth, the use of the discipline, and strict control of his appetites; but he never allowed these practices to become obtrusive or to interfere with the proper execution of his royal duties.

Towards the poor he displayed always great compassion, "often serving them at table, washing their feet, and visiting them in the hospitals" (*Butler's Lives of the Saints*). "He protected the poor from the oppressions of the great, and would not suffer his own brothers to pass the limits of law and equity." He led two crusades, both of which, however, proved disastrous to his armies, and died himself in 1270, of the pestilence which attacked his second expedition at Tunis.

GLOSSARY.

- a, *adj.* all, 179/6838.
a, *prep.* on; a syde, on her side, 89/3350.
a, *vb.* have, 7/253.
abaissshed, abayssshed, *pp.* abashed, 61/2296, 76/2858, 173/6593, 284/10355.
abaye, *adv.* at bay, 618/23143.
abrayde, *vb.* (1) speak, 20/739, 106/4025; *pret.* spoke, 23/878, 161/6143. (2) cry out, 208/7415; *pret.* cried out, 228/8223, 242/8759. (3) upbraid, 89/3365.
abusyon, *n.* deception, 102/3852.
abyggen, *vb.* pay for, 492/18440.
abyt, abyte, *vb.* abides, endures, 2/43, 171/6532, 626/23358.
accorde, *vb.* agree, 208/7424, 213/7602, 240/8663; *pp.* agreed, 217/7786.
acroche, *vb.* lay hold of, 414/15392, 481/17976.
adawed, *pp.* awakened, 7/226.
adewhen, *vb.* bedew, 237/8551.
aduersyte, *n.* adversity, 123/4832.
aduerte, aduerten, *vb.* consider, 96/3603, 107/4033, 142/5437.
adust, *adj.* burning, 489/18308. See Note.
aermancy, *n.* aëromancy, divination by means of the winds, 552/20708.
afferd, afferyd, *adj.* afraid, 64/2403, 204/7286.
affere, afferre, *adv.* afar, 211/7534, 246/8912.
afforce, *vb.* strengthen, 212/7566; *pres.* afforceth, 278/10125.
affray, *n.* (1) fear, 46/1712, 111/4202. (2) attack, 204/7269.
affe that, *conj.* according as, 159/6072.
affye, *vb.* confide, 391/14470, 558/20915.
aforen, afor, *adv.* before, 69/2582, 74/2759, etc.
afowndryd, *pp.* foundered, 374/13826.
after, affter, *prep.* according to, 74/2780, 118/4477, 236/8505, etc.
agaas, *n.* magpie or jay, 389/14415.
ageyn, *prep.* against, 88/3325, 94/3527, 127/4837.
aggreggyng, *n.* increasing, 112/4240.
agilt, *pp.* offended, deceived, *A B C*, 532/19912.
ago, agon, *pp.* gone, 224/8047, 136/5184, etc.
agrysed, *pp.* horrified, 11/411.
aiourne, *vb. imp.* cite, summon, *A B C*, 533/19948.
a-knowe, I acknowledge, 119/4516; to ben a-knowe, to acknowledge, 130/4955.
albe, *conj.* albeit, 22/826; al be yt so, although, 145/5556.
albeston, *n.* asbestos, 238/8602. See Note.
alday, *adv.* always, 82/3074, 92/3449.
alder, of all, *A B C*, 530/19874; alder-fyrst, first of all, 71/2657; alder-hyest, highest of all, 129/4922; alderlast, last of all, 228/8114.
alengthe, *adv.* along, at full length, 140/5346.
algate, *conj.* since, 327/12018.
algatys, *adv.* always, 155/5893, 204/7288.
allegement, *n.* remission, relief, 108/4095, 121/4602, 596/22334.
allegge, *vb.* alleviate, 71/2663; alleggeth, 611/22877.
almesse, *n.* alms, 119/4524.
alowe, *adv.* low, below, 192/7130.
also, *conj.* as, 168/6415.
amat, amaat, *adj.* dismayed, amazed, 34/1297, 647/24159.
amende, *vb.* give satisfaction, 224/8061.
amendement, *n.* reparation, 147/5617.

- amendyng, *n.* amendment, 46/1718.
 amenuse, *vb.* diminish, 635/23686;
pr. part. amenusyng, 633/23613.
 amonyceyon, *n.* admonition, 71/
 2645.
 among, *adv.* at times, 306/11181.
 ampte, *n.* ant, 277/10101, 280/10188.
 anille, *n.* hand-maiden, *ABC*, 531/
 19899.
 and, *conj.* if, 72/2671, 117/4464, etc.;
 and if, except, 133/5072.
 annethe, *adv.* hardly, 179/6842. *See*
 unnethe.
 annoy, *n.* annoyance, 229/8231.
 anoon, *adv.* immediately; annoon
 ryght, immediately, 106/3992.
 answeyng, *pr. part.* corresponding,
 159/6070.
 anulle, *vb.* destroy, do away with,
 32/1220.
 apallen, *vb.* enfeeble, 94/3528.
 aparceved, *pp.* perceived, 138/5269.
 apayd, appayyd, *pp.* pleased, satis-
 fied, 76/2840, 80/3004, 155/5896,
 etc.
 apayre, apeyre, *vb.* spoil, become less,
 21/786, 340/12496; *pp.* apeyred,
 127/4849.
 apechyd, *pp.* impeached, 160/6114.
 apertly, *adv.* openly, 536/20072.
 apparayllede, *pp.* apparelled, 232/
 8360.
 appartene, *vb.* belong, 274/9970.
 appelle, *vb.* challenge, 360/13290.
 apryved, *adj.* approved, 146/5603.
 armole, *n.* armhole, armpit, 315/
 11561.
 armure, *n.* armour, 202/7229, 212/
 7598, 230/8269, etc.
 arnvrrer, *n.* armourer, 211/7547.
 arretten, *vb.* account, ascribe, 449/
 16731.
 arrew, *interj.* 347/12767.
 arsmetryk, *n.* arithmetic, 314/11490.
 arwe, *n.* arrow, 212/7573, 214/7653.
 arwh, *adj.* cowardly, 490/18364.
 as, *conj.* than, 78/2914, etc.; as if,
 636/23743.
 ascrye, *vb.* call upon, 360/13291;
pp. askryed, challenged, accused,
 360/13263.
 askawnce, *adv.* aside, 166/6333.
 assautys, *n.* assaults, 204/7281, 211/
 7543.
 assay, *n.* trial, 239/8642, 427/15871.
 assaye, *vb.* undertake, try, 62/2323,
 71/2637, 167/6351.
 assent, *n.* opinion, accord, 134/5101.
 asseth, *n.* satisfaction (Fr. *assez*),
 120/4555.
 assoyl, *vb.* solve, explain, 157/5997;
imper. 267/9722.
 assoylle, *vb.* *pr. sg.* absolve, 69/2586.
 assurance, *n.* pledge, 52/1944.
 assure, *vb.* rely, 2/29.
 asterte, *vb.* escape, 352/12964.
 astonyd, *pp.* astonished, 242/8736.
 at, *prep.* in or to, 314/11496; at two,
 in two, 67/2504.
 atame, *vb.* broach, enter upon, 480/
 17945, 645/24081.
 a-thynke, *vb.* displease, 94/3532.
 avale, *vb.* drop down, 385/14245;
pp. cast down, 274/9984, 278/
 10130.
 avaunce, *vb.* advance, 82/3078, 128/
 4872.
 avaunt, *n.* boast, 318/11661.
 avauntage, *n.* advantage, 130/5001,
 149/5681, etc.
 avaunte, *vb.* boast, 55/2046.
 avayl, *n.* advantage, 96/3631.
 avaylleth, *vb.* *pres.* avails, 222/7988.
 avayting, *pr. p.* awaiting, 126/4808.
 aventure, *n.* chance, 160/6110, 217/
 7796.
 aventyng, *n.* vent, 387/14332.
 avout(e)rye, *n.* adultery, 364/13433.
 avowe, *vb.* acknowledge, permit,
 591/22143.
 avys, *n.* (1) consideration, 72/2709,
 97/3663. (2) judgment, 100/3768,
 239/8644. (3) opinion, 153/5852.
 (4) understanding, 158/6038, 167/
 6365.
 avyse, *vb.* advise, 148/5634; *pp.* in-
 formed, 146/5575.
 avyse, *adj.* discreet, well-informed,
 150/5727.
 avysely, *adv.* advisedly, 99/3750.
 avysement, *n.* discretion, considera-
 tion, 65/2447, 158/6035.
 avysyon, *n.* vision, 16/586, 17/635,
 333/12243.
 awayt, *adv.* in wait, watching, 10/
 371.
 awhapyd, *pp.* astonished, 172/6542,
 647/24159.
 awhter, *n.* altar, 86/3230a.
 awmaylle, *n.* enamel, 19/690.

- awmener, *n.* almoner, 105/3983; *pl.* awmenerys, 245/8858.
 awntre, *vb.* adventure, 576/21610.
 awreke, *pp.* avenged, 89/3329, 180/6885.
 awstynys, *n.* Augustinians, 15/536.
 awys, *n.* 71/2642. *See* avys.
 axe, *vb.* ask, 101/3802, 154/5862, 120/4570; *pp.* yaxyd, 190/7048.
 ay, *n.* egg, 88/3312, 388/14361.
See ey.
 baas, *adj.* low, 402/14898.
 bacyn, *n.* beacon, 236/8491.
 bakke, *n.* bat, 420/15618.
 balke, *n.* to make a balke, to blunder, mistake, fail, 168/6384.
 bandoun, *n.* power, disposal, jurisdiction, 72/2688, 177/6753, 514/19256.
 bare, *n.* strife, 220/7913, 486/18192.
 barmfel, *n.* leather apron, 425/15828, 427/15907.
 batayll, *n.* battle, 212/7561, 218/7832, etc.
 baudrek, *n.* baldrick, girdle, 647/24144.
 bawm, *n.* balm, 92/3460, 298/10882.
 bayard, *n.* (bay) horse, 304/11138.
 beere, *n.* bear, 236/8495.
 beffyl, *vb. pret.* befell, 283/10330.
 befull, *adj.* should be lefull, lawful, 479/17913.
 beheste, *n.* promise, 119/4518, 369/13635.
 behihte, behyhte, *vb. pret.* promised, 163/6206, 232/8373; *pp.* behyht, behight, 166/6334, 587/22012; *subjunc.* behote, 587/21998; *pr. p.* byhotynge, 587/21979.
 be-iape, *vb.* beguile, 371/13688.
 beleve, *n.* creed, 394/14604.
 belwys, bylwes, *n.* bellows, 379/13990, 386/14284.
 ben, *vb. pres. pl.* are, 88/3306.
 bere hem so on hande, deceive them, 600/22469.
 bereth me an hand, flatters me, 387/14316.
 bern, *vb.* bear, 28/1031, 166/6322.
 berthene, *n.* burden, 359/13248.
 beseke, *vb.* beseech, 162/6172.
 beseyn, *pp.* dressed, provided, 21/871, 313/11468.
 besmys, *n.* brooms, rods, 319/11713.
 bessellys, *n.* 306/11191. *See* Note.
 best, *n.* beast, 91/3429, 242/8742.
 besyde, besyden, *adv.* aside, 114/4334, 4341.
 bet, *adj.* better, 61/2282, 115/4377, etc.
 bewte, *n.* beauty, 181/6897, 218/7806.
 beyn, *vb.* buy, 236/8523, 250/9035; *pr. sg.* 2. beyst, 250/9033.
 bit, *vb. pres. ind.* bids, 656/24489.
 blent, *pp.* blinded, 66/2428, 138/5253, 292/10674.
 blyue, *adv.* quickly, 94/3546, 126/4813, etc.; as blyue, immediately, 151/5763.
 bobbaunce, *n.* ostentation, 387/14307, 389/14403.
 bocchyd, *pp.* swollen, 489/18328.
 boch, *n.* hump, swelling, 489/18297; *pl.* bochches, 237/8565.
 boden, *pp.* commanded, 500/18712.
 bolde, *vb.* embolden, 80/2983.
 bole, *n.* bull, 354/13029.
 bolle, *pp.* inflated, 378/13982.
 bollyng, *n.* swelling, 108/4074.
 bombardys, *n.* instruments like bassoons, 386/14303.
 bonche, *vb.* strike, knock about, 367/13539.
 bonche, *n.* bunch, hump, 489/18294.
 booden, *pp.* bidden, 97/3672.
 bordoun, *n.* pilgrim's staff, 17/612 *et passim*.
 borgh, *n.* borough, 143/5456; *pl.* borwes, 294/10747.
 botaylle, *n.* limits, boundary, 98/3696. *See* Note.
 bote, *n.* remedy, 322/11814, 654/24429.
 botevaunt, *n.* a game, 492/18427. *See* Note.
 botore, *n.* bittern, 354/13031.
 bowgys, *n.* bags (O.Fr. bouge, bouge), 247/8942.
 boyst, *n.* box, 143/5466, 399/14792.
 boystous, *adj.* rough, churlish, 89/3331, 208/7436.
 brayd, *n.* throw, twist, 651/24325.
 braydest, *vb. pr.* resemblest, 246/8887.
 brenne, *vb.* burn, 507/18984; *pp.* brent, 95/3574, 103/3900, 121/4591.
 brennyng, *n.* burning, 73/2723.

- breste, *vb.* burst, 428/15930.
 brestyng, *n.* bursting, 387/14331.
 bresures, *n.* bruises, 619/23210.
 broche, *vb.* hasten, spur, 353/13007.
 broche, *n.* spear, spine of hedgehog, 419/15582.
 bromys, *n.* brooms, 92/3475.
 brond, *n.* sword, 227/8155; *pl.* brondys, 227/8180.
 bronstoon, *n.* sulphur, 422/15676.
 brood, *adj.* broad, 127/4845.
 brooke, *adj.* broken, 460/17160.
 brose, *vb.* bruise, 107/4066.
 brotyl, *adj.* brittle, 278/10118, 279/10146.
 brotyllesse, *n.* brittleness, 279/10157.
 brustlys, *n.* bristles, 368/13594.
 brybours, *n.* beggars, 478/17885.
 bryd, *n.* bird, 88/3313, 260/9431.
 brygaunt, *n.* robber, brigand, 3/70; *pl.* brigantys, 204/7274.
 brygge, *n.* bridge, 409/15185.
 burdon, *n.* pilgrim's staff, 172/6575.
See bordoun.
 but, *conj.* except, 77/2893, 108/4096, etc.; but yiff, except, 155/5901.
 by and by, *adv.* one by one, bit by bit, 4/146, 93/3495, 122/4653.
 bydde, *vb.* pray, beseech, 555/20811.
 byggere, *n.* buyer, 476/17787.
 byggyng, *n.* buying, 482/18020.
 bysme, *n.* besom, broom, 106/4014, 122/4632.
 byst, *vb. pr. ind.* 2. biddest, 255/9225; *pr.* 3. byt, commands, bids, 168/6410, 358/12041.
 byth, *vb. pr. pl.* are, 130/4943.
 caas, *n.* case, 86/3222, 175/6677; par caas, (1) suppose, by chance, 151/5763. (2) for example, perhaps, 160/6108.
 caffe, *n.* chaff (of corn), 34/1278.
 calle, *n.* caul, web, net, 514/19269; *pl.* callys, 596/22339.
 callyn, *vb.* call, 461/17202.
 callyoun, *n.* pebble, 418/15552, 425/15815.
 carence, *n.* lack, 30/1144.
 cast afor, *vb.* foresee, 214/7640.
 caste, *vb.* purpose, 301/11014; castestow, dost thou purpose, 308/11283.
 cast hyr, *vb. pret.* set herself, purposed, 40/1500, 143/5447.
 catel, *n.* property, 250/9034.
 celerys, *n.* cellars, 206/7330.
 cely, *adj.* innocent, 288/10510, 439/16357.
 cene, *n.* (Holy) Supper, 121/4616.
 centyloge, *n.* 550/20616. *See* Note.
 cerche, *vb.* search, 117/4444; *pr. p.* cerchyng, 18/663; *pp.* cerchyd, 111/4199.
 certys, *adv.* certainly, 88/3302, 153/5846.
 chalenge, *vb.* claim, 441/16433.
 chamberere, chaumberere, *n.* servant, 98/3748, 100/3765, 104/3922.
 char, *n.* chariot, 627/23401.
 charge, *n.* (1) charge, task, 85/3196, 143/5470. (2) load, 208/7430.
 charge, *vb.* charge, burden, 74/2781, 275/10002, 67/2519.
 chasteleyn, *n.* chatelaine, 608/22785.
 chaumbre, *n.* chamber, room, 106/3992, 203/7251.
 chaumpartye, champartye, *n.* resistance, competition, contest, 161/6148, 228/8193, 647/24174. *See* Note.
 chaunceler, *n.* chancellor 120/4580.
 chaunteplure, *n.* song and weeping, 2/30. *See* Note.
 chauntpartye, *n.* 262/9508. *See* chaumpartye.
 cheff, this the, above all, 133/5061.
 chek maat, *pp.* check-mate, 172/6541, 234/8440.
 cheker, *n.* chess-board, 463/17271.
 cher, chere, *n.* cheer, countenance, appearance, manner, 1/23, 89/3331, 145/5543.
 cherte, cheerte, *n.* love, dearness, charity, 123/4702, 601/22530.
 cherysshynge, *adj.* nourishing, 121/4619.
 ches, *n.* jess, 372/13739.
 chese, chesyn, *vb.* choose, 65/2431, 167/6346.
 cheventayne, *n.* chieftain, 381/14074.
 chevysaunce, *n.* bargain, profit, 487/18234.
 chose, *n.* chosen flock, elect, 12/426.
 clamb, *vb. pret.* climbed, 69/2566.

- clarre, *n.* a wine, 348/12830. See Note.
 clepd, *pp.* called, 161/6126.
 cler, *adv.* clearly, 87/3289.
 clere, *adj.* bright, 175/6685.
 clergie, *n.* clerkship, learning, 287/10464.
 clobbyd, *adj.* clubbed, 283/10337.
 cloos, *pp.* (1) closed, 169/6447.
 (2) enclosed, 163/6212, 222/7985.
 cloos, *n.* closh, a game, 306/11181. See Note.
 closour, closure, *n.* enclosure, 9/337, 56/2117.
 cloystrer, *n.* cloisteral monk, 594/22248.
 clyket, *n.* catch, latch, 352/12967.
 coarte, coharte, *vb.* coerce, worry, 48/1782, 657/24545.
 coffyn, *n.* box, 287/10454, 593/22223.
 cokyl, *n.* shell, 237/8547.
 collusions, *n.* prevarications, 180/6882.
 colverhows, *n.* dove-cot, 443/16509.
 colys, cools, *n.* broth, 413/15352, 415/15437.
 colyt, *n.* acolyte (Palsgrave: 'Collet, the seconde order, acolite'), 58/2182 a.
 comensal, *n.* habitual guest, table companion, 601/22529.
 commytted, *pp.* sent out, 85/3205.
 compace, *n.* stratagem, 405/15043.
 compasse, *vb.* measure, encompass, 157/5976, 183/7000.
 complyn, *n.* compline, the last service of the day in monasteries, 661/24711.
 comwne, *adj.* common, general or universal, 63/2365, 171/6527.
 comwne, *vb.* commune, 171/6528.
 concerne, *vb.* regard, 248/8983.
 conceyue, *vb.* understand, 170/6460.
 conduite, *vb.* guide, 46/1732.
 condygnely, *adv.* worthily, 130/4937.
 conge, *n.* leave, permission, 163/6197, 245/8850, 297/10848.
 coniant, *pp.* conjoined, 149/5682.
 coniuryson, *n.* conjuration, 498/18662.
 consayl, counsayl, *n.* counsel, 96/3602, 217/7763.
 constaunce, *n.* constancy, firmness, 206/7345, 223/8004.
 consuetude, *n.* custom, 610/22858.
 contagious, *adj.* foul, noxious, 367/13532, 568/21308.
 conterplete, *vb.* plead against, 147/5600.
 contrariouste, *n.* contrariousness, 208/7440.
 contraryouste, *n.* accident, impediment, 7/230, 398/14742.
 contrayre, *adj.* contrary, 73/2710, 129/4902.
 contre, *n.* country, 176/6702.
 contune, *vb.* continue, 170/6486; *pp.* contunyd, 4/125.
 conuersacion, *n.* course of life, 276/10041.
 conveyed, *pp.* accompanied, 134/5093.
 conyecte, *vb.* conjecture, 496/18593.
 coorbyd, corbyd, *pp.* bowed, 374/13825, 460/17167.
 cop, coppe, *n.* summit, 278/10138, 521/19526.
 coquynerye, *n.* roguery, 477/17827.
 corage, *n.* heart, 9/313, 306/11203.
 coragous, *adj.* courageous, 219/7844.
 cordeler, *n.* a machine for rope-making (N. E. D.), a rope-maker, 654/24413.
 cornemose, *n.* bagpipe, 389/14410; *pl.* cornemusys, 386/14303.
 cornowler, *n.* cherry-tree (Fr. cornillier), 283/10339.
 corour, *n.* courier, 650/24262.
 coryously, *adv.* by sequence, 239/8626.
 cost, *n.* side, 36/1341, 124/4741.
 costeyynge, *pres. p.* going by the side, 346/12749.
 couenable, covenantable, becoming, proper, fit, 67/2490, 244/8831, etc.
 couert, *pp.* covered, 114/4347.
 couertly, *adv.* covertly, secretly, 113/4269.
 counfortable, *adj.* comfortable, 237/8562.
 coupable, *adj.* guilty, 82/3061.
 courtyne, *n.* a small courtyard, 232/8348.
 courtyned, *pp.* curtained, 291/10631.
 coy, *adj.* quiet, retiring, 287/10468, 408/15167.
 crampysshynge, *adj.* cramping, 374/13823.

- creauunce, *n.* belief, 181/6900, 6911, 6924, 259/9407.
 credence, *n.* belief, 140/5336.
 crepawd, *n.* toad, 421/15652.
 crepyl, *n.* cripple, 461/17211.
 criaunce, *n.* belief, 530/19851.
 crochet, *n.* crook, 482/18015. *See* kroket.
 crokke, *n.* pitcher, 390/14460.
 croos, *n.* cross, 180/6852.
 croppe, *n.* top of a tree, 322/11813, 521/19525.
 crowde, *n.* fiddle, 380/14265.
 curat, *n.* care-taker, guardian, 85/3185.
 cure, *n.* care, solicitude, 56/2118; care, 85/3190; set no cure, care not, 124/4718; dyde hys besy cure, did his best, 162/6155.
 cure, *vb.* cover, 59/2224; *pp.* cured, 604/22621.
 curteisye, *n.* courtesy, 152/5803.
 curteys, *adj.* courteous, 87/3268.
 curteysly, *adv.* courteously, 106/3997, 4017.
 curyouse, *n.* fastidiousness, nicety, 350/12884.
 cusyn, *n.* cook, 416/15443.
 cyromancye, *n.* chiromancy or divination by the hand, 564/21157.
 cyvylye, *adj.* civil law, 428/15916.
 dallyawne, dalyaunce, *n.* converse, sport, 14/520, 215/7709.
 dampnable, *adj.* to be condemned, 3/88.
 damyselle, *n.* maiden, 241/8718.
 daren, *vb.* lurk, 408/15160.
 dareyne, *vb.* (to) settle by battle, 150/5720.
 daunger, *n.* power, 255/9232.
 dawntyng, *n.* taming, 330/12136.
 debonayre, *adj.* usually gentle, courteous, gracious, 107/4044.
 deceyuable, *adj.* deceitful, 235/8490.
 deceyvaunce, *n.* deceit, 236/8498.
 declyn, *n.* declination, 92/3447.
 declyne, *vb.* turn aside, deviate, 131/4980, 232/8347.
 dede, *adj.* dead, 92/3468.
 dediest, *vb.* pret. didst dedicate, 47/note.
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 dees, *n.* dice, 306/11193.
 defie, *vb.* digest, (cause to) decay, 253/9160; *pp.* defyed, 350/12908.
 degre, *n.* degree, 73/2725.
 defect, *pp.* cast down, 451/16808.
 delyt, *n.* delight, 137/5207, 154/5869.
 delytable, *adj.* delightful, 271/9856.
 deme, demen, demene, demyn, *vb.* judge, condemn, 65/2423, 86/3241, 149/5694, 222/7987; *pret.* dempte, 333/12238; *pp.* demyd, 168/6412; *pres. p.* demyng, 74/2776.
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 demeyne, domain, *n.* possession, dominion, 80/2977, 355/13077.
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 departyng, *n.* separation, 53/1971.
 departysoun, *n.* departure, 503/18848.
 depeynt, *pp.* painted, 556/20843.
 depooos, depos, *n.* deposit, stock, 268/9745, 306/11185.
 dere, *vb.* injure, 510/19124.
 descryve, *vb.* describe, 116/4389, 205/7325.
 despyt, *n.* scorn, contempt, contemptuously, 122/4660, 209/7465; cause of scorn, 102/3855.
 despytous, *adj.* spiteful, 247/8932.
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 determyne, *vb.* end, 555/20827.
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 devyse, *vb.* tell, explain, set forth, present, declare, devise, relate, arrange, design, 62/2322, 76/2828, 94/3520, 110/4170, 152/5816, 157/5996, 179/6826, 202/7220.
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 deyete, *n.* deity, 84/3138.
 deynous, deyngnows, *adj.* disdainful, 131/5000, 420/15594.

- differre, *vb.* put away, 657/24538.
 disclaundre, *n.* disgrace, 293/10704.
 discreesse, *vb.* diminish, 633/23610.
 distourble, *vb.* disturb, trouble, 204/
 7270; *pp.* dystourbled, 526/19725.
 distruyen, *vb.* destroy, 653/24374;
pp. distruyed, 639/23858.
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 dotous, *adj.* doubtful, 166/6307, 370/
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 drawlyng, *n.* slaving, 349/12853.
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 dyffendyd, *pp.* forbidden, 295/10774,
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 dyhte, *vb. pret.* prepared, 413/15360.
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 dyrk, dyrke, *adj.* dark, 99/3742, 101/
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 dyscure, *vb.* discover, publish, 263/
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 dysesse, *n.* disease, discomfort, 62/
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 dysfourme, *vb.* deform, 166/6342.
 dysguesyly, *adv.* hideously, strange-
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 dysguyse, *adj.* strange, monstrous,
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 dysioynt, *n.* perplexity, dilemma,
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 dyspleasaunce, *n.* discomfort, dis-
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 dysport, *n.* pleasure, joy, 103/3897.
 dyspoyllen, *vb.* strip, 14/499.
 dyspurveyed, *pp.* unprovided, de-
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- dysseuereth, *vb. pres.* departs, 1/16.
 dystresse, *vb.* distress, 472/17655.
 dystreyn, *vb.* strain, afflict, 427/15898.
 dystreyned, *pp.* stretched, 326/11957.
 dysusance, *n.* disuse, want of custom, 229/8262.
 dyswarre, *adv.* unaware, 450/16765.
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 emplastres, *n.* plasters, 648/24211.
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 encomerous, *adj.* cumbersome, 489/18319.
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 engyn, *n.* skill, wit, 94/3553, 140/5327, 409/15211.
 enherytour, *n.* inheritor, 47/1771.
 enlwyne, *vb.* give light, 192/7107.
 enoynted, *pp.* anointed, 36/1349.
 enqueryn, *vb.* inquire, 66/2470.
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 evene lych, *adv.* in similar manner, 335/12320.
 evene upryht, *adv.* straight, 175/6692.

- ewrous, *adj.* happy (heureux), 107/4052, 539/20177.
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 fel, *vb.* feel, 168/6404.
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 felly, *adv.* fiercely, 298/10889, 347/12766.
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 fere, *adj.* far, 260/9464.
 ferme fader, *n.* first father, 451/16825.
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 fette, *vb.* fetch, 63/2354, 125/4749; *pret.* 173/6582.
 feyne, *vb.* feign, deceive, 120/4553.
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 ffaat, *adj.* fat, 208/7429.
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 ffayrenesse, *n.* gentleness, 46/1712.
 ffenestral, *n.* window, 266/9658; *pl.* ffenestrallys, 329/12087.
 ffers, *n.* queen (at chess), 463/17278.
 ffethris, *n.* feathers, 207/7371.
 ffetysly, *adv.* neatly, daintily, 183/6996, 307/11250.
 ffleyen, *vb.* put to flight, 376/13891.
 fflewmatyk, *adj.* phlegmatic, 421/15634.
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 fforeyn, *adj.* alien, 28/1033; outer, 321/11768, 322/11817. See Note.
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 ffrette, *vb.* interlace, fret, 507/19006; *pp.* ffrret, decorated, 250/9038; strengthened, 588/22042.
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 glood, *vb. pret.* glided, 398/14772.
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 glose, *n.* pretence, 80/2991, 355/13083.
 glosyng, *n.* deceit, 263/9538.
 glouys, *n.* gloves, 216/7755, 217/7765.
 gnew, *vb. pret.* gnawed, 399/14806.
 gon, *vb.* go, 121/4594, 132/5047, 141/5370; *subj.* thow go, 212/7593; ben ago, be gone, 164/6234; they ha be gonne, they have gone, 121/4606.
 gonne, *vb. pret. pl.* See ganne.
 gonne, *n.* gun, 214/7676; *pl.* gonnys, 224/8065.
 goodly, *adv.* kindly, 35/1302.
 goolet, golet, *n.* gullet, 349/12864, 350/12899.
 gorge, *n.* throat, 347/12768.
 gorger, *n.* gorget, throat armour, 213/7608, 228/8208; gorgetys, *pl.* 204/7261.
 gospeler, *n.* evangelist, 296/10823.
 gotows, *adj.* gouty, 374/13822.
 gownde, *n.* purulent matter, 239/8624.

gouernance, governaunce, *n.* government, governance, rule, 82/3077, 84/3170, 156/5939.
 gouernaunce, *n.* demeanour, behaviour, 90/3370, 107/4031, 232/8345.
 gouernaylle, *n.* rudder, 374/13795.
 gracyouse, *adj.* gracious, beautiful, 107/4053.
 grameryens, *n.* grammarians, 68/2462.
 graue, *pp.* engraved, 174/6627, 182/6946.
 graunge, *n.* granary, 142/5410.
 graunt, *n.* grant, gift, 4/110.
 gre by gre, step by step, 16/577.
 gree, gre, *n.* favour, goodwill; take at gree, receive with goodwill, 607/22742, 614/23012.
 greevys, *n.* greaves, leg-armour, 225/8085.
 greff, *n.* grief, 229/8230.
 greff, *vb. imp.* grieve, 229/8225.
 gres, *n.* grease, hih off gres, very fat, 571/21427.
 gretter, *adj.* greater, 147/5609.
 grevaunce, *n.* grievance, injury, 145/5554.
 greyn, *n.* grain, corn, 34/1281, 205/7326.
 groos, *n.* in groos, as a whole, 111/4191.
 gropyd, *pp.* handled, felt, 272/9878.
 groundyd, *pp.* based, grounded, 23/857.
 groven, *vb.* grow, 94/3516.
 groyne, *vb.* grunt, 287/10473; *pp.* groynynge, 468/17476.
 grucche, gruchen, *vb.* grudge, complain, 79/2969, 162/6159; grucche, *pres. sg.* 1. 94/3541; gruccheth, *pres. sg.* 3.; grucche, *subj. pres.* 54/2027, 130/4962; grucchede, *pret.* 96/3606, 207/7382; gruchehet, *imp.* 102/3849; grucchyng, *pr. p.* 124/4719, 214/7662.
 grynt, *vb. pres. sg.* grinds, 375/13835.
 grypyng, *pr. p.* grasping, gripping, 16/593.
 guerdoun, *n.* guerdon, reward, 175/6679, 210/7498.
 guye, *vb.* guide, 305/11170, 316/11584.
 guyse, *n.* manner, 94/3519, 249/9014.

- gyderesse, *n.* guide, 192/7117.
 gyn, *n.* snare, contrivance, 480/17971.
 gynne, *vb.* begin, 96/3622.
 gynning, *n.* origin, 79/2945, 131/4986.
 gyterne, *n.* guitar, 317/11617.
- ha, *vb.* to have, 132/5014; *pres.* 2. hastow, hast thou, 156/5934; *subj. pres.* ha, 220/7878.
 haberioun, *n.* habergeon, armour for breast, 210/7519, 228/8206; *pl.* haberiouns, 203/7259.
 hable, *adj.* fit, able, 14/497, 133/5070, 222/7967.
 habondaunce, *n.* abundance, 128/4876, 144/5507.
 hal, *n.* awl, 390/14459; *pl.* hallys, 418/15547.
 hals, *n.* neck, 537/20118.
 halt, halte, *n.* lame person, 629/23481, 632/23598.
 halt, *vb. pres.* holds, 1/18, 81/3049; *pres.* 2. 153/5851, 158/6037; *pp.* holde, held, counted, 226/8128.
 haluendel, *n.* half, 519/19474, 534/19996.
 halwyd, *adj.* hallowed, 445/16570.
 hamryd, *pp.* hammered, 207/7385.
 hardy, *adj.* bold, 84/3137.
 hardyd, *pp.* hardened, 206/7345.
 hardyly, *adv.* boldly, 82/3088.
 hardynesse, *n.* boldness, 96/3628, 152/5797.
 harneys, *n.* armour, 203/7255, 213/7611.
 harow! *interj.* 517/19368. See Note.
 haryng, *n.* herrings, 394/14613.
 hasteler, *n.* one who roasts meat, 414/15380.
 haterel, *n.* neck, 241/8754.
 hault, *adj.* high, 402/14898.
 haunte, *vb.* practise, 220/7898, 471/17592; *hawntyd, pp.* frequented, 320/11735.
 hayr, *n.* heir, 26/989.
 hayr, heyr, *n.* air, 175/6676, 92/3443.
 heet, *vb. pret.* he ate, 70/2597. See hetyn.
 heg, hegg, heggg, hegh, *n.* hedge, 307/11233, 319/11686, 11688, 346/12731.
 helm, *n.* helmet, 213/7625.
- hem, *pron.* them, 124/4704, 126/4793.
 heng, *vb. pret. sg.* hung, 140/5344, 207/7380; *pret. pl.* hengen, 181/6919; *pp.* hengyd, 228/8216.
 hente, *vb. pret.* seized, 394/14614.
 hepys, *n.* heaps, 115/4348.
 her, *n.* hair, 138/5281.
 her, *prep.* here, 160/6086.
 her, *pron.* their, 178/6808, 179/6850, etc.
 herbergage, *n.* lodging, 221/7934, 592/22164.
 herberwe, *vb.* harbour, shelter, 123/4682, 592/22198.
 hereyne, *n.* spider, 235/8488; hyrayne, 238/8470.
 herkynd, *pp.* listened to, 161/6142.
 hertly peyne, *n.* pain of his heart, 109/4115.
 heryn, *vb.* to hear, 106/4004.
 hest, *n.* promise, 241/8705.
 het, *n.* heat, 384/14214.
 hete, *n.* 147/5598.
 hetyn, *vb.* to eat, 121/4599; *pp.* hetyn, 70/2607; hete, 135/5168; *pret.* heet, he eat, 70/2597.
 hevene, heuene, hewene, *n.* heaven, 260/9429, 550/20613, 20626.
 hevese, *n.* eaves, 449/16755.
 hihte, *vb. pass.* are called, 74/2777;
 hyght, is called, 598/22408.
 hol, hool, *adj.* whole, 99/3747, 177/6736.
 holde, *adj.* old, 362/13363.
 holde, *pp.* held, counted, 226/8128. See halt.
 holy, hooly, *adv.* wholly, entirely, 87/3272, 175/6684, etc.
 hoole, *n.* whole, 147/5612.
 hoole, *n.* hole, 117/4445.
 hooly, *adj.* holy, 118/4485, 179/6836.
 hoore, *adj.* hoary, 368/13594.
 hope, *adj.* open, 127/4841.
 horlege, *n.* clock, 182/6933.
 hostage, *n.* entertainment, 611/22907.
 howe, *vb. pres.* ought, 444/16545, 605/22676; *pres. sg.* 2. howest, oughtest, 181/6920.
 hows, *n.* house, 153/5840, 160/6094.
 huchche, *n.* hutch, chest, 173/6581, 184/7019.

- huisssher, *n.* usher, 75/2809; *pl.* hushsherys, 58/2186.
- hunte, *n.* hunter, 226/8143; *pl.* huntys, 389/14412; hontys, 388/14368.
- hunteresse, *n.* huntress, 226/8130, 230/8281.
- hurtle, *vb.* push, clash, 44/1641, 398/14748; *pr. p.* hurtling, 47/1777.
- huske, husk, *n.* chaff, 34/1263, 1286.
- huskyd, *pp.* husked, enclosed in a husk, 34/1263.
- hushsherys. *See* huisssher.
- hy, *adj.* high, 85/3192.
- hydous, *adj.* hideous, 242/8741.
- hye, *vb.* hasten, 518/19433.
- hyhte, *vb. pret.* promised, 62/2309.
- hyr, *pron. dat.* to her, 241/8720.
- hyrayne, *n.* *See* hereyne.
- hyryn, *vb.* hear, 355/13085.
- iakkys, *n.* jackets, 204/7262.
- iape, *n.* jest, 226/8111, 305/11126.
- ibaysshed, *pp.* abashed, 23/863.
- importable, inportable, *adj.* unbearable, 354/13054, 442/16487, 477/17839.
- in, *prep.* on, 231/8303.
- indurat, *pp.* hardened, 108/4070, 110/4167, 299/10916.
- influe, *vb.* influence, 554/20772.
- inly, *adv.* internally, 36/1360.
- inobedyent, *adj.* disobedient, 220/7899.
- Iocunde, *adj.* joyful, merry, 190/7038.
- Iogolory, *n.* jugglery, 317/11624.
- Iourne, Iournee, *n.* journey, 177/6744, 229/8233; task, day's work, 548/20536.
- Iouy pe, joyfully (*lit.* merry foot), 305/11141. *See* Note.
- Iowel, *n.* jewel, 128/4884, 164/6238, etc.; *pl.* Iowellys, 176/6725.
- irous, *adj.* angry, wrathful, 89/3348, 97/3673, 383/14155.
- Iuge, *n.* judge, 171/6533, 172/6550.
- Iugement, *n.* judgment, 176/6492.
- Iupartye, *n.* jeopardy, 179/6843, 342/12602.
- Iurediceyon, *n.* jurisdiction, 79/2957.
- iustesyed, *pp.* judged, punished, 43/1631.
- kachiche, *vb.* catch, 225/8107.
- kam, *vb. pret.* came, 138/5278.
- kampyng crook, 306/11184. *See* Note.
- kan, *vb. pres.* know, knows, 65/2442, 88/3303, 184/7031.
- kanoun, *n.* canon or ecclesiastical law, 428/15916.
- karecte, *n.* sign, token, 499/18704; *pl.* karectys, *n.* signs, characters, 127/4845, 496/18587.
- kareyn, *n.* carcass, corpse, 252/9118, 412/15301.
- karyyng, *n.* 317/11624. *See* Note.
- kauth, *vb. subj.* should catch, 377/13926.
- kembe, *vb.* comb, 250/9045; *pp.* ykempt, 361/13320.
- kene, *adj.* severe, 212/7581; sharp, 226/8137.
- kenetys, *n.* hounds (O.Fr. chenet), 421/15655.
- kep, kepe, *n.* heed, care, 74/2763, 78/2912, 109/4135, 232/8369.
- kerue, *vb.* carve, 64/2410, 80/2979; *pres. pl.* kerue, 66/2476.
- keyles, *n.* skittles, 306/11198. *See* Note.
- knet, *vb. pret. pl.* knotted, 80/2997; *pp.* knet, knotted, bound, knitted, joined, 159/6042, 183/7002, 175/6672; *pp.* yknet, knit together, 158/6020.
- knowlychyng, *n.* knowledge, 125/4766, 138/5259, 171/6540.
- knyhtly, *adv.* in a knightly manner, 4/129.
- komerous, *adj.* cumbersome, 208/7412.
- konne, *vb.* know, 121/4605; *pres. sg.* 2. canst, 141/5399; *pres. pl.* 214/7675. *See* kan.
- konnyng, *n.* knowledge, skill, cunning, 72/2702, 143/5461, 158/6015.
- konnyngherys, *n.* rabbit warrens, 472/17628.
- koude, kowde, *vb.* could, *sg.* 136/5188, 172/6546; *pl.* 135/5147, 165/6286; knew, understood, 150/5711, 287/10463.
- kouth, *adj.* known, 330/12109.
- kroket, *n.* hook, crook, 461/17205. *See* crochet.
- kushshewys, *n.* armour for the legs, 225/8085.

- kydes, *n.* goats, wicked folk, 3/99.
 kynd, kynde, *n.* Nature, 2/52, 95/3593, 102/3859, 191/7092.
 kyndely, *adj.* natural, 547/20511.
 kytthe, *vb.* make known, 48/1798, 287/10471.
 lace, *n.* cord, 8/269. *See* las.
 ladde, *vb. pret.* led, *sg.* 164/6236; *pl.* 140/5350. *See* lat.
 lade, *pp.* laden, 20/729.
 lak, *n.* need, fault, 79/2964, 647/24145; gift, offering(?), 389/14393; reproach, 395/14633.
 lappe, *n.* border, hem, 493/18468.
 large; At large, free, 332/12200.
 large, *adv.* liberally, 105/3984.
 largesse, *n.* liberality, bounty, 119/4523, 121/4614, 136/5174.
 las, *n.* lace, line, *pl.* laas, 510/19100, 514/19278.
 lasse, *adj.* less, smaller, 106/4019, 176/6718, etc.
 last, *pp.* lasted; ta last, to have lasted, 28/1050.
 lasyngrye, *n.* flattery, 477/17830. *See* losengerye.
 lat, *vb. pres.* leads, 177/6762. *See* ladde.
 laude, *n.* praise, 291/10621, 292/10647.
 lance, *vb.* lance, 490/18357.
 laurer, *n.* laurel, 210/7485, 7495, 220/7896.
 lavendere, *n.* laundress, 110/4151.
 lavlyhede, *n.* lowliness, humility, 222/7995.
 lawhe, lawhen, *vb.* laugh, 282/10301, 369/13616; *imper.* 209/7471; *pret.* lowh, 467/17426.
 lawynge, *adj.* laughing, 520/19484.
 leche, *n.* doctor, 71/2665, 233/8398; *pl.* lechys, 71/2666.
 lede, *vb.* take, carry, 115/4374, 231/8304.
 leeff, leff, willing, dear, 90/3369, 258/9371; for leff or loth, 52/1942.
 lefft, *vb. imp.* lift, 139/5318, 164/6241; *pres. sg.* 1. leffte, 22/802.
 lefful, *adj.* lawful, 451/16804.
 leggest, *vb. pres.* 2. allegest, 631/23559.
 lek, *n.* leak, 111/4198.
 lemerys, *n.* limehounds, hounds led in a leash, 572/21444.
 lenger, *adj. comp.* longer, 88/3327, 202/7222, etc.
 lent, *adj.* slow, 655/24446.
 lenton, *n.* Spring, Lent, 615/23055.
 lere, *vb.* tell, 20/758; speak, tell, 190/7040; learn, 75/2792. 81/3019, 94/3538, 111/4191, etc.; *imp.* lere, 209/7473.
 les, *n.* leash of hounds (three dogs in one leash was the usual number), 571/21424.
 lese, *vb.* to lose, 131/5011, 236/8499; *pres. sg.* leseth, 104/3928, 241/8717; *pp.* lorn, 273/9936.
 lestene, *vb.* to listen, hear, 216/7746, 414/15379.
 lesyng, *n.* losing, 105/3968.
 lesyng, *n.* lying, 256/9265.
 lete, *vb.* cease, leave, relinquish, 278/10135, 299/10946.
 lette, *vb.* delay, hinder, 166/6309, 203/7240, 230/8292; *imp.* let, delay, 233/3401; *pres. sg.* lettyth, 83/3115; *pret. sg.* 106/4027; *pret. sg.* 2. lettyst, didst delay or abstain, 112/4234; *pp.* ylet, 337/12402; *pp.* let, 266/9664; *imp.* letteth, 289/10544.
 letter, after the, *adv.* literally, 4/145.
 lettrure, *n.* literature, learning, 184/7031, 560/21010.
 lettuaryes, *n.* electuaries, 648/24209.
 lettynge, *n.* hindrances, 335/12324.
 leue, *vb.* believe, 181/6925.
 leuere, *adv.* rather, 358/13176, 468/17466.
 levene, *n.* lightning, 342/12569, 385/14229.
 levyn, leve, *vb.* believe, 464/17337, 17339.
 levys, *n.* leaves, 92/3478.
 lewk, *adj.* tepid, 585/21907.
 ley to here, *vb. imp.* pay attention, 137/5212.
 leyd, *pp.* alleged, set, 154/5885.
 leyn, *vb.* lay, leyn the bordys, lay the table for a meal, 59/2224; made it leyn vp, caused it to be laid up, 142/5410.
 leyser, *n.* leisure, 97/3656; by leyser, at leisure, 93/3495, 136/5175.
 longeth, *vb. pres. sg.* belongs, 168/

- 6411; 171/6512; *pres. pl.* longen, 101/3797; *pret. sg.* longede, 166/6339; appertained, 172/6551; *sub. pres. longe*, 170/6498.
- loodmanage, *n.* pilotage, 374/13801.
- lore, *n.* teaching, 159/6049, 213/7613.
- loone, *n.* loan, 475/17738.
- loos, *n.* praise, 382/14114.
- lorn, *pp.* lost, 193/7137, 273/9936.
- losengars, *n.* flatterers, 485/18161.
- losengerye, *n.* flattery, 599/22432.
- loth, *adj.* unwilling, 52/1942, 90/3369; hateful, 164/6261, 656/24509.
- loute, *vb.* bend down, 20/731.
- lowh, *vb. pret.* laughed, 467/17426.
- louyd, *pp.* loved, 107/4042.
- lust, *n.* pleasure, desire, 78/2917, 180/6870, 240/866, etc.
- lust, *vb. pret.* pleased, desired, *AB C*, 533/19962.
- lustyhede, *n.* delight, 218/7799.
- lycence, *n.* leave, 43/1612.
- lych, lyche, lyk, *conj.* 14/508, 26/961, 36/1350, 47/1759; *prep.* 2/61; *conj. or prep.* 2/47, 17/628, 73/2744, etc.
- lydene, *n.* speech, language, 36/1340.
- lye, *n.* solution, 583/21855.
- lyfflode, *n.* livelihood, 594/22239.
- lyffree, *n.* livery, 93/3491.
- lyft, *pp.* left, 89/3335.
- lygge, *vb. pres. sg.* 1. lie, 118/4491; *pres. sg.* 3. lyth, 151/5766; *pres. pl.* lyggen, 124/4707; *pr. p.* lyg-gynge, 204/7277, 218/7798.
- lyk. *See* lych.
- lykerousnesse, *n.* gluttony, 347/12796, 354/13039.
- lyketh, *vb. pres. sg.* lyketh me, it pleases me, 103/3892; *pret. sg.* me lykede, it pleased me, 228/8200.
- lyn, *vb.* lie, 263/9542.
- lyne, *adj.* linen, 37/1400.
- lyne, *n.* line; lyne right, in a straight line, 62/2311.
- lyppart, *n.* leopard, 383/14154.
- lyst, *vb. imp.* desire, 68/2532, 72/2671; *pres.* pleases, 81/3019, 86/3217; *pres. pl.* please, desire, 82/3086; *pres. subj.* 72/2671, 241/8720.
- lyst, *conj.* lest, for fear, 59/2229, 114/4337, etc.
- lystres, *n.* lectors, lawyers, 59/2196.
- lyte, *n.* ? , 346/12727.
- lyte, little, 107/4043, 165/6273, 205/7300, etc.
- lyth. *See* ligge.
- lyvelode, *n.* livelihood, 479/17915.
- Maas, *n.* mace, 211/7533.
- mad, *vb. pret.* made, 136/5181, 181/6913; *pp.* makyd, 112/4258.
- magnyfycence, *n.* power of doing great things, 143/5471.
- make, *vb.* cause, 81/3024; *pret. sg.* made, caused, 105/3981.
- makerel, *n.* procuress, 365/13478.
- makying, *n.* writing poetry, 5/149; composition, 5/165.
- maister. *See* mayster.
- malencolye, *n.* melancholy, 103/3906.
- malencolious, *adj.* melancholy, 97/3674.
- mallade, *adj.* ill, 596/22336.
- maluesyn, *n.* malnsey wine, 250/9047, 348/12831.
- malys, *n.* malice, 99/3733, 180/6890.
- manace, *n.* menace, 219/7860; *pl.* manacys, 2/65.
- maner, *n.* kind of, 77/2881, 80/2988, etc.
- manhys, *n. gen.* man's, 71/2667, 140/5363, etc.
- manly, *adv.* boldly, 50/1885.
- mansioun, *n.* dwelling, habitation, 47/1751, 55/2077, etc.
- mardrerys, *n.* murderers, 204/7277.
- margaryte, *n.* pearl, 178/6793, 237/8545.
- marke, *vb. pres.* sign, 132/5028.
- marke, *vb.* go, sail, 587/21993.
- marmoset, *n.* an image, a grotesque figure, 559/20954. *See* Note.
- martews, *n.* a game, 234/8433. *See* Note.
- mary, *n.* marrow, 649/24216.
- maryue, *vb.* me arrive, 270/9802.
- masaylle, *vb.* assail me, 167/6366.
- masown, *n.* builder, 9/326.
- masownry, *n.* building, 23/859.
- massager, *n.* messenger, 170/6462, 171/6526; *pl.* massagerys, 169/6452; messagerys, 171/6507.
- massages, *n.* messages, 169/6458.

- maunde, *n.* 121/4613. See Note.
 maundement, *n.* command, 289/10535.
 mawgre, in spite of, 279/10177, 297/10847.
 mawmet, *n.* Mahomet, idol, 461/17206.
 mayster, maister, *n.* master, 108/4107, 150/5726, 162/6154, etc.
 maystresse, *n.* mistress, 91/3437, 94/3786, 104/3926, 118/4475, etc.
 maystry, maystrye, mystrye, *n.* mastery, 95/3580, 219/7852, 221/7921; *pl.* maystryes, 90/3380, 234/8426.
 mede, *n.* reward, 150/5715, 217/7776, 7792.
 medle, *vb.* mingle, 44/1643.
 medwe, *n.* meadow, 92/3457.
 medyacion, *n.* 447/16668. See Note.
 meke, *vb.* humble, 162/6171.
 mekerye, mokerye, *n.* mockery, pretence, 49/1834, 146/5571.
 melle, *n.* mill, 142/5422, 290/10600.
 membrys, *n.* limbs, disciples, followers, 12/422, 427.
 memoyre, *n.* memory, 283/10309.
 mencyoun, *n.* memory, 238/8607.
 mendycauntys, *n.* mendicants, begging Friars, 15/541.
 mene, *n.* medium, mediator, intermediary, 83/3120, 128/4867, 193/7145, 7148; *pl.* menys, means, 141/5391.
 mene, *adj.* middle, 324/11876, 659/24631.
 menstre, *n.* minster, cathedral, 146/5568.
 menyng, *n.* intention, 513/19231.
 mercerye, *n.* merchandise, 563/21124.
 mercyable, *adj.* merciful, 438/16302.
 merellys, merels, *n.* nine men's morrice, 306/11192, 492/18427. See Note.
 merkede, *vb.* *pret.* marked, 53/1995.
 merour, merrou, morour, myrou, *n.* mirror, 157/5990, 176/6699, 6709, 191/7085, etc.
 mervayl, merveil, merveyl, merueyle, *n.* marvel, wonder, 106/4016, 146/5596, 165/6279, 167/6376; *pl.* merveilles, 148/5644.
 merveille, merveylle, *vb.* wonder, marvel, 135/5162, 173/6586.
 merveillous, merveyllous, *adj.* marvelous, 87/3259, 160/6112, 206/7361, etc.
 meschaunce, *n.* mischance, misfortune, 127/4857; injury, 215/7677; *pl.* meschauncys, 204/7276.
 mescheff, *n.* mischief, misfortune, 126/7150, 206/7357, 229/8229; *pl.* meschevys, 214/7640.
 meselry, *n.* leprosy, 65/7440.
 mesour, *n.* measurement, 98/3698.
 mesour, mesure, *n.* moderation, 43/1598, 215/7708; by mesure, with deliberation, 97/3637.
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 mesurable, *adj.* moderate, 396/14663.
 met, *pp.* measured, 98/3698.
 meue, mevyn, *vb.* move, 137/5244, 267/9710; *pp.* mevyd, 306/11215; *pret.* meuede, 336/12334.
 mevyng, *n.* movement, 90/3387, 101/3795; *pl.* meuynges, 83/3102.
 meyne, meynee, *n.* retinue, household, 78/2919, 211/7523, etc.
 meynt, *pp.* mingled, 1/24, 2/48, 127/4828.
 misericorde, *n.* mercy, 529/19815.
 mo, *adv.* more, 115/4354, 162/6190, 173/6597, etc.
 moder, modre, *n.* mother, 103/3911, 123/4671; *gen.* modern, 237/8544.
 mokadour, *n.* bib or handkerchief, 349/12853. See Note.
 mokerye. See mekerye.
 mollefy, *vb.* soften, 233/3399.
 monstuous, montruows, *adj.* monstrous, deformed, 165/6269, 242/8742.
 moosy-heryd, *adj.* covered with hair like down, 371/13704.
 moralyte, *n.* moral, 3/85, 4/136, 42/1579.
 mormall, *n.* a cancer, gangrene or sore, 485/18142.
 morour. See merour.
 mortal, *adj.* death-causing, deadly, 10/368, 11/407, 226/8130.
 mortrews, *n.* stews or broth, 413/15352. See Note.
 moste, *adj.* greatest, 249/8995.
 mostest, *vb.* *pres. sg.* 2. must, 20/750. See mot.
 mot, *vb.* *pres. sg.* 1. 112/4260; *pres.*

- sg.* 2. mostest, 20/750; *pres. sg.* 3. mot, mote, 85/3200, 104/3930, 112/4241, 155/5906, etc.; *pres. pl.* 2. mot, 68/2527; *pres. pl.* 3. mvt, 291/10624; *imper. sg.* 2. mote, 69/2574; *imper. pl.* 2. mot, 111/4202. motet, *n.* a musical composition, 386/14272.
 mowh, *vb. pres. sg.* 1. may, 146/5584; *pr. pl.* mowe, 72/2684.
 mowhes, *n.* grimaces, 301/11001.
 mowlyd, *pp.* made mouldy, 477/17836.
 mowstre, *n.* show, 246/8892.
 mowyng, *n.* grimacing, 403/14939.
 mussellys, mosselles, *n.* morsels (O.Fr. morceaux), 350/12906, 412/15305.
 musys, *n.* music, 387/14304.
 mutacion, *n.* change, 87/3280, 94/3542, 103/3888.
 mvt, 291/10624. *See* mot.
 myche, *adv.* much, 120/4557, 130/4964, 135/5164; myche thyng, many things, or a great thing, 153/5837.
 myd, *prep.* between, 114/4317; myd off, amidst, 123/4680.
 mynde, *n.* memory, 236/8519, 238/8581.
 myne, *vb.* consume, prey upon, 113/4282, 323/11872, 421/15650.
 mynystacyoun, *n.* administration, 39/1488.
 mynystre, *vb. pres. pl.* administer, apply, 41/1540.
 myrke, *adj.* dark, 362/13342.
 mys, *adj.* amiss, 71/2639; astray, 192/7109.
 mystrye. *See* maystrye.
 nadde, *vb. pret.* had it not, 97/3667.
 namel, *n.* enamel, 175/6686, 458/17095.
 namly, *adv.* especially, 65/2418.
 napry, *n.* table cloths, 59/2225.
 nart (ne art), *vb. pres. 2.* art not, 529/19816.
 narwh, *adj.* narrow, 459/17143.
 nase, *n.* nose, 215/7681. *See* noose.
 nauffragus, *pp.* ship-wrecked, 587/21988.
 neclygence, *n.* negligence, 130/4939, 153/5831.
 neclýgent, *adj.* negligent, 144/5509.
 neihébour. *See* neyhbour.
 nere (ne were), *vb. pret.* were not, 529/19814.
 nerff, *n.* nerve, sinew, 11/397.
 nesshe, *vb.* make tender, 44/163.
 nesshe, *adj.* soft, 108/4073, 4106, 109/4110.
 neuer a del, neuere a del, neuer a dele, not at all, by no means, 62/2318, 63/2372, 70/2615, etc.
 nevene, *vb.* name, 115/4361, 128/4887.
 neye, *vb.* approach, 63/2359.
 neyhbour, neihebour, neyhebour, *n.* neighbour, 130/4972, 132/5014, 217/7859, etc.
 neyhen, *vb.* approach, 133/5079, 142/5441.
 nolde (ne wolde), *vb. pret.* would not, 529/19821.
 none certeyn, *n.* uncertainty, 646/24103.
 noose, *n.* nose, 31/1176, 1182. *See* nase.
 noryce, norysshe, *n.* nurse, 123/4681, 250/9051.
 not, *vb. pres. sg.* 1. know not (ne wot), 95/3566, 271/9850, etc.
 nouche, *n.* an ouch, brooch, 19/688.
 noult, *adv.* not, 99/3728, 111/4188.
 nombbre, *n.* number, 105/3988, 217/7782.
 noumbryd, *pp.* numbered, 115/4380.
 nouthr, *prep.* neither, 64/2417, 91/3414, etc.
 nownpowere, *n.* weakness, 520/19501.
 noyous, *adj.* hurtful, 214/7662, 250/9060.
 nycely, *adv.* foolishly, 97/3660.
 o, *card. num.* one, 86/3243, 131/4979, 183/6971, etc. *See* on.
 occupye, *vb.* use, 46/1722; hold, 65/2426.
 occysion, *n.* slaughter, 10/373, 400/14840.
 odyble, *adj.* hateful, 110/4162, 135/5129, 253/9146.
 off, *prep.* from, 269/9763.
 on, *prep.* in, 111/4197, 202/7233, etc.
 on, *card. num.* one, 92/3446, 115/4354, 120/4571, etc.; on by on, individually 56/2080; alway in on, always in one way, 112/4252.
 onys, *adv.* once, 150/5710, 211/7544.

oonyng, *n.* union, 175/6660.
 ope, *vb.* open, 40/1515.
 opposaylle, *n.* opposition, 285/10397.
 oppose, *vb. imper.* question, 403/14970.
 opposyt, *n.* opposite side, 51/1911.
 or, *conj.* before, 65/2448, 202/7214, etc.
 ordeyne, *vb.* appoint, 241/8706.
 ordure, *n.* dirt, filth (*fig.* sin), 25/919, 31/1180, 32/1242.
 orned, *adj.* horned, 88/3317.
 ortigometra, *n.* corn-crake, or land-rail, 511/19163.
 orysouns, *n.* prayers, 325/11923.
 osey, *n.* a wine, 348/12831. See Note.
 other, *conj.* or, 35/1300.
 ouer al wher, *adv.* everywhere, 93/3506.
 ouht, *n.* aught, 97/3649.
 oune, *adj.* own, 222/7962.
 outhe, *vb. pres.* ought, 90/3378.
 outh, *owther, adj. and conj.* either, 66/2471, 101/3812, 217/7795, etc.
 outrage, *n.* insolence, conceit, 97/3642, 209/7445.
 outrageous, *adj.* excessive, 249/9004.
 outaunce, *n.* extremity, 425/15806.
 outterly, *adv.* utterly, 105/3959, 108/4097.
 outward, *adv.* outside, 27/999.
 overgon, *vb.* surpass, 155/5914.
 overthwertyd, *pp.* crossed, 329/12078.
 owher, *adv.* wherever, 241/8723.
 oynemente, *n.* anointing, ointment, 40/1513.
 paament, *n.* pavement, 9/330.
 pace, *vb.* go, pass away, 1/20.
 palle, *vb.* lose spirit, 540/20216.
 palmer, *n.* pilgrim, 2/66.
 paner, *n.* basket, 561/21050.
 pans, panns, *n.* pence, 473/17672, 482/18034.
 pantener, *n.* keeper of the pantry, 634/23679.
 panter, *n.* snare, 371/13682; *pl.* panterys, 405/15035.
 papyllardie, *n.* religious hypocrisy, 377/13921.
 parage, *n.* kindred, 388/14348.
 paramenty, *n.* clothing, 92/3466, 175/6657.

paramour, paramoire, *n.* lover, 149/5698, 54/2025.
 parcel, *n.* part, 240/8656.
 parcel, *adv.* partly, 232/8346.
 parde, *interj.* pardieu, 165/6279.
 parfyte, *adj.* perfect, 121/4601, 223/8012.
 parlement, *n.* talk, conversation, debate, 40/1491, 105/3977.
 parlom, *n.* plummet, 592/22166.
 parmanable, *adj.* durable, 629/23467.
 partable, *adj.* capable of sharing, 273/9928.
 parte, *vb.* divide, share, 124/4706.
 party, *n.* side, part, 68/2538, 91/3419, 155/5912, etc.
 partyd, *pp.* divided, distributed, 11/382, 121/4611.
 partyng, *n.* distribution, 105/3990.
 parysee, *n.* a coin (see note, p. 471), 473/17664.
 pas, paas, *n.* pass, crossing, path, 25/931, 283/10331.
 passage, *n.* (a game), 306/11194. See Note.
 passage, *n.* entrance, 12/434; ford, 23/875; crossing, 44/1658.
 passen, passe, *vb.* pass over, cross, evade, 24/898, 284/10376.
 passioun, *n.* passion, suffering, 124/4731, 229/8247.
 passyngly, *adv.* surpassingly, 19/691.
 pasteler, *n.* pastry-cook, 142/5442.
 pasture, *n.* nourishment, food, 140/5356, 159/6076.
 patentes, *n.* patents, open letters, 647/24142.
 patroun, *n.* pattern, 128/4900.
 pavys, *n.* shields, 204/7264.
 pawmys, *n.* palms, 573/21508. See Note.
 pay, *n.* pleasure, satisfaction, 62/2328, 143/5449, 256/9276.
 payd, *pp.* pleased, satisfied, 26/967, 252/9127.
 pelwe, *n.* pillow, 375/13853.
 pencellys, *n.* small flags, 12/436.
 pendant, *n.* hanging end of girdle, 183/7001.
 pendant, *n.* slope, 378/13977.
 penyble, *adj.* painful, 174/6634.
 peplys, *n.* peoples, nations, 2/40, 121/4621.
 perch, *n.* pole, 203/7255.

- perdurable, *adj.* everlasting, 237/8556.
 perse, *vb.* pierce, penetrate, 609/22822.
 pertinent, *adj.* belonging, 203/7257.
 pes, *n.* peace, 88/3318, 125/4764.
 peyne, *n.* trouble, endeavour, 116/4409, 123/4678.
 peyntures, *n.* paintings, 246/8899.
 peys, *n.* weight, 228/8220.
 peysen, peyse, *vb.* weigh, 68/2528, 461/17200.
 phane, *n.* vane, 387/14324.
 phetele, *n.* fiddle, 573/21502.
 phonel, *n.* funnel, 353/12988.
 pighte, *vb. pret.* (*ABC*), pierced, 533/19953.
 platly, *adv.* plainly, frankly, flatly, merely, 43/1597, 49/1830, 166/6343, 247/8937.
 platte, plat, *n.* flat (of a sword), 71/2668, 72/2685.
 plauynge, *pres. pl.* playing, 19/698.
 pleasaunce, *n.* pleasure, pleasantness, 73/2731, 107/4053, etc.
 plete, *vb.* plead, 127/4846.
 pleyn, *adj.* full, 85/3210, 112/4249.
 pleyne, *vb.* complain, 103/3909, 167/6354; *pret.* pleynede, 102/3865.
 pleynly, *adv.* fully, 87/3278.
 plye, *vb.* bend, 221/7922.
 plye, *adj.* supple, 233/8400.
 pocessede, *vb.* to possess, 29/1091.
See possede.
 pocessyowner, *n.* possessor, 47/1773.
 pocok, *n.* peacock, 387/14326.
 podagre, with gout in the feet, 478/17863.
 poitevyneresse, *n.* (see note, p. 471) 471/17612.
 pomel, poomel, *n.* pummel, boss, knob, 176/6698; 193/7146, 494/18519; *pl.* pomellys, 193/7162.
 pontifex, *n.* bridge-maker (*fig.* priest), 46/1740.
 pook, *n.* sack, 249/12856.
 poopet, *n.* doll, baby, 317/11635.
 popping, *n.* softening or painting, 363/13374. 'Pappen, to make soft.'—Stratmann.
 porayle, *n.* poor people, 600/22472.
 porrect, *pp.* extended, 448/16709.
 port, *n.* behaviour, carriage, 36/1363, 107/4043, 218/7800.
 pose, *vb.* put a parallel case, 31/1175.
 possede, *vb.* possess, 1/7, 79/2971.
 potent, *n.* power, 253/9177.
 potente, *n.* tipped staff, 461/17211.
 pours, *n.* purse, 234/8445.
 povre, *adj.* poor, 219/7846.
 powerte, *n.* poverty, 131/5004.
 pows, *n.* pulse (O.Fr. pous), 272/9877.
 powstee, pousté, *n.* ability, 78/2920, 430/15988, 498/18658.
 poytevyn, *n.* a coin (value $\frac{1}{2}$ farthing), 471/17614.
 practykes, *n.* practices, 259/9384.
 preff, *n.* case, proof, 135/5157, 137/5215, 156/5932.
 prelacye, *n.* spiritual government, 44/1661, 46/1728.
 prent, *n.* print, 260/9411.
 prentys, *n.* apprentice, pupil, 150/5728, 5737.
 pres, *n.* crowd, 106/3997; putte in pres, trouble myself, 91/3433, 133/5055, 227/8166.
 preven, preue, *vb.* prove, 146/5565, 148/5665, 246/8913; *pret. sg.* preveth, 101/3826; *pp.* prevyd, 154/5886.
 procelle, *n.* tempest, 456/16995.
 processionerys, *n.* mistake for poessionerys, 479/17914. *See* Note.
 procuracioun, *n.* power of attorney, 658/24576.
 procuratoure, *n.* deputy, 611/22890.
 profyte, *vb.* provide, 62/2337, 63/2366.
 promyssioun, *n.* promise, 637/23800.
 prouyned, *pp.* pruned, 7/244.
 provynours, *n.* propagators, 8/277.
 prow, prow, *n.* advantage, 20/753, 213/7623, 367/13558.
 prykke, *n.* spiked point, 42/1587, 43/1617.
 prykyng, *pr. p.* tormenting, 206/7355.
 pryme, *n.* the first quarter of the artificial day, 6 A.M. to 9, 111/4216, 59/2231.
 pryme fface, prime face, *n.* first sight, 209/7453, 279/10173.
 pryme temps, *n.* Spring, 92/3455.
 prys, *n.* praise, estimation, 84/3149, 107/4049; prize, 239/8638.

- pryve, *vb.* 32/1188. See *preven*.
 pryvte, *n.* mystery, secret, 165/6287; secrecy, 169/6456.
 puissaunce, *n.* power, 211/7537, 239/8619.
 punycoun, *n.* punishment, 175/6680.
 purchace, *vb.* procure, 112/4231.
 purpos, to purpos, for instance, 69/2561, 221/7955.
 purpoynt, *n.* a padded garment to wear under armour, 206/7232, 231/8340.
 puryaunce, *n.* providence, provision, 242/8749.
 puryd, *adj.* purified, 142/5417.
 pyk, *n.* pike-staff, 43/1599; point of staff, 46/1733.
 pyled, *adj.* bald, 371/13703.
 pyler, *n.* pillar, 124/4734.
 pynsouns, *n.* pincers, 425/15827.
 pystel, *n.* epistle, 177/6759.
 quarel, *n.* bolt, 212/7573, 224/8065, 329/12070.
 quarel, quarll, *n.* quarrel, 150/5720, 224/8061.
 quek, *n.* quickboard, 306/11198. See Note.
 queme, *vb.* comfort, 250/9049.
 quethe, *vb.* bequeath, 126/4794, 127/4829.
 queynte, queynt, *pp.* quenched, 13/483, 238/8606.
 queynte, *adj.* elegant, knowing, clever, neat, 303/11071, 309/11303, 319/11713.
 queyntyse, *n.* wisdom, 293/10709.
 quite, *adv.* quit, rid, 484/18109.
 quod, *vb.* *pret.* said, 62/2325, 155/5895, etc.
 quyk, *n.* living, 174/6651, 251/9097.
 quyke, *adj.* living, 9/336.
 quyte, *adj.* white, 63/2345.
 quyte, *vb.* requite, 335/12315.
 quytte, *pp.* requited, 500/18724.
 racede oute, *vb.* *pret. sg.* rooted out, 359/13226.
 radd, rad, *pp.* read, 127/4859, 132/5031.
 rafft, *n.* beam, 545/20411.
 raffte, *vb.* *pret.* deprived, 515/19316.
 raft, *pp.* deprived, 229/8235.
 rage, *adj.* angry, 73/2735, 439/16367.
 rakel, *adj.* rash, hasty, 93/3496.
 rape, *n.* haste, hurry, 373/13781, 410/15223.
 rathe, *adv.* early, soon, lately, 25/946, 170/6473.
 rathest, *adv.* soonest, 1/18, 524/19659.
 rauhte, *vb.* *pret.* reached, handed, fetched, 150/5734, 184/7019.
 raunsoun, *n.* ransom, 127/4829, 207/7387.
 ray, *n.* striped cloth, 314/11503; *pl.* rayes, 381/14082. Raye, from Lat. *radius*, Fr. *raie*, a stripe. The name was commonly applied to striped cloth. Lydgate in 'London Lyckpeny' speaks of "a long gown of raye." See Note.
 rebateth, *vb.* *pres. sg.* beats down, 278/10120.
 rebube, *n.* violin, 317/11620.
 recheche, *vb.* care, 80/3000; *pr. sg.* recchet, cares, 99/3728; *pret.* rouhte, 370/13650.
 reche, *adj.* rich, 19/687, 691.
 reconforte, *vb.* comfort, 178/6778; *pr. sg.* reconforteth, comforts, 237/8561.
 recor, *n.* recourse, 336/12364.
 recure, *n.* recovery, 281/10255.
 recure, *vb.* get, climb, 16/602, 279/10149.
 recure, *vb.* cure, 68/2556, 124/4717; *pp.* recuryd, cured, 121/4597.
 recure, recury, *vb.* recover, 279/10152, 336/12344.
 red, *n.* advice, counsel, 103/3883, 118/4485.
 red, rede, *adj.* reed, 534/19994, 542/20315.
 rede, *vb.* advise, 191/7079, 210/7503.
 refreyne, *vb.* bridle, restrain, 202/7208, 216/7736.
 refuse, *vb.* reject, 119/4534.
 refut, *n.* refuge, 127/4841, 356/13137.
 regencie, *n.* rule, government, 219/7851.
 reke, *vb.* rake, 111/4194.
 rekkeles, *adj.* heedless, 96/3614.
 releff, *n.* residue, remainder, 105/3982, 121/4598, 133/5076.
 religious, *n.* folk bound by vows, 15/539.
 remeue, remewe, remewen, *vb.* remove, 90/3376, 117/4446, 167/

- 6350, 257/9318; *pr. p.* remowyng, renewyng, 167/6372, 302/11059.
 remyssaylles, *n.* remnants, 451/16810.
 renneth, *vb. pr. sg.* runs, 98/3712; *pr. pl.* renne, 109/4125; *pp.* ronne, 109/4133.
 renomyd, *adj.* renowned, 157/5965.
 rentyng, *n.* annual tribute, 69/2591.
 repayre, *n.* resort, 36/1359, 175/6675.
 replevysshed, *pp.* replenished, 135/5141, 211/7527.
 replicacioun, *n.* reply, 290/10584.
 repman, *n.* reaper, 286/10420.
 repreff, *n.* reproof, 209/7468.
 repreuable, *adj.* reprehensible, 156/5929.
 repreve, *vb.* reprove, 98/3691, 152/5811; *pp.* repreuyed, 153/5836.
 rescus, *n.* rescue, 227/8160.
 resembled, *pp.* compared, 99/3731.
 ressemblaunce, *n.* appearance, 143/5481, 144/5503.
 resorte, *vb.* return, 339/12455, 342/12606; *retire*, 418/15522.
 respyt, *n.* relief, 206/7334.
 respyt, *n.* respect, 215/7708.
 resseyue, *vb.* receive, 121/4600.
 restreyned, *pp.* withheld, 86/3221.
 retour, *n.* return, 21/794, 46/1716.
 retrussen, *vb.* repack, 272/9899.
 reue, *vb.* deprive, 294/10748; *pres. sg.* reueth, 236/8494.
 reward, *n.* notice, regard, glance, 27/1000, 91/3430, 106/4003, 70/2608, 266/9666.
 rewarde, *vb.* regard, look at, 21/791, 243/8794.
 rewme, *n.* kingdom, 73/2743, 238/8579; *pl.* rewmys, 435/16211.
 reynys, *n.* loins, 202/7207.
 romney, *n.* a wine, 348/12830.
 See Note.
 ronnge, *vb.* gnaw, nibble, 404/15010.
 roo, *n.* roe, 225/8099.
 rooff, *vb. pret. sg.* tore, broke, 109/4118, 403/14944.
 roote, *adj.* rotten, 393/14547.
 rouhte. *See* reche.
 rowe, *vb.* swim, 570/21359.
 rowe, *adv.* roughly, 383/14157.
 rowh, *adj.* rough, 460/17168.
 rowne, *vb.* whisper, 505/18934.
 royne, *vb.* pare, clip, 471/17600.
 rudnesse, *n.* want of skill, rough-
 ness, rough handling, 5/169, 40/1521, 41/1525.
 rychesse, *n.* riches, richness, 19/706, 131/5004.
 ryff, *adj.* openly known, 375/13839, 390/14453.
 rygour, *n.* severity, 43/1616, 1627.
 ryhtwysnesse, ryghtwysnesse, *n.* righteousness, 119/4542, 218/7836, 221/7918.
 rympled, *pp.* wrinkled, 362/13336.
 rypying, *n.* ripening, 34/1269.
 ryve, *vb.* burst, break, 137/5233.
 ryvelede, *adj.* wrinkled, 372/13719; *pp.* ryvelyd, 462/17237.
 ryvelys, *n.* wrinkles, 363/13376.
 ryytys, *n.* rites, 86/3250.
 sad, sadde, *adj.* grave, sober, discreet, 107/4043, 135/5153, 250/9066.
 sadnesse, *n.* steadiness, 306/11177.
 salue, *n.* ointment, 3/68, 68/2551.
 salue, *vb.* salute, 145/5542, 316/11578; *pret. sg.* saluede, 316/11579.
 sanz per, without equal, 381/14087.
 sarmoun, *n.* sermon, 64/2388, 141/5385, etc.
 sauff-conduite, *n.* safe-conduct, 4/112.
 sauffly, *prep.* except, 303/11095.
 saue, *vb.* cure or anoint, salve, 216/7719; *pres. sg.* saueth, 237/8564.
 savacioun, *n.* salvation, 103/3904, 215/7691, etc.
 saw, *n.* (a prophet's) saying, 42/1567.
 sawdyours, sowdyours, *n.* soldiers, 430/15989, 479/17898.
 sawle, sawlee, *n.* satisfaction (of appetite), fill, 70/2607; 154/5874, 162/6178.
 sawter, *n.* Psalter, 9/332, 456/17017.
 sawtrye, *n.* psalter, 612/22945.
 sawtys, *n.* salts, 420/15632.
 sawyng, *n.* sowing, 206/7350.
 saylling, *n.* assault, 648/24206.
 scalys, *n.* ladders, 15/566.
 sche, *pron.* she, 169/6435.
 schent. *See* shent.
 schrowude, *vb.* shroud, 264/9588.
 schulye, *vb. subj.* should, 490/18362.
 scolys, *n.* schools, 118/4475. *See* skole.

scyence, *n.* knowledge, 72/2697.
 se, *n.* seat, 60/2250, 558/20919.
 secre, *adj.* secret, 107/4056, 203/7251, etc.
 secrely, *adv.* secretly, 152/5782, 163/6215.
 seke, *adj.* sick, 124/4707.
 selde, *adv.* seldom, 258/9347.
 semblable, *adj.* similar, 82/3062, 102/3868, 266/9653.
 semest, *vb. pres. sg.* thinkest, 153/5835; *pret.* sempte, seemed, 87/3267, 136/5187.
 sen, *vb.* see, 88/3306, 127/4824, 166/6318; *pres. sg.* 2. sestow, seest thou, 63/2350, 73/2739; *pres. sg.* 3. seth, 168/6467; *pres. pl.* sen, 67/2511; *pres. subj.* seye, 149/5704, 104/3924; *pret.* saugh, 640/23908; *pp.* seyn, 101/3809, etc.
 sentement, *n.* in sentemente, in effect, 30/1132, 167/6357.
 sentence, *n.* meaning, decision, opinion, 140/5335, 155/5894, 157/5968; in sentence, in effect, 47/1761, 83/3109, 146/5622.
 senys, *n.* synods, 181/6892.
 sermon, *n.* discourse, 11/403.
 setyn, *vb. pret. pl.* sat, 121/4612.
 seuerel, *adj.* private, separate, 63/2352.
 seueryd, *pp.* separated, distinguished, 54/2032.
 sewen, *vb.* follow, 318/11661.
 seyne, seyn, *vb.* say, 72/2701, 85/3203, 158/6027; *pres. sg.* 1. seyn, 98/3700; *pres. sg.* 2. seyst, 157/5975; *pr. p.* seyng, 183/7008.
 seynt, *adj.* singed, 371/13703.
 seyntys, *n.* saints, 175/6661, 179/6827.
 seyng, seyng, *n.* seeing, 244/8808, 267/9697.
 shallys, *n.* shells, conches, trumpets, 387/14305.
 sharpe, *n.* edge (of sword), 71/2635, 72/2686.
 shede, *vb.* pour, shed, 110/4177; *pret.* shadde, 140/5349; *pp.* shad, 84/3164.
 sheldys, *n.* shields, 224/8038, 8049.
 shene, *adj.* bright, fair, 101/3832, 237/8547, etc.
 shent, *pp.* destroyed, 81/3036, 102/3841.

shepe, *n.* ship, 23/876.
 sherd, *n.* shard, 111/4199; *pl.* sherdys, 111/4197.
 shern, *vb.* shear, 58/2167.
 sherpe, shyrpe, shryppe, skryppe, *n.* pilgrim's scrip, wallet or pouch, 17/612, 163/6220, 6225, 172/6575, 231/8319, etc.
 shette, shit, *vb.* shut, 73/2746, 82/3084, 479/17922; *pp.* shet, 146/5588, 152/5782.
 shetyn, shetyng, *pr. p.* shooting, 306/11191, 329/12071.
 shewellys, *n.* scarecrow, 376/13889.
 shope, shop, *vb. pret.* prepared, 86/3237, 460/17175.
 shour, *n.* shower, 92/3476, 214/7673.
 shrewdnesse, *n.* wickedness, corruption, 240/8656.
 shrewede, shrewde, *adj.* shrewish, malicious, cursed, 214/7674, 563/21126.
 shryppe. *See* sherpe.
 shust, *vb. pres.* 2. shoulddest, 179/6824.
 shyrpe. *See* sherpe.
 siyyng, *pr. p.* complaining, 36/1341.
 skallyd, *adj.* scalled, scabbed, 396/14676.
 skape, *vb.* escape, 226/8112.
 skarmussh, *n.* skirmish, 218/7832.
 skauberk, skawberk, *n.* scabbard, 76/2845, 81/3025, 222/7972, etc.
 skole, *n.* school, 77/2873. *See* scolys.
 skouren, *vb.* scourge (Lat. excoriare), 106/4011.
 skryppe. *See* sherpe.
 skryppen, *vb. pres. pl.* put on the pilgrim's scrip, 171/6515.
 skryveyn, *n.* scrivener, scribe, 359/13226, 360/13278.
 skyes, *n.* clouds, 302/11032.
 skyle, skyl, skylle, *n.* reason, 54/2022, 105/3975, 158/6023, 227/8175, etc.
 skylful, *adj.* reasonable, 28/1030.
 slayt, *n.* contrivance, 483/18078.
 slen, *vb.* slay, 339/12472; *pres. sg.* sleth, 215/7712, 238/8594; *pres. subj.* sle, 339/12489; *pp.* yslawe, 548/20542.
 sleythe, *n.* sleight, deceit, 48/1815, 235/8473.

- sloos, *n.* sloughs, bogs, 368/13597.
 slouth, *n.* sloth, 114/4340.
 slowh, *vb. pret. sg.* slew, 92/3481.
 slyde, *vb.* slip, 1/18.
 slydre, *vb.* slide, slip, 193/7161;
pres. subj. pl. slydre, 192/7119.
 smerte, *adj.* painful, bitter, 109/
 4132, 119/4533.
 smerte, *vb.* smart, 214/7667.
 smet, *vb. pret. sg. 1.* smote, 109/
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 socour, *n.* help, 101/3811, 192/7118.
 sodeyn, *adj.* sudden, 226/8111.
 sodeynly, *adv.* suddenly, 82/3092.
 soffte, *adj.* gentle, 41/1552.
 soffte, *adv.* softly, gently, 40/1519,
 1524.
 soget, sogett, *n.* subject, 79/2954,
 81/3027; *pl.* sogetys, sogettys,
 sogetys, 66/2484, 71/2656, 219/
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 sojour, *n.* sojourn, stay, 2/42, 256/
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 sojourned, *pp.* stayed, sojourned,
 156/5936.
 som del, *adv.* somewhat, 77/2871.
 somer, *n.* packhorse, 230/8300, 231/
 8334, 241/8706; *pl.* somerys, 246/
 8906.
 sond, *n.* sand, 277/10093; *pl.* sondys,
 278/10107.
 sonde, *n.* sending, visitation, 435/
 16190.
 sool, *adv.* sole, alone, 7/255, 369/
 13613.
 soor, *n.* sore, 40/1519, 68/2557.
 soote, *adv.* sweetly, 92/3459.
 soote, *adj.* sweet, 261/9461.
 sore, *adv.* closely, 74/2759, 243/
 8797.
 sorwe, *vb.* sorrow, 108/4076.
 sorwen, sorwe, *n.* sorrow, 96/3604,
 109/4134, etc.
 sotel, 102/3871. *See* sotyl.
 soth, *n.* truth, 77/2885, 89/3347, etc.
 sothfastly, *adv.* truly, 212/7570.
 sothfastnesse, *n.* truth, 110/4159,
 203/7247.
 sothly, *adv.* truly, 61/2290, 157/
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 sothnesse, *n.* truth, 100/3765, 168/
 6389; in sothnesse, earnestly,
 119/4518.
 sotty, *pp.* besotted, 97/3650.
 sotyl, sotyle, sotylye, *adj.* subtle,
 fine, 143/5455, 149/5674, 151/
 5751.
 sotylly, *adv.* subtly, 143/5479, 144/
 5514.
 sotyllyte, *n.* subtlety, cleverness,
 143/5473.
 soundyd, *pp.* cured, 41/1550.
 souper, *n.* supper, 121/4609.
 souple, *adj.* supple, 108/4073.
 sout, *pp.* sought, 151/5754.
 sowbpowaylle, sowpewaille, *vb.*
pres. support (cf. suppowelle, *D.*
Arth. 2815), 99/3740, 651/24312.
 sowcelerere, *n.* undercellarer, 594/
 22237.
 sowe, *pp.* sown, 141/5394.
 sowketh, *vb. pres.* sucketh, 470/
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 sown, *n.* sound, 181/6923, 182/6958.
 sownde, *vb.* cure, 68/2551.
 sowne, *vb.* sound, 396/14691; *subj.*
pres. sg. 183/6982.
 sownynge, *n.* sounding, ringing,
 182/6954.
 sowpewaille, *n.* support, 651/24312.
 speed, sped, *n.* success, 139/5316,
 162/6157.
 spence, *n.* provision-room, 615/
 23026.
 spere, *n.* sphere, 102/3843, 264/
 9586.
 splayng, splaynge, *pres. pl.* spread-
 ing, stretching, 19/697, 495/18522.
 spores, *n.* spurs, 379/13993.
 sprad, *vb. pret. sg.* shed, 236/8521.
 spreynt, *pp.* sprinkled, 173/6592,
 178/6786.
 squyre, *n.* square, 129/4906, 4907.
 stablete, *n.* stability, 52/1934.
 stant, stent, *vb. pres. sg.* stands, 83/
 3124, 130/4956, 179/6835; *pres.*
sg. 1. stonde, 116/4407; *pres. sg.*
 3. stondeth, 98/3687; *pres. pl.*
 stonden, 90/3368.
 stelleffyd, *pp.* made like a star,
 503/18835; set with stars, 565/
 21174. *See* Note.
 stelthe, *n.* loot, 359/13252.
 sterne, *adj.* strong, 2/55.
 sterue, *vb.* die, 415/15438; *pret.*
 starff, 3/98.
 steryd, *pp.* stirred, 9/315.
 stonde, stonden, stondeth. *See*
 stant.
 stondyng, *n.* standing, 120/4575.

- stonken, *pp.* stung, pierced, 655/24478.
- stoor, *n.* store, 237/8563.
- stoupaille, *n.* stoppage (Fr. estoupail, bouchon), 646/24110.
- stowndemel, stoundemel, *adv.* moment by moment, 1/10, 512/19179.
- strawh, *n.* straw, 49/1837.
- streihlt, streihlte, streith, *adj.* narrow, difficult, 10/366, 131/5007, 208/7413.
- streithnesse, *n.* narrowness, 131/5003.
- strengere, *adj.* stronger, 229/8260.
- streyhtly, *adv.* closely, 140/5347, 318/11640.
- streyne, *vb.* restrain, distress, press hardly, 202/7207, 436/16248; *pres. sg.* streyneth, constrains, 229/8257; *pp.* streyned, 202/7234.
- strowh, *n.* straw, 34/1278.
- styh, styth, *n.* anvil, 205/7297, 209/7478, 300/10973.
- stynte, *vb.* stop, 392/14521; *pret. sg.* ceased, 147/5624.
- subieccion, *n.* subjection, 28/1031, 82/3076.
- subvencions, *n.* rates, 49/1818.
- sue, swe, swen, *vb.* follow, 125/4767, 148/5661, 256/9285, 328/12040; *pr. p.* suyng, 243/8763; *pp.* sewyd, 593/22226.
- suerne, *vb.* swear, 52/1964.
- suffraunce, *n.* suffering, 127/4824, 207/7384, 210/7486, etc.
- suffysaunce, *n.* sufficiency, 53/2003, 135/5140, 230/8286, etc.
- suffysen, suffyse, *vb.* suffice, 90/3378, 136/5206, 161/6117; *pret. sg.* suffysede, 180/6864.
- suit, *n.* pursuit, 380/14057, 404/14987.
- sur, *adj.* safe, sure, 25/949, 211/7553.
- surance, *n.* assurance, 626/23359.
- surcote, *n.* over-dress, 18/682.
- surete, *n.* safety, 205/7314.
- surgyens, *n.* surgeons, 41/1535.
- surmounte, *vb. subj. pres. sg.* overcome, exceed, 46/1715.
- surplus, *n.* surplus, excess, 5/156.
- surplusage, *n.* excess, 209/7446.
- surquedy, *n.* arrogance, 80/2988, 102/3857, 299/10912.
- suryd, *pp.* assured, made safe, 217/4432.
- sut, *n.* suit, 127/4842.
- suyng. See sue.
- swen, 64/2389. See sue.
- swerd, *n.* sword, 213/7609, 222/7982, etc.
- sweygh, swegh, *n.* movement, 333/12234, 335/12296.
- swolwh, *n.* whirlpool, 438/16293, 468/17499.
- swowne, *vb.* swoon, 126/4816.
- swych, such, 74/2785, 127/4834, etc.
- swyd, *adj.* 350/12882. (Stowe has 'swete.')
- swyng, *vb. imp.* strike, 114/4316.
- swynke, *vb.* toil, 277/10074.
- syde, No syde, anywhere, 269/9786.
- syker, surely, 161/6129, 165/6266, etc.
- sykerly, surely, 70/2633; securely, 235/8452.
- sykernesce, *n.* security, 184/7009, 215/7693.
- sylue, *adj.* same, 90/3396.
- syluen, sylue, *n.* self, 202/7225, 217/7762.
- synderesis, 130/4962. See Note.
- synguler, *adj.* single, private, unique, 63/2348, 382/14138.
- synwes, *n.* sinews, 233/8399.
- syt, *vb. pres. sg.* sits, 128/4890, 211/7548.
- syt, Nat ne syt, it is not suitable, 151/5745.
- syth, *n.* sight, 44/1663, 70/2629.
- sythe, syth, *prep.* since, 62/2315, 102/3850, etc.
- sythe, *n.* time, 111/4218; *pl.* sythes, 126/4816; sythe go ful long, a very long time ago, 64/2391.
- syttyng, syttyng, *adj.* fit, suitable, becoming, 33/1250, 114/4322, 209/7451.
- syyng, *n.* sight, seeing, 229/8235.
- ta, to a, 75/2819.
- tabellyoun, tabellioun, *n.* scrivener, 132/5020, 5027.
- tabler, *n.* chess- or draught-board, 463/17272.
- tablettys, *n.* tablets, 250/9035.
- taboureth, *vb. pres. sg.* drums, 387/14314.
- tadwellyd, *vb.* to have dwelt, 260/9422.

- tafforce, taforce, *vb.* to strengthen, 178/6800, 217/7769.
 take, *vb.* commit, give, 125/4743; *pres. sg.* 1. give, 127/4834; *pret.* took, 405/15022; *pp.* taken, take, given, committed, 80/2995, 127/4933; take, taken, 174/6636; tak, *imper.* 244/8814.
 taknyht, to a knight, 232/8361.
 tal, talle, to all, 193/7149, 204/7266.
 tale, *n.* telle of hem but lytel tale, take but little account of them, 589/22052.
 talent, *n.* appetite, desire, 75/2805, 86/3246, 269/9781.
 talwh, *n.* tallow, 436/16217.
 talyved, *vb.* to have lived, 27/1019.
 tamyghty, to a mighty, 47/1766.
 tapalle, *vb.* to cloak, cover, 291/10616.
 taparceyve, *vb.* to perceive, 165/6302.
 tapese, *vb.* to appease, 163/6193.
 tapoynte, *vb.* to arrange, 183/6996.
 taquyte, *vb.* to acquit, to discharge, 107/4041.
 tarage, *n.* kind, nature, quality, 261/9458, 9462. See Note.
 targe, *n.* target, shield, 223/8022, 228/8215.
 taryen, *vb.* delay, 334/12278.
 tashet, *vb.* to have shut, 143/5465.
 tassaye, *vb.* to try, 262/9502.
 tastyd, *pp.* touched, felt (O.Fr. taster), 272/9877.
 Tav, *n.* the letter T. The sign of the Cross, 37/1387, 1406, 330/12115. See Note.
 tavale, *vb.* to let fall, 110/4171.
 tavaunce, *vb.* to advance, 121/4624.
 tave, *vb.* to have, 162/6169, 218/7826.
 tavoyde, tavoyden, *vb.* to drive out or away, to clear away, to avoid, 41/1562, 47/1757, 116/4410, 128/4866; to free, 205/7304, 213/7625.
 taxe, *vb.* to ask, 259/9392.
 taylladges, *n.* taxes, impositions, 49/1819.
 teht, *n.* teeth, 113/4274.
 tellyn, *vb.* tell, 141/5382; *pres. sg.* 2. tellys, 182/6935.
 telpe, *vb.* to help, 22/815.
 temperalte, *n.* temporal possessions, 434/16139.
 temprure, *n.* due proportion, 630/23524.
 tenbracen, *vb.* to bind, clasp, 227/8154; tenbrasse, to embrace, 183/6999.
 tenchouse, *vb.* to choose out, 47/1758.
 tenduren, *vb.* to endure, continue, 52/1967.
 tene, *n.* vexation, injury, 98/3676, 126/4802; *pl.* tenys, 128/4869.
 tene, *vb.* irritate, 95/3595.
 tenoynte, *vb.* to anoint, 39/1472.
 tenquere, *vb.* to inquire, 77/2865.
 teuchyng, *prep.* concerning, as to, 32/1221.
 thampete, *n.* the ant, 279/10145, 10181.
 thamyral, *n.* the admiral, 433/16103.
 than, thanne, *conj.* then, 111/4211, 180/6853, etc.
 thapostel, *n.* the apostle (Paul), 182/6950; *gen. pl.* thapostolys, 181/6912.
 thar, *vb. pres.* needs, *ABC*, 530/19866.
 tharmure, *n.* the armour, 217/7758, 228/8196.
 tharneys, *n.* the armour, 213/7601.
 thassaut, *n.* the assault, 212/7583.
 that, *conj.* lest, 659/24617.
 that, *pron.* that which, what, 1/14, etc.
 the, *vb.* prosper (O.E. þeon), 310/11340, 324/11893.
 then, *adv. and conj.* than, 88/3307.
 thenchesoun, *n.* the occasion, 297/10869.
 thenpryses, *n.* the enterprises, 4/127.
 thentryng, *n.* the entrance, 61/2276.
 ther, *adv.* where, 143/5460, 220/7899, etc.
 ther, *as adv.* there where, 164/6247, etc.
 ther-to, *adv.* also, 87/3288.
 thewes, *n.* manners, customs, virtues, 321/11794, 566/21229.
 tho, *conj.* then, 61/2297, 201/7193, etc.
 thooffycal, *n.* the officer, 59/2216, 61/2300.
 thouhte me. See thynketh.
 throwe, *n.* space of time, 278/10124, 380/14055.
 thrust, *n.* thirst, 63/2355.

thrydde, *adj.* third, 173/6610.
 thylke, *pron.* that, 107/4056, 111/4215, etc.; *pl.* thylke, those, these, 135/5136, 176/6732, 183/6975.
 thynketh, *vb. pres.* it seems, me thynketh, it seems to me, 164/6260, 167/6367; *pret.* thouhte me, it seemed to me, 105/3987.
 thys, *pron.* these, 118/4474, 156/5958; this is, that is, 72/2701, 81/3053, 140/5359, etc.; there is, 67/2497.
 to, *prep.* 50/1871.
 to, *n.* the one, 520/19481. See ton.
 to, *prep.* according to, 155/5898.
 to-brak, *vb. pret. sg.* broke to pieces, 108/4103; *pp.* to-brook, 145/5552.
 to-brast, *vb. pret. pl.* burst in pieces, 516/19362.
 to-forn, *adv.* beforehand, 70/2628, 71/2636; to-forn or, before, 78/2902; *pl.* to-for, before, 113/4307.
 togydre, *adv.* together, 109/4138, 158/6020.
 tokeyen, *vb.* 274/9955. Should be 'tobeyen, to obey.'
 tokne, *vb. pres. pl.* betoken, typify, 75/2797; *pp.* tookenyd, 22/809.
 tonnen up, *vb.* to broach a cask, or to fill a cask?, 353/12991.
 took, tok, *vb. pret. sg.* gave, 76/2841, 205/7294, 228/8207.
 tookne, *n.* token, 130/4941, 151/5773; *pl.* tooknys, 129/4928.
 toon, ton, *n.* (the) one, 57/2127, 79/2947, etc.
 to-rent, *vb. pres. sg.* rends in pieces, 215/7715.
 tormentrye, *n.* torture, torment, 10/368, 174/6628.
 tornen, torne, tournen, tourne, *vb.* turn, 68/2537, 72/2684, 2690, 2706; *pret. sg.* 1. tornede, 88/3296; *pp.* tornyd, 87/3262, 104/3915; *pr. p.* toornyng, 92/3470.
 tortyl, *n.* turtle-dove, 449/16756.
 tother, thother, *n.* (the) other, 67/2500, 95/3583, etc.
 tour, *n.* tower, 89/3343.
 tourneys, *n.* a coin (see note, p. 471), 473/17664.
 towched, *pp.* divided,? 597/22356. See Note.

tractour, *n.* traitor, 251/9083.
 traisoun, *n.* treason, 251/9086.
 travas, *n.* 480/17973. See Note.
 travaylle, *vb. pres. subj. pl.* labour, 336/12348.
 travers wyse, *adv.* cross-ways, 183/6999.
 trawaylle, *n.* labour, 345/12708.
 trayshe, traisshe, *vb.* betray, 250/9057, 251/9083.
 tregetour, *n.* juggler, 396/14682, 479/17897.
 tregetrye, *n.* jugglery, 317/11623.
 trentals, *n.* thirty masses for the dead, 642/23970.
 tretable, *adj.* tractable, mild, kind, 41/1552.
 treygobet, *n.* 317/11623. See Note.
 treyne, *n.* snare, 227/8153, 235/8486.
 trone, *n.* throne, 60/2251.
 trowe, *vb. pres. sg.* 1. believe, trust, 107/4035; *pres. sg.* 2. trowest, 153/5838; *pr. p.* trowynge, 89/3354, 166/6315.
 trusse, trussen, *vb.* pack, bind, 231/8303, 241/8719, 243/8773, 345/12706.
 trussellys, *n.* bundles, 74/2755.
 trustly, *adv.* truly, 400/14831.
 trwauntys, *n.* truants, 121/4587.
 tryacle, *n.* liniment, 3/68, 216/7719, 413/15338. See Note.
 tryed out, *pp.* tested, 98/3698, 207/7392.
 tryst, *n.* confidence, 602/22554.
 tryst, *adj.* sad, 18/662, 233/8382.
 tuel, *n.* pipe, tube, 554/20766.
 tunshetten, *vb.* to open, 82/3084; unshette, 82/3088.
 turneys, *n.* turret?, 146/5569. See Note.
 tweyne, *adj.* two, 142/5424; 148/5645, etc.; bothe tweyne, both, 163/6208.
 twynne, *vb.* separate, 110/4166, 268/9742.
 twynnyng, *n.* twining, doubling, 240/8667.
 tyssu, *n.* ribbon, 18/683.
 tytles, *n.* claims, 49/1826.
 umbrage, *n.* shadow, 596/22310.
 underfongyn, underfonge, *vb.* receive, 120/4548, 125/4756.

- undermel, *n.* morning rest, siesta, 250/9044.
- underneinen, *vb.* blame, 98/3691; *pr. p.* undernemynge, 442/16461.
- underspreynt, *pp.* underspread, 1/25.
- understonde, *pp.* understood, 130/4958.
- undyht, *adj.* disordered, 419/15573.
- unfraunchysed, *adj.* in bondage, 1/4.
- ungoodly, *adv.* wrongly, 105/3952.
- unhable, *adj.* unfit, 133/5075, 134/5108.
- unhese, *n.* discomfort, 229/8228.
- unkonnynge, *n.* ignorance, 19/719.
- unkouth, unkouth, *adj.* unknown, strange, 87/3285, 165/6287, 264/9575, etc.
- unkyndely, *adv.* unnaturally, 94/3530.
- unleful, *adj.* unlawful, 391/14497.
- unnethe, *adv.* with difficulty, hardly, 153/5856. *See* annethe.
- unresowable, *adj.* irrational, 55/2048.
- unshette, *vb.* open, 82/3088, 173/6581.
- unwar, *adv.* without warning, 1/10.
- unwarly, *adv.* unawares, 214/7641.
- unwenmed, *adj.* unspotted, *A B C*, 531/19881.
- unworshepe, *n.* dishonour, 95/3586, 295/10780.
- unwyt, *n.* ignorance, 54/2015.
- vsauce, *n.* habit, 203/7242.
- vakyng, *adv.* waking, 166/6336.
- vallyable, *adj.* available, 45/1679.
- varyance, *n.* change, 91/3441.
- vayllable, *adj.* available, helpful, 33/1246.
- vaylle, *vb.* avail, 221/7937.
- vekke, wekke, *n.* old woman, 346/12752, 347/12775, 399/14796.
- venery, venerye, *n.* hunting, 139/5287, 227/8150.
- vengable, *adj.* vengeful, 70/2632.
- vengyd, *pp.* avenged, 144/5524.
- vergows, *n.* verjuice, 420/15630.
- verray, *adj.* true, genuine, 54/2036, 134/5095, etc.
- verre, *n.* glass, 265/9613.
- vertu, *n.* virtue, strength, 61/2285.
- vertuous, *adj.* beneficial, powerful, 40/1514, 178/6796.
- vertuously, *adv.* virtually, in effect, 158/6030.
- vestment, *n.* clothing, 142/5420.
- victoire, *n.* victory, 218/7821.
- vocat, *n.* advocate, 127/4846.
- volunte, *n.* will, 166/6331, 179/6819.
- voode, *n.* wood, 317/11606.
- voyde, *adj.* destitute, 1/4, 135/5135.
- voyde, voyden, *vb.* drive out, expel, clear away, 55/2072, 115/4371; *pres. sg.* voydeth, 239/8620; *pp.* voyded, 97/3671.
- voyded, *adj.* emptied, 162/6175.
- vyage, *n.* voyage, 121/4604, 235/8465.
- vyker, *n.* representative, 37/1393; *pl.* vykerys, 39/1473.
- vy-on, misprint for *upon*, 276/10049.
- vyrelaye, *n.* a species of short poem. 317/11614. *See* Note.
- vytaylle, *n.* food, 177/6750.
- wake, *vb.* watch, 119/4529.
- wante, *vb. subj. pres. sg.* lack, 62/2331.
- wanyng, *n.* deficiency, 30/1144.
- war, *adj.* wary, 122/4635.
- wardeyn, *n.* warden, guardian, 25/944.
- waves, *n.* waves, 433/16104.
- wayllede, *vb. pret. sg.* availed, 162/6160.
- waymentynge, *n.* lamenting, 108/4077.
- wede, *n.* garment, 138/5280.
- wekke, *n.* *See* vekke.
- weld, welde, *vb. pr. pl.* rule, have power over, 549/20587, 636/23737.
- wel-full, *adj.* beneficial, 456/16999.
- welkyd, *adj.* faded, 438/16320.
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