The Commission on the Anglo-Indian Records.

Transmitted by direction of the
Master of the Rolls.

Public Record Office,
Rolls House, London,
26 Oct. 1863.

RERUM BRITANNICARUM MEDII ÆVI
SCRIPTORES,

OR

CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

DURING

THE MIDDLE AGES.

THE CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS

OF

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

DURING THE MIDDLE AGES.

PUBLISHED BY THE AUTHORITY OF HER MAJESTY'S TREASURY, UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE MASTER OF THE ROLLS.

On the 26th of January 1857, the Master of the Rolls submitted to the Treasury a proposal for the publication of materials for the History of this Country from the Invasion of the Romans to the Reign of Henry VIII.

The Master of the Rolls suggested that these materials should be selected for publication under competent editors without reference to periodical or chronological arrangement, without mutilation or abridgment, preference being given, in the first instance, to such materials as were most scarce and valuable.

He proposed that each chronicle or historical document to be edited should be treated in the same way as if the editor were engaged on an Editio Princeps; and for this purpose the most correct text should be formed from an accurate collation of the best MSS.

To render the work more generally useful, the Master of the Rolls suggested that the editor should give an account of the MSS. employed by him, of their age and their peculiarities; that he should add to the work a brief account of the life and times of the author, and any remarks necessary to explain the chronology; but no other note or comment was to be allowed, except what might be necessary to establish the correctness of the text.

The works to be published in octavo, separately, as they were finished; the whole responsibility of the task resting upon the editors, who were to be chosen by the Master of the Rolls with the sanction of the Treasury.

The Lords of Her Majesty's Treasury, after a careful consideration of the subject, expressed their opinion in a Treasury Minute, dated February 9, 1857, that the plan recommended by the Master of the Rolls "was well calculated for the accomplishment of this important national object, in an effectual and satisfactory manner, within a reasonable time, and provided proper attention be paid to economy, in making the detailed arrangements, without unnecessary expense."

They expressed their approbation of the proposal that each chronicle and historical document should be edited in such a manner as to represent with all possible correctness the text of each writer, derived from a collation of the best MSS., and that no notes should be added, except such as were illustrative of the various readings. They suggested, however, that the preface to each work should contain, in addition to the particulars proposed by the Master of the Rolls, a biographical account of the author, so far as authentic materials existed for that purpose, and an estimate of his historical credibility and value.

Rolls House,
December 1857.

POLITICAL POEMS AND SONGS.

POLITICAL POEMS AND SONGS

RELATING TO

ENGLISH HISTORY,

COMPOSED DURING THE PERIOD

From the Accession of EDW. III. to that of RIC. III.

EDITED

BY

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INTRODUCTION.

INTRODUCTION.

Period comprised in these poems

THE documents which compose the two following volumes extend through some of the most interesting periods of our national annals They begin at the moment when a weak and ill-advised monarch had been violently deposed from the throne, and his young son substituted in his place; while his father's marriage had brought to the latter rights in France which led him into wars that raised the military glory of England to such a height as it had never reached before The reign of Edward III., glorious in many respects, was followed, as it had been preceded, by a reign of weakness and vice, ending similarly in the deposition of the reigning king, but involving in this case a change of dynasty. Then came a short and peaceful reign under the first monarch of the house of Lancaster, followed by the military glories of that of Henry V. The weakness of his son and successor, Henry VI., left the field open to the uncontrolled struggle of personal interests and passions, as well as of political principles, which soon became a more serious contest of dynasties than had yet occurred, and which closed the middle ages by introducing our country to a new political life. Our Political Poems, in fact, occupy the whole space between what may be considered, properly speaking, as the feudal age, and the commencement of our modern history.

Disappearance of the Anglo-Norman language

One circumstance strikes us especially when we run our eye through this collection of Political Poems and Songs—the entire disappearance of the Anglo-Norman language. Throughout the whole series there are only two pieces in any dialect of the French language, and those, though intimately connected with English politics and history, were both composed abroad. On the other hand, the Latin language predominates largely during the whole of the fourteenth century, and even during the earlier part of the fifteenth. This indicates, no doubt, the very deep interest and active part taken by the educated classes—those whose minds had been formed in the Universities—in the political events of the time, and it shows further a considerable degree of mental cultivation among the aristocracy in general, to whom many of these Latin poems are addressed. It is probable that this was much less the case as we approach the age of the Wars of the Roses, when we find Latin rarely used in these Political Poems, and the few cases in which it is used are of a specially clerical character. Thus, a monk of St. Alban's recounts in Latin verse some of the events of the Wars of the Roses which had happened chiefly in that part of the country, but his object was evidently to remind the monks of that house of the ill-treatment it had experienced, especially from the men of the north.

The Vows of the Heron.

The first poem of this collection introduces us to the commencement of the wars with France which formed the grand feature of the reign of Edward III.

History of Robert of Artois.

Among the most turbulent of the great barons of Western Europe at the beginning of the fourteenth century was Robert of Artois, who was descended from a younger son of St. Louis, and who claimed the county of Artois against his aunt, the countess Mahaut, and her daughters. He had made an unsuccessful attempt to establish his claim by force of arms in 1316; and judgment had been given against him twice

in a court of law. The three sons of Philippe-le-Bel; Louis-Hutin, Philippe-le-Long, and Charles-le-Bel, had reigned over France in succession during the short space from 1314, when their father died, to 1328, leaving the crown a doubtful heritage, for the only surviving issue of the three brothers were daughters of the first and third of those Princes, and there was at least a strong prejudice against the existence of the right of succession in females. The French jurists, as is well known, influenced by their national feelings, adjudged the crown to Philippe of Valois. Robert of Artois, who was the brother-in-law and confidential friend of Philippe, and who had contributed more, perhaps, than any single person to his elevation to the throne, stood very high in court favour at the beginning of the new reign, and, stimulated, it is believed, by his wife, the king's sister, he resolved to bring again before a court of law his claims to the county of Artois. As two adverse judgments had already been given, these could only be set aside by the production of some new titles, and documents for this purpose were forged through the agency of his wife This new trial took place in 1331, when the falseness of the documents was discovered, the persons chiefly concerned in the forgery confessed the whole plot, and several of them were put to death or otherwise severely punished. Their confessions fixed the guilt of this intrigue upon the lady alone, and in all appearance Robert of Artois was not at all aware that the documents were forged until they were exposed in court: but the king, perhaps glad of the opportunity of ridding himself of his obligations to a too importunate friend and benefactor, turned all his wrath against his brother-in-law, and summoned him to appear before his Court of Peers at Michaelmas, 1331. Robert, alarmed for his personal safety, withdrew into Flanders, from whence he employed, not only the agency of assassins, but that of

witchcraft, against the lives of his enemies, but without success. The king of France, informed of these proceedings, compelled the duke of Brabant and the count of Namur to withdraw their protection from him, and seized his wife and children and threw them into different prisons. Robert of Artois, no longer safe on the continent, made his escape, in the disguise of a merchant, to England, where he met with a friendly reception, and was taken into the confidence of the young king, Edward III.

King Edward's quarrel with France.

Edward had already various subjects of complaint against the king of France, and not only he himself, but all his subjects, and even a considerable portion of the aristocracy of France, were convinced of his superior right to the French succession. Robert of Artois laboured assiduously to inflame the young king's ambition, and his success forms the subject of the curious piece which stands at the head of the present volume. The circumstances under which, according to this poem, Edward was finally urged into hostilities, were of a rather singular character. One day in the September of 1338, Robert of Artois, who was at the court of king Edward at London, took his falcon and went hunting on the banks of the river, till he caught a heron. Robert returned to the palace, where he went direct to the kitchen and caused the bird to be immediately cooked and prepared for the table. Now that day king Edward sat at dinner with his courtiers, occupied only with thoughts of love and gallantry, and harbouring only peaceful and indulgent feelings towards all his neighbours, not excepting the king of France. Robert of Artois suddenly presented himself in the hall, followed by three minstrels and two noble maidens, the latter of whom carried the heron ceremoniously laid between two dishes. Robert proclaimed that as the heron had the reputation of being the most cowardly of birds,

it was now destined for the greatest coward at the table, and that, he said, was king Edward, who submitted tamely to be deprived of the kingdom and crown of France, although he knew that they belonged to him by right. Having thus proclaimed his design, he presented the heron to the king, and, as was customary on such occasions, asked him to make a vow upon it. Edward, deeply stung by this reproach, made a vow that before the end of the year he would invade France with fire and sword, and that, if Philippe of Valois ventured to resist him, he would fight him though he came with an army which was ten times the number of his own. Robert was overjoyed at the king's vow, and repeated to himself in undertones the hopes he had of revenging his own quarrel with king Philippe in the war which was about to commence; and then, after making his own vow, carrying the heron in the same ceremony, he proceeded to collect the vows of the other guests. King Edward's court presented at this moment, according to the poem, a singular mixture of English nobles, foreign adventurers, and fugitive barons from the other side of the Channel. Robert addressed himself first to the earl of Salisbury, who was sitting by the side of the daughter of the earl of Derby, of whom he was deeply enamoured. This gallant nobleman declared that, if the queen of Heaven were to descend upon earth and lay aside her divinity, he should not be able to distinguish between her beauty and that of his mistress, and, after complaining of the cruelty which the latter had shown towards him, he begged her to lend him one of her fingers and place it upon his eye. The lady replied by offering him two, and having placed them upon his eye so that it was completely closed, he made his vow that he would not open it again until he

King Edward's vow.

Vows of the earl of Salisbury,

had invaded France and fought king Philippe's people in pitched battle in defence of the rights of the king of England. Robert next received from the lady herself a vow that she would accept no husband while Salisbury was engaged in the war, but would reserve herself for him on his return. After having received the vow of this noble maiden, Robert presented himself before the celebrated warrior, Sir Gautier de Mauny, who made his vow that he would attack and take by assault a strong town then held by a French knight, Sir Godeman de Fay, and that he would return from the attack without having sustained any loss. The earl of Derby, who came next, threatened to attack the count of Flanders, one of the great allies of Philippe of Valois. The earl of Suffolk made his vow that he would single out especially the king of Bohemia, and that wherever he met him in the field he would attack him personally and not cease until he had unhorsed him. Thereupon Jean de Beaumont, who was nearly related to the king of Bohemia, took offence at this boast; he declared that, though the king of Bohemia hated him, yet he still loved that prince as his kinsman, and he threatened that, through his means, the earl should be the king of Bohemia's prisoner. Robert of Artois next addressed himself to Jean de Fauquemont, one of the most celebrated captains of the adventurers or free companions of that time, who made a vow in perfect keeping with the ferocity of the class of troops he commanded. He declared that if king Edward invaded France, he would go in advance and burn the country, promising that he would "neither spare church nor altar, neither woman "with child nor infant, nor even his own kinsmen or "friends," so long as they were opposed to the English king. Jean de Beaumont, though so cele-

of the daughter of the earl of Derby,

of Gautier de Mauny,

of the earl of Derby,

of the earl of Suffolk.

of Jean de Fauquemont,

of Jean de Beaumont,

brated as a warrior, answered Robert's appeal with more modesty than the others. He told the courtiers around him of the vanity of empty boasts made at the festive table, and exhorted them to reserve their valour for the time of action. Nevertheless he promised that, in case king Edward invaded France, he would be his marshal to conduct his host, and that he would take part zealously in the war, however much it might expose him to the vengeance of the king of France. He declared at the same time that, if king Philippe would make reparation for the injuries he had inflicted upon him and recall him from his banishment, he would quit Edward's service and return to that of his lawful king. After hearing the vow of Jean de Beaumont, Robert of Artois presented himself in the last place before the queen of England. She first excused herself on the ground of being a married woman, but, on receiving permission from the king to do so, she uttered a vow which was not very remarkable for its feminine delicacy. She stated, rather coarsely, that she was with child, and vowed that the infant should never issue from her body until the king had carried her with him over the sea on his expedition against France; that, rather than this should happen, she would slay herself and her offspring. "The king "thought of this gravely, and said, 'Certainly no one "'will vow more.'" The heron was now carved and shared among the guests; and soon afterwards the king made his preparations for his first campaign on the continent.

of the queen of England.

Character of this poem.

I think there can be only one opinion on the narrative contained in this poem, that it is entirely deficient of historical truth. The allusion to the captivity of the earl of Suffolk proves that it cannot have been composed before the year 1340, and its

object was no doubt, at a moment when the energy of the French war was somewhat flagging, to magnify in the minds of his own followers the influence which Robert of Artois had exercised in dragging the king of England into it. The circumstances of the story are in themselves very far from probable, and I shall not be surprised if documents be still found to prove that the persons introduced in it could not have been assembled together in London at any one time. The date is of course wrong, as in September 1338 Edward had already been on the continent two months. The only circumstances we are able to verify seem all incorrect; and the composer was certainly mistaken in his story of the vow of the earl of Salisbury, for it is well known that that nobleman was blind of one eye, in consequence of a wound received in the Scottish wars, in which he had distinguished himself. Yet, it is still possible that the ground of the poem may have been some assembly in which king Edward's courtiers took such vows upon them, and that a poet and partisan of Robert of Artois had changed the circumstances, and built upon them the above story. In this case it would not be an untrue picture of the spirit of Edward's French wars; for the historian Froissart alludes more than once to vows so similar to these that perhaps they were those which the author of the poem had in view when he wrote it. In describing the embassy sent by king Edward to Valenciennes, Froissart tells us that among the envoys were seen a number of young "bachelers" who had each one eye covered with cloth, so that they could not see with it, and it was reported that these had made vows among ladies of their country that they would forego the use of one eye until they had performed some feats of bravery in the kingdom of France; but, he adds, they would not confess this to

Anecdotes told by Froissart.

those who questioned them, "and everybody wondered " greatly at it."[1] A little further on, Froissart describes the commencement of the war, and he says that, as soon as Edward's defiance of the king of France was published and known, Gautier de Mauny assembled "about forty lances of good companions, " sure and bold, and set out from Brabant, and rode " both day and night, till they came into Hainault, " and there they threw themselves into the wood of " Blaton, and as yet nobody knew what was his de- " sign; but he there told some of his most intimate " acquaintance that he had promised in England, " before ladies and lords, that he would be the first " who entered France, and that he would take a " castle or a strong town, and do there some deed " of arms, and that it was now his intention to ride " to Mortaigne, and to surprise the town which " belongs to the kingdom of France."[2] Gautier was successful, and set fire to the town of Mortaigne. It

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[1] " Et si y avoit entr'eux plusieurs " bacheliers qui avoient chacun un " oeil couvert de drap vermeil, " pourquoi il n'en put voir; et " disoit on que ceux avoient voué " entre dames de leur pays que " jamais ne verroient que d'un oeil " jusqu'à ce qu'ils auroient fait " aucunes prouesses de leurs corps " au royaume de France; lesquels " ils ne vouloient mie connoître à " ceux qui leur en demandoient; " si en avoit chacun grand mer- " veille." Froissart, ed. Buchon, tom. i., p. 180.

[2] " Sitôt qu'il put sentir et per " cevoir que le roi de France " devoit ou pouvoit être défié, il " prin et cueillit environ quarante " lances de bons compagnons sûrs " et hardis, et se partit de Brabant, " et chevaucha tant de nuit que de " jour, qu'ils vinrent en Hainaut, " et se boutèrent dedans le bois de " Blaton, et encore ne savoit nul " quelle chose il vouloit faire; " mais il s'en découvroit là à " aucuns de ses plus secrets, et " leur dit qu'il avoit promis et " voué en Angleterre, présents " dames et seigneurs, que il seroit " le premier qui entreroit en France, " et prendroit châtel ou forte ville, " et y feroit aucune appertise " d'armes; si étoit son entente de " chevaucher jusques à Mortagne, " et de sousprendre la ville, qui " se tient du royaume." Froissart, ed Buchon, tom. i., p 222.

can hardly be doubted, I think, that this exploit of Gautier de Mauny is the one alluded to in the poem.

EPIGRAM ON THE ASSUMPTION OF THE ARMS OF FRANCE.

Somewhat more than a year later, Edward assumed the arms of France, and quartered them with those of England, an event which is commemorated in an epigram in the present volume. The object of this measure, which is said to have been suggested to him by Jacob van Artaveldt, the popular leader of the men of Ghent, was of course to place Edward in the position of actual king of France, a title which he *now publicly assumed, and to give him the right of* treating as rebels all subjects of the French crown who remained faithful to Philippe of Valois. Thus, at once, the ordinary feelings of hostility of two nations temporarily at war with each other was converted into all the bitterness of civil war. This bitterness displays itself through the political poems which follow. In the invective against France, published here,

INVECTIVE AGAINST FRANCE.

the character of France is painted in terms of the most extravagant reproach. To her are ascribed the mingled qualities of the lynx, the viper, the fox, and the wolf. She had listened willingly to the seductions of the usurper, Philippe of Valois, who had now brought upon her the severe vengeance of her rightful sovereign, the boar, by which animal Edward III. is commonly designated in these poems. The sins and failings of Philippe of Valois are then rehearsed in rather strong language; and the praise of king Edward is set forth in no less extravagant terms. Arguments, too, are adduced, and those of a rather singular character, to show the emptiness of Philippe's claims to the crown. Philippe had been proved incapable of curing the king's evil, which was now looked upon as one of the distinguishing characteristics of royalty. Moreover, the vessel of sacred oil, which had been sent down from heaven to anoint Clovis on his coronation, and which had been ever since pre-

served, was now found empty, and had thus refused its sanction to the usurpation of Philippe of Valois. A strange story, which appears to have been widely current at the time, is told of the origin of the so-called Salic law relating to the succession of the crown of France. Hugh Capet, according to this story, was a butcher, who changed his name to Pepin, and having secured the good graces of the heiress of France, married her; but subsequently obtained her consent to a law, contrary to all justice and reason, which deprived the female sex of the right of inheritance. In spite of this unjust law, Edward was still the rightful heir to the crown of France, and his high qualities, his claims to the French succession, and the greatness of England, are dwelt upon with enthusiasm through the rest of the poem, which concludes with an earnest exhortation to accept no truce, for this, it was pretended, would only be a cunning trap laid for him by his enemies.

Stories relating to the law of succession.

From this general invective we pass immediately to the details of history. No event caused greater exultation at this period of our history than the battle of Nevile's Cross, for it was fought in our own island, it saved the people of England from imminent dangers, and it was a glorious victory over their old enemies the Scots. A few lines on this battle, some of which are pilfered from the previous poem, contain little worthy of remark; but they are followed by a longer Latin poem dedicated expressly to this subject. The only detailed accounts of this battle hitherto used by our historians are that of Froissart and those of the Scottish writers, the latter of which are far from impartial. The great inaccuracy of Froissart's account is shown clearly by the poem now printed, which is certainly contemporary with the event, and written no doubt in the midst of the sensation caused by it. It leaves no doubt of Froissart's error in

On the Battle of Nevill's Cross.

supposing that Edward's queen was in the north, or that she was in any way engaged in this affair, a story which was fully adopted by Sharon Turner, and which Lingard did not venture entirely to reject;[1] for surely such an important circumstance would not have been omitted in a poem written at the time of the event, and for the especial purpose of commemorating it. Our poem presents another very curious discrepancy with the ordinary accounts; it states that king David was not taken fighting in the battle, but that he was overtaken by John Copland in the flight (*Brus David auffugit . . . Coplond attingit fugientem . . . rex fugiens capitur*, p. 46); and it seems to be further intimated that he attempted to conceal himself in the thick brushwood among the thorns (*David in spinis reperitur*). The writer of this poem speaks of the Scots with all the bitter animosity which the English then nourished towards them; he describes the motives of this Scottish invasion, and the self-confidence and pride of the Scots, commemorates the courage and patriotism of the Archbishop of York and the lord Henry Percy, and recounts the defeat of the invaders and the capture of the Scottish king by Copland. He then proceeds to depict the character of David Bruce in very reproachful language, and repeats a not very delicate anecdote of the manner

Different accounts of the capture of king David Bruce.

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[1] "Lord Hailes is not pleased "that the queen should have "shared in the honour of the "battle, and wished to doubt her "presence, because Froissart is the "only writer who states it. If we "disbelieve all the facts of this "reign for which we have *only* "Froissart's authority, our scep-"ticism must take a large sweep."—Sh. Turner's "England during the "Middle Ages," vol. ii. p. 204, note (2nd edit.)—"Queen Philippa, if we "believe the improbable testimony "of Froissart, emulating the ex-"ample of the countess of Mount-"fort, rode among them, and "addressed them in kind and "animating language."—Lingard, "Hist. of Eng.," vol. iii. p. 142 (5th edit.)

in which he defouled the water of the holy font at his baptism, which he considers to have been a sign of his future disgraceful life. A shorter poem, which follows this, estimates the loss of the French in the battle of Crecy at thirty thousand men, and that of the Scots at Nevile's Cross at twelve thousand. The concluding lines seem to imply the flight of king David from the battle as told in the preceding poem.

Crecy and Nevill's Cross

The great events of the year 1346, and the surrender of Calais, led to a truce or armistice in the following year. This truce was not altogether popular in England, for the warlike ardour of the people had been inflamed by a series of brilliant victories, and many, believing in the full justice of Edward's claim to the crown of France, looked upon it as a dereliction of duty to sheath the sword, even for a moment, until the object of the war should be gained. A poem on the truce, printed in the present volume, is written in this spirit. The king, it says, was not only protected by the favour of heaven because his cause was just, but because in his army piety and charity prevailed, and these virtues, as displayed by the warriors of England, are descanted upon through many lines. The writer proclaims, as a proof that God approved of the war and disapproved of the armistice, the circumstance, mentioned by other writers, that king Edward and his fleet had fair weather when they sailed from England, while, on their return, they encountered violent storms, and narrowly escaped being lost. God was displeased, he says, that the king should return before he had accomplished the grand object of his expedition, by driving the usurper from the throne of France. If, with the spring, king Edward recommenced the war with vigour, no doubt the same great qualities which he had hitherto displayed would carry him through to the end he desired. Victory would be his reward if he continued

On the Truce of 1347.

the war; but, in a truce, he would only be the victim of treachery and deceit. The word *treuga* in the Cornish language, we are told by the writer of this poem, signifies grief, and a truce at this time was not a subject for rejoicing.

Songs on King Edward's Wars, by Laurence Minot.

In the midst of these anonymous writings, we meet with the name of a man who appears to have been the professional song-writer of his age. He takes care to let us know that his name was Laurence Minot. Yet, though these songs must have been very popular, and though they are certainly written with great spirit, we should have lost all knowledge of them, and even the name of the author, had they not been preserved in a very accidental manner. The songs had enjoyed so much consideration among contemporaries, that the author was induced to publish them, about the year 1352, in a collective form, adding some connecting verses. At a later period, in the wars of Henry V., the records of popular feeling in the reign of Edward III. were sought and copied with eagerness; and among other such records, some person copied in a very handsome manuscript these poems of Laurence Minot. This manuscript has fortunately been preserved, and it is by it only we know them.[1] I have printed them collectively, as they were published in 1352; but there can be little doubt that they were written and published separately, on the

[1] Ritson, who printed Minot's poems, believed the manuscript to be of the time of Richard II., and he and others have taken them as representing the language of the fourteenth century. In this they are evidently wrong, for the language of Minot's songs, as they are now preserved, display too great a neglect of important grammatical forms to have been written before the fifteenth century. I see no reason to doubt that it was written in the age of the French wars of Henry V., when the poems on the wars of Edward III. were collected with eagerness. The valuable Rawlinson MS., No. 215, which has furnished so many materials for the present volume, was written at that date.

occurrence of the events they celebrate. The subject of the first of these songs is the well-known battle of Halidon Hill, king Edward's first great victory. The songster seems to accuse France of being the cause of the Scottish hostilities, and relates how Philippe of Valois attempted to send them assistance. He exults over their sanguinary defeat at Halidon-hill, which compelled many of them to seek an asylum in the dominions of king Philippe. In fact, the young king of Scotland, David Bruce, with his wife (the sister of king Edward), were carried for security to France after this decisive battle. The second of Minot's songs is a chant of exultation on the manner in which the defeat of Bannockburn had been revenged by the young king of England. The third song commemorates Edward's expedition to Brabant in 1338, and relates how, as soon as war had been proclaimed, the French fleet attacked Southampton, and did considerable harm, until they were surprised and beaten off by the country people, and how afterwards they made themselves masters of the great English ship, the Christopher. The fourth song recounts the sequel of this campaign, and tells us how Edward entered France, and how Philippe of Valois came against him, and promised battle, but afterwards turned faint-hearted, and made his retreat. The fifth of these songs celebrates the great naval battle of Sluys, or, as the English generally termed it from the river which there emptied itself into the sea, of the Swyne, and gives some particulars, especially with regard to individuals engaged in it, which are far from uninteresting. The sixth song has for its subject the siege of Tournai, and was written before Edward,—here designated as the boar,—was compelled to abandon it. The subject of the seventh is Edward's campaign in Normandy in 1346, and the memorable battle of Crécy. It is a song of triumph, composed in the

Battle of Halidon Hill.

Battle of Bannockburn revenged.

Expedition to Brabant.

First invasion of France.

Naval battle of Sluys.

Siege of Tournai.

Battle of Crécy.

Siege of Calais.

midst of the joy with which the news of this great victory was received. Another song commemorates the siege of Calais; it describes the arrival of the deputation of the burghers to deliver up the keys to king Edward, but says nothing of the more dramatic part of the scene which forms so prominent a part of the narrative of the chroniclers. The ninth song,—

Battle of Nevile's Cross.

perhaps the most spirited of them all,—commemorates the battle of Nevile's Cross, and the defeat and capture of king David Bruce. Its negative evidence is equally strong with the other contemporary records against the truth of Froissart's story of the part which queen Isabella was pretended to have taken in this battle. It was by the counsel of Philippe of Valois that the Scots invaded England, we are told, and they were so confident in the belief that all the fighting men had been carried out of England to the French wars, that king David talked of descending from his horse at the palace of Westminster. "When sir David the
" Bruce sat on his steed, he set all England at de-
" fiance; but gentle John of Copland talked with
" David and taught him his creed. Sir David,—who
" had promised to visit the south,—had the fair

Naval victory over the Spaniards.

" Tower of London for his reward." The tenth of these songs celebrates king Edward's naval victory over the Spaniards in 1350; and the eleventh and

Capture of Guînes.

last was composed immediately after the reduction of the castle of Guînes in the earlier part of the year 1352.

Dispute between the Englishman and the Frenchman.

A Latin poem, which follows these songs, displays in strong language the hatred which now existed between the two countries, France and England. The Frenchman is introduced replying to various reproaches which were popularly hurled against his countrymen, and he retaliates with a rather heavy volley of abuse, which is curious for the light it throws on the manners of the time on both parts. In the eyes of this French-

man, England was "the drogs of men, the shame of "the world, and the last of all things." It appears that Frenchmen were accused of giving a large proportion of care to the combing of their hair, of being pale-faced, of speaking effeminately, of walking in an affected manner, and also of great licentiousness in their private morals. Our Frenchman seems to acknowledge the first four charges, but urges that they had been misinterpreted, and turned wrongly to his disadvantage He then turns upon the English, and accuses them of making a god of their bellies, and of swilling themselves with ale. "We are nourished with "the pure liquor of the grape," he says, "while no-"thing but the dregs are sold to the English, who "will take anything for liquor which is liquid. "You "drink dregs," he goes on to say "and even those "are thought so much of, that it is only on festive "occasions that they are distributed to a few and in "small quantities." The Englishman replies in the same tone, and accuses the French of unmanly effeminacy, telling them that all their gests and movements betray the faults in their character. Lechery and avarice, he says, were their prevailing vices. The dregs of wine might be used in England at the servile table, but it was the Frenchman who got only the poor remains of the wine, while the Englishman revelled in the pure liquor. Contemporary manuscripts have preserved more than one satirical piece of this description written in prose.

PRINCE EDWARD'S EXPEDITION INTO SPAIN.

The year 1367 witnessed the expedition of the Black Prince into Spain for the purpose of restoring Peter the Cruel to his ill-merited throne. A short poem, written in a very affected style of versification, commemorates this event, and tells how, while England was reposing in security on her laurels, and the prince was ruling his conquered province of Gascony, the court of the latter gave refuge to the fugitive prince

who had been driven from the throne of Spain by his people and had been succeeded in the occupation of it by his bastard brother Henry (don Enrique). The writer celebrates in few words the exploits of Edward and his brother of Lancaster, of Ufford, and Chandos, and Knollys, and exults especially over the defeat of the French free companies (*colliberti*), and the capture of their chiefs Du Queselin, whom the English called Claykyn, and D'Audenham, whose name is here corrupted into Dondinham. A warm panegyric on the Black Prince concludes this short poem.

Poem on the same subject, by Walter of Peterborough.

The Spanish expedition of the Black Prince had inspired several writers, among whom was a Latin poet of some pretension. Walter of Peterborough was a monk of Revesby, in Lincolnshire, who held some position in the household of prince Edward's brother, John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, and appears to have accompanied him in this expedition for the restoration of Pedro the Cruel to the crown of Castile. He wrote a Latin poem to celebrate it, which he dedicated to the duke's treasurer; and at some period subsequent to its composition these Latin political poems became so popular that they seem to have been introduced into the schools as books for reading, and to have been accompanied with glosses, or commentaries, both grammatical and historical. Such a gloss is found attached to one copy, the manuscript of which is unfortunately imperfect, of Walter of Peterborough, and the poem and the gloss together give us a rather full and particular account of this Spanish war. Walter of Peterborough, after giving in a prologue an account of himself and his writings, and indulging in a warm panegyric of the prince of Wales, proceeds to relate the events of the war, which he describes as being one of three brothers against three brothers, the first three being bastards and the other three legitimate. The former were Enrique, Tello, and Sancho, the illegitimate sons

Causes of the war.

of king Alphonso by Leonora de Guzman; the latter were prince Edward, John of Gaunt, and king Pedro, the claims of the latter to fraternity with the two princes being of a very doubtful character. Pedro, driven from the throne of Castile by his bastard brother, and left entirely without friends, sought the protection of prince Edward, who was moved by his tears, and immediately undertook to assist him if he could obtain the approval of his father, king Edward of England. The messenger sent by the prince to England seems to have been his brother, John of Gaunt, who soon returned with king Edward's authority to undertake the war. The prince, greatly rejoiced, proceeded to assemble his army, but, in the midst of his preparations, a messenger arrived, bearing a letter from Don Enrique, who expostulated with the prince on his hostility, but required him, if he would not desist, to indicate the route by which he intended to invade his dominions, in order that he might meet him and give him battle. The prince replied, and summoned the bastard, as the condition of peace, to restore to Pedro the throne of which he had deprived him. The poet then describes the passage of the Pyrenees, and the military arrangements of the troops, whose principal leaders are enumerated. The first town belonging to the king of Castile at which they arrived was that of St. Salvador (Salvatierra), which at first offered resistance, and Sir Richard de Burley was wounded; but on second thoughts the townsmen opened their gates to their rightful sovereign Pedro. The next town they came to, Vittoria (*villa Bæticensis*), followed the example of St. Salvador, and surrendered at once, and the invaders here learnt that the enemy was encamped in the mountains. One division of the prince's forces, passing the night without sufficient watch, was suddenly attacked at daybreak by the troops of Don Enrique, who rushed upon them from

Passage of the Pyrenees,

the mountains, and made considerable havoc; many were slain in their beds. Among the killed was a good English knight, Sir William de Felton, and among the rather numerous prisoners taken by the Spaniards was Sir Ralph de Hastings. The duke of Lancaster hastened to the assistance of the division which had been thus attacked, and the Spaniards, repulsed, withdrew into the mountains. It was now resolved by the enemy to harass the prince's army by desultory attacks, while by seizing the passes they would coop them up in the mountains, and conquer them by famine; and the English soon felt severely the effects of this policy. They, nevertheless, made their way over the mountains, the difficulties of which are particularly described by the poet, and at length reached the town of the Groyne (Logroño), on the banks of the Ebro. It was the 1st of April, when the Black Prince, who had established himself at Navarette, received another letter from the bastard, announcing that he was encamped on the banks of the river Najara ready to give him battle. This news spread joy through the English army, which immediately made a movement in advance to be nearer the enemy. The decisive battle was fought on the 3rd of April, and is described with interesting minuteness through the remaining pages of the poem of Walter of Peterborough, who complains at the end that his labours had met with no reward, and that his poem was in the case of the pearl that was placed before swine.

Battle of Najara.

John of Bridlington.

We now come to one of the most remarkable tracts in the present volume. When the period of Edward's great military successes had passed away, and the eyes of his subjects were less dazzled by the outward glory of his rule, they began to look more into the national grievances, and a party in opposition to the government was gradually forming, and was strengthened by

the increasing errors of the court. Many of the younger nobility joined this opposition, and they fortified their cause by assuming for it the popular name of the Black Prince, who lent himself more and more to this opposition to the court and to his unpopular brother the duke of Lancaster. Among the chiefs of this party we may probably reckon the young earl of Hereford, Humphrey de Bohun, the last of the Bohuns who held that earldom.[1] Somewhere about the year 1370, or perhaps a little after, a writer who appears to have been in his service drew up and dedicated to him a political review of the reign of king Edward, under the feigned character of a prophecy in Latin verse, which in itself is obscure enough, but it is rendered tolerably intelligible by a pretended prose gloss or commentary. Thus, whatever there might be of criticism or satire was sheltered under the name of a prophetical writer who had long gone beyond the reach of temporal punishment. This writer calls his prophet John of Bridlington, but he professes to conceal his own name, and it seems very doubtful if the later bibliographers had any good reason for stating that it was John Ergome. The reasons he assigns for concealing his name are sufficiently curious; he feared, first, the tongues of the envious, who might pursue him with their detractions; secondly, the power of the nobles, whose vengeance he might provoke by what would be taken as personal attacks; and third, the indignation of wise and discreet men, who, strong in

Humphrey de Bohun.

State of freedom of speech.

[1] Humphrey's two daughters were married, the eldest to the duke of Gloucester, son of Edward III., and the youngest to the earl of Derby, son of John of Gaunt, who was subsequently raised to the title of duke of Hereford, and became eventually duke of Lancaster and king Henry IV. This last Bohun, earl of Hereford, was only in his thirty-second year of age when he died in 1372.

their own superior intelligence, might be offended that he, a young man, should presume to meddle with a subject of so much profundity. To whatever degree the crown might overlook freedom of speech, it is evident that it was dangerous in face of an aristocracy which had the power of vengeance in its own hands, unless the offender was under very powerful protection. There are three distinct prefaces to this poem and its commentary, in the first of which the writer explains the causes and objects of the prophecy, and the advantages which must follow from knowing and understanding it. The second preface presents a sort of canon of interpretation, or rather it furnishes the key to the obscurities in the text of the prophecy. Thus the author, by making his text obscure, and by giving an apparently hypothetical explanation, avoided the danger which would have been incurred by a contemporary who openly published his political opinions. The third preface explains the material arrangement and division of the book. The prophet is represented as suffering under the accesses of a sort of delirious fever, under which the revelations of the future are made to him. These accesses are three in number, in accordance with which the poem is divided into three "distinctions." The first of these divisions includes the period from the accession of Edward II., for the political treatise begins with the reign of this monarch, as in some sort the base of the politics of that of his successor, to the battle of Crécy, fought in 1346; the *second distinction extends from this latter date to* A.D. 1361, the year of the second great pestilence; and the third from that period to a rather indefinite date, the end of the prophecy.

Three prefaces.

Contents of the three distinctions.

The three prefaces just mentioned belong professedly to the commentary. The first chapter of the metrical text is also a preface, in which the prophet describes

how he lay down on his bed under the influence of his fever, and became inspired with the spirit of foresight. The second chapter includes the reign of Edward of Caernarvon, on whose character the writer is by no means indulgent Edward, he says, was a man without knowledge and wisdom, who was defeated with disgrace in all his wars, and who was always infatuated with worthless favourites. Nevertheless, says the prophet, he was "noble by birth;" which, adds the commentator, was a contradiction to a vulgar error which seems to have prevailed largely in the fourteenth century. The want of noble feelings and the rather low propensities displayed by the second Edward, so widely different from his father's temper, made it easily credible that he was not of the pure blood of the Plantagenets, and a pretender was found in the twelfth year of his reign, A.D. 1318, who laid claim to the crown He said that he was the eldest son of king Edward I., and that in his earliest infancy he was entrusted to a nurse, who having negligently left him in a low cradle, a sow entered the chamber, seized upon the child, and tore it in such a manner that the nurse dared not show it to its royal parents. She, therefore, secretly changed it for the child of a carter of the same age, and the latter was brought up as the king's son; and the pretender sought to gain credence to his story by showing the marks of the wounds he had received from the sow. It was remarked that this story agreed very well with the low tastes of the king, and, although this pretender was seized and hanged at Northampton, there were many who believed it. We may suppose, from the manner in which this story is told by our commentator, that it still found believers in his time, who only dared not proclaim their belief because it would be casting a doubt on the rights of Edward III.

Sketch of reign of Edward II.

Story against Edward II. The carter's son.

to the 'English throne.' The principal events of the reign of Edward II. are narrated concisely, and the writer dwells on the manifold evils which are brought upon a kingdom by misgovernment, and on its unhappy end as illustrated in the case of this monarch. We are told, in the conclusion of the chapter, of the birth of Edward of Windsor, how he succeeded to the throne before his father was dead, what were his claims through his mother Isabella to the crown of France, and for what reasons he received the title or epithet of the bull (*taurus*), under which he is commonly spoken of in this poem.

Accession of Edward III.

It is in the third chapter that we really enter upon the grand subject of the pretended prophecy, the reign of Edward III., to the events of whose youth it is devoted. The prophet and his commentator ascribe a rather large array of virtues to the young king, such as fortitude of body and mind, sobriety, chastity, justness, humility, activity in doing good, and courage against his enemies. These, our writer tells us, were the king's virtues when young, but he confesses that they did not all continue with him during his life. Edward's reign would be glorious to the end, there would be abundance of the produce of the earth, yet he would be always in want of money. Lastly, he would be a strong defender of his people, would subdue his enemies, and overcome kings. He would be during

Character of Edward III.

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[1] There is a less complete, but supplementary allusion to this affair in Capgrave's Chronicle of England, recently published under the direction of the Master of the Rolls, p. 185:—"In the xii. 3ere cam a "3ong man to Oxenforth, and "there he precchid openly that he "was son to kyng Edward the "First, and very eyre of Ynglond. "Eke he noysed that this Edward "the Secund was not the kyngis "son, but a carter child, sotly "broute into the queen. The "meyhir of Oxenforth took this "man, and sent him to the kyng, "that lay thanne at Norhampton, "where he was hangged and drawe "and qwartered."

his whole life a lover of justice. These, we are told, were the king's more durable qualities. Edward is next spoken of as making various innovations in the coinage, among which was the introduction of a gold coin, the noble, while the circulation of silver coinage became very much diminished, in consequence of the application of that metal to other purposes. The fall of Mortimer is described in this chapter, and the oppression and violence which were practised among themselves in the different classes of society. Fraud prevailed among the merchants, as is illustrated in the importation of the base coinage of Luxemburg, the lushburns, as they were called; and simony reigned in the church.

Relations with Scotland.

The fourth chapter recounts the marriage of king David of Scotland with king Edward's sister, in the vain hope of establishing peace between the two countries; the successful invasion of Scotland by Baliol, and the misery of Scotland under two kings; Baliol's expulsion and flight; and king Edward's great victory over the Scots at Halidon-hill The chapter concludes with some allusions to the vices of king David of Scotland, who is spoken of by the title of the crab (*cancer*), "on account of certain conditions of the king in which "he resembled that animal." David is accused of treating his English wife with contempt, and of living luxuriously with a number of concubines, so that the licentiousness of his manners became a common subject for celebration among the minstrels and jongleurs, and was proclaimed by them everywhere. His subjects looked upon him with no respect, and his wise men esteemed him a fool.

Character of David Bruce.

Relations with France.

The fifth chapter treats of the relations between England and France. The writer declares the "pride" of the French to have been the cause of the wars which followed, and complains of their continued attempts to rob the king of England of his castles and territory on the continent. England was unwilling,

to engage in war, for there was an impression among all classes in this country that France was then one of the most powerful kingdoms in the world, and that England was hardly able to contend with it. The French themselves had a similar belief, and in their pride they thought that with their gold alone they were able to conquer England; "but," says the writer, "they were deceived, for the help of God with justice "is worth more than many treasures." The French jurists had decided that according to the law of France a female could neither inherit nor convey the right of inheriting to her male descendants, but our writer adduces passages from the Bible to show that this was contrary to the law of God.

Commencement of the war.

The first hostilities with France are the subject of the sixth chapter. King Edward went to the continent and placed himself at the head of a large army, composed partly of Germans, who served for money and could be trusted only as long as they were well paid, and Flemings, who only served the English king because their material interests bound them to England, whence they derived the wool for their clothing manufactures. The French, instead of resisting in the field, withdraw into their castles and strong places, and Edward undertook the siege of Tournai; but he was obliged to abandon it by the want of supplies, and he returned to England to seek them. He raised money by seizing upon the wool, and then, returning to the continent, gained the great naval victory of Sluys.

Progress of the war.

Another chapter (*cap. vii.*), concludes the first distinction, and brings the political review down to the battle of Crécy. The pope had interfered, and an unsubstantial peace, or rather an armistice, had been the result; then arose the war in Britany, and the king sailed over, and laid siege to Vannes; in his return the king encountered a dreadful storm, from which he escaped with difficulty. A new truce was concluded;

and Edward spent the interval in ostentatious revelry, holding a "round table" at Windsor in supposed imitation of the doings at the court of the legendary king Arthur. The Flemings drove away their duke, who was unfriendly to England; but, on the other hand, pope Clement, who was a Frenchman himself, showed an undue partiality for his countrymen, which, however, *did not prevent them from experiencing a disgraceful* defeat by the earl of Derby. At this period of his composition the poet or prophet was visited by an attack of his malady, which compelled him to bring to a close the first distinction

Conduct of pope Clement.

The second distinction of so called John of Bridlington embraces the period from the year of Crécy to A D. 1361. The writer begins this second division of his work with a chapter in which he again asserts the justice of king Edward's claims to the French succession, and insists on his victories as evidence of God's approval. In the month of July (1346), Edward again put to sea with his fleet, well furnished for the war, and landed in Normandy, where he overrun the country, and made a great destruction of his enemies, on whom God had sent this punishment on account of their notorious immorality. The French broke down the bridges before the invaders, but in vain; and at the Pont-de-l'Arche (*Pont-large*) the French lost a great number of men in their attempt to prevent the passage of the river. The writer goes on to tell of the taking of Caen by the English, and of the loss sustained by the king of France in passing a river (at Pontoise). He accuses the French of falseness, because, he says, they made promises in their necessities which they did not intend to keep; and of pride, alleging, as an instance of the latter, their refusal to yield to Edward's just claims to the throne of France.

Expedition to Normandy.

The second chapter of this second distinction recounts the victories of Crécy and Nevile's Cross. The war

Battle of Crécy.

was becoming more intense and more sanguinary, and the writer implores the protection of the Virgin Mary for his hero, king Edward. False Philippe, we are told, fled from Crécy, and left his slaughtered people to their fate. The king of Bohemia, the count of Flanders, and the master of the hospitalers, were all slain in the battle, with sixteen hundred and ten knights, whose vain display of gems and precious stones in their accoutrements did not save them from their fate. The army of the "just" Edward gained the mastery over the French, and the English now regaled themselves without interruption on the good wines of France.

Battle of Neville's Cross.

Meanwhile David of Scotland sought to destroy England during the absence of its soldiery, but, after he had been wounded by an arrow in the face, he was made a prisoner by John de Coupelonde. It was a just punishment for his numerous immoralities. The devil was the leader of the Scots in this invasion, which ended in their perdition; but Christ protected the English, who were few against many. There were bishops in the hostile ranks, who loved strife better *than preaching, and who placed themselves under the* protection of the shield rather than under that of the cross.

Siege of Calais.

The siege of Calais commences in the third chapter, and we are here told that at first the English army suffered greatly from the want of provisions and of other supplies. To this statement is added a piece of court scandal of the time, to which I am not aware that we have any other allusion. The writer intimates rather strongly and very coarsely, that king Edward had a concubine who repaired to him before Calais, and that her influence contributed in a great measure to check his warlike ardour. She is designated by the name of Diana, which in the commentary is supposed in the first instance to indicate the queen, but the sequel both of text and commentary show clearly that

Court scandal.

this was merely intended as a blind. While Edward, we are told, was constantly occupied with this lady, his army ran short of bread. There is further a rather obscure intimation, that a son was born of this commerce, who is designated by the term *latro*, a robber. This statement gives rise to some moral reflections on the consequences of living incontinently, and the writer further intimates that this was one of the causes why Edward was not allowed himself to gather the fruits of his victories, but he excuses himself from entering into further detail, lest he should draw upon himself the enmity of the lady in question:

Edward's concubine.

"Si modo plus dicam, faciam mihi tunc inimicam."

These words, which are those of the prophet, betray at once the subsequent writer, for the supposed John of Bridlington, living, as we are told, in the earlier part of the commentary, at the beginning of the reign of Edward II., could hardly be afraid, by uttering the words with which he pretended to be inspired, of provoking the hostility of a woman, who, whoever she may have been, was then probably not born, and was destined to be a royal concubine only in the middle of the following reign. On the other hand, these words seem to show that the lady alluded to was still alive, and possessed some degree of power at the time when this book was really composed. During this time, we are told, king Edward had received an affront from the count of Flanders,[1] who had concluded

The count of Flanders.

[1] The young count of Flanders—his father was killed at Crécy—was restored to the duchy by an agreement between the king of France and the Flemings, one condition of which, insisted upon by the count's subjects, was that he should marry one of the king of England's daughters, but he found his position so disagreeable, that he fled from Flanders to the court of France, and abandoned the treaty by which he had been restored, and with it the proposed marriage.

a matrimonial engagement with one of Edward's daughters, which he now refused contemptuously. to fulfil Edward's exhausted finances soon proved the fidelity, or rather the want of fidelity, of his paid foreign soldiers, for it was no sooner found that money was not ready for their pay, than Brabanters, and Flemings, and Germans began to desert his standard, and he found that he could depend only upon his own Englishmen.

The king before Calais.

The fourth chapter opens with an eulogium of Edward III., whose great qualities are enumerated, which had uniformly merited victory over his enemies During the winter, the king had obtained from England money and provisions, and this was no sooner known than soldiers crowded from all sides to his standard. Moreover, his brother, the duke of Lancaster, arrived with reinforcements from Gascony, to his great joy; and the nobles of England hastened to join him at the head of their vassals. Thus the king was enabled to carry on with vigour his great undertaking.

Capture of Charles of Blois.

Interference of pope Clement.

The fifth chapter is devoted to incidents which occurred during the siege of Calais. Charles of Blois, the claimant to the duchy of Britany against the family of Montfort, having been attacked suddenly while engaged in the siege of the castle of "Rochele" (La Roche-Derien) in the month of June, 1347, was made prisoner by the English, and had been safely lodged in the Tower of London, which was already the prison of king David of Scotland. Pope Clement, also, interfered to make a new attempt to procure a peace, or rather, according to our writer, he interfered to deceive the king of England, for he had always acted with partiality for the king of France. He did all he could, we are here assured, to induce Edward to abandon his rights, but Edward put no trust in the pope, but believed that the help of Christ was much to be preferred to that of Clement, and so it proved. "Hence," says the comment, "it is to be

" noted, that the pope may often err against justice, " and may excommunicate the true part, and give his " benediction to the false part, and grant his in- " dulgence to those who are fighting on the false " side; and then God will give his benediction to " the true part, and the acts of the pope will not " hurt it." The pope is greatly blamed for employing the holy rights and the goods of the church to help Philippe of Valois against the king of England, and he is threatened with God's judgment for thus misusing them. The next chapter shows how Philippe resolved to make an effort to save Calais, assembled a great army, and hastened to its relief. But, says our writer, it is in vain we contend against God's ordinance and will, as Saul only met with defeat and slaughter when he made war upon David, God's anointed. So Philippe's great army approached Calais, showed themselves, and then ran away. Philippe's flight is explained in two ways: in the first place, he had lost confidence in himself since his defeat at Crécy; and, secondly, heaven had abandoned him since his cause was an unjust one.

Philippe's attempt to save Calais fails.

The seventh chapter introduces us to the reign of king Jean of France. There was great rumour, we learn, at the beginning of this king's reign, that the French would renew the war with England, and preparations were made for it, but they came to no effect. Indeed, it is added, king Jean did not make war upon the king of England from the beginning of his reign till the year of the battle of Poitiers. A famine was in part the cause of this, and the people of France were not unwilling to enjoy even a temporary peace. The pomp and extravagance displayed by king Jean was not destined to last two years, either on account of the great pestilence, which came in the second year of his reign, or " because he was

Reign of king Jean of France.

" never afterwards so pompous as in these two first " years." During this period a battle is pretended to have occurred on the river ' Seyne,' with a loss of above a thousand men, but the writer, in his commentary, professes not to know what battle is alluded to. The writer proceeds to announce a series of mysterious dispensations of providence which occurred during the following years. The first of these was the great pestilence of the year 1349, which commenced in England in the month of July. After desolating this island, it began to cease here towards the end of August, and passed over into France, and raged there with still greater intensity. This pestilence compelled the king of England to refrain from hostilities; and the new pope, who was also a Frenchman, interfered in the hope of turning the armistice between the two kings into a permanent peace, but in vain.

The great pestilence.

Edward's back-slidings.

The eighth chapter explains to us why Edward was not allowed to obtain the object of this war, his royal inheritance in France. His inclination for strange women had gained upon him, and a certain maiden is here said to have obtained so complete an influence over him as to make him neglect and almost separate himself from his own queen. God, however, would not entirely destroy him for these sins, but in his mercy would only send upon him great temporary evils, from the effects of which he would raise him up again. The king had further provoked God's anger by the slaughter of so many innocent people in France, and by his rapine and oppressions in England. By his unjust exactions he had broken the laws of his kingdom which he was bound to observe, and God punishes kings who do not properly observe their country's laws. He had, moreover, weakened the power of the country and his own by the destruction of his people, whose means were exhausted by these arbitrary exac-

tions. His conduct is compared with that of David, who sinned against God in somewhat the same degree, and was punished for his sins, but not destroyed. Such also was to be the punishment of king Edward.

Sins of the French.

The sins of the French, as we are informed in the ninth chapter, were still more crying, and brought upon them far greater misfortunes. Among these pride stood foremost, under the influence of which they had refused king Edward his rightful inheritance. They had received their first punishment for this in their great disaster at Crécy; and the sin prevailed to such a degree, that the very princes of the royal family rose up in rebellion against their father. Nor was this their only fault; for, besides their pride, they were guilty of all the rest of the seven deadly sins, avarice, luxury, envy, gluttony, anger, and sloth. The same judgment would come upon them as fell upon Babylon, when God gave it up to Cyrus, king of the Persians. Their fields and vineyards were wasted, and their towns, formerly so joyful, were impoverished and ruined by the war. A further cause why these misfortunes were sent to them was their want of devotion, and the little reverence they paid to holy things, and to the saints who might have interceded for them. Their misery had been completed by the terrible visitation (the pestilence) which had carried away a seventh part of the land (*septima pars terræ*).

Battle of Poitiers.

The tenth and last chapter of this distinction relates somewhat briefly the events of seven years, namely from 1354 to 1361. The principal of these events was the battle of Poitiers, gained in 1356 by the Black Prince. After just ten years of peace between the kings of France and England, during which each party had spared nothing to irritate the other, for our writer tells us the French spoke reproachfully of the English, and, among other things, pretended that they were born with tails, according to a story which was

then prevalent,[1] and the English applying to the French epithets equally opprobrious, the war recommenced, and the English proved their superiority over their opponents in the battle in which king Jean and one of his sons were made prisoners. Before this, in 1354, according to our writer, the Scots surprised Berwick, stealing into it by night, and expelled the English inhabitants, after plundering them, and killing many. This attack was made out of spite to Edward de Baliol, and to revenge the sanguinary defeat which the English had formerly inflicted upon them at Halidon-hill. During the whole life of Edward Baliol, we are told, the Scots were in subjection to the English, on account of Baliol's "justice" and of the assistance he received from the English barons; but, on the death of Lord Henry de Percy (in 1351), Baliol lost one of his chief supports. The king of England, returning from France, marched with an army to the northern borders; but Berwick was recovered by the English before his arrival. He, however, having purchased Baliol's right to the Scottish crown, invaded Scotland, and ravaged the country in a dreadful manner, until his sister, the wife of king David, interceded, and obtained a peace. About this time accusations were brought against the lord Henry de Percy of not being faithful in his allegiance, but our writer throws discredit on these charges, and appeals to his conduct in the battle of Nevile's Cross. Afterwards (*i. e.* in 1356), Charles of Blois was ransomed and set at liberty. The last event described in this chapter is the invasion of France by Edward III. in 1359 and 1360; but in the midst

Capture of Berwick by the Scots.

Invasion of Scotland.

Edward's last invasion of France.

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[1] On this subject of the pretended tails of the English, the reader will find a very curious satire, in Latin prose, written about this time, and printed in the Reliquiæ Antiquæ, vol. ii. p. 230.

of describing the ravages committed by the invaders, the "prophet" was attacked so violently by his malady, that he was obliged to bring his second distinction to a close.

The second pestilence.

The third distinction commences with the second great pestilence, in 1361, in which the duke of Lancaster and many other people of high rank in England perished, and of which several particulars are given. The king and queen escaped, but it is intimated that other griefs were reserved for them. The king, this time, returned from France, bringing money with him, instead of coming, as formerly, to ask for money to continue his wars. The peace of Bretigni is passed over in silence, and, as the author approaches the time at which he was writing, he becomes more obscure in his allusions, many of which are not easily explained. This is the case with the second chapter of the third distinction, in which the writer touches upon some of the less known scandal and intrigues of the court of Edward III. He begins by intimating that many persons who had been frightened into devotion by the late pestilence assumed the cross and went to the Holy Land to fight against the enemies of the faith, and that there their leader was slain.[1] Who was the leader of the English slain on this occasion is not distinctly stated, but his name is concealed under the Latin word *rusticus*, and the writer insinuates that it may have been one which by its derivation suggested the idea of peasants or churls, "like Charls, or "Charltoun, or something of this kind." It is next intimated that some woman again influenced the king; that she, by her dalliance, rendered him inactive and effeminate, and prevented him from crossing the

A new crusade.

More court scandal.

[1] This was probably the expedition led by Pierre de Lusignan, king of Cyprus. See Michaud, Hist. des Croisades, tom. viii. pp. 149–151.

sea and pursuing his victories. And the writer indulges in a display of ill-humour against women in general. Another cause of the failure of the war against France was, we are assured, the want of God's grace, which had been withdrawn from king Edward on account of his wrong-doings, especially in unjustly taxing his people. Instead of standing firmly upon his rights, and prosecuting his claims with vigour, Edward even allowed his prisoners to regain their liberty by the payment of ransoms.[1] This, we are told, occurred in 1362. Our writer speaks next of some great personage who enjoyed the king's familiarity and confidence, but who secretly deceived and betrayed him, and whom he conceals under the appellation of Traulus, a stutterer. This person, he says, was a pompous and ostentatious man, who came to an ill end. Other false and deceitful men who were near the king's person are designated in the metres ascribed to the prophet by the epithets *seduus*, *blæsus*, *hircus*, *genitalia læsus*, *panniculos cæsus*, *glaucus*, *fulvus*, and *obesus*, words which the comment intimates described some peculiarities in the persons or characters of the individuals designated by them. "While these," the writer says, "carry honey in their mouths, but seek "to sting the bull (Edward III.) from behind, their "treachery broke the pledge of love, but their fraud was "discovered by the artfulness of their own partizans." The first of these epithets, *seduus*, meant, says the comment, a man who lisped; the second, *blæsus*, one whose words were pleasant and fair in appearance, but false. *Hircus* was a man who had the character and appearance of a goat; *genitalia læsus* described an accidental defect in the person to whom it was applied; *panni-*

Treacherous counsellors.

Description of these.

[1] This alludes, apparently, to the liberation of the hostages given for the fulfilment of the treaty of Bretigni.

oulos cæsus, one who wore to excess the jagged and slit garments which were then coming into fashion; *glaucus* and *fulvus* designated the individuals by their complexions, which are described more minutely a few lines below; *obesus* was, of course, a fat man. After thus explaining the names, and informing us that people would all know the persons they designated by the descriptions, the writer, as though he thought he had said too much, tries to mystify his subject further by remarking that each word may singly denote an individual, so that there would be eight in all, or that two or three names might signify one man, in which latter case, if carried to the furthest limit it would allow, there would be at least two individuals. "These things being premised," he goes on to say, "the aforesaid persons will be more easily " recognized;" and he proceeds to explain the metrical text, as quoted above, by saying that the honey they carried in their mouths was pleasant and honeyed words, by which they deluded the king, while they plotted against him behind his back. Thus, they broke the league of love, that is, as he says, "between the " king and the other lords, whom the king would have " loved well but for their words, or perhaps between " different lands and kingdoms, against which they " urged the king either to war or hatred." It is thus that the writer gives several explanations of his own words when he comes near the time at which he wrote, in order to cover the direct attack contained in the first explanation. He goes on to say that their fraud would be discovered (*fraus illorum nudabitur*) by the artfulness of their own partizans (*arte suorum*), that is, by some open act of treachery, or by some man or men of theirs who, knowing their treasons, should reveal them to the king. The writer, leaving these individuals, proceeds to criticise the costume of the day, complains bitterly of the evil of these jagged

Extravagance in dress

garments, and declares that there was a change of dress eleven times a year, which impoverished the nobility and gentry to such a degree that they were unable to furnish their tables, and were obliged to abandon their old hospitality. This sin of extravagance in dress was punished by a famine, and by the absolute want of those things in which extravagance in dress had obliged people to be sparing.

Domestic grievances

The subject of these domestic grievances is continued in the third chapter of this third distinction. The king had abandoned his expeditions against France, and remained at home in peace. His domestic policy is represented as worse even than his foreign policy. He sent out six censors or judges, who, instead of

Simony in the church.

relieving, oppressed the people. An archbishop of Canterbury was raised to his see by simony and the exercise of influence at the court of Rome; but he was deprived of his dignity by Satan, "or some other "evil spirit," who would not allow him to hold it long. This can only refer to Simon de Langham, who succeeded Simon de Islip in the see of Canterbury in 1366, and perhaps there is an implied pun upon his name. Langham retained the see of Canterbury only two years, but the Satan who deprived him of it was the pope, who made him a cardinal and bishop

Submissive conduct of David Bruce.

of Praeneste, in Italy. David king of Scotland about this time made peace with his brother-in-law the king of England; he was becoming aged and weak-minded, and he submitted readily to king Edward, but the writer represents this peace as an injudicious one, and the foundation of great evils which were to fall upon both countries. An unusual phenomenon in the Cheviot hills is next alluded to, and a disturbance in Scotland, which threatened to break the alliance between the two kings. The king of England sent out new judges instead of the six first appointed, and these were worse than the former, for, as the first

judges tyrannized over the commonalty and ruined them by their extortions, the new judges attacked in the same manner the superior classes of society

Edward's tribulations.

The fourth chapter records the tribulations of the English monarch at this period. The kingdom of France was held back from him on account of his sins and of the sins of his people. He was, or was to to be, exposed to great dangers on the sea; he was to pass the sea against his enemies, and be obliged to return by his necessities; he was to cross again, and gain a victory, which was to be followed by a treaty; and a third expedition was to end in a victory accompanied by great slaughter, which was to be followed by another treaty. In this expedition the flower of the English troops would perish. "This seems to have "been fulfilled," says the comment, "when the king "was last in France, when many of the English war- "riors died, namely, about the year of Christ 1362;[1] "or perhaps this is to come." Thus the writer goes on concealing his attacks on the past and present by supposing they may refer to the future. This expedition was to be accompanied or followed immediately by a famine, which was to bear heavily upon the poor. More than this, all the four elements would conspire against the king to humiliate him. The earth was to be shaken by an earthquake; on the sea he was to be endangered by furious tempests; the air was to be infected with pestilence; and fire was to be hostile to him in a manner to which the allusion is more obscure.[2] But the chapter concludes with the consoling

[1] The date is wrong, for Edward's last expedition to France took place in 1359 and 1360, and ended in the treaty of Bretigni The sufferings of the English during this campaign are well known

[2] These tribulations seem to have been scattered over several years The third pestilence, and a famine, occurred in 1369, the fire may possibly allude to the burning of the English fleet by the Spaniards at

reflection that, as sorrow often follows joy, so joy might be expected in its turn to come after sorrow.

The king's predicted repentance

Our writer, who seems to have been one of the popular party who were rallying round the prince of Wales, now begins to speculate on the future. In the fifth chapter of this third distinction he proceeds to show how king Edward would repent of his past misdeeds and reform his life. The king having thus, he says, been purified by the elements, or, in other words, having become convinced that these various visitations on earth and water, and by air and fire, were brought upon him by his own conduct, will return to his warlike life, which he had left against the intentions of Providence, will submit himself to be guided by the laws of his country, and will abandon the errors of his youth. He will punish the wicked judges who had indisposed him towards his nobles and people, turn the unjust public officers out of their places, which will be given to good men; and he will thus increase his revenue, which had been squandered away by his ministers. He will make good ordinances for the utility and profit of his kingdom, and will promote peace between the commons and the aristocracy. Taxes will then cease, and the people will sing and be joyful during the rest of his reign. He will be a benefactor to churches and monasteries, yet will not seek to extort money from his subjects. It is intimated, however, that on some occasion the king would be tempted to renew his extortions, and that, though money would be allowed no longer to pervert justice by bribing the judges, right would be defeated by perjury in the courts

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La Rochelle; and the tempest may be that which the same year drove the king back when he would have come with his fleet to the rescue of La Rochelle. Perhaps, however, the pestilence, famine, and earthquake in 1349 are more especially alluded to.

of law. Subsequently to this, the king will renew his claim to the inheritance of France, but his backslidings will again stand in his way, and it will not be given to him to establish his rights

Battle with the Scots.

The sixth and seventh chapters relate to a great battle which was to take place between Scotland and England, and which was to occur, according to the calculations made in the comment, in the month of May, 1373, in a plain by a river side, and near a fountain, to which woods and forests were adjacent. The French and other foreign nations were to come to the assistance of the Scots; and among them there would be a great king with his army, who is conjectured to be the king of Denmark. The French were to be infinitely numerous, and all the allies would be bent on the destruction of England. The king of England would be obliged to trust entirely to the bravery of his own subjects, as he would be without foreign allies; and he would now regret the loss of so many good men as had been ruined and destroyed by his wicked officers and unjust laws. Nevertheless, the lords and knights of England would hasten to his standard, and it is intimated that among these would be the writer's patron, Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Hereford, who bore six lions *or* on his shield. Among the last to arrive at the general rendezvous would be the king's sons, perhaps because it was supposed that they would have to come from a greater distance. All these good English warriors would come to serve the king voluntarily, and without wages. The king of Scotland, who, by his habit of retrograding, had merited the name of the crab, would turn tail at the first shock, and the king of England, marching straight against his enemies, would overcome the French and all the other allies. An important part of the battle would take place about the well already alluded to. Various imaginary details of this predicted battle are given to

Patriotism of the English.

They are to be victorious.

throw more appearance of credit on the prophecy. It is further intimated that some of the young English nobles, and even the king's own son, would in the sequel of the battle fall into an ambush by their own rashness, and suffer severely.

The eighth chapter enters upon a new subject King Edward had celebrated his jubilee, or the fiftieth year of his age, in 1362, by a general pardon and amnesty, and by the confirmation of Magna Charta, but his people were now looking forward, it appears, to a greater jubilee. "It is to be noted," says the comment, "that the jubilee of the bull (Edward III.) "will be the fiftieth year of his reign, and not of his "age, as the monks reckon it in the fiftieth year of "their monastic profession and not of their age." This jubilee, he proceeds to reckon, would happen in the year 1377. Peace would prevail during the interval between the battle described in the two previous chapters and the jubilee, and the king would again repent of some backslidings against the church, as it seems to be intimated, and would become so virtuous that his people would look upon him as a god upon earth. *Sed pater in terra*, the text goes on to say, *vix absolvet sine guerra*. This line, we are told in the comment, will admit of three interpretations. In the first place it may mean that the father on earth, *i.e.* the pope, will hardly absolve without war the king of England, who then would be penitent for certain offences regarding the church. Secondly, it might mean that the pope will hardly absolve or preserve the kingdom of England without war against the French. A third interpretation is, that the father on earth, meaning king Edward, will hardly absolve or preserve the land without war, which will, perhaps, at that time be raised among the English barons. At the time of this jubilee there would be a legate of the pope in England, who would celebrate the

The king's jubilee.

New offences.

A legate from the pope.

jubilee, under compulsion of the king, at Canterbury, of which see he would be made archbishop. Then even the thief would be joyful, for every one would be liberated from prison, and captives would be ransomed. "Whence it is to be noted," says the comment, "that "it is probable that, if he shows such favour to these "malefactors, he will do more for the commonalty of "the kingdom and for good men." After the jubilee the king was to give himself up to piety and good works until his death.

Expected accession of the Black Prince

The ninth chapter treats of the "cock" (*gallus*), that is, of Edward the Black Prince, in whom now the hopes of the nation were centred. According to the speculations of our writer, prince Edward was to succeed his father on the throne, and to reign a model of greatness and of justice, and at the same time of gentleness towards good men, while he would be the terror of his enemies. In his time there would be great abundance of the necessaries of life, and his subjects would flourish in martial vigour. He would assemble an army in the north in order to invade France and recover the rights transmitted to him by his father; while the Flemings, afraid openly to oppose the English, would secretly meditate treason against them and their monarch. That time, however, the English would not succeed, on account of their vanity, displayed in the diversity and jagging of their garments, and of their presumption.

A great pestilence.

In the tenth chapter we are told of a great pestilence which was to fall upon the land in the reign of the "cock," as a new punishment for the sins of the people. This pestilence would last two years and a half, and would carry away one half of the population. This would thwart the designs of the king, and would humble the pride of the English warriors. The "cock" would outlive the pestilence, and after it was over the Scottish king would again

make war upon him, but, as on former occasions, he would turn coward at the moment of decisive action. The "cock" would also be exposed to the treachery of the French; and here the writer repeats a popular story relating to the origin of the law of succession in France, which is nearly identical with the one mentioned in a former poem. "It was the law in France," he says, "that women should inherit until the time of Philippe "'le Bewes' (le Bel), whom one of the heiresses of "France took from the shambles to make him her "husband, on account of his beauty, whence all the "kings of France since that time are the descendants of "butchers. It was thereupon ordained that in future "women should not inherit, on account of the contempt "brought upon royalty by making a butcher a king."

Story of Philippe le Bewes.

The eleventh chapter tells us of a second pestilence which was to happen in the time of the "cock," and its causes and consequences. After this second and most severe pestilence, in which the king of Scotland would die, Edward was destined at last to obtain the recognition of his rights and to succeed to the crown of France. This event occupies the twelfth chapter of the third distinction and the last chapter of the book. It is predicted to take place in the year 1105, when the "cock" would have reached an age at which he certainly could not expect to live long to enjoy his triumph. The book ends with an appeal to the author's patron, earl Humphrey de Bohun, that he would not let it pass through the hands of many people, and that, above all things, even with those to whom he might show it in the greatest confidence, he would carefully conceal the name of the writer.

Recovery of the crown of France.

In spite of this appeal, however, this "prophecy" soon found its way abroad, and became popular, especially, as it would appear, among the clergy. The three manuscripts I have used appear to be contemporary, or nearly contemporary, with the date at

Account of the MSS

which it was composed; one, the Digby MS., belonged to a dean of St. Paul's, in London; the other, the MS. in the King's Library, belonged to the chapter of Canterbury; and I am inclined to think that the Cottonian MS., from which the text is here taken, was the original copy made by its author for the earl of Hereford. It is the best written manuscript of them all. It contains errors of the scribe, which have either been copied into the others, or, in the latter, the attempt to correct them has caused still greater corruption of the text. In one instance, at the beginning of the eighth chapter of the third distinction, the second line of the text has been accidentally omitted, as appears by the comment, in which nearly all the words which composed it are preserved, but none of the other manuscripts that I have consulted supply it. The metrical text of the supposed prophecy became afterwards popular, without the comment, which nobody seems to have cared for after the reign of Edward III., and then it was interpreted according to the caprice of the individual who quoted it. John Capgrave, in his Chronicle, has taken two lines, and entirely abandoned the old interpretation, in order to apply them to the execution of archbishop Scrope in 1404.[1]

The author's prophecies not fulfilled.

The author of this singular political tract describes accurately the known events of English history down to the period at which he wrote, but the case is very different when he attempts to penetrate the future. People were becoming weary of the oppressive government of the latter part of Edward's reign, and they looked forwards eagerly to the reign of a successor who had already made himself extremely popular, and who was known to be opposed to the

[1] Capgrave's Chronicle of England, p. 290.

domestic policy of the government; and whoever wrote this book was no doubt catering to the popular taste, and doing service to his party. But the sequel of events soon proved that he was no prophet. Edward did live to see the jubilee of his reign, on which occasion he granted a general pardon for minor offences, but it presented none of the joy which the would-be prophet looked forward to. Edward's reign, under the influence of his evil advisers, had become more and more dishonourable, and he was at this time sinking in health, and died four months afterwards. The Black Prince, the favourite of the people, had died in the preceding year, and the crown descended upon the head of a mere child, whose subsequent reign presented a sorrowful contrast to that which was expected from his father. People in general seem to have anticipated the worst, and in the deep grief with which the death of king Edward was received, they forgot the errors of his reign to remember only his greatness and his virtues. They saw themselves on the eve of a war with France, and all their great warriors were departed.

Death of king Edward.

On the Death of Edward III.

These sentiments are strongly imprinted in the melancholy tone of an English song in this collection, which has for its burthen the transitory character of human greatness and the want of durability in popular gratitude. Once England had been a good ship, of noble make, and with lofty tower—one of the chief appendages of a ship of war at that time. It weathered storm and tempest without fear and without damage. The ship was furnished with a rudder to steer and govern it, such as could not elsewhere be found in the world; and while rudder and ship held together, they were proof against all dangers. A sure mast belonged to the ship, with a strong and large sail, and it had a barge, which set at nought the whole power of France, and was the shield and

England the good ship.

protection of England. The song goes on to tell us that the rudder of this ship was not a rudder made of oak or elm, but it was the noble prince Edward the Third; and it was his son, the prince of Wales, who was never discomfited in fight, who bore up the helm. The barge was duke Henry of Lancaster, who never failed to chastise his enemies when they provoked him. All these were now laid low, and, no longer seen, they would soon be forgotten. The mast of the ship represented the good commons, who maintained the war with their wealth; and the wind which filled the sail was "good prayers." Now, the songster laments, devoutness is cast away, and good deeds are clean forgotten An imp, or offset, of the same root remained, and there was hope that when the child grew up to manhood he would not degenerate from his blood. There remained, however, nobody on earth to compare with the warriors and rulers whom England had lost.

Latin poem on the Death of Edward III.

A short Latin poem which follows enters more particularly into the bright phases of Edward's reign. After expressing a hope that the young king Richard might some day be equal to and thus worthy of his father, he gives a sorrowing retrospect on Edward's reign and his personal character. He was, he says, remarkable for the regularity and frequency with which he performed his religious duties, and extremely liberal in his gifts to the church. Among the numerous relics which he distributed to the English religious houses, the black monks, or Benedictines, received from him the head of their founder, the abbot Benedict, and the white monks or Cistercians that of St. Anne, the grandmother of Christ. The latter was at the East-Minster, or St Paul's, and the former at Westminster. Edward was happy in the number and in the great qualities of his children; he was merciful as well as just in his courts; and he was uniformly

Relics brought to England.

King Edward's character.

successful in his wars. Crécy, Calais, and these great victories over the Scots, were proofs of the latter, as well as his victory over the Spaniards at sea, and the numerous illustrious prisoners whom he brought to England. His love towards his subjects was proved by his edict against the arbitrary violence of his purveyors, who were required in future to take nothing but what they paid for. In order to ensure an impartial administration of justice, he appointed to be "prefects" of provinces (*prefectos patriarum*) men who did not belong to the same county, so that, for instance, a West-Saxon judge would be appointed to Mercia, who could thus be biassed by no personal feelings. He laboured strenuously to destroy the numerous banditti who infested the country, and succeeded in greatly diminishing their number; and he was a terror to all transgressors of the laws. Yet, after all, so great and so noble a being, who was looked upon almost as a god, now lies low, and a small stone is sufficient to cover him.

Troubles of the reign of Richard II.

We are now approaching times of popular turbulence. During Edward's reign the desire for civil and religious liberty was becoming daily stronger, and a reform movement was advancing steadily though silently, and had numerous preachers busily employed among the middle and lower classes. The dazzling glories of the French wars, and the great feeling of personal attachment to Edward III. which prevailed among the commons of England, prevented for a long time any strong or open demonstration of the popular sentiments, but during the latter years of his reign the discontent had been gathering which soon broke out in scenes of turbulence under the misgovernment of his grandson. Unfortunately, the popular songs connected with these events—and there undoubtedly were numerous popular songs current at the time—were the least likely to be preserved, as the class most interested in them were

not in possession of books in which they could write them. The only two poems I have found having for their subject the great rebellion of the commons in 1381 belong to the clerical or at least to the more learned class of society, for in one the whole and in the other the alternate lines are written in Latin. Hence, though they were evidently composed by persons who entertained different political opinions, they are both hostile to what we should now call "the mob"

On the Rebellion of Jack Straw.

The first of these poems is a song written evidently by an opponent of the government. He complains that everybody had been ruined by "tax," and appeals, as a proof of his statement, to the deaths of so many men of strength; yet most of the wealth which was extorted from the people went into the hands of the greedy collectors and courtiers, and a very small part ever reached the king's treasury. This misrule had hard "hansell," and in the sequel was productive only of grief; for the misdeeds of the wicked are destructive of all reverence. The

The insurrection.

trouble, we are told, began in Kent by an insurrection against the rich, where the ribalds assembled in arms, and acted with the presumption of fools, which is not to be wondered at, since they had churls for their chieftains. In this wicked manner they went from Kent to London, depopulating the farms on their way, proud in their first success, and little thinking of their future defeats and misfortunes. They refused to listen to any terms until they were freed from their servile bondage, and obtained, in effect, charters of their freedom; but the advantage they supposed they had thus gained only led them into still greater bondage, which they had merited by the outrages they perpetrated. "Loud the lads laughed, and "shouted with sonorous voice, when they slew the "bishop, and many other persons of distinction; "they threw down some of the best manors in the

Outrages committed by the rebels.

" kingdom, and did harm enough so long as their " reins were slackened." Jack Straw was their great incendiary, and declared that all England should bow to the victorious populace. They slew Sir Robert Hales, the treasurer, burnt the palace of the Savoy, and put to death all who fell into their hands against whom they had any spite. The young king displayed his courage on this occasion, and, while others sought to escape and hide themselves, he rode into Smithfield, and there, with God's assistance, cast down Jack Straw. The writer has either made a mistake in the person who was killed in Smithfield, or he means that in Smithfield the king put down the insurrection, of which he looks upon Jack Straw as the chief promoter and leader.

On the Slaughter of Archbishop Sudbury.

The grand theme of the second of these pieces is the slaughter of archbishop Sudbury. The writer laments the confusion into which the kingdom had been thrown, in which the nobles had entirely lost their spirit and courage, while the mob ruled and ordered everything at its will. The world, in fact, was turned upside down, for the nobles had sunk into servility, and the serfs had become lords; the judge was condemned, and the criminal occupied his seat. England, having fallen under the pope's anathema for her outrage upon the church, had lost all her good name. The young and feeble king was not yet feared by the populace, and hence the lower orders rose, went about furiously, slaughtering people, throwing down houses, plundering, and burning. They dragged the archbishop out of the Tower, cut off his head,

Conduct of Sir John Walworth.

and stuck it up on London bridge; but it was taken down by Sir John Walworth (the lord *mayor*) and reverently wrapped up in a pall. Next day the populace behaved so threateningly towards the king that they extorted from him letters of pardon; nevertheless their leader would have run the king through

with his sword, had not Walworth struck off his head, which was raised upon London bridge in place of that of the archbishop. The fate of the latter is lamented in great bitterness, and the writer exults over the various degrees of providential vengeance which fell upon his murderers. He then gives way to an invective, first against the English populace in general, whose violence he describes, and next against the people of Kent in particular. The poem ends with a list of the rather grotesque names or nicknames of the chief leaders of the rebellion, who had all met with their due punishment These were Jack Sheep, "Tronche," John Wrau, Tom the Miller, the Tiler, Jack Straw, the earl of the Plough, Rake-too-dear (?), Hob the Carter, and Rake-straw. The order in which the names are given seems to have been regulated merely by the desire to get them into two hexameter lines.

Wycliffe and the Lollards.

Among the legacies which the reign of Edward III. had left to that of Richard II. were the religious doctrines of the great reformer John Wycliffe. The Wycliffites, or the Lollards, as they were called, had been increasing rapidly during the latter years of Edward's reign, although they enjoyed the protection of the unpopular duke of Lancaster. This protection however, gave them a great amount of freedom, which they continued to enjoy under the new reign, though they soon began to be exposed to persecution. The intellectual agitation caused by the promulgation of these new doctrines, and the impatience of those who suffered under the pressure of ecclesiastical intolerance, drove many people much farther than Wycliffe and his party ever contemplated; and there can be no doubt that the religious feeling was deeply mixed up with the political feeling in these popular troubles. In all periods of great discontent with the existing forms and condition of society there rises an extreme party which has for its

Medieval socialism.

standard the principle which in modern times has received the name of socialism, implying an absolute equality of individuals and a common right in property; and doctrines approaching closely to this, if not identical with it, were preached to the populace in the reign of Richard II. by men of ardent tempers, who had been originally friars or monks, who had embraced the reforming principles of Wycliffe, and who had subsequently thrown themselves into this medieval socialism.

John Balle.

Among these was John Balle, who had become so popular as a preacher of these extreme doctrines that he had been selected as a special object of persecution by archbishop Sudbury and the bishop of London, and lay in prison at the time of the insurrection. The rebels released him, made him their chief preacher, and talked of appointing him primate of England. After the suppression of the insurrection, Balle was arrested at Coventry, and carried to St. Albans, where the king was holding his court; and there, under the influence of terror, he made, or was accounted to have made, a confession, by which the Wycliffites in general were implicated in the insurrection. The opponents of Wycliffe, the old ecclesiastical party, grasped eagerly the weapon thus accidentally placed in their hands, and they attacked the Wycliffites not only as heretics but as subverters of public order.

Against the Lollards.

A curious manifesto against the Lollards, in Latin rhyming metres, which is here printed, was evidently written immediately after the insurrection and the arrest and confession of John Balle. It seems to have been intended to serve as so many memorial verses of the principal charges exhibited against the followers of Wycliffe. It begins with an appeal to Christ, that he would cause the brambles and other noxious weeds to be extirpated from his garden, the church, which had hitherto been remarkable for the beauty and fruitfulness of its trees and plants. The old enemy

of mankind had, however, sown the tares in this garden, which were destroying all its beauty and usefulness. These tares were the Lollards,—thorns, brambles, and weeds (*lolia*), which laid waste the Lord's vineyard. There never was a greater pestilence in the church, nor a more fruitful source of error They had tongues of vipers, full of deceit; and under the outward appearance of sanctity they allured the unwise and simple into their nets. "This plague now "reigns without remedy in England, and in no other "land. . . . O now pestiferous land, thou wert "formerly rife with all wholesome science; free from "the stain of heresy, a stranger to all error, and uncon-"scious of all fallacy; but now thou art at the head "of all schism, discord, error, and madness; thou art "the lowd follower of every nefarious sect and of all "strange doctrine." The Lollards are accused of displaying all sorts of outward mortifications, while they privately indulged in luxuries. While they pretended to be superior to all others, they were false teachers and false interpreters. They were the authors of hatred and division among the clergy, and of sedition among the populace, and they were the real disturbers of the peace of the kingdom. To them is ascribed the rebellion of the serfs and the slaughter and outrages which followed. "John Balle taught us this "when he was put to death for his wickedness; that "sect was a nest which contained depraved chickens, "and nourished them for the ignominy of the king-"dom; meaning thereby the sect of Wycliffe, which "was the primary cause of the strife which had "terrified the whole kingdom." The sectaries had thus brought the kingdom to the very brink of ruin. The writer then goes on to enumerate their particular errors. They not only forbade tithes and other dues to the clergy, but services and homages to the lords; that is, they preached against the spiritual and civil

England accused of religious backsliding.

The Lollards charged with hypocrisy.

oppression under which the commonalty then groaned. The ordinary arguments in favour of the claims of the church to such offerings or dues are put forth in a popular form, coupling always rebellion against the state with resistance to the church. The Lollards pretended that a man who was notoriously immersed in sin, though he might be an ecclesiastic, was not capable of administering the sacraments of the church or of duly performing any of the religious offices; to which the writer of this poem objects the ordinary argument that the power of administering was given by Christ not to the man but to the office, and that it was in no degree affected by the private character of the individual. Besides, he urges, if we once adopt this principle, who is to be the judge of any particular priest, if he be privately a sinful man or not? The power of confession and absolution, he says, as given to the priesthood, is one of the most intimate and necessary principles of Christ's church; yet the Lollards denied it altogether, and held that God alone was able to cleanse people of their sins. This, he says, *was a grave injury to the authority and discipline of* the church, as it deprived the clergy of the power of judging of people's spiritual maladies, and applying the proper remedy, as well as of holding under proper restraint those who were running astray. The Lollards again, he says, held the absurd opinion that one pope was not enough, but that it was expedient to have several; as if there were not naturally in every institution and body one head to rule and guide its various parts. Moreover, they pretended that if any one of the faithful were manifestly better than the rest, he ought to be pope; the reply to which is that God alone is the judge who is qualified to be pope and who not. The Lollards, he says, complained of the riches of the church; but it was not right or expedient that the church should be deprived of the

Lollard doctrines concerning the priesthood.

On the pope.

On the riches of the church.

property which enabled it to sustain its outward respectability and command popular respect, or that its priesthood should be allowed to die of hunger. He accuses the Lollards of inconsistency, because they carped equally at the temporal power of the clergy, at the wealth of the monks, and at the poverty of the friars; and he argues that all these different qualities, however various, were approved by Christ either by word or example. He declaims bitterly against the rancour with which the followers of Wycliffe pursued the four orders of friars, and the slander which he accuses them of inventing and vomiting against them. Lastly, he inveighs against the opinions of the Wycliffites in regard to the doctrine of transubstantiation which was then held by the Catholic church. After confuting these opinions in his way, he concludes by calling down the wrath of heaven on these would-be reformers.

On the friars.

Amid all these contending principles in politics and religion, and in presence not only of turbulence among the people and oppression and misgovernment by the court, but of threatening convulsions of nature, the popular writings bear upon them the impress of alarm and sadness of spirit. An earthquake of a violent character, unusual in this island, had just occurred, and filled people with terror; and an English poet of the time made it the occasion for a short poem or ballad, in which he pointed out the many warnings God had sent to make people of all classes amend their lives. The first of these warnings was the insurrection of the commons, when, he says, there was no lord so great, but he quailed with fear, and laid aside all joyfulness until the danger was past. If the lords had been favoured with God's grace, they might easily have put down the rising at its first start; but it was God's will to show them for a moment their own insignificance, and he left them to be terrified and tyrannized over by the class of society which they

On the Earthquake of 1382.

Effects of the earthquake.

had most despised. Next came the earthquake, at which people were equally terrified, though it was no sooner over than they all returned to their old vices. *So utterly aghast were they, that they fled out* of their houses, without caring for gold or silver; for "chambers and chimnies all burst to pieces; "churches and castles fared foully; and pinnacles and "steeples were cast to the ground." These two events, combined with a third, the pestilence, were sufficient warnings for all reasonable people, but they had produced no effect, and the poet concludes with some moral reflections on the corrupt state of the world.

On the Council of London.

The earthquake had happened, somewhat ominously, at the very moment when a council of the clergy was sitting in London to pronounce judgment upon Wycliffe and his adherents. It was St. Dunstan's day, Wednesday, the 19th of May, 1382. There is a sort of ballad upon this council, composed in Latin, with a curious mixture of English words in the refrain or burthen. The writer complains of the "desolation" which hung upon England, and how the good ship stood in danger of being wrecked; and prays that God might bring the people to penitence, and especially that he would open the eyes of the young king to the wickedness and hypocrisy of the friars. A pestilence was thinning the population. An earthquake had been sent as a warning to the people for their sins, for Christ was almost forgotten in England. God's anger was shown undoubtedly in this earthquake, for it occurred at the very moment when the scribes and pharisees were assembled with the high priests against God's anointed. Winds and floods, such as had not been known before, had swept away the harvest.[1] The

[1] Stowe mentions the great floods of this year, but he says that they occurred on St. Thomas's day, *i. e.* Dec. 21, when they could not have affected the harvest, as they are here stated to have done.

cause of all these visitations was plain to be seen, for all orders of society had become equally wicked. In the very shops the purchasers were deceived by the use of false measures, and perjury and fraud reigned everywhere; and no wonder, for the clergy, who ought to be a mirror to the laity, were remarkable chiefly for their pride and licentiousness; and those in power only thought of plundering those whom it was their duty to protect. Few of the prelates of the church were promoted for their theological learning, but they obtained their money by favour, or by simony, or by flattery. Equally blameable were the monks and friars, especially the latter, who in their outward acts pretended to be like red roses, "but the roses "have faded, and their odour is like that of a dung-"hill." These built vast and magnificent houses, which were no better spiritually than dens of wolves. There was no monastery, however rich in lands, nor a king or a bishop, who could raise a palace so quickly as those whose daily profession was begging. In truth, says our writer, "they are either thieves, or they "make money, which is treason against the crown." They call themselves public mendicants, and they protect themselves against the inclemency of the weather with rich and expensive clothing, while they exclaim, with the pharisees, "Lo, what we suffer for the love of Christ!" These friars preached everywhere that whoever died in their habit would escape the torments of hell and pass directly to heaven. If a rich man in the neighbourhood was taken ill, one of the order would hasten to him and labour to persuade him to give his corpse to the friars; but if a poor man in sickness went to them to beg them to give him burial, the reply was that the guardian was absent, and the supplicant was turned out of doors. The friars, in their chapters, drew up letters which they called suffrages, by which they made those who paid for them partakers in all the masses, prayers,

General wickedness of the people.

Tricks practised by the friars.

Their 'suffrages.'

and abstinences they said or performed for themselves, caring little whether the purchasers were worthy or not. So many shares were thus distributed, that the writer conjectures they must have had very little left for themselves. They were guilty of many greater crimes than these, of which, says the writer, "I will "not here speak; but I say farewell to you, friars! "Whoever throws his net among you is sure to catch "reprobates." He next turns to the monks of the order

The Benedictines.

of St. Benedict, who, he says, must have received their name by the figure of speech called antiphrasis, or, in plain words, by contraries, for they deserved more truly to be called *maledicti*, or accursed. Although the monks professed to abandon the world, nobody indulged more in worldly enjoyments, and in none more than in eating and drinking. "I, who write "this, began by being a monk; I was shorn by them, "but not yet professed; but I was soon tired of "their society, and I left them to embrace Christ's "rule. . . . For the Lord, seeing his sea so much "agitated, caused certain noblemen to be placed in "authority, in order that the faith of the church "might be able to be restored, and to that end called

The call of Wycliffe.

"Wycliffe and his disciples---these are the fishermen "to whom the Lord has given to conduct Peter's "ship with caution." These good teachers reproached the monks for not keeping their rule, and admonished them to avoid idleness and turn their hands to labour; and the same reproach was made to the friars, who would rather beg than write. The mere mention of work stirred up the indignation both of monks and friars; and the former delegated to the latter the task of preaching against the reformers, and they attacked them with slander and falsehood. For this cause they were now assembled in council, and the monk of Ramsey, John Welles, began the attack, in a windy and stormy discourse, with a face the colour of gall, which

John Welles attacks the Wycliffites.

displayed the temper it covered. Wycliffe himself was not present, but his disciple, Nicholas Hereford, replied to Welles, and soon brought him to a stand in his arguments. Then rose another pompous monk, named Goydoun,—who was not a regular monk, but a layman in monk's clothing,—and undertook to prove that monks ought not to labour, and that friars, though able-bodied men, and capable of earning their living, ought to beg. Crophorne, a man of no fame, spoke less to the purpose than his predecessors, and his arguments were not worth *unum stercus canis;* he and the resk of the monks did no more than "croak "like frogs." After the monks had done, the friars began, and a Minorite doctor named Morton rose to speak, but only babbled like a raven. Whappelode, who followed, was a notorious liar, a hair-brained fellow, who only proved himself an empty talker. Stokes, who spoke next, displayed a bilious-looking face and an equally bilious temper, yet he laboured through several days to convict the reformers of heresy, though to little purpose. On the last day Nicholas Hereford replied, and, with the assistance of Philip Repingdon, so confuted his accusers that they held down their heads in confusion. Nevertheless, the monks and friars, having filled their purses with the money of the poor, hastened to London, prepared, as the writer says, "to give large thongs out of other people's leather." They presented themselves before the archbishop, and proclaimed Nicholas Hereford a heretic and Philip Repingdon a madman, while they anointed the prelate's hand with money. The archbishop, thus propitiated, assented to all that the friars demanded. Then the bishop and the friars cited Hereford and Repingdon to appear before them; but when they came they merely abused them, without alleging any substantial charges; and the two objects of their persecution, perceiving their danger, appealed to the pope.

Nicholas Hereford replies.

Others follow.

Hereford and Repingdon.

Song against the Friars.

The English song which follows contains a more general attack on the friars, and is rich in satirical irony. Men might see by their appearance, the writer says, that they were given to great penance, and that their diet was simple and spare. "I have lived forty "years, and I never saw men fatter about the "kidneys than are these friars. Where they wander "about the country, they are made so thin by want "of meat, and are so reduced by penance, that each "one is a horse-load, when he will truss out of town." It is much to be lamented, he says, that they should be allowed to go by two and two from town to town to seek their sustenance, dealing in "divers

Dealings of the friars.

"mercery," as though they were pedlars. They carried about in their bags purses, pins, and knives, and girdles and gloves, and such articles, "for wenches "and wives;" but wherever they haunted, the husband "ever thrived backward," for during the "good man's" absence the friar would come to the dame, and "spared neither for sin nor shame but he "did his will" In fact, he says, the friars would fare but poorly if they had no help of housewives in the husband's absence. They were far cleverer traders than an ordinary pedlar, and they knew, too, how to conjure; for one of them, with a pound of soap, would gain a kirtle and a cape, and if he gave a woman a knife that cost but twopence, he would have the value of ten knives from her before he went The writer next proceeds to warn his hearers who may have handsome wives or daughters against allowing any friars to come near them, and describes the consequences in rather coarse language. He accuses them of maintaining men in sin, instead of teaching them virtue; for, he says, if a man had murdered all his kindred, and go make his confession to a friar, the friar would absolve him clean and quickly for less than the value of a pair of shoes, and give him

Their incontinence.

assurance that his soul was cleansed of every sin he had done. The writer adds that the founder of the four orders of friars was the first murderer Cain, and that hence the four initials of their names (Carmelites, Austins, Jacobins, and Minorites) formed his name, which was spelt in the middle ages Caim. Hell, he says, was so thronged with the friars, on account of their enormous wickedness, that soon there would be no room for the souls of other people. Their constant labour was to cry down the regular clergy, but he prophecies that before long they would suffer the same fate as that which had fallen upon the Templars. He then goes on to explain their methods of extorting money from people, and concludes with a declaration which would lead one to suspect that he was the same versifier who wrote the preceding Latin ballad. "I was myself a friar full many "a day, and thus I know the truth. But when I "saw that their living accorded not with their "preaching, I cast off my friar's clothing, and nimbly "went my way. No other leave I took of them when "I went, but I bequeathed them to the devil every "one, the prior and the convent. Although I have "left the order, I am not an apostate, for I was with "them a month and nine or ten days less than a "twelvemonth. I made me ready to depart before "the time of profession came, and went my way "publicly through the town."

Their extortions.

A second English song on the friars is directed chiefly against the Minorites, who appear to be satirized in it for the use they made of pageants and theatrical shows to impose upon the uneducated classes. The writer describes them as hanging up a representative of the Redeemer, with wings and other grotesque accessories, on a tree (or wooden cross); while in another place a friar acted also the part of Christ, with a wound in his side, and others in his hands and feet; and further

On the Minorite Friars.

Pageantry employed by the friars.

on appeared a grey friar in a cart made of fire, of course intended to represent Elijah carried up to heaven in the fiery chariot. He suggests, in regard to the latter, that fire was an appropriate accompaniment to any of the "four orders," as all friars deserved to be burnt. "They are always preaching of poverty," he says, "though they love it not; the whole town is "searched to procure delicate meat for their mouths, "and their dwellings are extensive and wonderfully "wrought; but all these extravagancies were paid for "with money by which people had bought impunity "in the commission of robbery and whoredom."

We have now to pass over a few more years, which furnish us with no political poems known to exist, until we arrive at that period of political agitation, when, in 1388, the party in opposition to the court had gained so much strength, that the king's favourite, Robert de Vere, was obliged to fly with some others of Richard's ministers to the continent. I think I am right in ascribing to that year a poem in alternate lines of English and Latin, which presents a sort of general complaint of, or satire on, the corruptions of society at that period. From the number of copies preserved, it was evidently popular. The writer of this piece begins by lamenting the decadence of England, and the absence of all that manly character which had formerly characterized its people. Lust and pride were now predominant in England, and truth was entirely set aside. Friends were changed into enemies, and the land was filled with dissension, while the foes abroad threatened it with invasion. Internally there was nothing but confusion; truth had disappeared, and the only persons listened to were whisperers and flatterers, who ruined the commonwealth. The upper classes of society had become shamefully corrupt, and showed no feeling of sympathy for the sufferings of the poor, who were exposed to great oppression. In the

On the Times, 1388.

Corruption of society.

courts of justice money overywhere overcame right. The king might perhaps do something to amend it, but he was surrounded by people who concealed from him the state of the kingdom. Jack and his fellow (Vere, duke of Dublin, and the earl of Suffolk) had gone, and were not greatly sorrowed for, but plenty of bad people remained behind. These walked about in new and extravagant fashions. They enlarged their shoulders artificially, and made them broader than they were made by God, with wide and high collars, which, says the writer, made their necks look as if they were prepared for the axe. They had long-pointed boots, and great spurs at their heels, and their hose had a straight band, which looked as if their thighs were tied to the body. "They may not," he adds, "as I "suppose, bend their knees without trouble. When "other men kneel, offering up their prayers to Christ, "these stand at their heels, not able to bend their "legs. They avoid bending themselves for fear of "hurting their hose." They were thus obliged to pray standing, and not only showed little piety themselves, but they disturbed other people in their devotions. Many other ridiculous and inconvenient fashions in dress are enumerated, which were but the index to the vain and frivolous manners of those who wore them. Drinking and swearing also had increased to a deplorable extent, for which many in the end would "sing a counter-tenor in Newgate." Lastly, simony had invaded the church, and the clergy were equally corrupt with the laity.

Extravagant fashions in dress.

A single distich commemorates the king's fourteenth year, A.D. 1390–1, by telling us that the axe was sharp at that time, and had a hard stock, but the allusion is not very clear.

Distich on the Year 1391.

The pestilence of 1391 furnishes us with another ballad in rhyming Latin on the general corruption of society, by an anonymous writer, who complains that

On the Pestilence.

the whole world had turned to wickedness, and that Christ was entirely forgotten; that peace and patience, love and justice, had entirely disappeared; that errors and vices had taken their place; fraud prevailed among merchants; the poor suffered through the wickedness of the rich; and the flock of Christ was dispersed through the negligence of its shepherds.

The king's quarrel with the city of London.

The King's extravagance compelled him to resort to arbitrary expedients for raising money, and one of these brought him into a direct collision with the city of London. Many circumstances combined to keep up a feeling of hostility between the citizens and the court, and at length, when in 1392 Richard asked them for a loan of a thousand pounds sterling, he met with a flat refusal. The Londoners, moreover, are said to have ill-treated a Lombard merchant who was willing to lend the king the money. Richard was greatly enraged against the citizens, and he ordered the lord mayor, John Hinde, and the other chief municipal officers, to appear before him at Nottingham, where he not only deposed them from their offices, but committed them to different prisons, the mayor in the castle of Windsor, the two sheriffs severally in those of Wallingford and Odiham, and others of the principal citizens in other places of confinement. The charters of the city were annulled, its liberties withdrawn, and its laws abrogated; and the king abolished the office of mayor, and appointed a creature of his own to govern it under the title of guardian or keeper. The first guardian, Sir Edward de Dalingrig, was soon removed, because, as it was said, he showed too much favour and indulgence to the citizens; and the king appointed in his place a sterner guardian, Sir Baldwin de Radington. Nevertheless, after having treated the citizens with great rigour during several months, the king suddenly relented, partly, it would appear, through the inter-

Change in the government of the city.

The king relents.

cession of queen Anne, though it is said, also, that the duke of Gloucester was the friend of the Londoners on this occasion. The citizens thus obtained the restoration of their liberties, and the office of lord mayor was restored, but the king took the opportunity of extorting from them no less a sum than ten thousand pounds. Richard was residing at his palace of Shene, in Surrey, and he proceeded thence on the 29th of August, 1393,[1] to complete his reconciliation with the citizens by a pompous procession through the capital.

Is reconciled, and visits the city.

A Carmelite friar, named Richard de Maidstone, who held some employment at court, was present in this grand ceremony, and has left us a minute account of it in Latin elegiacs addressed to a friend who was named like himself Richard. It is a curious picture of medieval pageantry and medieval manners. Richard of Maidstone, in the spirit of a thorough courtier, sees nothing but virtue and perfection in Richard II.; "there was not such another youth in the whole "world, who, like him, knew how to rule his king-"dom with the wisdom of Solomon." Envious tongues, our author confesses, had turned the king's mind against the citizens, and caused him to desert his "chamber," but even the power of detraction could not keep him long away from it. Early on this auspicious day the king's "guardian" warned the citizens to be prepared to meet their sovereign, and the warning was acted upon with the greatest alacrity. The streets were lined with rich tapestry, and decked with garlands of sweet-smelling flowers; while nearly the whole population poured out to meet the king. There were a thousand and twenty young men on horseback, and the number on foot could not

RECONCILIATION OF RICHARD II WITH CITY OF LONDON; by Richard de Maidstone.

Preparations of the citizens

[1] The 21st, according to the poem.

be counted. The guardian led the way, followed by the twenty-four aldermen, all clothed in red and white. Then followed the several trades, each distinguished by its livery; and Richard of Maidstone takes the opportunity of giving us a rather curious list of the various trades existing in London at that time. The approach of the king leads the poet into a rather flattering description of his person. Richard was seated on a white horse, and was surrounded by his nobles and courtiers. Queen Anne came immediately after him, covered with jewels, and attended by her ladies of honour. The guardian, in the name of the citizens, presented the sword of office of the lord mayor and the keys of the city, in a very humble address, to the king, who delivered them to his knights to keep until he had visited his capital, to see whether his subjects know how to appreciate their sovereign. They next addressed the queen, and implored her intercession in their favour, which she promised. The king and queen, followed by the citizens, then continued their route towards the city, amid great rejoicing and loud clangor of musical instruments. Hitherto the day had been rainy and stormy, which cast some gloom over people's spirits, but as they approached the capital the weather cleared up and it became fine. In the midst of the street of Southwark, a man who had been exiled for homicide presented himself before the king, with a wooden cross in his arm, and obtained the king's pardon in consideration of the joyfulness of the occasion. Here also a rich crown was placed on the head of the queen. At the foot of the bridge, two valuable horses, with splendid trappings, were presented to the king, and very graciously accepted. A fair palfrey was similarly presented to the queen. As they approached the bridge much confusion was caused by the crowded state of the street, and the good friar describes

The trades.

They meet the king and queen.

A homicide pardoned.

in not a very saintly tone the mirth of the spectators when a chariot full of court ladies were upset, and their persons exposed not very becomingly to the vulgar gaze. He makes amends, however, by moralizing on the accident, as ominous of the fall of pride and luxury. Slowly they gained Chepe (Cheapside), the principal street, which was decked out with extraordinary magnificence, and its windows were filled with beautiful women and maidens. The fountains in Chepe ran wine, and in the middle of the street was raised a lofty tower, at the top of which were a boy and a beautiful virgin, the first in disguise of an angel, and the latter bearing a crown. As the king and queen approached, these two personages descended as though in a cloud, in a manner which Richard of Maidstone professes not to have understood, the boy, or angel, holding in his hand a cup of gold full of wine, and the maiden holding two crowns of gold in her hand. The maiden delivered her two crowns to the guardian, who presented them to the king and queen, and both accepted them gracefully, and drank of the cup with a smiling countenance, which carried joy to the hearts of the citizens. The second fountain of Chepe, at the entrance to St. Paul's, was the scene of still more elaborate pageantry; and the music was so varied, that the poet takes the opportunity of enumerating all the musical instruments of which he could have found the names in a medieval Latin dictionary. The king and queen entered St. Paul's, where they were received by the clergy, and visited the shrine of St. Erkenwold. Ludgate was the scene of another wonderful pageant, from which angels threw flowers and perfumes on the royal party. But the grandest pageant of all was at Temple-bar, on which was represented a forest and desert filled with all kinds of wild beasts. In the middle of it appeared John

The pageantry in Cheapside.

The fountains in Cheapside.

Pageant at Temple-bar.

the Baptist with the *agnus Dei*. This subject was cleverly and even artfully contrived. It appears that John the Baptist was king Richard's favourite saint, and as his eyes fell upon this exhibition, he was seized with a sudden feeling of devotion, and all traces that may have remained of his irritation against the citizens of London disappeared. Besides John the Baptist, there was an angel at the summit of this pageant, who descended suddenly as the king and queen approached, holding a golden tablet or altar-piece in each hand, which he delivered to the guardian. The latter presented one, on which there was a representation of the crucifixion, to the king, which he touched, declared that he had entirely forgiven the citizens, and invited them to follow him to Westminster to hear his final determination with regard to them. The other tablet, representing St. Anne, in allusion to her name, was presented to the queen, who received it equally graciously, and promised to do all in her power to complete the reconciliation of the citizens with the king. The king now rode without further delay, attended with similar pomp and pageantry, to Westminster, where he seated himself on his throne in the hall, holding his sceptre in his hand, and surrounded by his nobles. The queen, attended by her maids of honour, entered, threw herself at the king's feet, and interceded for the citizens of London. The king graciously granted her request, and is made to address the citizens in a long speech, in which he reminds them of their past errors, and exhorts them never again to provoke the anger of their prince or to treat his courtiers with disrespect; to despise the new doctrines in religion, and defend the Catholic faith; to avoid injustice, fraud, and contention; or to expect his severe displeasure if they did otherwise. He restored to them the keys and the sword, with all their old laws and privileges, and then dismissed them

Presentation of golden tablets.

The scene at Westminster.

with the promise of his favour. Richard of Maidstone concludes with a glowing picture of the joy of the citizens at the king's generosity, but he forgets entirely the fine of ten thousand pounds sterling.

Foreign relations.

Since the beginning of the reign England had not been at peace with France, and the greater part of it had been passed in war more or less active, our shores had been insulted, and our island threatened with invasion; but during several years there had been a succession of short armistices. At length, in the year 1394, a truce for four years was concluded, which it was hoped would be converted into a lasting peace, but the French were now averse to it. The only one of Edward's conquests in France of any importance which the English still preserved was Calais, and the French had during the last few years gone through such a rapid succession of recoveries, that they were reluctant to relinquish the hope of adding Calais to them. They were not willing, therefore, to make a lasting peace, of which the restoration of Calais should not be a condition. This feeling is embodied in a song by the poet Eustache Deschamps, which is printed in the present volume. During the progress of the treaty a party of peasants are introduced conversing upon it, and they all agree in one point, that there would be no peace until the English restored Calais. France had, nevertheless, to wait a century and a half before the town of Calais was recovered.

On the Truce between England and France, by Eustache Deschamps.

Religious agitation.

The religious agitation had been increasing instead of subsiding; for, although Richard II. did not directly countenance the religious reformers, he was not a persecutor, and there were so many other subjects of agitation and discontent, that the Lollards experienced a good deal of unintentional tolerance. Under these circumstances the followers of Wycliffe became bold and active, and preached openly against

THE COMPLAINT OF THE PLOUGHMAN.

the corruptions of church and state. Among the written records of the popular feelings of this time is a poem of some length, composed probably in 1393 or 1394, and pretending to emanate from the Ploughman, who since the publication of the Visions of Piers Ploughman had been adopted as the representative of religious and political purity. It was the embodiment of the pure democratic principle which lay at the bottom of the opinions which now agitated the world. The writer of the poem alluded to, to which I have here given the title of the Complaint of the Ploughman, who professes to have held an independent position between the two parties, pretends to have heard in a wood a dispute between two "fowls," a griffon and a pelican, the first of which was the advocate of the Romish church, and the other its opponent. The pelican begins by urging the meekness and humility preached by the Saviour, and

Pride and warlike character of the prelates.

contrasts with these the conduct of the prelates of his day, who sought to amass wealth and worldly possessions, led men to battle (alluding, probably, to the warlike deeds of Spencer, bishop of Norwich), and aspired to temporal sovereignty. They claimed, he says, to be the equals of kings and emperors, rode on horses with gorgeous trappings, had daily change of rich clothing, and oppressed the poor. They "turned holy church "into a prostitute, and filled her belly with wine "and ale." They kept luxurious tables, wore mitres and pastoral staffs of gold and jewels, claimed the right of judging people to death in this world and to damnation in the next, and were ready to sell heaven and earth for money. They compelled temporal lords to make obeisance to them, and, when they rode out, they were attended by escorts like those of kings. Their head, the pope, was like them greedy of worldly honours, and made kings kneel and bend to him, and dispensed power in different degrees to

Their luxury.

Pride of the pope.

all his subjects, but reserved very little to Jesus Christ. When he sate upon his throne, he thought he was superior to Christ himself. They called Christ only *sanctus*, but the pope was in their language *sanctissimus*. But their true head, he says, was Belial, and their ungodly character was proved by the war which they were now carrying on among themselves, alluding to the sanguinary struggles between rival popes in the schism of the latter part of the fourteenth century. He goes on to charge the priests of the church with forcing people to swear falsely, with using and encouraging simony, with acting under the influence of envy and hatred, with selling the sacraments of the church, with leading immoral lives, and with oppression of their flocks in an infinite variety of ways. They sold to people for money absolution of their sins, however great. "They "*say that Peter had the keys of heaven and hell*," continues the pelican, "but I trow he never sold sins "for money; nor had Peter so little wisdom as to "leave his keys to a wretch like those who now call "themselves popes." *Men, who did not even know* their creed, were placed in authority in the church through favour or bribery. When Christ was on earth he had twelve apostles; but now there is only one apostle, and no man may believe that he may err, although Peter, from whom he claims his authority, erred more than the other apostles. A second part of the Complaint treats of the misdoings of the priests and inferior clergy, who are described as the servants of Antichrist and not of Jesus. They are represented as living in everything contrary to Christ's example; using pride instead of meekness, strife instead of sufferance (forbearance), anger instead of soberness, wilfulness instead of wisdom, outrageousness instead of measure (moderation), lordly life instead of lowliness, hasty judgment instead of mercy, covetousness instead

Faults of the priests.

The inferior clergy.

of largess, treachery instead of truth, envy instead of almsdoing, lechery instead of chastity, and self-indulgence instead of penance. Their place in the other world shall be with Dives. These carried with them the badge of Antichrist; and without that badge they were not allowed to preach. Christ sent the poor, and not the rich, to preach; but now the poor are not allowed to preach, and if any such are found, they are suspended and thrown into prison. All such as have forsaken the world, and live lowly, shall be carried into Antichrist's prisons, and be beaten and bound. He accuses the Catholic priesthood in general of taking Judas as their pattern. "If Christ were "here on earth again, these would condemn him to "die; they have overthrown all his hests, and say "that his sayings are heresy, cry out against his "commandments, and condemn all his to be burnt. . . "These have more might here in England than hath "the king and all his laws; they have purchased "them such power, that they take all who will not "acknowledge them, and say that their doctrine is "heresy, and so send them to prison. It was not so "in the days of our forefathers. God for his mercy "amend it!" "The king," it is added, "taxeth his "men only by the assent of the commonalty, but "these every year will take from them by force more "than he gets by the legal taxes. Their seals are "more worth yearly than the king's, and their officers "have greater fee. . . . For whose will prove "a will that is not worth ten pound, he shall pay "for the parchment the third part of all the "money. . . . For a simple act of incontinence "he shall pay twenty shillings, and then have an "absolution and a licence to commit the sin the "whole year. . . . It is a wonder that the par-"liament, and all the lords of this land, have not "paid more attention hereto, to help the people out

Who are permitted to be preachers.

Extortions of the church

" of their hands." In the third and last part the griffon interrupts the pelican to inquire his opinion of the secular clergy, to which he replies that they sought to obtain a plurality of benefices, and that they occupied themselves much in gaining money, which some spent and others hoarded up, but very little in the cure of souls. Those who hoarded their money purchased lay fee with it, or expended it in building great houses; but they spent nothing on the poor. Many of them lived in pride and jollity, and squandered their incomes upon their concubines. So intent, indeed, were they in getting money and collecting their rents, *that some could hardly find time to say* matins "for counting and court-holding," and others stored up the whole of their ecclesiastical revenue, while they neglected their parishes and went into the service of kings and earls to gain more money. So strictly did they collect their dues, that they would put people in the stocks for the tithing of a duck, or an apple, or an egg. They were always to be seen at the wrestling, and at the wake, and were " chief chanters" at the ale. They went a hunting with their packs of hounds, and could blow a horn and cry "hey!" "And yet they must have some " stock or stone painted gaily and adorned proudly, " to make people put their faith in and look upon it " as full of might." To these images they induced people to make pilgrimages and present offerings, all which went to increase their wealth. As their dealings were unscrupulous, so their private life, as it is here described at some length, was without modesty or shame. The griffon has heard enough of charges against the priesthood, and he asks the pelican what he has to say about the monks. Formerly, he says, and according to the foundation of St. Benedict, they were poor and lived modestly, but this did not last long, and now they were rich, proud, and worldly

The secular clergy.

Their selfishness and eagerness to make money.

Image worship.

The monks.

The friars. minded, and kept houses and lived like lords. For his opinion of the friars, the pelican refers to the popular tract known as Piers Ploughman's Creed. The griffon next takes up the cause of holy church and retorts somewhat bitterly on the attacks of the pelican. "Should holy church," he asks, "have no "head or guider? If so, who is to direct or advise "her? If men assail the church with force, men must "defend her with strength equally. If the pope were "poor and needy, he would be driven from door to "door, and the wicked would not be afraid of him.

The church needs power. "People would live in their sins in spite of him. "To amend them he must have force, for wolves are "driven away from the sheep with weapons. If the "pope and prelates had to beg and ask, and "bow and borrow, holy church would stand full "cold, and her servants would sit and sup sorrow." The pelican replied, that Christ was the head of the Church, and that they ought to have no other head. Christ had forbidden his priests to assume any "mastership." Their rich clothing should be righteousness, their wealth charity, their lordship love, and their rich vessels a clean conscience. Poverty of spirit and humility were the legitimate defences of the church. The griffon, losing his temper, accuses the pelican of envy, and says that because he cannot gain riches himself, he grieves at the prosperity of others.

The reformers are charged with envy. "You speak against the seven sacraments as though "ye were knowing people, against tithes, offerings, "and tenths, and allege falsehoods about our Lord; "and this ye do that ye may live at your ease, "in the belief that there are no such things. It is "the devil who brings in these new doctrines to "disturb the peace of the church. Leave thy chat-"tering, with bad luck to thee. If thou live well, "what wilt thou more? Let other men live as they "list. Ye have no cure to answer for; why meddle

" ye with that which does not concern you? Let all " men live as they have done of yore, for thou art not " answerable for them." The pelican expostulates, and urges that he did not despise the persons or the sacraments, but complained of the misrule of the one and of the misuse of the other. This reply makes the griffon still more furious, and after uttering various threats against the pelican and the church reformers, he flies away in a rage The pelican meanwhile enters into conversation with the ploughman, who has been the listener to their dispute, and continues his remarks *on the corruptions of the church; but they are* interrupted by the return of the griffon, with a numerous flock of birds, his allies, such as ravens, rooks, crows, magpies, buzzards, kites, and the like. It was the turn of the pelican now to fly away in alarm, but he also returned, after a rather long absence, bringing with him the phœnix, who defeated the griffon and his allies, slaughtering great numbers of them, and driving the rest into places of concealment, *from which there was no danger of their return.* Thus this curious poem ends.

The pelican and the griffon.

Among the courtiers in the earlier part of Richard's reign was John Gower the poet. Gower was at first a courtier in every sense of the word, and he was treated by the king with regard. Richard, one day, while passing along the Thames, met the poet, who was rowing in a boat, took him into the royal barge, and asked him to employ himself upon some new poem *in the English language. The result was the English* poem by which Gower is best known, the *Confessio Amantis,* in the introductory lines to which the poet relates this anecdote, and speaks of his sovereign in very flattering language. He evidently took a deep interest in the political agitation of the day, and after the great insurrection of the lower classes he wrote his longest Latin poem, the *Vox Clamantis,* in which he

John Gower the poet.

traces the cause of these troubles to the corrupt manners and principles of all classes of society, and he describes and satirizes these with considerable minuteness.[1] He here still exhibits much attachment for the young king, though he expresses considerable apprehension for the future.

Gower's sentiments undergo a change.

Soon afterwards he began to be disgusted with the conduct of the court, and attached himself more and more to the earl of Derby (afterwards duke of Lancaster and king of England), and to the other great lords who had put themselves in opposition to Richard's misgovernment. A new edition of his English poem was brought out, in which he omitted the prefatory story about king Richard, and all the complimentary allusions to that monarch, and substituted for them a dedication to the earl of Derby. We trace Gower's political sentiments through the latter years of king Richard's reign in a number of short poems, all directed against the government. The first of these was written in the twentieth year of this reign, and has for its subject "the manifold "pestilence of vices, whereby our country was more "especially tainted in the time of Richard the second." He begins with a declaration that in times of national danger it was the duty of every man who could to speak out, and gives this as an excuse for the employment of his pen. His first attack is directed against "Lollardy," the cause of which, he says, was Satan's craftiness. In his English poem, and especially in the *Vox Clamantis*, though Gower does not spare the corruptions of the church, he displays everywhere a decided hostility to the Lollards. As he acknowledges the corruptions in the papal church which the religious

On the Corruptions of the Age; by John Gower.

Gower an enemy to the Lollards.

[1] A valuable edition of Gower's *Vox Clamantis* has been edited, but a very small number of copies printed, for the Roxburgh Club, by the Rev. H. O. Coxe, of Oxford, 4to, 1850.

reformers attacked, he is obliged to consider them in a political light, as breeders of division in the church and state. He adopts the derivation of Lollard from the Latin word *lolium*, and treats them as noxious weeds growing up among and spoiling the corn. They were sent into the world by Satan, the author of all evil, and brought with them a large share of the old serpent's falsehood and deceitfulness. They dressed in clothes of coarse wool, affected serious countenances, but these were only covers for their fraudulent designs. He warns people from lending their ears to the dangerous incantations of these new sectarians, and urges the danger of not remaining satisfied with the faith which had been handed down from former ages. The next vice against which the poet inveighs is pride, which also originated with the evil one, and which now pervaded society, and was displayed in vain and extravagant fashions in dress. Next comes lasciviousness, which had gained possession of all classes of society, the poor as well as the rich. Perjury and avarice were, too, cognate vices, which were then the cause of numerous and immense evils. Gower assures us that he wrote these things with weeping eyes, deeply affected with the sorrows of his country, and the moral darkness which enveloped it.

Pride, lasciviousness, perjury, and avarice.

The attacks in this satire are very general, but in another poem which follows, and which seems to have been written nearly about the same time, the charges are brought home rather more closely to the different orders in society at that day. The poet engages in a search for light, which had been concealed by the darkness of vice, or at least he undertakes to direct the search. Beginning at what was then considered as the head, he says that it would be in vain to seek for light at Rome, where there were already two popes, who of course contradicted each other, and if there was any light among the clergy, it was concealed under a

On the Vices of the different Orders of Society; by John Gower.

Darkness of the Roman court, and in the church.

bushel, because it was rejected by the church itself. There could be little light, it is intimated, in a church where everything was governed by simony. Though, as we have seen, Gower was no friend to the Lollards, he was not blind to the great corruptions of the papal church. Among the monks and the secular clergy he tells us there was nothing but darkness Their only lamps were games, idleness, prostitutes, and taverns. Light was equally a stranger to the councils of kings, or otherwise they would have interfered to prevent the divisions in the church, and would have united to arrest the progress of the infidels who were threatening the safety of Christendom. There was no light among the nobles, who put trust in their own power, and by this self-confidence and the want of due precaution were led on to their ruin. Light had departed also from the chivalry of the kingdom, which was intent only upon self-indulgence and rapine. Light among the men of law had disappeared before the influence of bribery, and law had no weight against money. Nor was there more light among merchants and tradesmen, who sought only to enrich themselves by means of usury and fraudulent dealings. The commons, or, in the language of law, the country, was too deeply immersed in ignorance to show much light, and was overrun with robbers, homicides, and turbulent characters of every description. The poet concludes by avowing the grief which overwhelmed him in contemplating this universal darkness, and by praying that God would send some light upon his country.

Darkness in the courts of kings.

Among the nobles and knights.

Among the jurists.

Among the merchants.

Among the commons.

On King Richard II., by John Gower.

In a third Latin poem, Gower gives us some moral reflections on the goodness and badness of kings; *intended, of course, to be applied to Richard II. It* is stated in the rubric to have been written at the last period of king Richard's life. Richard was, indeed, now approaching rapidly towards the melancholy end of his career. Two songs in the present volume, one

in Latin, the other in English, belong to the period immediately preceding his fall. The first of these was evidently intended to be sung among the people, and, though obscure enough to the modern reader, it presented no obscurity to those who felt every allusion, and were familiar with every nickname it contained, especially with the puns and jokes which were made upon the three most obnoxious ministers, *Bushey, Greene, and Bagot. It is to these names, of* course, that the song writer alludes when he tells us in his first stanzas of a *bush* which was already overgrown, and *which would soon go wild if it were not* well pruned and held low; of "grass, which was so "*green,*" that it required to be mown and raked away, to prevent its overgrowing the field; and of a great *bag*, which required to be cut smaller, and which had its bottom nearly out, and was so rotten on every side that it would hardly bear mending. Jokes like these, when levelled against their oppressors, were richly relished by the English populace in the reign of Richard II. The bush, the song goes on to say, was the cause of the murder of a gentle swan (the duke of Gloucester), who was of good brood, and profitable to the kingdom. The green grass, by its length and rankness, slew a strong and sturdy steed (the earl of Arundel), of which any king might have been proud. It was a bear-ward (the earl of Warwick, whose badge was the bear and ragged staff), who found the rag of which he made the bag, and all with very good intentions; nevertheless, this bag of his own making was the instrument of the earl's fall; he was condemned to death, but his punishment was commuted for perpetual imprisonment. The death of the swan had been the cause of grief to his duchess, who was further deprived of her eldest son, Humphrey Plantagenet, who was carried away to Ireland, and imprisoned in the castle of Trim. The

On King Richard's Ministers.

The bush, the grass, and the bag.

steed's colt (Thomas, son and heir to the earl of Arundel) had made his escape on his father's death, and had joined the eagle (Henry of Lancaster). They had taken the son of the bear-ward, who was a minor, and married him according to their will, but he only waited the time for following in the footsteps of his father. The eagle, however, was now up, had taken his flight towards England, and had alighted in the north country, bringing with him the steed's colt. The geese and the peacocks (perhaps signifying the Percies and the Nevilles) joined him in great numbers. The eagle, it is hoped, will first settle on the bush, which he likes above all places for watching his prey; and then he will fall upon the green fiercely. The bag is full of rotten corn,—treasures hoarded up to little purpose; and it shall be emptied, and its contents distributed among the peacocks and geese, and among other fowls; while the bush has become bare of leaves and dry, and must be hewn down, crop and root. The long grass, though it seem green, is unfit food for the cattle, which have become lean by it, and will remain so until the bad portion of it be "dinged out." The great bag is so torn and worthless that the only thing to be done with it is to hang it up to dry, and after it has undergone this operation, it will be seen whether it can be amended or not. When all this has been done, the lean beasts will have rest, and better pasture.

The eagle.

Return of the duke of Lancaster

The Latin song ought, perhaps, to have preceded the other, for it appears to have been written before the duke of Lancaster landed in the north. It contains the same complaints of the destruction of the nobles, of the insupportable burthen of taxes, and of the inordinate pride and tyranny of the court.

On the Imputed Arrival of the Duke of Lancaster.

We come now to one of the most curious political poems in this volume, but of which the only copy now known to exist is unfortunately imperfect. The great

reform poem of the fourteenth century was the work known by the title of the Visions of Piers Ploughman. It possessed all those holds upon popularity which are found in the writings of Bunyan People seem to have a natural taste for moral satire conveyed under allegorical forms, and it was here clothed in that pure Anglo-Saxon form of verse which seems to have been preserved among the people alone, but which from this moment came into great vogue. It will be remembered that at the end of that celebrated poem, Conscience sets out as a pilgrim to "walk as wide as the "world lasteth," in search of Piers Ploughman, in order to obtain his assistance against Pride. The writer of the alliterative poem on the deposition of Richard II. takes up the narrative here, and, apparently in the person of Conscience, continues his wanderings, and becomes a witness of the strange events which were then taking place. He had arrived in the town of Bristol, and entered the church of the Trinity, which was popularly called Christ Church, when extraordinary rumours reached his ears, how, while king Richard was warring on the wild Irish, Henry had entered the kingdom on the "east half," and how the people, who all loved him, had risen to join him and assist in righting his wrongs, in the expectation that he would afterwards assist them in obtaining a remedy for their injuries. Troubled in mind at these rumours, the more so as they were known to be true, and uneasy about the result, which he could not see, the wanderer resolved to write a letter to the king, reminding him of the errors of his reign, that he might be induced to amend him of his misdeeds, and so perhaps merit to be restored to his crown. "For," he says, "as my body and my chattels ought to be at the "disposal of my liege lord, so ought also my reason "and my counsel to advise, if I could, my king and "the lords, and therefore I endeavoured, with all my

The Vis of Piers Plough man.

On the Deposi tion of Richar II.

The author's motives

" five wits, to labour on this treatise." After this declaration he lays aside his allegorical character, and appears as the author of a political tract, addressed to the king, in which he gives a popular sketch of the errors of his reign. Accordingly, still addressing the king, he begs of him not to be satisfied with merely looking into it, and reading a hundred lines, but to read it through calmly, and if he saw anything untrue or unwise in it, to cause it to be corrected by his council, for the writer intended to keep it secret until it had been approved by wiser wits than his own. He hoped, then, when it should be published in a corrected form, that it would benefit the readers, both young and old; and he discards the supposition that he had any idea of offending his sovereign, or any other person. It could offend only those who were deserving of blame, and to them he could only say, whoever felt grieved in spirit, " let him govern himself " better, and not blame the man who made the book, " but his own wicked will and his words which sprung " from it."

Spirit of the poem.

In spite of these prefatory remarks, the writer addresses the king in terms which are anything but respectful. "Richard the redeless (the unadvised)," he says, " rue on yourself, who led your life lawlessly and your " people also." He goes on to tell him that, through pride and waste which prevailed in his time, and his own wilfulness, an end had been put to his "riot," and he had been placed in a position to reflect upon the consequences of his misrule. He asks him whether allegiance be most established by dread and blows, and untrue judgments, by squandering the public money on bad ministers, by plundering the people for the sake of his favourites, by acting wilfully in despite of wisdom, by taxing his towns when there was no war, by ruthless agents who were always robbing people, and such like expedients, or by acting accord-

Richard's misrule.

ing to the law and displaying love towards his subjects. Allegiance without love, he says, are little worth. But there was a crowd of young courtiers who considered nothing but their own indulgence and ease, and who were incapable of shedding a tear for any degree of suffering they inflicted on the people. "Ye "came to your kingdom," he says, "before ye knew "yourself, crowned with a crown such as no king "under heaven could have bought a better." The rich ornaments of this crown were, punishment of wrong-doing, righteous judgment, and peace among the people, with loyalty, love, and mercy. It would require, the writer tells us, some penetration to discover what had become of this crown; nevertheless, he will undertake to do it, and that without mentioning names, except allusions which would be understood by everybody. "Full privily these men plucked thy "powers away, they rode like kings throughout your "realm, and like tyrants took from the husbandmen "whatever they liked, paying them on their skulls "when money was not forthcoming. For none of "your people durst complain of their wrongs, for fear "of your dukes, and of their great power. Men might "as well have hunted a hare with a tabor as ask "any amends for their misdeeds, or for those of their "men, for all was fellows and fellowship where ye "went." This impossibility of obtaining redress drove Richard's "men" to resistance. They, in obedience to the laws, led the king to prosecute his "duke" for his misdeeds, to the great joy of everybody. If his crown had been kept to the satisfaction of the commons, there would have been no murder nor discord among the nobles; but by the deceit which the king had used towards the commons he had ruined himself, so that without God's help "his harvest was in." The king had to blame himself, and not his council, for the misfortune which had thus fallen to faithless people,

Conduct of the young king's favourites.

Movement against the duke.

and he was urged to weigh well the advice which was now to be given to him. When the king, as he is here told, first mounted the throne, he chose for his friends or councillors men who were too young of years to govern such a realm. Some of them were "hobbes," or low fellows, of Hurlewayn's kindred, *i.e.*, limbs of Satan, who refused to submit to the laws which ought to have held the king and court within due limits. All these thought of was how to enrich and indulge themselves, and avoid ever being brought to account for it. "But if ye had done your duty as "a sovereign ought, the first who instructed you "in such false conduct should have been hanged "aloft on the gallows, though he had been your born "brother. Then would other such lewd fellows have "been abashed, and would not have ventured upon "the same evil courses." Thus the king and his favourites went on, until at last they raised up the storm under which they all came to ruin.

Character of the courtiers.

The writer of this poem has divided it, in imitation of that of Piers Ploughman, into Passus, or divisions, answering somewhat to what were called in the popular ballad poetry "fits." He now enters into his second Passus, in which he goes more into the consequences of the misdeeds of the court. He complains of the extravagant liveries which the king gave to all about him, to conciliate the horned harts (his favourites), who roamed in pride over the kingdom, and who were all ready, now in his need, to forsake and disown him. Their only feeling was dread of the eagle (the duke of Lancaster), who had come to save the people; and they had fled precipitately to seek shelter in the forests and fields. The writer asks what advice the king could have acted upon when he allowed such a numerous host of agents to bear his badges and overrun the country, who troubled the land and talked to the commons with the king's authority, or with that

Extravagant liveries

Grievance of the king's badges.

of the court lords; they "plucked the feathers from " the skins of the poor," and then showed their badges, at which people were afraid to ask for any amends for their misdeeds. Thus were the people oppressed by the king's liveries, and the poor lieges were borne down by their tyranny. The folly of such misgovernment was enough to astonish anybody. "For first, at " your anointing, all were your own, hearts and minds, " and held of no other; no individual in your land " held otherwise than a liege ought, until you by your " dulness made a disseverance through your side " badges, which spilt all the broth, and overthrew the " crock into the midst of the coals." After some further remarks on these badges, which were the source of so much oppression, the author gives his opinion that no maintainours should carry marks (badges), nor have livery of lords, to impair the law, neither braggards nor boasters, for all their swaggering talk; but that men possessing knowledge and conscience, firm against temptation, strong in their intelligence, and loyal in their lives, who lived by their own means, and would not be influenced by bribery in trying the truth between two sides, and whom no lord's power would prevent from sustaining the law when the poor complained of being wronged—such men, in his opinion, should have badges and "something by the " year," that they might keep the country in quiet and repose. Our writer charitably supposes that the king might have had originally a good motive for this multiplication of badges and liveries, but if it did not show a want of goodness of disposition, it showed a great failing in judgment. If the good greyhound (supposed to be the earl of Dorset) had not been aggrieved, but had been cherished as the chief of Richard's leash, king Richard might have had harts enough at his command, that is, he might have had plenty of loving subjects. That this was not the case,

Who should have badges.

The king's want of sympathy with his subjects.

however, ought not to be matter of wonder, for the king had never shown any care for the poor herd, who had become lean with hunger, because their provisions had been stolen from them by flatterers. He had fostered and fed a few only, and left uncared for the common herd, who managed to endure until "the "blessed bird" (Henry of Lancaster) came to spread his wings over them and cover them from the cold, as the house-hens cherish their chickens. The gentle eagle had come in the harvest time to take care of his birds, and he "battered" on the *bushes* (an allusion to Bushy), and *collected men as they walked on* the *green* (sir Henry Green), and the *bag* (Bagot) was taken and brought to justice. Thus the eagle hawked and hovered about, until all the kites and crows and other disloyal fowls submitted to him.

Anecdote of the hart.

At the beginning of the third Passus we are treated with an anecdote from the mediæval systems of natural history, how the harts, when they grew old, seized upon the serpents which would have attacked the horses, and by killing them and eating their venom became young again. The application of the story is not very clear, but the writer tells us in the sequel, that it was the nature of "clergy" not to grieve colts (alluding to the young earl of Arundel), nor to contend with horses (the elder earl of Arundel), nor to strive with swans (the duke of Gloucester), nor to bait or bind bears (the earl of Warwick) According to another zoological anecdote, it was the nature of the partridge to sit diligently upon her own eggs, in the hope that before harvest time the young would be hatched, but another cunning partridge came and watched her opportunity, when the true mother quitted the nest, to usurp her place, continue the process of incubation, and bring up the young till they were strong enough to leave the nest, and then, at the first call of their true mother, they deserted their step-

Anecdote of the partridge.

mother and followed her. So now, when the gentle eagle made his appearance, all the birds who heard the note "busked from the bushes and briars which "annoyed them, and burnished their beaks, and bent "towards him, and followed him fiercely to fight for "their wrongs; they babbled with their bills how "they had been beaten and injured with twigs two "and twenty years. Thus they left the leader who "had led them wrong, and who had taken from them "by guile the corn which ought to have fed them." They were sorrowful in spirit for the injury which had been done to the horse (Arundel), and they hastened to have the eagle's help, "for he was "head of them all, and highest in blood, to be "guardian of the crown." He set the bear (Warwick) at liberty, and all the young beans crowded to his standard. They demanded vengeance for the murder of so many good knights, who had withstood stiff *storms for the commons, and their wrath was* great against the earl marshal for the part he had taken against his unfortunate father-in-law, the earl of Arundel. The writer again returns to Richard and his courtiers, and dwells at some length on their vanity, their outrageous fashions in dress, and their other extravagances. A stranger made his appearance in their hall, whose name, Wisdom, was no sooner known than he was unceremoniously turned out of doors. Yet it became the young men of whom the king had made his favourites to rule a kingdom about as much as it did a cow to "hop in a cage." Kings, he says, were not made to live at their ease in the world, but to labour on the laws no less than husbandmen at the plough, and to look after and put down all evil-doers. The abuse of kingly power is described, and the perversion of justice in the courts of law.

Application of it

Vanity and extravagance of the court.

King Richard's compliant parliament.

The fourth Passus of this poem introduces us to the compliant parliament of the twenty-first year of king Richard's reign. The writer tells us that no other christian king was ever known that held half such a household as king Richard held. All his revenues were far too little to support it, and besides the money he raised illegally, he was obliged to call a parliament *to grant him more*. It was to be a "privy" parliament, that is, one chosen to be compliant with the king's will, and the sheriffs and other returning officers received instructions to cause such to be chose for members as would not be likely to offer any opposition to the court. When this parliament was assembled, the "clerk," who addressed them on the part of the crown, "moved for money more than "anything else," and the members of the House of Commons were told that they must meet again next morning, and agree to the king's wants before meat.

Behaviour of the members of parliament.

Nevertheless, some of them, for sake of form, argued against it. "We are servants," they said, "and receive "salaries, and are sent from the shires to represent "their grievances, and to speak for their profit, and "pass no further, and we are not to give their money "away wrongly, but only in case of war; and if we "are false to those who pay us our wages, we shall "not be worthy to receive our hire." They did not all, however, speak in this manner. Some sat like a cipher in arithmetic, which makes a place but avails *nothing*. Some *had supped with Simon the night* before. Some were titulars, and gave private information to the king of such as were opposed to him. Some slumbered on the benches and said little. Others "maffled with the mouth," but knew not what they meant. Some were bribed, and acted under the orders of those who had bought them; while others looked solemn, but seemed not to know why. Some were so

fierce at the first start, that they appeared to have put on all sail to catch the wind, but they soon pulled down their sail when the storm set in. Some had been beforehand tampered with by the council, and knew well enough how it would end, or some of the assembly should repent of it. Some held with the majority, however it went; and others talked portly, but they had more in view the coin which the king was to give them than the interests of their constituents, and were promised "handsell" of the silver which was to be given to the king. "Some were in dread of "dukes and forsook Do-well." Here, unfortunately, in the midst of this curious satirical description of king Richard's parliament, the scribe to whom we owe the manuscript abruptly ceased from his labours.

Their interested motives.

At the time when this poem was composed, king Richard was a captive, but the intention to depose him appears not yet to have been made public. Gower now reappears, embittered more than ever against Richard's government; and as that monarch was not only deposed, but dead, and Henry IV. was seated on the throne, the poet could proclaim his opinions without fear of giving offence. The Tripartite Chronicle is much more plain spoken, and more strictly speaking historical, than his previous poems. It is divided, as its name indicates, into three books, embracing three political periods, the first of which he terms *Opus humanum*, because, he says, it ought to be the work of humanity to seek and promote peace, which the three nobles, Gloucester, Arundel, and Warwick performed; the second, *Opus inferni*, which was that of king Richard, who disturbed the peace of the kingdom, and put to death its rightful champions; and the third, *Opus in Christo*, because it witnessed the punishment of the wicked, and ended in the deposition of king Richard, and the elevation of the duke of Lancaster to the throne. He begins with the year

King Richard a captive.

Gower's Tripartite Chronicle.

1387, having told the earlier popular tumults in the *Vox Clamantis*. At that time the young king was changing from bad to worse, and, taking none but young men into his confidence, he rejected the council of the old and experienced. Among the latter were three of the old nobles whom the king especially disliked, and whose death he sought to effect,—Gloucester, Arundel, and Warwick,—who are described through the poem by their popular *sobriquets*, the swan, the horse, and the bear. He consulted with his legal authorities, who flattered him with the belief that his own will was the supreme law, and put their names to advice which was to lead to the ruin of the three lords. The latter, warned of their danger, strengthened themselves in their own defence, and were supported by the earl Marshal, the earl of Derby, and the earl of Northumberland. The king applied to the citizens of London for assistance against the three lords, but they refused it, knowing well the king's malice. The earl of Oxford (Vere), the king's favourite, assembled an army in Cheshire to make war upon the three lords; but he was met one Friday on the banks of the Thames, near Oxford, and defeated by the duke of Gloucester, and he fled to the continent, while his castles were razed. Others of the king's favourites, informed of the disaster of the earl of Oxford, followed his example, and sought safety in exile. These were Alexander de Neville, archbishop of York, and Michael de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, and the king's confessor, the bishop of Chichester, the latter of whom is spoken of very reproachfully. The three lords repaired to the king in the Tower, of which they took possession, and where they held a consultation with Richard and obtained his consent to holding a parliament in London. This parliament condemned the ministers who had fled to perpetual banishment, and then proceeded to bring to justice the king's evil advisers who remained in

The king's hostility to the three popular nobles.

Defeat of the favourites.

Punishment of the ministers.

England. Simon de Burley, the chamberlain, was beheaded; Sir John de Beauchamp, baron Bridgenorth, steward of the king's household, underwent the same fate; and Nicholas Brembel, the lord mayor of London, and Sir Robert Tressilian, the judge of the King's Bench, were both hanged. Brembel, or Brambre, was accused, among other political crimes, of having suggested a plan for alluring the duke of Gloucester into the city of London, and murdering him there. The other false judges who had signed the document against the three lords, were, at the intercession of the bishops, merely banished to Ireland. The friars, who had been encouraged at court, and had been willing and base instruments for promoting the king's evil designs, were also sent away. All means were tried to seduce and corrupt the three lords, but they remained firm to their principles, and persisted in their patriotic conduct.

King Richard's dissimulation and treachery.

The second division relates the melancholy fates of the three popular nobles. Richard professed and showed the greatest friendship for them, while he was secretly meditating their destruction. Not only were they received familiarly, but they obtained from the king assurances of his attachment in writing, and under his hand. The king, in this manner, concealed long his malice, which was especially directed against his uncle, the duke of Gloucester. At length, when the duke was far from suspecting any evil, the king went in person with a sufficient force to his castle of Plesey, in Essex, arrested him there, and sent him a prisoner to Calais. This act of treachery put the other nobles on their guard; but they were not proof against the profound and unprincipled cunning of Richard II. The king called to him archbishop Arundel, of Canterbury, and promised him upon oath that, if his brother, the earl of Arundel, would come

Seizure of the duke of Gloucester,

voluntarily to his presence, he should not only be allowed to depart in liberty, and without any accusation, but that he should continue to enjoy his steady friendship. The earl of Arundel unfortunately trusted to king Richard's oath, presented himself at court, and was thrown into prison. The earl of Warwick remained in London, prepared for the worst; and he was there arrested, and thrown into prison, like his colleagues. The king then called a parliament, which was chosen under court influence, and at which eight appellants brought in the articles of impeachment against the three lords, who were cited to appear before the parliament to answer the charges brought against them. The king was afraid to let the duke of Gloucester appear in person, knowing the strong feeling of the people in his favour; and he invented a new falsehood, pretending that the duke was at Calais too ill to be removed. He was accordingly condemned in his absence by the "pestiferous" king. Still, the king had not the courage to brave public opinion so far as to bring his illustrious victim to a public execution; and he sent some of his creatures to Calais, who murdered the duke of Gloucester by smothering him under a feather bed. The earl of Arundel replied to the charges brought against him in parliament without hesitation, showed that they were all false, and produced the king's charters of peace and concord; yet the king caused him to be condemned in defiance of all justice, and to be executed on Tower hill. The earl of Warwick trusted to the king's promise of pardon, and made a confession of guilt; but Richard, who only aimed by this trick to gain some information which would criminate others, caused him, nevertheless, to be condemned, though the capital sentence was subsequently commuted to imprisonment for life, and he was sent away to the Isle of Man. The

and of the earls of Arundel and Warwick.

Murder of the duke of Gloucester.

Arundel executed.

Warwick banished.

innocent lord Cobham, who had sought peace in the retirement of a Carthusian monastery, was next dragged before the parliament, and, though he easily cleared himself from the charges brought against him, and no judgment was recorded against him, was banished from England by the king. The same fate fell upon the archbishop of Canterbury, whose chief offence was his relationship to the earl of Arundel, and his friendship for the others. So great was the alarm created by these proceedings, that nobody dared even to lament the fate of Richard's victims; and the king's favourites and their creatures even made songs in derision of them. Lord Cobham.

The subject of the third division is the punishment which followed upon these unjust and arbitrary acts, and it is written in a tone of exultation. We are told how, like a mole, the king gradually undermined his country and the power of the parliament, how by various means he oppressed and plundered the country more and more daily, until it could be supported no longer; and how he banished Henry earl of Derby, the son and heir of the duke of Lancaster, who took up his residence in France to watch the course of events. The earl of Derby, having become duke of Lancaster by the death of his father, repaired to Calais, with the intention of claiming his patrimony, and sailing thence with the archbishop of Canterbury and the heir to the earl of Arundel, landed near Grimsby (the ordinary authorities say at Ravenspur). The whole land rose joyfully to welcome the exiles; while Richard, who was in Ireland, ruined himself by his dilatoriness. The king's three evil advisers, Scrope, Green, and Bushey, were captured at Bristol and put to death. King Richard, returning at length from Ireland, landed in Wales, where he and his followers surrendered to duke Henry, who carried him to London and lodged

Banishment of the earl of Derby; who becomes duke of Lancaster.

He returns.

Execution of the favourites.

him in the Tower. The duke of Lancaster recalled all the banished lords, and summoned a parliament to meet at Westminster at Michaelmas; but Humphrey, the son and heir of the duke of Gloucester, and his mother, died in the interim. When the parliament met, Richard's abdication of the crown was accepted and the duke of Lancaster was unanimously elected king of England as Henry IV. In this parliament, also, king Henry's eldest son, also named Henry, received the title of prince of Wales, and all the acts of Gloucester's parliament were confirmed, while those of king Richard's last parliament were annulled. The supporters of the deposed king, having given their adhesion to these acts of the parliament, were allowed to go free, except that some of them were degraded from their new titles, as the dukes of Albemarle, Surrey, and Exeter, who became again earls of Rutland, Kent, and Huntingdon. Gower concludes his book with an account of the conspiracy of the four lords, Holland, Kent, Salisbury, and Spencer, who, "more wicked than Judas," sought to repay the benefits they had received by treason. But God's anger fell upon them in the town of Cirencester, where the conspiracy was defeated by a rising of the populace, in which the four lords were put to death. The citizens of London were faithful to the new dynasty, and took up arms in defence of the king and his children. When king Richard heard of the defeat of this plot, and of the deaths of the lords, he gave himself up to despair, refused to take any food, and died of starvation.

The duke of Lancaster made king as Henry IV.

Conspiracy of nobles.

Death of king Richard.

MEMORIAL VERSES ON THE REIGNS OF EDWARD III AND RICHARD II.

The last piece in the present volume is a brief metrical abstract of the two reigns included in it, contemporary as far as regards the reign of Richard II., and containing, with its prose comment, some historical notes which are perhaps worth preserving. It may

serve as a sort of summary of the period illustrated by the political poems which precede

Such are the contents of the volume now given to the public, and this brief review of them will be sufficient to show that it contains materials of considerable value to the historian. They are varied in character, and, of course, in importance, and some of the Latin poems are very obscure. This arises from several causes. In the first place, the style and phraseology, full of quaint conceits and barbarisms peculiar to the time at which they were written, are in themselves not very intelligible to the modern reader, who is better acquainted with classical forms; secondly, the texts, as preserved, have been mostly written by very incorrect scribes, and are full of clerical errors, which are the more difficult to correct on account of their characteristic obscurity; while they are in most cases written in detestably bad handwriting, with a multitude of contractions which are neither of the usual character nor very easy to make out. In the cases where we find more than one copy of the same poem, they only partially assist us in correcting the text, for in these poems of a political character, different individuals who copied them, or had them copied, evidently changed or modified words and phrases at will, according to the strength of their own political bias, and hence among several various readings it is not possible to say with certainty which was the reading of the original text. In such cases, the editor has thought it most prudent to adhere to one manuscript in the text, and merely give the variations of the others in the notes. These various difficulties, he trusts, will be accepted as the excuse for a few literal errors which may have escaped him in correcting the proofs, and which the eye of the reader will easily detect. It may, perhaps, also be right to remark that these

Political Poems are not all printed for the first time. Some of them have appeared in print before, but scattered in works where they are hardly known, and often incorrectly edited; and, as they are here edited from the manuscripts, it has not been thought necessary to refer to the former editions.

POLITICAL POEMS.

THE VOWS OF THE HERON[1]

1338.

Ens el mois de Setembre, qu'estés va à declin,
Que eil oisillon gay ont perdu lou latin,
Et si sekent les vignes, et meurent li rosin,
Et despoillent li arbre, et coeuvrent li chemin,

[TRANSLATION.]

In the month of September, when summer is in the decline,—when the gay little birds have lost their note,—and the vines dry up, and the grapes are ripe,—and the trees shed their leaves, and the roads become covered with them,—in the

[1] This very curious poem is preserved in a MS in the library of Berne in Switzerland, No. 323, from which it was printed, with some inaccuracies, by Sainte-Palaye, in his Mémoires sur l'ancienne Chevalerie. It was no doubt composed by a partizan, and probably a subject, of Robert of Artois, and its object seems to have been to vaunt the part which Robert had acted in provoking the English monarch into the war against France. The writer seems to have been acquainted with the appearance of the different English chieftains, but not to have known much about them personally, as we may judge by his mistake in regard of the earl of Salisbury's blindness, and from one or two other circumstances. As he alludes to the imprisonment of the earl of Suffolk in 1340, it must have been written after that event, and probably before the truce in the September of that year, as the war is spoken of more than once as having experienced no interruption. This poem is written in a strong northern dialect, very likely that of Artois.

L'an m.ccc.xxxviij., ainsi lo vous afli,
Fu Edouars à Londres en son palais marbrin
Avecques lui sçóient duc, conte, et palasin,
Et dames, et pucholés, et maint autre maçhin.
Edouart Loeys l'apelent si voisin,
Li rois scoit à table, sans penser mal engin,
En pensées d'amours tenant le chef enclin.
Du gentil roi de Franche s'apeloit il cousin ;
Et le tint en chiertée com son loiel voisin ;
Envers li ne pensoit bataille ne hustin.
Mais quant fortune fourne, ensi com jo devin,
Tost moevent çés paroles dont il aist grant venin.
Ensi en avint-il en cho propre termin,
Par un gentil vassal, qui etoit de grant lin,
Robers d'Artois ot non, co dient palasin ;
Chio comencha la guerre et l'oriblo hustin,
Dont meint bon chevalier fu getó mort souvin,
Mainte dame en fu vesve, et main[t] povre orfelin,
Et maint bon maronier acourchiet son termin,
Et mainto preude femme mise à divers destin,

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year 1338, as I assure you,—Edward was at London in his palace of marble ;—with him sat dukes, earls, and courtiers, —and ladies, and maidens, and many other females.—His neighbours call him Edward Louis.—The king sat at table, not thinking of mischief,—in thoughts of love looking downwards.—He was called cousin of the gentle king of France ; —and he held him in affection as his loyal neighbour ;—he meditated against him neither battle nor strife.—But when fortune turns, as I guess,—the words are soon agitated from which he will have great bitterness.—So it happened at this particular time,—by a gentle vassal, who was of great ancestry, —named Robert of Artois, as the courtiers say ;—he began the war and the horrible strife,—through which many a good knight was cast down dead,—many a lady made a widow, and many a poor orphan,—and many a good mariner shortened his life,—and many an honest woman put to different fates,—

Et tante belle eglise fu arsé et mise à fin ;
Et encore sera, se Jhesus n'i met fin.
Signour, à ichel temps de coy je vous devis,
Quant li airs se reffroide, apprés le doticli tamps prin,
Et nature esvoisie dekiet de ses delis,
Et chil bos se doffoeillent, et prés sont defflouris,
Fu Edouars à Londres, avec lui ses marchis,
Mout y ot asanlé de gens de son pays.
Là fu Robers d'Artois, un hons de moult grand pris.
Bannis estoit de Franche le nobile pays,
Escachiés de la terre roi Philippe le cler vis ;
Et n'osoit demourer de chà mer ou pais,
N'en Flandres, n'en Namur, n'en Auvergne autressi ;
Et li falirent tout, et parens, et amis,
Pour l'amour du bon roy qui tenoit Saint Denis,
Fors le roi d'Engleterre, dont bien fu recoeillis.
Chieux le prinst à tenser contre ses anemis ;
Moult le tint en chierté, qu'il estoit ses amis,
Extrait de son lignage, de par les fleurs de lis.

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and many a fair church was burnt and destroyed ;—and will be again, unless Jesus put an end to it.

Lords, at that time of which I am telling you,—when the air is cooled, after the warm weather,—and nature after being joyous falls from its state of joy,—and the woods lose their leaves, and the meadows their flowers,—Edward was at London, and with him his nobles,—there was a great assemblage of people of his country.—There was Robert of Artois, a man of great worth.—He was banished from France the noble country,—driven from the land of king Philip with the clear countenance,—and dared not remain in the country on this side the sea,—neither in Flanders, nor in Namur, nor in Auvergne either ;—and he was deserted by all, both kindred and friends,—for the love of the good king who held St. Denis,—except the king of England, by whom he was well received.—He protected him against his enemies ;—he held him in great affection because he was his friend,—derived from his lineage, on the side of the fleurs-de-lis.—

Che jour estoit à Londres quens Robers li marchis,
Et d'aler en gibier envie l'ot sousprins,
Pour ce qu'il li souvint du très gentil païs
De Franco l'aloséc, dont il estoit ravis.
Che jour ala voler par camps et par larris,
Un petit faucon porte, qui de lui fu nourris,
Un *faucon muskadin l'apellent on pais*;
Tant vola par riviere qu'il a un heron prins.
Si tot com il le prinst, si li rougi li vis,
Et dist qu'il lé donra Edouart Loeys,
S'en fera faire veus à chiaux de son païs.
A Londres s'en repaire, avec lui ses soubgis;
En la quisine entra, là fu li hairons mis;
Et là fu il moult bien et plumés et farsis,
Et si fu quis en rost, ensi com si devis.
Entre deux plats d'argent fu li hairons assis;
Deux maistres de viele a quens Robers saisis,
Avoec un quistreneus, acordant par devis;
Deux puchelles apole, filles de deux marchis;

That day earl Robert the noble was at London,—and he was seized with the desire of going to the chase,—because he called to mind the very gentle country—of France the lauded, from which he was banished.—That day he went fowling over fields and over heaths,—he carries a little falcon which he had bred,—they call it a muskadin falcon in that country;—he went fowling along the river till he has caught a heron.—As soon as he had caught it, his face reddened,—and he says that he will give it to Edward Louis,—and he will make those of his country take vows upon it.—He repairs to London, and his dependents with him;—he entered the kitchen, there was the heron put,—and there it was very well both plumed and stuffed,—and it was cooked in roast, according to custom.—Between two dishes of silver was the heron placed;—count Robert has seized two players on the fiddle,—with a player on the guitar, to accord with them;—he called two maidens, daughters of two nobles;—they carried

Le hairon aporterent ens ou palais vautis.
Les deux puchelles cantent aussi com par devis ;
Et chil Robers s'escrie hautement à haut cris :
" Voidiés les rens, voidiés, mauvaise gens salis,
" Laissiés passer les preus cui amours ont sousprins ;
" Vechi viande as preux, à chiaux qui sont soubgis
" As dames amoureuses, qui tant ont cler le vis.
" Seigneur, j'ai un hairon que mes faucons a prins ;
" Et chi ne doit mangier nuls couars, ce m'est vis,
" Fors li preus amoureus, qui d'amours son garnis.
" Le plus couart oysel ay prinst, ce m'est avis,
" Qui soit de tous les autres, de che soit chescuns
fis ;
" Car li hairons est tels de nature toudis,
" Si tost qu'il voit son umbre il est tous estordis,
" Tant fort s'escrie et brait com s'il fut à mort mis.
" A li doivent vouer les gens de cest pais ;
" Et puis que couers est, je dis à mon avis,
" C'au plus couart qui soit ne qui oncques fust vis

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the heron into the vaulted palace.—The two maidens sing also as for pleasure ;—and Robert cries aloud with loud cries :—
" Open the ranks, open, wicked and dirty people ;—let pass
" the gentles who have been seized by love ;—here is food
" for the gentlemen, for those who are subjects—to the
" amorous ladies, who have such delicate complexions.—
" Lords, I have a heron which my falcon has taken ;—and
" here methinks there can be no coward sitting at table,—
" except the gentle lovers, who are furnished with love.—
" I have taken the most cowardly bird, methinks,—which
" there is of all others, of this let every one be sure ;
" —*for the heron is such by its nature always,—as soon*
" as it sees its shadow it is all astounded,—it cries and
" brays as loud as if it were being murdered.—The people
" of this country ought to make their vows upon it ;—and
" since it is a coward, I say in my opinion,—that to the
" greatest coward who is or ever was alive—I will give

" Donrrai le hairon, ch'est Edouart Loois,
" Deshirotés do Francho, le nobilo pais,
" Qu'il en estoit drois hoirs; mès enors li est falis,
" Et por sa lasquothé èn norra dessaisis;
" S'en dois bien au hairon voer le sièn avis."
Et quant li roys l'entent, tous li rousi li vis,
D'ire et de maltalent li est li coers fremis;
Et dist: "Puis que conars est par devant moi mis,
" Drois est que mieux en vaille, j'en dirai mon avis,
" Et s'en verrai le fait se longuement je vis,
" Ou je moray en paime de mon veu acomplir;
" Car je veu et prometh à Dieu do Paradis,
" Et à sa douche mere do qui il fu noürris,
" Que ains que chix ans soit passés ne acomplis,
" Que je deffierai lé roy de Saint Denys,
" Et passerai la mer, avec moi mes subgis,
" Et droit parmi Heinau passerai Cambresis,
" Et dedans Vermendois logerai par devis;
" Et se ert li fus bontés par trestout le pais,

" the heron, that is Edward Louis,—disinherited from
" France, the noble country,—of which he was rightful
" heir; but heart has failed him,—and for his cowardice
" *he will die deprived of it;—so he must vow on the heron*
" what he thinks."—And when the king hears it, his face
became all reddened,—his heart chafes with anger and spite,
—and he says: "Since coward is thrown in my face,—it
" is right that I be more worth, I will tell my opinion,—
" *and the deed shall be seen if I live long,—or I will die*
" in labouring to accomplish my vow;—for I vow and pro-
" mise to God of Paradise,—and to his sweet mother by
" whom he was nursed,—that before this year be passed,
" or completed,—I will defy the king of St. Denis,—and
" I will pass the sea, my subjects with me,—and right
" through Hainault I will pass Cambresis,—and within
" Vermandois I will lodge at my will;—and fire shall be
" set through the whole country,—and there I will await

" Et là atenderay mes morteus anemis,
" Ch'est Philype de Valois qui porte fleur-de-lis,
" Un mois trestout entier, tant qu'il soit acomplis.
" Et s'il vient contre moi, avec lui ses subgis,
" A lui me combaterai, de ches soit il tous fis,
" Se seulement n'airoie que un home contre dix.
" Me cuide-il dont tolir mè terre et mon pais?
" Si je li fis hommage, de coy je suis sousprins,
" J'estoie jovene d'ans, se ne vaut deux espis.
" Je le jur come rois Saint Jorge et Saint Denis,
" Que puis le tamps Ector, Acilles, ne Paris,
" Ne le roi Alexandre, qui conquist maint pais,
" Ne fist tel treu en Franche damoisiaux ne marchis,
" Que je le pense à faire ains l'an xlvi.,
" S'encontre moi ne vient, avec lui ses subgis;
" Mès à li je renonche, sois en cherteins et fis,
" Car je le guerreray et en fais et en dis.
" Avec mon serment ay-je che veu pourprins."
Et quant Robert l'entent, s'en a jeté un ris,

" my mortal enemies,—that is Philip of Valois who bears
" the fleur-de-lis,—one whole month, until it be finished.—
" And if he come against me, and his subjects with him,—
" I will fight him, of that let him be quite sure,—if I had
" only one man against ten.—Does he think, then, he may
" rob me of my lands and my country?—If I did homage
" to him, at which I am confounded,—I was young of years,
" so that it is not worth two ears of corn.—I swear it as
" king, by St. George and St. Denis,—that since the time
" of Hector, Achilles, or Paris,—or of king Alexander,
" who conquered many a country,—no such truce was made
" in France by bachelor or noble,—which I think to make
" before the year forty-six,—if he come not to meet me,
" his subjects with him;—but I renounce him, whether in
" castles or flefs,—for I will make war upon him both in
" deeds and in words.—With my oath have I undertaken
" this vow."—And when Robert hears him, he has given

Et dist tout en basset: "Or ai-je m'en avis;
" Quant par ichel hairou, que aujourdevoi ay prins,
" Commenchera grant guerre, selone le mien avis,
" Je dois bien avoir joie, par Dieu de Paradis;
" Car à tort du boin roi fuis sovrés et partis,
" Et banis fui de Franche, le nobile pais,
" Et desovrés à dool de tous mes boins amis;
" Et s'estoit mes serouges, et s'a ma femme prins,
" Ma fille, et mes enfans, et en sa prison mis.
" Mès, par la foi que je doy à filles et à fix,
" Ains que muire de mort, si plaist à Jhesu Crist,
" Me logeray en Franche, car jou i ai des amis;
" De l'estracion sui monseigneur Saint Loys;
" Et là vesrai-je Philipe qui crie Saint Denys
" Monjoie; au roi de Franche, qui est fors poestis,
" Du tamps qu'i fu regens de Franche et recessis,
" De son privé conseil fu, de che soiés tous fis,
" Loiaument en tous temps le consillay toudis;

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way to a smile,—and said all in a whisper: "Now have I
" my will;—since through this heron, which I caught to-
" day,—great war will begin, according to my desire,—I
" ought well to have joy, by God of Paradise;—for I was
" wrongfully divided and separated from the good king,—
" and I was banished from France, the noble country,—
" and dissevered with grief from all my good friends;—and
" he was my brother-in-law; yet he has taken my wife,
" —my daughter, and my children, and put them in his
" prison.—But, by the faith which I owe to daughters and
" sons,—before I die the death, if it please Jesus Christ,—
" I will have a lodging in France, for I have friends there;
" —I am descended from monseigneur St. Louis;—and
" there shall I see Philip, who cries St. Denis—*Montjoie*;
" to the king of France, who is very powerful,—at the
" time when he was established regent of France,—I was
" of his privy council, of this be ye all assured,—on all
" occasions I always counselled him loyally;—for which I

" Dont mauvais guerredon m'en a eté meris.
" Mès, par icheli' Dieu qui en la crois fu mis,
" Et ferus de la lanche du chevalier Longis,
" Je m'en irai en Francho, n'en suis mie esbahis,
" Et si me combaterai ains que soie partis.
" Or, aviégne qu'aviegne, si l'ai ensi emprins,
" Se je vis longuement mes veux est acomplis."
Quant chil Robert d'Artois ot voé son talent,
Les deux plas a reprins, qui tout furent d'argent,
Et le hairon dedens, dont au roy fist present.
Et li dois menestral violent douchement,
Avoec le guistreneu s'acordent ingaument;
Et lès les deux pucheles contoient douchement,
" Je vois à la vreduro, car amours le m'aprent."
Là pousiés veoir moult esvoisiement
De gieu et de solas grant esbaudissement.
Qui puis se di tourna à grant encombrement,
Et encore fera, se Dieux pité n'on prent.
Et chil Robert d'Artois n'i fist arestement,
La table tressali tost et apertement;

" have only been paid a bad reward.—But by that God who
" was put on the cross,—and was struck with the spear of
" the knight Longis,—I will go into France, I am not at all
" frightened,—and I will fight before I leave it.—Now,
" happen what may happen, I have undertaken it so,—if
" I live long my vow is accomplished."

When this Robert of Artois had vowed his will,—he took the two dishes again, which were entirely of silver, —and the heron in them, of which he made a present to the king.—And the two minstrels fiddle sweetly,—and with the guitar-player they accord equally,—and hard by the two maidens sing sweetly,—"I go to the verdure, for " love instructs me to do so."—There you might see very joyfully—great enjoyment of game and solace,—which after that day turned to great disaster,—and will still, unless God take pity on it.—And this Robert of Artois did not stay there,—he leaped over the table quickly and

Au conte Salebrin ala premierement,
Qui sist dalès sa mie où grant amours apent,
Qui fu gente et courtoise, de biau contenement,
Fille au conte Derbi,[1] qui l'amoit loialement.
Et Robers li a dist moult gracieusement,
" Biaux sire, vous qui estes plains de grant hardement,
" El nom de Jhesu Crist, à qui li mondes apent,
" Voués à no baron le droït devoement,
" Sans faire nul delay, je vous prie humblement."
Et chieux li repondis, " Et pour coy ne comment
" Porroie aventurer mon cors si hautement,
" Que peusse akiever nul veu parfaitement?
" Car je sers la pucelle qui soit au fermament
" Selone che que j'ay, et, amours le m'aprent,
" Se le Virge Marie estoit chi en present,
" Osté la deité de li tant seulement,
" Je ne saroie faire des deux deseivrement.

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oponly;—to the earl of Salisbury he went first,—who sits near his mistress to whom great love attaches,—who was gentle and courtly, and of fair bearing,—daughter of the earl of Derby, who loved him loyally.—And Robert said to him very gracefully,—"Fair sir, you who are full of great " boldness,—in the name of Jesus Christ, to whom the " world belongs,—make a vow to our baron of true devo- " tion,—without making any delay, I pray you humbly."—And he replied to him, "And why and how—could I adven- " ture my body so highly,—that I might be able to achieve " any vow perfectly?—For I serve the maiden who is chief " in beauty—according to what I have, and as love teaches " me,—if the Virgin Mary were here present,—if deity " were only taken from her,—I should not be able to make

[1] *Henry Plantagenet, earl of Derby, who had two daughters and coheirs, Maude and Blanche, neither of whom married the earl of Salisbury, so that we may consider it at least probable that the story in the text is a mere invention of the composer of this poem.*

" D'amours li ay requis, mais elle se deffent;
" Mais gracieux espoirs me donne entendement
" Qu'encore aray merchi, se je vis longuement.
" Si pri à la pucelle de cœur devotement,
" Qu'elle me preste un doit de sa main seulement,
" Et methe sur mon oeil destre parfaitement."[1]
" Par foy," dist la pucelle, "moult feroit laskement
" Dame qui son amant rekiert parfaitement
" La forche de son cors avoir entierement,
" Se d'un doit à toukier faisoit refusement;
" Et l'en presteray deux, ainsi l'ai en couvent."
Les deux dois sur l'oeil destre li mist isnelement,
Et se li a clos l'oeil et fremé fermement.
Et chix a demandé moult gracieusement,
" Bele, est-il bien clos?" " Oyl, certainement."
Adonc dis de le bouche du cœur le pensement.
" Et je veu et prometh à Dieu omnipotent,

" a distinction between the two.—I have asked her for
" love, but she refuses;—but gracious hope gives me to
" understand—that yet I shall have mercy, if I live long.—
" So I pray the maiden from my heart devoutly—that she
" lend me only a finger of her hand,—and put it entirely
" on my right eye."—" By my faith," said the maiden," she
" would act basely,—the lady who requires of her lover
" fully—to have entirely the force of his body,—if she
" refused to touch him with one finger;—and I will
" lend him two, and so I am ready to do."—Immediately
she placed her two fingers on his right eye,—and so she
has closed his eye and shut it up firmly.—And he
asked her very gracefully,—"Lady, is it quite closed?"
" Yea, certainly."—Then he said with his mouth his heart's
thought.—" And I vow and promise to God Almighty,—

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[1] William de Montacute, earl of Salisbury, one of Edward's bravest warriors, did not, as our poet pretends, affect blindness, but he had lost one of his eyes in the wars in Scotland

" Et à sa douche mere que de beauté resplent,
" Qu'il n'ert jamais ouvers, pour ore ne pour vent,
" Pour mal ne pour *martire*, ne pour *encombrement*,
" Si seray dedans Franche, où il a bonne gent,
" Et si arai le fu bouté entierement,
" Et serai combatus à grand effortement
" Contre les gens Philype, qui tant a hardement ;
" Si ne sui en bataille prins, par boin ensient
" Ed[ouart aid]erai à acomplir son talent.
" Or aviegne qu'aviegne, car il n'est autrement."
Adone osta son doit la puchelle au cors gent,
Et li iex clos demeure, si que l' virent le gent.
Et quand Robert l'entent, moult de joie l'enprent.
Quant li quens Salebrin ot voué son nvis,
Et demoura l'oeil clos en la guerre toudis,
Li bers Robers d'Artois ne s'est mie alentis,
La puchelle apella, fille au conte Derbi ;
" Damoiselle," dit-il, " on non de Jhesu Crist,
" Car voés au hairon le droit de chest pais."

" and to his sweet mother who is resplendent with beauty,—
" that it shall never be opened, for weather or wind,—for
" hurt or torture, or for disaster,—till I am within France,
" where there are good people,—and I shall have set fire
" everywhere,—and I shall have fought with great force—
" against the people of Philip, who has so much boldness.
" —If I am not taken in battle, by good will—I will aid
" Edward to accomplish his design.—Now happen what may
" happen, for it is not otherwise."—Then the maiden with the elegant body withdrew her finger,—and the eye remained closed, so *that* the people saw it.—*And* when Robert hears it, he is seized with much joy.

When the earl of Salisbury had made his vow,—and the eye remained closed *always* in the war,—*the noble Robert* of Artois did not remain idle,—he appealed to the maiden, the daughter of the earl of Derby ;—" Damsel," said he, " in the name of *Jesus Christ*,—now vow on the heron

" Sire," dist la puchelle, "tout à vostre devis ;
" Car je veu et prometh à Dieu de Paradis,
" Que je n'arai mari, pour homme qui soit vis,
" Pour duc, conte, ne princhedomaine, ne marchis,
" Devant que chieux vassal aura tous acomplis
" Le veu que pour m'amour a si haut entreprins ;
" Et quant il revenra, s'il en escape vis,
" Le mien cors li otroie de bon coer à toudis."
Quant li vassaux l'entent, li coers li est sousprins,
Si en fu en son ceur plus liés et plus hardis.
Quant la gentix pucelle ot faite sa pensée
De son ami servir, car ensi li agrée,
Li quens Robers d'Artois n'i a fait demourée,
Les plats d'argent reprent, li porteres li agréé ;
Car serment se penoit en coer et en pensée
De dire tel parole dont Franche fût grevée,
Pour che qu'il ot perdu la nobile contrée,
Le pais agensi, dont fort li desagrée ;
A Wautier de Mauny a dite sa pensée,

" the right of this country (*i. e., the right of the English to* France)."—" Sire," said the maiden, " all as you will ;—for I " vow and promise, to God of Paradise,—that I will not have " a husband, for any man who is alive,—for duke, earl, or " sovereign prince, or marquis,—before this vassal has entirely " accomplished—the vow which for my love he has so loftily " undertaken ;—and when he shall return, if he escape alive, " —I give him my body cordially and for ever."—When the vassal heard this, his heart was overcome,—and he was for it in his heart more joyful and more courageous.

When the gentle maiden had expressed her thought—of serving her friend, for so it pleased her,—the count Robert of Artois made no delay,—he took again the dishes of silver, the bearer gave them up ;—for he laboured hard in heart and in thought—to say such word as should bring grief to France,—because he had lost the noble country,—the country so rich, at which he was much grieved ;—to Walter de Mauny he said his thought,—" Sir," said

" Sire," co dist Robert, "s'il vous plaist ot agréo,
" Voués à no hairon vo plaisancho honorée."
Et Wautiers respondi, "M'i a mestier choisée,
" No say faire vouucho qui puist estre akievée ;
" Mais pour chou que chi voi une gent honorée,
" Mo vaurai esprouver que mes honneurs soit gardée
" Car je veu et prómeth à la vierge honnorée
" Qui porta cheli Dieu qui fist chil et rousée,
" Qu'en une bonne ville qui est de tours fremée,
" Et de palus enclose, de tours avironnée,
" Godemars du Fay l'a longuement gardée,
" Mais, par le serement dont j'ai fait le voudo,
" G'i bouterai le fu ens une matinée,
" Et sera de par moi celle ville gastée,
" Et ochise la gent gisant geule bée,
" Et si m'en partirai en ichelle journée
" Tous sains et tous haitiés, que ma char n'est navrée,
" No ma gent qu'avec moy est par dedans entrée.
" Or me doinst Dieux pooir d'acomplir ma pensée."

Robert, "if it please and be agreeable to you,—vow to our
" heron your honourable pleasure."—And Walter replies,
" I *ought to be silent*,—I *know not how to make a*
" vow which can be achieved ;—but because I see here
" a people that is honourable,—I would make an effort to
" guard my own honour ;—wherefore I vow and promise
" to the honoured virgin—who bore the God who made
" heaven and the dew,—that in a good town which is
" fortified with towers,—and inclosed with marshes, and
" *surrounded with towers*,—*Godemars de Fay has long held*
" it,—but, by the oath of which I have made the vow,—I
" will set fire to it one morning,—and this town shall be
" ruined by me,—and the people slain and lie with their
" mouths gaping,—and I will go away from it that same
" day—all sound and rejoicing, without a wound on my
" flesh,—nor my people who with me entered therein.
" —Now may God give me power to *accomplish* my

Et quant Robert l'entent, moult forment li agrée,
Et dist, " Fors est la cose, s'ensi estoit passée,
" Mains preudons en morra ains ke soit akievée."
Quant Wautiers de Mauny ot le sien veu voué,
Robers, cheli d'Artois, dont j'ai devant parlé,
A reprins les deux plas, si les a relevés,
Et les trois menestreus ont leurs cordes tiré,
Et les deux pucelles ont en haut escrié,
" Loyaux amours nous mainent, qui nous ont encanté."
Le preu conte Derby a li quens apelé,
Et li proie pour Dieu et pour la Trinité,
Que il veue au hairon son voloir et son gré;
Et li quens respondi par grant humilité,
" Robert, je le ferai, à votre volenté,
" Et je veue et promeih, et si iert akievé,
" Que, se li rois Englès nous a delà mené
" En la terre de Franche, dont on a tant parlé,
" Que encontre un fort conte que on a tant redouté,
" Ch'est Loeys de Flandres, ainsi l'ont apellé

" thought!"—And when Robert hears him, he is greatly
" pleased,—and says, "The thing is hard, if thus it were done,
" —many a good man shall die before it is accomplished."

When Walter de Mauny had vowed his vow,—Robert, he of Artois, of whom I have spoken before,—has taken again the two dishes, and has raised them up,—and the three minstrels have drawn their cords,—and the two maidens have sung aloud,—"Loyal loyes lead us, which have en-
" chanted us."—The count has called upon the noble earl of Derby,—and prays him, for the sake of God and the Trinity,—that he vow to the heron his will and pleasure;—and the earl replied with great humility,—"Robert, I will
" do it at your wish,—and I vow and promise, and it shall
" be achieved,—that when the English king has led us over
" there—into the land of France, of which so much has
" been said,—that against a powerful count who has been
" so much redoubted,—I mean Louis of Flanders, so have

" Le mainie Philypo de Valois le membré,
" Qui se fait roi de Franche, mès c'est contre le gré
" Le bon roi Edouart, qui tant a de fierté.
" Si m'ait Sains Thomas, j'ai en mon cœur voué,
" Tant cherqueray le conte, que je l'arai trouvé,
" Demanderay lui jouste, s'il a le cuer osé,
" Et s'il ne vient à mi par très grant poesté,
" Par le foy que je doy Edouart le membré,
" Que si très près de lui aray le fu bouté,
" Que bien sera par lui veu et esgardé;
" Or avjegne qu'avjegne, je l'ai ensi voué."
Et quant Robert l'entent formeit li vint à gré,
Et dist, " Si faite guerre me seroit amisté;
" Encore venra-li termes, se Dieux l'i destiné,
" Que mi enfans seront de prison delivré,
" Et si porai bien nuire chiaux qui tant m'ont greyé."
Quant chiex Robert d'Artois ot dit chou qu'il pensa,
Les deux plas a reprins, et si les releva;

" called him—the people of 'Philip of Valois the strong-
" limbed,—who makes himself king of France, but it is
" against the will—of good king Edward, who has so
" much pride.—As St. Thomas have me, I have vowed in
" my heart,—I will seek the count until I shall have found
" him,—I will demand justs of him, if he has the heart to
" dare it,—and if he does not meet me with very great
" power,—by the faith which I owe to Edward the strong-
" limbed,—so near to him I will have set the fire,
" —that it shall be well seen and looked at by him.—
" Now happen what may happen, I have vowed it so."—
And when Robert hears it, he is greatly pleased,—and
says, "War thus made will be friendship to me;—the time
" will yet come, if God has destined it,—when my children
" shall be delivered from prison,—and I shall perhaps be
" able to injure those who have so much grieved me."
When this Robert of Artois had said what he thought,—
he took again the two dishes and raised them up,—to the

Au comte de Souffort s'en vint et dit li a:
" Biaux sires, vous qui estes des Englès par delà,
" Voés à no hairon, et Diex vous aidera."
Et li quens respondi: " Ne vous en faurai jà,
" Car je veu et prometh, et mes cors le tenra,
" Que, si li rois Englès nous amene delà
" En la terre de Franche, où maint chevalier a,
" Que chertes le mien cors à toujours cachera
" Le fils d'un empereur, où moult de bonté a,
" Ch'est le roi de Béhaigne, ne sai s'il i verra,
" Mès se mon cors l'encontre, par Dieu jà n'i faura
" Qu'il n'ait bataille à mi; mon cors desiré l'a,
" Ou de glaivo,, ou d'espée, si qu'il le sentira,
" Si que il proprement à terre versera,
" Et s'arai son keval, ne sais s'il me donra.
" Or aviegne qu'aviegne, tout ainsi en sera."
Quant Jehans l'entendit, chil qui Biaumont garda,
Par grant ire de ceur moult fort en souspira;
Et sachiés de certain que forment l'en pesa,

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earl of Suffolk he came and said to him:—" Fair sir, you
" who are of the English over there,—vow to our heron,
" and God shall aid you."—And the earl replied: " I will
" not fail you,—for I vow and promise, and my body shall
" hold it,—that, if the English king lead us over there—
" into the land of France, where there is many a knight,—
" that truly my body shall ever pursue—the son of an
" emperor, who possesses much goodness,—I mean the king
" of Bohemia, I know not if he will come there,—but if
" my body meet him, by God, there will be no fail—that
" he shall have battle with me; my body has desired it,—
" either with glaive or with sword, so that he shall feel
" it,—so that he shall be clean thrown to the ground,—
" and I will have his horse, I know not if he will give
" it me.—Now happen what may happen, just so it shall
" be."—When John heard this, he who held Beaumont,—
with great anger of heart he sighed very deeply;—and know
for certain that it annoyed him very much,—and he said,

Et dist: "Outragoux vouś vostre coer vouè a;
" Car jou qui suis parens au bon roy qui tant a
" Conkis en grant noblesse, et encore fera,
" S'il me het, et je l'aime, et il est par delà,
" Ne li faurai-je mie quant li besoins sera,
" Que par icel Seigneur qui le monde estora,
" Qui nasqui de la virge quant l'estoile leva,
" Je vous renderai prins, ne vous en faurai jà;
" Li fors roys de Behaigne en prison vous tenra,[1]
" Qui qu'en poist, ne qui non, autrement n'en ira."
Dist li quens de Soufflort: "Or soit sans courouchier;
" Amours, et hardemens, et li grant desirier
" Que nous avons de Franche la terre calengier,
" Nous en fait le grand fais emprendre et enkerkier.
" Chil amant par amours se doivent effforchier;
" Car qui par amours aimme, il se doit avanchier,

" Your heart has vowed outrageous vows;—for I who
" am kinsman to the good king who so much has—con-
" quered in great nobleness, and will do so still,—though
" he hates me, and I love him, and he is over there,—I
" will not fail him when he is in need,—that by the Lord
" who created the world,—who was born of the Virgin
" when the star rose,—I will cause you to be taken, I will
" not fail you;—the powerful king of Bohemia shall hold
" you in prison,—who is vexed, or who not, it shall not
" go otherwise."
Said the earl of Suffolk: "Now let it be so without
" anger;—love, and courage, and the great desire—which
" we have to challenge the land of France—causes us to
" desire and seek the great task.—These lovers for love must
" be exerting themselves;—for he who loves by love, he

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[1] The earls of Salisbury and Suffolk were taken prisoners in an attempt upon Lisle in Flanders, soon after the Easter of 1340, and carried to Paris. They were treated with severity, and the French king is said to have proposed to put them to death as rebels, but they were saved by the intermedintion of the king of Bohemia.

" En parole ou en fait on se doit efforchier ;
" Choseuns le fera bien s'il vient à l'aprochier ;
" Mais li plus fort sera du retourner arrier."
Li quens Robert d'Artois ne s'i vault atergier,
Il fait les menestreux de viele efforchier,
Et ces dames danser, pour le proie essauchier.
Les deux plas a reprins et le hairon arier ;
Jehan de Faukemont enprent à arrainnier.
Li bers Robers d'Artois n'i vaut plus arester ;
Jehan de Faukemont enprent à apeler.
" Et vous, sire, qu'en guerre vous faites si douter,
" Or voués au hairon le droit d'aventurer."
Et chil a repondu : " Je ne dois m'en mesler
" De veu de promesse ; car je n'ai que donner ;
" Car je suis povres hons, si ne m'en veel mesler.
" Mais, pour l'amour de vous et pour mes honneurs
garder,
" Je veu et je promoth, et le veel affier,
" Que, si li rois Englois passoit delà la mer,
" Et parmi Cambresis voloit en Franche entrer,

" must advance himself ;—one ought to labour in word and
" in deed ;—every one will do it well when he comes to
" the approach,—but the hardest will be to return back."—
Count Robert of Artois would not delay there,—he makes
the minstrels labour on the fiddle,—and these ladies dance
to prepare the prey (*i.e.* to excite the ardour of those whom
Robert sought to entrap into making vows).—He has taken
again the two dishes and the heron back ;—he begins to talk
to Jean de Faukemont.—The noble Robert of Artois would
make no delay ;—he proceeds to call on Jean de Faukemont.
—" And you, sir, who make yourself so much feared in war,
" —now vow to the heron the right to adventure."—And he
has replied : " I ought not to meddle—with vow of promise ;
" for I have nothing to give ;—for I am a poor man, and
" am not desirous of sharing in it.—But, for the love of you
" and to keep my honours,—I vow and I promise, and I give
" assurance of it,—that, if the English king passed beyond
" the sea,—and would enter into France through Cam-

" Que j'iroie lo fu par devant li bouter,
" Et si n'espargneroie ne moustier ne autel,
" Femme grosse n'enfant que je pousse trouver,
" Ne parent ne amis, tant me peust-il amer,
" Pour tant que il vausist roy Edouart grever;
" Por son veu acomplir vorray mon cors peuer.
" *Or aviegne qu'aviegne, j'i voel aventurer.*"
Et dist li uns à l'autre: " Tes hons fait à amer,
" Qui l'onneur son seigneur voelt croistre et amonter."
Li quens Robers d'Artois ne va plus atargant,
Les plas d'argent reprent, qui sont fort et pesant,
Et les deux pucelles s'aloient escriant:
" *Loyaus amours nous mainent, qui nous vont enchanter.*"
Robers a apellé un chevalier vaillant,
Che fu Jehan de Biaumont, un prinche conquerant,
Oncles au gentil conte de Henau le poissant;
Lors li a dit Robert moult gracieusement:
" Voués au hairon, sire, je vous en vois priant."
Dist Jehan de Biaumont: " Sire, à votre talent;

" bresis,—I would go and set fire before him,—and I would
" neither spare church nor altar,—neither woman with
" *child nor infant that* I *could find*,—*nor kinsman nor*
" friend, however much he might love me,—as long as he
" should will to grieve king Edward;—to accomplish his
" vow I would pain my body.—Now happen what may
" happen, I will *incur the adventure*."—And *said one to the*
other: "Such a man is to be loved,—who would increase
" and raise the honour of his lord."

Count Robert of Artois makes no more delay,—but takes the *plates of silver again*, which are large and heavy,—and the two maidens went crying:—" Loyal loves lead us, " which go enchanting us."—Robert has called a valiant knight,—it was John de Beaumont, a conquering prince,—uncle to the gentle count of Hainault, the powerful;—then Robert said to him very gracefully:—" Vow *to the heron*, " sir, I pray you."—Said John de Beaumont: " Sir, at your

" Mès de tant de paroles me vois moult merveillant
" *Vantiso ne vaut nient qui n'a achievement.*
" Quant nous sommes en tavernes, de ches fors vins
boevant,
" Et ches dames de lès qui nous vont regardant,
" A ches gorgues polies ches colieres tirant,
" Chil oeil vair resplendissant de beauté souriant,
" Nature nous semont d'avoir ceur desirant
" De contendre, à le fin de merchi atendant;
" Adonc conquerons nous Yaumont et Aguilant,
" Et li autre conquirent Olivier et Rolant.
" Mais quand sommes as camps, sor nos destriers
courans,
" Nos escus à nos cols, et nos lanches baissans,
" Et le froidure grande nous va tous engelans,
" Li membre nous effendent et derriere et devant,
" Et nos ennemis sont envers nous approchant;
" Adonc vauriemes estre en un chelier si grant
" Que jamais ne faissons veu ne tant ne quant;
" De si faite vantise ne donroie un besant.
" Je ne dis pas pour cause que me voise escusant,

" will;—but I marvel much at so much talk;—boasting is
" worth nothing without it be accomplished.—When we are
" in taverns, drinking the strong wines,—and the ladies
" near who look at us,—drawing the kerchiefs round their
" smooth necks,—their grey eyes resplendent with beauty
" smiling,—nature provokes us to have desire in our hearts
" —to contend, looking for mercy as the result;—then we
" conquer Yaumont and Aguilant,—and others conquer
" Oliver and Roland.—But when we are in the fields, on our
" swift war-horses,—our shields at our necks and our
" spears lowered,—and the great cold benumbs us all,—
" our limbs fail us both behind and before,—and our enemies
" are approaching towards us,—then we should wish to be
" in a cellar so great—that we should never make a vow
" of one kind or other;—for such boasting I would not
" give a besant.—I do not say this for a ground to excuse

" Car je vou et prometh au vrai cors Saint Amant,
" Que se li rois Englès voloit faire aitant,
" Qu'il entrat en Hainau et passat en Brebant,
" Et parmi Cambresis allat en Franche entrant,
" Son marisal seroie de son ost conduissant,
" Pour guerroier en Franche le riche roi poissant,
" Que je ne li faurai pour nul homme vivant,
" Et en tous ses besoingnes serai toudis devant,
" Pour tant perderai ma terre et quanques j'ai vaillant.
" Mè si li roi de Franche voloit faire aitant,
" Que de sa volonté il me fust rapellant
" En Franche, dont bannis sui pour mon ensiant,
" D'Edouart partiroie, par Dieu le tout puissant,
" Isi honestement que nus, petit ne grant,
" Ne me poroit monstrer que fuisse mesfaisant,
" Ne par traison nulle je li fuisse grevant.
" Et, se che ne veut faire, j'ai Dieu en convenant,
" Qu'au boin roy Edouart serai toudis aidant,
" Et parmis cette guerre serai la gent menant."
Et quant li rois l'entent, se l'en va merchiant.

" myself,—for I vow and promise on the true body of St.
" Amant,—that if the English king would do so much—as
" to enter into Hainault and pass into Brabant,—and go
" through Cambresis to enter France,—I will be his marshal
" to conduct his host,—to make war in France upon the
" powerful rich king,—that I will not fail him for any man
" living,—and in all his needs I will be always before him,
" —though I shall lose my land and all I am worth.—But
" if the king of France would do so much—as voluntarily
" to recall me—into France, from which I am banished, as
" I know,—I would quit Edward, by God the Almighty,
" —so honestly that no one, little or great,—could point to
" me as acting injuriously,—or that I was grieving him by
" any treason.—And, if he do not so, I make a covenant
" to God,—that I will always be aiding the good king
" Edward,—and throughout this war I will be the leader
" of his people."—And when the king hears him, he thanks
him.

Quant Johan de Beaumont ot dit ce qu'il pensa,
Robert, celi d'Artois, gaires ne demoura,
Les doux plas a reprins et si les releva,
Et les trois menestrels il mie n'oublia;
Les deux pucelles cantent, chescuns une emmena.
Par devant la roine Robert s'agenouilla,
Et dist que le hairon par tems departira,
Mès que chou ait voué que le ceur li dira.
" Vassal," dist la roine, " or ne me parlés jà;
" Dame ne peut vouer, puis qu'elle seigneur a,
" Car s'elle voue riens, son mari pooir a
" Que bien puet rapeller chou qu'elle vouera;
" Et honnis soit li corps que jà si pensera,
" Devant que mes chiers sires commandé le m'ara."
Et dist le roy: " Voués, mes corps l'aquittera;
" Mès que finer en puisse, mes corps s'en penera;
" Voués hardiement, et Dieux vous aidera."
Adonc dist la roine: " Je sais bien que piecha
" Que sui grosse d'enfant, que mon corps senti la,

When Jean de Beaufort had said what he thought,—Robert, he of Artois, did not stop long,—he has taken the two *dishes again and raised them up*,—*and the three minstrels* he did not forget;—the two maidens sing, each led away one.—Robert knelt before the queen,—and said that the heron he would distribute in time,—when she had vowed that which her heart should tell her.—" Vassal," said the queen, " now talk to me no more;—a lady cannot make a " vow, because she has a lord;—for if she vow anything, her " husband has power—that he can fully revoke what she " shall vow;—and shame be to the body which should " think of it,—before my dear lord *shall* have commanded " it me."—And said the king: " Vow, my body shall " *acquit it*;—*but that I may accomplish it*, my body shall " labour;—vow boldly, and God shall aid you."—Then said the queen: " I know well for sometime—that I am " big with child, that my body has felt it,—it is only

" Encore n'a il gaires qu'en mon corps se tourna ;
" Et je voue et prometh à Dieu qui me crea,
" Qui nasqui de la vierge, que ses corps n'empira,
" Et qui morut en crois, on le crucifia,
" Que jà li fruis de moi de mon corps n'istera,
" Si m'en arés menée ou pais par delà,
" Pour avanchier le veu que vo corps voué a.
" Et s'il en voelh isir, quant besoins n'en sera,
" D'un grand coutel d'achier li miens corps s'ochira ;
" Serai m'asme perdue et li fruis perira."
Et quant li rois l'entent, moult forment l'en pensa,
Et dist : " Certainement nuls plus ne vouera."
Li hairons fu partis, la roine en mengna.
Adonc, quant che fu fait, li rois s'apareilla,
Et fit garnir les nes, la roine i entra,
Et maint franc chevalier avecques lui mena.
De illoec en Anvers li rois ne s'arreta.
Quant outre sont venu, la dame delivra ;
D'un biau fils gracieux la dame s'acouka,

" *a little while since it moved in my body ;—and I*
" vow and promise to God who created me,—who was
" born of the Virgin, while her body remained perfect,—
" and who died on the cross, they crucified him,—that my
" fruit shall never issue from my body,—until you have led
" me to the country over there,—to perform the vow that
" your body has vowed.—And if it should be ready to issue,
" *when it will not be need,—with a great knife of steel*
" my body shall slay itself ;—my life will be lost, and the
" fruit will perish."—And when the king hears this, he
thought of it very gravely,—and said : " Certainly no one
" will vow more."—The heron was divided, the queen ate of
it.—Then, after this was done, the king made his prepara-
tions,—and caused ships to be stored, the queen entered ;
—and led many a free knight with him.—From thence to
Antwerp the king made no halt.—When they had finished
their voyage, the queen was delivered ;—*the lady was brought*

Lyon d'Anvers[1] ot non quant on le baptisa.
Ensi le franque dame le sien veu aquitta ;
Ains que soient tout fait, main[t] preudomme en morra,
Et maint bon chevalier dolent s'en clamera,
Et mainte proude femme pour lasse s'en tenra.
Adonc parti li cours des Englès par delà.
Chi finent leus veus du hairon.

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to bed of a graceful fair son,—Lion of Antwerp he was called, when they baptized him.—Thus the noble dame acquitted her vow ;—before they are all acquitted, many a good man will die for it,—and many a good knight will lament,—and many a good woman will be tired of it.—Then went the court of the English over there.—*Here end the vows of the heron.*

[1] Lionel duke of Clarence, king Edward's third son, was born at Antwerp in 1338.

Epigram on the Assumption of the Arms of France.[1] 1339.

Jus E. regis Anglie in regno Francorum.

Rex sum regnorum bina ratione duorum;
Anglorum cerno me regem jure paterno;
Jure matris quidem rex Francorum vocor idem.
Hinc est armorum variatio bina meorum,
M. ter centeno cum ter denoque noveno.

An Invective against France.[2]

Written in the Autumn of 1346.

Francia, fœminea, pharisæa, vigoris idea,
Lynxea, viperea, vulpina, lupina, Medea,
Callida, syrena, crudelis, acerba, superba,
Es fellis[3] plena, mel dans *labet anguis in herba*,
Sub duce Philippo Valoys, cognomine lippo,
Amoris nomen famam cognomen et omen.[4]

[1] From a manuscript in the Bodleian Library, MS. Rawlinson, No. 214, fol. 121, v°.

[2] This poem bears internal evidence of having been written very soon after the battle of Crécy. I have found it in three manuscripts, MS. *Cotton. Titus A. xx., fol. 78, r°* (A); MS. Bodl. 851, fol. 117, v° (B); and MS. Rawlinson, No. 214, fol. 115, v° (C); in the last of which it is entitled, *Gesta bellicosa excellentissimi principis domini Edwardi Wyndeshore regis Anglorum* iij., *et primo de bello Cresey et Nevyle Crosse.* It is here printed from the first of these manuscripts. There are considerable variations in the manuscripts, which I have pointed out in the notes; but I have here, as in other similar cases, intentionally been sparing in *transferring the reading of one copy to* the other, because I think these *readings may often express the par*ticular opinion or sentiment of the individual from whom the copy came. It should be stated that the Rawlinson MS. belongs to the fifteenth century.

[3] *fillis*, B.

[4] So this line stands in the MS.; perhaps a line is lost which would make sense of it.

Es nimis erecta, non grata cupidine tecta,
Fraudibus infecta, despecta, timore refecta.
Quaeris Philippum Valeys regem tibi lippum;
Pes tuus ad eippum currit, defendo calippum.
Philip barbareus jus pretoris[1] vitiavit,
Philippus gravius sceptrum regni temeravit.
Haeredem quaeris, Philip non est tuus haeres;
Prelia multa seris, vulnera plura[2] feres.
Tertius Edwardus, aper Anglicus et leopardus,
Rex tuus est verus; veniens tibi dente severus,
Cor tibi confregit, tua legit, multa subegit,
Bella peregit, fortia fregit, jura redegit.
Invasor lippe regni, discede, Philippe;
Oblique, lippe vidisti moris Agrippae.
Phy foetet, lippus oculis nocet, ergo Philippus
Dux[3] nocet et foetet, sordida fata metet.
O[4] Philippe Valeys, Xerxes,[5] Darius, Bituitus;
Te faciet *maleys*[6] Edwardus, aper polimitus.
Sepe reges dicti nimis in multis posuerunt;[7]
A paucis victi, capti, vincti perierunt.
Ex paucis simus, in nos cogitando redimus,
Corde superbimus, praesumimus, ergo perimus.
Armant injusti se, multis jura recedunt;
Armant, se credunt Domino, re, nomine justi.
Pacem veracem praetendens fraude latente,
Belli formacem succendis honore ruente.
Multos[8] subegisti, non vi sed fraude lupina;
Aprum fugisti, tua vis est alba pruina.
Te ferus infestat,[9] rex inclitus ense molestat,
Fama sibi restat, vecordia te dehonestat.
Te timor emollit, aprum probitas manifestat;
Jus sibi cor praestat, injuria cor tibi tollit.

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[1] *preturis*, B.
[2] *pauca*, B.
[3] *Hic*, B.
[4] *es*, B.
[5] *Persis*, A.
[6] *maloys*, B.
[7] This and the five following lines are omitted in B.
[8] *multa*, B.
[9] *incestat*, A.

Hic aper singularis, silvestris, acumine fortis,
Humoris[1] præclaris, infert tibi spicula[2] mortis.
Francia, par milvis,[3] demonstrat se foro Scillam ;[4]
Rex aper ex silvis veniens exterminat illam.
Dentibus aprinis infertur mors Parisinis ;
Sunt dentes tuti, mundi, fortes, et acuti.
Apro[5] vivente, prudenter regna regente,
Anglia dat lumen, dum Deus apri dat acumen.
Si paleas valeas, Valeys, depone timorem ;
In campo pateas, manens, ostende vigorem.
Flos es, flore cares, in campo viribus ares,
Mane tegel[6] phares, lupus[7] et lynx non leo pares.
Lynx videt a longe pariter,[8] simulat, machinatur ;
Insidiæ longæ sibi sunt, dum nil operatur.
Dat[9] tibi lynx visum, sed non donat leo nisum ;[10]
Uti quidem nisu prodest regi sine visu.
Deponas nisus, fallaces induc visus,
Rex visus invisus, cito deficiat tibi visus.[11]
Es flos in cameris, in bellis es quasi virgo,
In fraudis pirgo[12] sperans tutamina quæris.
Plene, Valeys, sorde, quo sint[13] tua bella remorde ;
Ut mulier morde, vel *scalpas*, vir *sine* corde.
Sis cor regis habens, miserans, verax, sive clemens ;
Sordo tuo tabens jam dimittit tua te mens.
Robur custodes regales coir[14] male prodes ;
Illis nudaris, ergo rex non reputaris.[15]
Te regem monstra, vel regis desere nomen,
Est tibi cognomen Valeys, sunt gens tua monstra.

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[1] *Culmis*, B.
[2] *specula*, A.
[3] *melius*, A.
[4] *cillam*, B.
[5] *Et pro*, A. *ex pro*, C.
[6] *techel*, C.
[7] *lepus*, B.
[8] *patitur*, B.
[9] *Sat*, A.
[10] *quid visu . . . n.*, B.
[11] *nisus*, C. This and the preceding line are omitted in B.
[12] This word is glossed in MS C by *punctus*.
[13] *sunt*, B.
[14] So A and B ; *cur*, C.
[15] This and the three preceding lines are omitted in B.

Æra commasti, peregrinari simulasti,
Quæ male legisti sine fructu distribuisti.
Impugnans Christi dotem non prævaluisti;
Corde tuo tristi reddes mihi quæ tenuisti.
Pactum compactum debellando mihi factum,
Vecors fregisti, latuisti, terga dedisti.
Prælia movisti, loca tempora constituisti,
Jus prætendisti, fugisti, victus abisti.
Fraudes fecisti, nullas treugas tenuisti;
Pontes fregisti, pontes juris repulisti.[1]
Es pontis fractor vitæ terroris et actor.
Impius exactor, regni tu pseudo subactor.
Nomen pontificis renuisti, regis abusus
Nomine, confusus, nudis probitatis amicis.
Deficit Ogerus, Karolus, Rodland,[2] Oliverus,
Cor tibi pes leporis, dat aper tibi facta leporis.
In proprio climat[3] tibi dicet[4] aper cito chekmat;
Nec dices liveret, lepus es, aper est tibi firet.[5]
Apparens aurum purum fingis Minotaurum,
Regnum thesaurum, non curas perdere laurum.
Cum seon in magnis regnas virtutis in avis,
Altus ut Anthiochus, res, vapor, umbra, focus.[6]
Cur fugis? assisto, puero, Philippo, resisto,
In te subsisto, cur pugnas more sophistæ?
Ostendet flores puer iste tibi graviores;
Fingis *fervores, aper en tibi tollit honores.*[7]
Francorum vittas[8] aper aufert dando sagittas,
Ut Jacob et Jonathas pœnas[9] mittendo probatas.

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[1] *remuisti*, B.

[2] *Roulond*, B. *Rowlond*, C.

[3] *clunat*, B. *clymate*, C.

[4] *tibi dicit*, B.

[5] *fireth*, B. *firret*, C.

[6] This and the three previous lines are omitted in B.

[7] These two lines are omitted in B.

[8] *vitas*, B.

[9] *Gallis*, C. This word is omitted altogether in A, and is supplied in the text from B.

O sua virtutis miranda sagitta salutis,
Impetit astuta, mobuenda petos et acuta.[1]
Spiritus aspirans[2] bonus a te, Saulo, recessit,
Ad David accessit, foliem prolin spirans.
Est David Edwardus, sancto cum crismate[3] clarens,
Philip corde carens Saul est ad prolin tardus.
Est aper[4] Edwardus, flos regum, pistica nardus,
Sol solus lucens, rosa mundi, stella reducens.
Est[5] probitas mundi, laus mundi, gloria mundi,
Thesaurus mundi, cor mundi, regula mundi.
Aurea seu rosea decet illum justa corona,
Fimea pellicea cedant, decet aurea zona.[6]
Hunc juvat ecce Deus, quia nobilis[7] ut Machabeus,
Laudes dando pias, gladium dat ei Jeremias.
Limatus gladius, versatilis, aureus, oras
Francorum citius vincet, agendo foras.
Princeps tantillus, cesus de monte lapillus,
Comminuet, franget, statuam grandem pius[8] anget.
Rerum natura modo neseit eo meliorem,
Francis terrorem dat et fortunia[9] dura.
Hic rex cuncta valet, omni pretiosior auro,
Ponitur in stauro, pneumatis igne calet.
Portat scuta spei, fidei, pietatis, amoris,
Ut cunctis horis cogitet finem requiei.
Cum tali scuto, gladio fervoris acuto,
Militat in tuto, dejecto demone muto.
Hostibus immensis offert se non sine pensis,
Esurions, sitiens, frigora, vim patiens.
Tuti *dormimus cum raro dormiat ipse*;
Tuti transimus cum spicula seminet ipse.[10]

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[1] These two lines are omitted in B.

[2] *inspirans*, B.

[3] *sancto karismate*, B.

[4] *probus*, B.

[5] *Es*, B.

[6] These two lines are omitted in B.

[7] *Deus, audax probus est ut*, B.

[8] *banus*, B.

[9] *infortunia*, B. *et fortuna*, A.

[10] These two lines and the two which follow are transposed in B.

Pro nobis donat sua, se, cor, corpus, et æra;
Ut leo voce tonat deterrens corda severa.
Ergo pro nobis tantos subeundo labores,
So donans nobis, nostros donamus[1] amores,
Ergo demus ei res, æs,[2] cor, corpus, amorem;
In virtute Dei tanto faciamus honorem.
Est nobis murus, virtus, valor,[3] absque pavore;
Rex bonus[4] Arthurus, Francos replendo dolore.
Dentes aprini fient clavi Parisini;
Rex leopardinus est juste rex Parisinus.
Jure dati nati[5] belli meriti probioris,
Simus ei grati, solus regnat vir honoris.
Alia[6] rubescunt, leopardis lilia crescunt;
Per se vanescunt, leopardis victa quiescunt.
Alia miscentur, leopardis regna treniscunt;
Lex, pax serventur, Francorum corda gemiscunt.
Quondam seductus juvenis rex trans marè ductus,[7]
Fraudibus adductus, Christi virtute reductus,
Philippo feci feodum[8] sub lege minorum;
Major id infeci cum magna laude meorum.
Si minor est lesus, ut lex vult restituetur;
Ergo[9] mihi detur quod[10] habet Philippus obesus.[11]
Sentio me lesum, Philippe Valoys, fugis æquum;
Corde tenendo Jhesum, disceptabo[12] bene tecum.
Fraude, dolo ducto pupillo subvenietur,
Ægro seducto mihi Francia contribuetur.[13]
Me facit hæredem Francis responsio legis,
Ergo meam sedem cur fœdas nomine regis?[14]

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[1] *mercatur*, B.
[2] *os*, B.
[3] *honor et valor*, B.
[4] *probus*, B.
[5] *nato*, C.
[6] *Lilia*, B.
[7] *Quondam seductus ultra mare rex male ductus*, B.
[8] *fiodum*, B.
[9] *Sic*, A.
[10] *quia*, A.
[11] *abesus*, A.
[12] *deceptabo*, B.
[13] *seducto . . . mov redibetur*, B.
[14] These two lines are omitted in B.

In te, cognate, non sunt insignia regis;[1]
Ergo resigna te tua mox mihi nomine legis.[2]
Morbum non sanas regalem, regna prophanas;[3]
Ne tua sit[4] vana gens, cor pavidum tibi sana.
Est morbus magnus, cor regis si sit ut agnus,
Ergo leoninum cor eum decet ac aquilinum.
Rege Cloodovio[5] Francorum primo renato,
Ungitur ex oleo de coeli culmine lato.
Illo servato rex Francorum solet ungi,
Mirando fato Valeys nequit hac vice fungi.
Deficiens oleum te monstrat non fore regem,
Conscius ergo gregem desero, quæro Deum.
Nil dabat ampulla, sic unctio fit tua nulla;
Est tibi mens pulla, sit vestis stricta cuculla.[6]
Rex regum venit, intus pius aspera lenit,
Æqualis lancis ergo perit unctio Francis.[7]
Francia debetur Edwardo, lippe videte,
Compotus ornetur, aper audiet, ergo videte.
Vires[8] vi de te puer auferet, ergo videte.
Sensus vi de te puer auferet, ergo videte.
Sceptrum vi de te puer auferet, ergo videte.
Si rex sis verus, Francis defendo coronam,
Regis personam monstres, nil fingat Homerus.
Non facias leporem ne Francia perdat honorem,
Amittat florem signi regalis odorem.[9]
Tecum gens multa, sed eorum[10] corda sepulta
Mollibus arescunt, vehemente timore timescunt.[11]
Ignorant mores Martis, sitiendo cruores,
Potant cum tiro, victi certamine diro.

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[1] *regum*, B.
[2] *legum*, B.
[3] This line is omitted in B
[4] *sint*, B
[5] *Cleodowio*, B
[6] *cucullo*, A.
[7] These two lines are omitted in B.
[8] *Virum*, B.
[9] This and the three preceding lines are omitted in B.
[10] *earum*, B.
[11] *tumore tumescunt*, A.

Dux Deus est secum, jus sécum, gratia secum ;
Fraus, dolus est tecum, non lex tecum, fuga tecum.
Nobile cor secum, gratum cor, omnibus æquum ;
Cor muris tecum, miserabile, labile, cæcum.
Ergo Deo dante, vi viribus auxiliante,
Quærens justitiam, sperat superare Goliam.[1]
" Est mecum Dominus, mihi prælia nulla nocebunt,
" Pugnando cominus Francorum gaudia flebunt." [2]
Multi sunt milites vecordes Francigenarum ;
Rex regum pedites, equites regat Angligenarum.
Psalle Deo, psalle, Valeys, dux Sardanapalle,
Falle duces, falle, Francorum destrues alle.
Elephas in monte pugnans cum rhinoceronte,
Cor gerit in fronte, cor habes cum camelionte.[3]
Vertis ei dorsum, faciem vertendo retrorsum ;
Sus gravem morsum patiens descendo deorsum.[4]
Clericus in studio, tu miles prælia nescis ;
Serpens in gremio, mus, igris,[5] glis, requiescis.
Apro singlari depasceris et capieris,
Ense salutari perimeris et inficieris.
Ensem justitiæ, pietatis, vel probitatis,
Non geris ex acie, pictor diræ feritatis.
Ense columbino ferieris, corde supino ;
Corde leonino privaris, tectus ovino.[6]
Francorum lege mulieri regna negantur ;
A summo rege contraria jura dabantur.
Sub duce carnifice Capoth[7] lex illa dabatur,
Ergo magnifice modo talis lex[8] reprobatur.
Capoth[9] carnificis Hugonis lex fuit illa ;
Hæc lex ancilla merito privatur amicis.

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[1] This line and the seven preceding are omitted in B.

[2] *corda timebunt*, B.

[3] *camaleonte*, C.

[4] This and the seven preceding lines are omitted in B.

[5] *ingnis*, B. *ignis*, C.

[6] This and the three preceding lines are omitted in B.

[7] *Capech*, B.

[8] *rex*, A.

[9] *Capech*, B.

Nomen mutavit, dictus fuit ipso Pipinus,
Cautus, vulpinus, logem Domini reprobavit.
Uxores Francorum regalis[1] nupta Pipino,
Munere divino vixit regina suorum.
Vir suus elatus, per eam nimium veneratus,
Stultus et ingratus, oblitus et insimulatus,[2]
Consentit legi quod fœmina nulla futura
Succedat[3] regi, vel ei sit regia cura.
Carnifices pecorum componunt jura suorum,[4]
Reges regnorum verbex non tangat[5] eorum.
Carnificis plana lex est contraria sano
Voci divinæ, donabitur ergo ruinæ.
Vox est divina quod Salphays[6] filia quina
Juri[7] confesso patris hæres vindicat[8] esse.
Postulant rem justam, rectam, ratione venustam,
Rem ratam, gratam, divina voce probatam.[9]
Lex a rege datur Domino cum quis moriatur,[10]
Si tenuit bene jus, est[11] hæres filius ejus.
Si mas defuerit, succedit[12] filia patri;
Filia si decrit, dabitur possessio fratri.
Lex non distinguit, ergo distinguere noli;
Fraus non extinguit debita jura poli.
Ergo duces, reges, plebem[13] lex tangere debet;
Francorum cor habet, delicit ampla seges.
Mater Ysabella nostri regis, generosa,
Prudens, formosa, virtutum lucida stella,
Regis Francorum Philippi filia cara,
Nupserat Anglorum regi, pacis via clara.

[1] *regales*, A.
[2] *immoderatus*, B.
[3] *Succedit*, A.
[4] *duorum*, B.
[5] *tangit*, B.
[6] *Salphad*, B.
[7] *Ad jus*, B.
[8] *vendicat*, B and C.
[9] These two lines are omitted in B.
[10] *Summo rege datur lex quod cum quis moritur*, B.
[11] *erit*, B.
[12] The word *quia* is added here in A, but it is evidently superfluous.
[13] *omnes*, B.

Ejus[1] tres fratres sine semine morte ruerunt,[2]
Lex, Deus, et patres[3] sibi regni jura dederunt.
Quicquid juris habet mater proli pia donat;
Proles non tabet, sed matris dona coronat.
Est Judæorum Christus rex sub vice[4] matris,
Ergo Francorum rex fiat[5] aper vice matris.
Dux Normannorum regnat vice progenitorum,
Victor Scotorum se vincens vita suorum.
Karolus imperator, rex patricius, dominator,
Cœlitus instructus, subito de corpore ductus,
Audivit dici per responsum Lodewici,[6]
Quod rex regnaret sua filia quam generaret.
Nomine materno rexit, sed jure paterno.
Ergo magnifico credamus in hoc Lodewico.[7]
Ergo, Philippe comes, apro reddas sua jura;
  Est et[8] ventura dura timenda comes.
Plangas in fine, dux, tanta causa ruinæ,
  Et mundi lucis defere regna ducis.
Parce cruori, parce dolori, parce rigori,
Parce rubori, parce labori, parcis[9] honori.
Sit tua mens[10] pura stricte responsa datura,
Cum quali cura dispensasti mea jura.
Reddere non poteris, quia copia deficit æris;
  Ergo dolens venias, invenies venias.
Anglia regna, mundi rosa, flos sine spina,
Mel sine sentina, vicisti bella marina.
Francigenæ naves ut aves in rete ruerunt,
Sanguine fluxerunt, lectis caruere suaves.
Anglicus ecce rogus Francos facit hogges et koghes,[11]

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[1] *Eo*, A.
[2] *fuerunt*, A.
[3] *ac pueris*, A.
[4] *sanguine*, B.
[5] *fiet*, B and C.
[6] *Lodowyci*, B and C.
[7] *credamus nos Lodowyco*, B and C.
[8] *tibi*, B.
[9] *parce*, A.
[10] *Sit tibi mens*, B.
[11] *ogges u ogus*, B.

Disperiunt, saliunt, dissipiunt, fugiunt.[1]
Cham semen Chanaan regem pacis fugientem,[2]
Edward Carnarivan dat morti se[3] perimentem.
Dic pes cy pes cy[4] fidei, probitatis,[5] honoris;
Dic pour est ny[6] tremor, error, et urra doloris;[7]
Dic pes cy pes cy,[8] *cecidit flos Francigenarum,*
Demisit nos cy[9] rex inclitus Angligenarum.
In Cressi[10] crevit laus Anglica, Francia flevit,
Decrevit, sævit, fugiens ut mos[11] *inolevit.*
Tres reges fortes contra nos applicuerunt,
De quibus insortes mortis duo mox ceciderunt.
Infortunatus cecidit rex malo gravatus,[12]
Miro fatatus Anglorum sensit hiatus.
Tunc aderat fato regis[13] nulla gratia nato;
  Regis nomen ei, gratia nulla rei.[14]
Vir super[15] illustres rex Boemiæ generosus,
Providus,[16] animosus, cadit ad[17] Cressi sine lustris.
Cæcus erat pleno qui prælia cæcus inivit,
Laudem quæsivit, cessant sibi laudis habenæ.[18]

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[1] *Desipiunt . . . . diffugeunt, pereunt*, B, which MS. adds after this line the following:—

Unus millena fugat et duo millia dena;
Moribus arserunt ipsi quibus hi enarrarunt,
Ipsos conclusit dominos qui vendidit illos,
In se tantillos nos Christus posse *reclusit.*
Dux Valeys hinnit, Francia grunnit, territa tinnit.
Francia plorat, falso colorat, se dehonorat.

[2] *pascens regem fugientem*, B. *fugientes*, A.

[3] *Edwardum Cunarvan aquilam dat te*, B.

[4] *poysi ponei*, B.

[5] *virtutis*, B.

[6] *cy*, C.

[7] *Dic gravius est jam pavor et tremor, arra*, B.

[8] *poici poici*, B.

[9] *Devirit nos ei*, B,

[10] *Christi*, A.

[11] *nos*, B.

[12] This line is omitted in A.

[13] *regum*, C.

[14] These two lines are omitted in B,

[15] *Nobilis*, B.

[16] *Vir probus*, B.

[17] *in*, B.

[18] These two lines, omitted in A and C, are supplied from B.

Tertius affugit,[1] pictus rex ut leo rugit.
Est leo jactando, lepus a bello[2] remeando.
Barones, comites, proceres, pedites fugientes
Anglorum pedites occidunt terga sequentes.
Rex, supra sensus hominis[3] sunt prælia facta,
Ergo Deo census tribuas et bella peracta.
Rex, Christo corda, rationis te rege corda,
Tecum concorda, jungas discordia corda.
Esto Deo gratus, qui pro te mira patravit;
Non sis elatus, benedic qui cuncta creavit.
Reges, magnates triginta duos sociavit
Benedal, elatos[4] quos mitis Achab superavit.
Senachereb videas, Nabugodenosor, Amasiam,
Anthcochum dolcas, Pharonem, Saul, Oziam.
Hi nimis elati contra Dominum fremuerunt,
Reges inflati proprio fastu pericrunt.
Rex, lumbos, oculos, os, cor rege, templa tuere;
Te proceres populos fac Christi jussa tenere.
Christo confidens, in Christi nomine ridens,
Te lucra, damna videns, sis Francis rumphea stridens.
Nobis, Christe, fave, humiles vicere superbos,
Pacifici suaves vincunt duros et acerbos.
Paupertas devicit opes, et debile forte,
  Ergo bona sorte proficiant inopes.
Pestis, proditio, pavor, præsumptio treugæ
Cedant,[5] rex, euge, te rege corde pio.
Insidians graviter se Francia tanta retraxit,
  Se mare subtraxit, dat tibi flumen iter.
Transiit illæsus populus noster sine fluctu,
  Miro conductu fit via nostra Jhesus.
Ergo via tali tuti transimus et imus,
Conjuncti simus Domino zelo speciali;

[1] *auſugit*, B.
[2] *campo*, B.
[3] *hominum*, B.
[4] *Benadab ingratus*, B.
[5] *Cedat*, A.

Unus millena fugat, et duo milia dona
Moribus asserunt ipsi quibus hi carnemut;
Ipsos conclusit Dominus qui vendidit illos,
In se tantillos nos Christi posse reclusit.[1]
Cessat honos et amor, timor et spes, ergo peribis;
Sit tibi verus amor, et tutus in omnibus ibis.
Spes, cor, amor jungat, tangat timor, ne honor ungat,
Ne nos disjungant pronomina vel mala pungant.
Valeys crudelis, piratica, raro fidelis,
Es[2] nostris telis sine navibus et sine velis.
Navibus infesta, cum nautis sepe[3] molesta,
Quo tua sunt gesta, quo vires nunc manifesta?
Multos cepisti,[4] destruxisti, rapuisti;
Ergo tibi tristi veniat maledictio Christi.
Fel, mel in ore geris, patieris, juro[5] mereris;
Jam confunderis, incenderis, perimeris.[6]
Rex sibi non pareas, thalamos scruteris et areas,
Libras et mareas capias dando sibi pareas.
Anglia conqueritur quod honor et amor sepelitur,
Vera fides moritur, lex, laus, pax non reperitur.
Quod malo taxatur, quod divitiis spoliatur,
Quod premitur, teritur,[7] oppressa dolore politur.
Anglia, languore quondam langues[8] graviore,
Pisciculi more fulges majori valore.
Quos videt esse graves mercator sepe labores,
Esse putat suaves propter mercedis amores.
Regis facta legis, si te regis ordine legis,
Suffer damna gregis, qui tria lucra tegis.
Nomine quid melius, quid gratius omine[9] caro;
Rex tuus eximius te dicat nomine claro.

[1] These four lines are omitted here in MS. B, which has inserted them in another place. See a former note.

[2] *Fit*, B.

[3] *variis et sepe*, B.

[4] *Multa peremisti*, B.

[5] *pateris que juste*, B.

[6] *occideris, capieris*, B.

[7] *teritur*, C.

[8] *languens*, B.

[9] *nomine*, A.

Qui prius infamo nomen fœtens habuisti.
Insignis famæ nomen sub eo meruisti.
Est mundo toti notus tuus arcus et omen;
Esto pii voti virtus, valor est tibi nomen.
Nomine ditaris, veneraris, nobilitaris,
Laudis singularis maris et terræ dominaris.
Anglicus angelicus Edwardus, juris amicus,
Sis rex pacificus, patiens, pius, atque pudicus,
Justus, munificus, clemens, moderatus, apricus,
Verax, magnificus, affabilis, ut Godericus.[1]
In Domino præsto rex lætus, sobrius esto,
Christo devotus, populo gratus, tibi notus.[2]
Sis plebi largus, sapiens, oculatus ut[3] Argus.
In Christo credas, a mundi fraude recedas.
Christo confidens, in Christi nomine ridens,
Te lucra damna videns, sis Francis rumphea stridens.[4]
Treugæ pseudo more veniunt ex lampadis ore;
Rex, treugas caveas, ne per eas pereas.
Rex mentis mundæ, gentis probitatis abunde;
In propria gente Juda confide docente.
Gente sua propria victoris honore potitur,
Junctus amicitia Romanis more feritur.
Fac, duc, dic, et fer, benefac, beneduc, benedicas,
Lucifer es, benefer, Francorum collige spicas.
Rex exactivus,[5] vecors, injustus oditur,
Fortis diligitur, justus, ratione dativus.[6]
Serves mandata, timeas et ames bene Christum;
Est gens ingrata quæ mundum diligit istum.
Sint sancto more tibi lex, grex, pax, in honore,
Laus in dulcore, sermo divinus in ore.[7]

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[1] *Godoricus*, B.

[2] *votus*, B.

[3] *et*, A.

[4] These two lines are supplied from MS. B.

[5] *evacturus*, A.

[6] *daturus*, A.

[7] These two lines are also supplied from MS. B.

Francigenæ ploront, qui sunt victi[1] quasi picti;
Pro nobis orent omnes sancti benedicti.
Anglica gens humilis, pia, pauper, et absque vigore,
Vicit cum jubilis Francos fabente cruore.
Ergo Deus dives, pauper rex Anglicus esto,
Est casus presto, Christo stes,[2] Anglia, vives.
Nostro precarus[3] regi fit sanctus Omarus;[4]
Sanctus preclarus proprio genti fit[5] amarus.
Rex regum, Christe, placeat tibi rex probus iste;
Sis sibi[6] spes vitæ, cum dixeris, ite, venite.
Ejus tutamen, moderamen, dux, meditamen,
Gloria, solamen, sit Christus in omnibus. Amen.

On the Battle of Neville's Cross.[7]

Oct. 17, 1346.

Si valeas paleas, Valoyes, dimitto timorem;
In campis maneas, pareas, ostendo vigorem.
Flos es, flore cares, in campis viribus ares,
Mane techel fares, lepus es, lynx, non leo pares.
Francia flos florum, caput olim nobiliorum,
Jam contra mores leopardus tollit honores.
Subpedito florem, rapio florentis honorem,
Flos fueram, formido feram cum jubare voram.
In Wyndelosor natus Edwardus ad arma paratus,
Rex fortunatus, probus est hucusque vocatus;
Miles magnanimus est, et fidus bene securus,
Non est ambiguus, per mundi climata purus.

[1] *sitis victi*, B.
[2] *speres*, A.
[3] *nostris preclarus*, A.
[4] *amarus*, A.
[5] *sit*, B. *gentis*, A.
[6] *sit*, B.

[7] This short piece is printed from a MS. in the British Museum, MS. Reg. 13 A. xviii., fol. 211, r°. It will be observed that the first four lines are taken from the preceding poem.

Multa libens dura patitur propter sua jura,
Sub duce secura tanto sunt oppida, rura.
Hic prope Berwycum populum superans inimicum,
Anglis plausificum fore se demonstrat amicum.
Admirans gentes Halidonhul ense ruentes,
Laudat currentes, pede non lento fugientes.
Mœroris plenam subiit illic Scotia pœnam;
Edwardi strenam sibi sentit adhuc fore threnam.
Ad Duram fleres, si bellum triste videres;
Occiderant proceres, pater occidit, occidit hæres.
Multi fugerunt Scoti, multi perierunt,
Illi vixerunt qui capti dona dederunt.
Hujus conflictus David Brus est memor, ictus
Sustinet, et victus capitur; rex sit benedictus.

On the Battle of Nevile's Cross.[1]

Dux Valeys[2] hinnit, Francia grummit, territa tinnit;
Francia plorat, falsa colorat, se dehonorat.[3]
Fortes ecce greges, ventos, contraria fila,
  Pugnabunt reges, rex leo, rex aquila;
Rex leo vincetur, cor, cauda, caput ferietur;
  Vincet rex aquila, regula, flos, simila.
Fictus non fortis, leo filius est cito mortis,
Se, regnum, gentes leo perdet[4] jure carentes.
Anglia gens, jubila, metuit[5] leo nescius an sis;
  Est leo rex Francus, Anglicus est aquila.

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[1] This poem is taken here from the same three manuscripts which furnished the poem on the French wars, namely, MS. Cotton., Titus A. xx., fol. 82, v° (A); MS. Bodl. 851, fol. 116, 1° (B); and MS. Rawlinson, No. 214, fol. 122, 1° (C). In the last it has the title, *Incipit bellum Socie apud Duram, ubi David rex Scotorum per excellentissimum principem dominum Eduardum 3^m regem Anglie fuit captus cum aliis.* It was evidently written amid the exultation caused by the important victory it celebrates, and contains curious incidents not found elsewhere. The variations between the different copies are, as will be seen, considerable.

[2] *Waleys*, C.

[3] *dishonorat*, C.

[4] *parde*, A.

[5] *metuus*, A.

Cæcus erat plene, qui prudin cæcus inivit.[1]
Laudem quæsivit, cessant sibi laudis habenæ.
Ecce Deus pro te, rex Edward,[2] pugnat ubique;
Sis tibi sincerus cultor, faciens nil iniquo.
Injustus, cupidus, cecidit veracia nolens;
Elatus, rigidus, se bene non recolens.
Rex esto justus, patiens, clarus, ore venustus,
Mitis et ignoscens, tacitus tua te bene noscens.
Contra nos populi multi veniunt, cavemus;
Ad te sunt oculi nostri, Jhesu, ne pereamus.
Tu scis quæ cogitant in nos, nos respice, Christe;
Justitiam vitant, cor eorum destrue, Christe.
Bella premunt, et corda tremunt, nos respice, Christe;
Mens gemit, arcte premit hostis, da, Christe, tuis te.
Non est pro nobis qui pugnet ni Deus unus,
Demus ei munus, dat se pro munere nobis.
Corda superborum Scotorum destrue, Christe;
Hostibus Anglorum Scotis, bone Christe, resiste.
Hydrarum capita sunt Scotis,[3] cæsa polita;
Tres uno cæso crescunt[4] sine corpore læso.
Turbus Brus cum[5] Francigenis sociatus,
Æstimat elatus Anglorum corda vorare.[6]
Res ut mercatur vendendo malum patiatur;
Nos sic[7] mercari voluit, nequit inde lucrari.
Ecce spei fortis, intendens[8] spicula mortis,
Anglos invadit, in mala fata cadit.
Scotorum hamma surgunt, clamemus osanna;
Scotos subsanna, Deus, ut clamemus osanna.
Scoti Leviathan sunt, sint[9] Abiron, Chore, Dathan,
Felle nigro[10] pleni, Gabal, Amon,[11] Agareni.

[1] *emit*, A.
[2] This word, omitted in the other MSS., is supplied from C.
[3] *Scoti*, B.
[4] *surgunt*, B.
[5] *Turbo David cum Brus Fr.*, B.
[6] *vocare*, B.
[7] *male*, B.
[8] *intentans*, B.
[9] *fiant*, B.
[10] *Fraude nigra*, B.
[11] *Gebar, Assur, Amon*, B.

Dum rex longinquas abiit noster[1] regiones,
Scoti felones guerras movere propinquas.
Falso[2] credentes boream virtute carere,
Insurrexere pomposo corde tumentes.
Se fore Sampsones, Machabæos, vel[3] Gedeones,
Credunt, ratones cito fugiunt velut et struthiones.[4]
Sub duce Brus David gens Scotica corda levavit,
Pars nobis David fit, reddet quæ spoliavit.[5]
Scoti vim faciunt, vastant[6] erraria jura,
Occidunt, rapiunt, faciunt incendia plura.
Multiplicem nummum quærunt, pacem fugientes;
Ergo bonum summum confundantur renuentes.[7]
Pro treugis brevibus immensa tributa petebant;
Mutatis gradibus trougis vehementer egebant.
Treugas felices præsumentes renuebant,
Post infelices treugas gratanter emebant.
Scotia præpropere treugas habuisset honore,
Quas modo summopere petit ac emit acta rubore.[8]
Dum pax offertur Scotis motu pietatis,
Anglis infertur bellum diræ feritatis.
Scoti collecti, serpentum felle refecti,
Stultitia tecti, miro conamine refecti,[9]
Inveniunt terram[10] boream probitate refertam,
Fidam, confertam, probitatis[11] honore disertam.
Patria collecta, primate suo duce recta,
Concordi secta, probitatis amore refecta,
Hymnis insistens, Scotis ex corde resistens,
In sulcis cantos fecit divinitus antos.

---

[1] *propias abiit*, B.

[2] *False*, A.

[3] *S. credebant et*, B.

[4] *Fiunt ratones, ros, umbra, vapor, struciones*, B.

[5] *Nos infestavit, pactum fidei violavit*, B.

[6] *spoliant*, B.

[7] These two lines are omitted in B.

[8] These six lines are only found in MS. B.

[9] *Sic MS.* These two lines are also only found in B.

[10] *certam*, A.

[11] *virtutis*, B.

Terram defendit, et prelia dira rependit.[1]
Terrentur Scoti, mira formidine moti;
Exacuunt corda viri fidei sine corda.
Ruperunt pacta, naturæ lege peracta;
Dictant confracta fera corda, timore subacta.
Elati cordis fuit auctrix Scotia cordis.[2]
Egressi muros ausi sunt bella movere,
Nolentes fures a bellis se cohibere.
In campo Duram statuunt pugnam subi[3] duram;
Nos protecturam dat Christi gratia curam.
Confidunt in equis, in curribus, in probitate,[4]
Credentes ne quis sit eis par nobilitate.
Est Domini nomen nobis *fortissima turris*,
A tantis scurris nos Christi protegat omen.
In sancti Lucæ festo, cœli duce luce,
Sub ductrice cruce Scoti periere caduce;
Aren, dente, bruco similes, pleni modo fuco,[5]
In Duram luco[6] morbo cecidere caduco.
Ut leo venerunt, dispergere[7] nos voluerunt,
Errabant ut oves et rodiere boves.
Anglorum primas docet[8] nos eleyson et ymas;
Scotorum primas sedes deduxit ad imas.
Cor, caput, ora, pedes fecit deponere sedes;
Scotorum sedes Anglorum protegat ædes.[9]
Hydropici[10] Scoti sitiunt vertigine moti;
Cum sitiit Scotus diros dedit Anglia motus.[11]
Scotiæ militia perit, et multi moriuntur,[12]
Capti vincuntur, nos defendente Maria.

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[1] *reprendit*, A.

[2] This and the nine lines preceding are not found in B.

[3] *sibi*, B and C.

[4] *et equitate*, B.

[5] *fere suco*, B.

[6] *Induant luco*, B.

[7] *disperdere*, B.

[8] *dicens*, B.

[9] These two lines are omitted in B.

[10] *Id repeti*, A. *Ydropici*, B.

[11] *potus*, B.

[12] *militia perit . . . perimuntur*, B.

Rex regum Scotis facit ut servis Olofernis,[1]
Temporibus vernis nostris dulcedine fotis.[2]
Irruit immanis, tremor, ars, fuga, terror inanis;
  Fugit consilium, dat fuga præsidium.[3]
Inclitus Henricus Perci, veræ[4] pacis amicus,
Fit Scotis amicus instans,[5] obstans inimicus.
Mos girfalconis fuit illi, cor Gedeonis,
Virtus Sampsonis, Joab ars, sensus Salomonis;[6]
Totus divinus, urbanus, ut ille Gawynus,
  Fit sibi dulcori nescia fama mori.
So probus[7] armavit, et agmina[8] fortia stravit.
Sæpe reintravit, acies fortes penetravit;
Scoti fugerunt, latuerunt, morte ruerunt;
Percy persequitur, perimit, rapit,[9] arte potitur.
Percy Machabæus fuit, et Brus David Etheus.
Percy non pigritat, se claro[10] nomine ditat,[11]
Illustris miles, Titus, Hector, Brutus, Achilles.
Hunc Deus instilles, Scotos fecit fore viles,
Fortis Perci leo, quasi gigas, par Machabæo,
Junctus amore Deo, neeat hostes cum jubilæo;[12]
Mittit ad infernum Scotos multos bene pictus,[13]
Semper in æternum suus ensis sit benedictus.
Et benedicantur generosi Perci parentes;
Sed maledicantur Scoti sibi mala[14] volentes.
Utens lorica fidei, probitatis amica,
Pugnans magnifice vicit nobis inimica.
Magnates tales debemus semper amare,

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[1] *servis Olefernis*, B. *Holofernis*, C.

[2] *Laudibus æternis nostris a crimine lotis*, B.

[3] These two lines are taken from MS. B.

[4] *Percy paro*, B. *Partis borealis amicus*; C. *bere pacis*, A.

[5] *constans*, B.

[6] *Pietas Loth, ars Sal*, B.

[7] *probet*, A.

[8] *cancia*, A.

[9] *mutus rapit*, C.

[10] *clari*, A.

[11] This and the five preceding lines are omitted in B.

[12] These two lines are also omitted in B.

[13] *suus ictus*, B.

[14] *Sc. mala Percy*, C.

Qui defensare quærunt populos, animales.
Scotos deludit, et aves post fuleo recludit,
Victos confudit, et eorum viscera fudit.
Ut mors non pareit, nec qui mársupia fareit,
Christo confidit, Scotorum bella receidit.
Quos infestabat aquila velocior omni,
Temporibus somni vigilans dormire vetabat.[1]
Intrat in eclipse fines ejus David ipse,
Virus dans dipsæ frustrabitur[2] apocalipse.
Brus serpens dipsas, faciens guerras bibit ipsas.[3]
Brus David auffugit, fugiendo contra leo rugit,
Coplond attingit fugientem, vulnere cingit;[4]
Regem persequitur, David in spinis reperitur,[5]
Copland arestat David cito se manifestat.
Rex[6] fugiens capitur, et honos[7] regis sepelitur.
Regem Scotorum licuit captum[8] retinere,
Regem scaccorum jura vetant capere.
Copland cognomen, est Johannes[9] sibi nomen,
Qui Brus accepit, sibi gratia crescere cœpit.[10]
A re nomen habens, cui cognomen capo[11] terram,
Capto Brus guerram finit sic Scotia habens.
Armiger ipse bonus fugientes examinavit,
Lætum copit onus Brus capiendo David.
Prædo mane rapax in vespere dividis escas,
Epicharis crescas, Bruys, probitate capax.[12]
Expers dulcoris fuit, expers est Bruys honoris,[13]
Fercula foetoris in primis obtulit horis.
Dum puerum David præsul baptismate lavit,
Ventrem laxavit, baptisterium maculavit.

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[1] This line and the eleven preceding are omitted in B.

[2] *frustabitur*, C.

[3] This line is taken from B.

[4] *tingit*, B.

[5] This line is supplied from MS. B.

[6] *Brus*, B

[7] *honor*, B.

[8] *captum licuit*, B.

[9] *Copland . . . est gratia John*, B.

[10] *David cepit et munera grata recepit*, B.

[11] *capere*, B.

[12] These two lines are omitted in B.

[13] *David fuit hic et honoris*, B.

Fontem fœdavit in quo mingendo cacavit;[1]
Sancta prophanavit, olei fœces[2] reseravit.
Brus nimis emunxit, cum stercore sacra perunxit,
Se male disjunxit, urinæ stercora junxit.
Dum baptizatur altare Dei maculatur,[3]
Nam[4] super altare fertur mingendo cacare.
Fac[5] singularis puer hic cœlestibus aris
  Optulit in primis stercora fœda nimis.[6]
Discinctus lumbis mirum thimiama refudit,[7]
Optulit et fudit[8] pro turture sive columbis.
Myrrham, thus, aurum[9] non optulit iste renatus,
Sed proprium staurum ventris rumpendo meatus.
Stercora concepit, peperit quæ ventre recepit,
Qui nondum repit fœdare tamen[10] sacra cepit.
Sic domus alma Dei fœdo repletus[11] odore,
  Anthiochi more fœtor adhæret ei.
Ecclesiæ Christi non competit hostia talis,
Laus baptismalis violatur munere tristi.
Credo prophetavit quod templa[12] Dei violaret,
Facto firmavit quod ei mala gratia flaret.
Filius altare mox stercoribus temeravit,[13]
Sanguine fœdare pater ecclesiam properavit.
Ergo prophetarunt[14] quod jus regni vitiarunt,
Ex quo sincero cultu[15] Domini caruere.
Prave vixerunt Manasses, Amon, duo reges,
In sacras leges committere non timuerunt.
Rex[16] Bruys Robertus, feritatis mole refertus,
Dux homicida ferus, patens, et apertus.[17]

---

[1] This line is omitted in A.
[2] *oleum mirum*, B.
[3] *baptizatus . . . maculatus*, B.
[4] *Brus*, B.
[5] *Fati*, C.
[6] These two lines are omitted in B.
[7] *Distentis . . . fetens . . retudit*, B.
[8] *Stercora diffudit*, B.
[9] *thesaurum*, A.
[10] *Dei*, B.
[11] *repletur*, B.
[12] *sacra*, B.
[13] *cum fonte sacro t.*, B.
[14] *prophanarunt*, B.
[15] *sacrilego vere c.*, B.
[16] *Dux*, B.
[17] *Vi rex insertus homicida patebit apertus*, B.

Filius uxorem [1] contemnit, adulter adultus,
Stulto[2] consultus fidei modo perdit[3] amorem.
Non est ipse David manibus, vultu venerandus,
Ut sibi[4] clamavit a rego David superandus.
In David forti nullas partes habet illo,
Tradendus morti forti privatur[5] Achille.
Fit lepra pœna patri, confusio, captio[6] proli,
Quæ[7] proli soli superest sibi pœna barathri.
Privatur prole quia conjugii bona sprevit,
Oppressus mole mala messuit et mala sevit.
Scotorum comites, quorum Patrik fuit unus,
Presto fuget,[8] comites sunt nobis nobile munus.[9]
Clamabant "*In a day gowe to the tyrie wyth hay.*"[10]
Ipsis sit *Waleway*,[11] *meschef* tristissima *wodday*.
Scoti triphonos nos invenire tirones,
Hi sunt dolones, et eramus corde leones.[12]
Hæc vox fervoris[13] fuit illis arra doloris;
Nobis dulcoris fuit illa dies et honoris.[14]
Fitque dies Martis Scoto confusio partis.
Vincere credebant, Deus, homo,[15] et jura volabant,
Wo propinabant, sua pocula primo libebant.
Quæ cum gustassent, et mortis dona[16] vomissent,
Nostri steterunt*et pocula tela[17] dederunt.
Ibant, gaudebant, deridentes veniebant,
Confusi flebant, victi redeundo dolebant.[18]
David deductus est, sunt sua gaudia luctus.[19]

---

[1] *Bus David uxorem*, B.
[2] *Stupor*, A.
[3] *perdebat*, B.
[4] *Sic MS.* These two lines are wanting in B.
[5] *cinili morti datus est privatus*, B.
[6] *vilissima c.*, B.
[7] *Væ*, B. *Sed*, C.
[8] *fugit*, A.
[9] These two lines are omitted in this place in B.
[10] *tyre . . . . hay hay*, C.
[11] *Welaway*, B.
[12] These two lines are omitted in B.
[13] *Quod vox fer.*, B.
[14] This line is taken from MS. B.
[15] *hoc*, B and C.
[16] *tela*, B.
[17] *vivunt . . . plura*, B.
[18] These two lines are omitted in B.
[19] *Bene David abductus fuit, est sua gratia luctus,*
Infortunatus at Achab miser est reprobatus, B.

Achab Michea non credit, sed Sedechiæ,
Præsumens[1] nimis vires sine corde perito,
Surgit Amasias, corruit ipso cito.[2]
Londonias[3] vere Scoti vovere venire,
Hoc votum miro[4] multi meruere tenere.
Scoti vicinæ sunt per mala vota ruinæ,
Est miser insultus sibi magna causa tumultus.
Propter peccata laus est Scotis breviata,
Anglia nunc timeat, crimina præcaveat.[5]
Christo devotum genus electum sibi notum,
Turma[6] sacerdotum facit illos solvere votum.
Tales vovere debent qui vota[7] tenere
Optant, et jurant, et ad hoc[8] se ponere curant.
Cor levitarum Scotis donat cor amarum,
Sit cor sanctorum benedictum[9] presbyterorum.
Visio magnarum vovetur Londoniarum,

[1] *Post sumens*, B.

[2] MS. B here adds the following lines, made up partly of lines omitted elsewhere: —

Scotorum comites, quorum Patrik fuit unus,
Præsto fugæ comites, sunt nobis nobile munus.
Callidus ipse comes metuens per devia fugit;
Fraus sibi cara, comes quasi hos cornupeta mugit.
Hic nostræ fidei se falso sæpe subegit,
Fraude fidem flegit, hic habet loca nunc requiei.
Willelmus Duglas, sol Scotis, gloria cara,
Fit nostris neu glas, cessant sua lumina clara.
Est cibus absque sale, cocæ absque sapore,
Scotia vive, vale, sine Duglas absque vigore.
Languens ponetur in carcere, nec redimetur.
Duglas marcescit, sua vis ut cera liquescit.
Vires nobilium per vos vicit Deus almus;
Scotorum psalmus nigrat in exilium.
Propter peccata laus est Scotis breviata;
Anglia stas, timens, crimina præcavens.
Inclita præfulges, Scotorum viscera mulges;
Scotis indulges, probitatis honore refulges.

[3] *Londoñ'*, B.

[4] *dire*, B.

[5] This and the three lines preceding are omitted in B.

[6] *Turba*, B.

[7] *vota*, A.

[8] *et hoc*, A. *sed et hoc*, C.

[9] *benedictio*, C.

Ili vovent vano quos votum perdit immo.[1]
Invito solvent, venient,[2] solvendo[3] dolebunt;
Vires dissolvent, sibi nil sua vota valebunt.
Ibunt et flebunt, nolentes vota tenebunt;
Debent, debebunt, se plus non[4] posse tenebunt.
Callidus ille comes Patrik per devia fugit;
Fraus sibi cura, comes quasi bor[5] corrupcla rugit.
Hic nostro fidei quondam se pseudo subegit,
Sepe fidem fregit, nec habet loca nunc requiei.
Mensis contribe patuere sui troglodite,
Cedantur rite quia non fugere perite.
Conte reunita redit cum fraude polita,
Fraus sibi mentita, confusa fuit sua vita.
Willelmus Duglas[6] sal Scotis sit quasi nitrum,[7]
In bello Douglas sit nobis ductile vitrum.
Laudis honore caret fere Scotia, viribus aret;
Convenit tristis tibi sors in partibus istis.
Languens ponetur in carcere, nec redimetur.
Falsus marcescit, sua vis ut cera liquescit.
Vires nobilium vicit per nos Deus almus,
Scotorum palmus migrat in exilium.
Montif mentitur, in campo morte feritur,
Vivit, perdit vitam modica bonitate potitam.
Ecce senescallus Scotorum, falsus Onallus,
Festinans fugere non cessat corde pavore.[8]
Anglia, lætare, bellum Domini meditare,
Clerum præclare collaudando venerare.
Ecclesiam, clerum, plebem moderando tuere;[9]
Cultum sincerum discas sine fine fovere.
Qui bene fecisti bene profice nomine Christi;

---

[1] This and the three preceding lines are omitted in B.

[2] *venient*, B.

[3] *solvent solvendo votum d.*, B.

[4] *sed non plus*, B.

[5] *boore*, B. A line, in place of *quasi*, a contraction, which seems to mean *contra*.

[6] *Dowglas*, C.

[7] *terra falsa*, Gloss in C.

[8] This and the nineteen lines preceding are omitted in B.

[9] This and the following lines to the end are only found in MS. B.

Pugna mente bona, dabitur tibi justa corona.
Pugna pro lege, rebus, patria, grege, rege;
Te lege, lege rege, te bene rege, lege.
Spem vires pronas, cor me Christum tibi ponas;
Crimina deponas, amicus dabit ergo coronas.
Sunt Scoti dicti pro picto corpore Picti;
Cordibus invicti, victi, re, nomine ficti.
Sunt parci victus, rictus meditantur et ictus,
Optant conflictus, mos talis sit maledictus.
Scoti more leves, animi fervore feroces,
Suavi, veloces, sint probitate breves.
Scotia servire non vult, nec querit amari,
Dire servire semper vult et dominari.
Ergo dabit saltum, quia cor sustollit in altum,
Scotia perdetur, timor ejus vi reprimetur.
Anglia, cor bassum teneas, dicit Deus, assum,
Spes tua, comamen, victoriam, lux, relevamen.

Explicit de bello Scotie, ubi David Brus fuit captus, qui erat rex eorum, et alii magnates.

Numerus interfectorum in bello, et dies belli, et conclusio finalis.[1]

Fastu commotos percussit et Anglia Scotos;
Sub regente David, quatuor ter milia stravit;
Cruxque novem villæ, belli fit testis et illo,
Qui verum scivit, quia Scotia victa subivit
Pro festo Jude lux Anglis dena vacavit,
Sed tunc calcavit Scotos sors aspera Jude.
Sanguine stillante necat illos gens borealis,
Quos sibi regalis præsumptio duxerat ante.

Explicit bellum.

[1] The verses which follow are taken from MS. C, where they form a sort of conclusion to the poem. It will be seen that they are repeated in the short poem which follows this.

Est omnis Scotus Sampson, Salomon, leo totus.
Sampson se necuit, Salomon post idola travit,
Est leo famelicus, sic omnis Scotus iniquus.

On Crécy and Neville's Cross.[1]

Annis bis sex c., quater x., bis ter, simul et c,
Carmina pando lyra tunc contingentia[2] mira.
Gallia mota nimis declinat forte ruinis,
Dum properat vesci bello sub nomore Crossi.[3]
Corruit ense per E. subito gens Gallica sub P,
Funeris ex poena pereunt tria millia denn
Bina dies vere post festum Bartholomaei,
Haec virtute Dei testatur mira patere.
Plebs nitet Edwardi de gestu Machabaeorum,
Laus patet Anglorum sub vexillo leopardi.
Fastu commotos percussit et Anglia Scotos,
Sub regente David, quatuor ter milia stravit.
Cruxque novem villae belli sit testis et ille,
Qui verum scivit quod Scotia victa subivit.
Pro festo Judae lux Anglis dena vacavit,
Sed tunc calcavit Scotos sors aspera rude.
Sanguine stillante neat illos gens borealis,
Quos ibi regalis praesumptio duxerat ante.
Reges, dux, et comites,
Barones et milites,
Qui tunc bellaverunt,
Prior atque praesules,
Plures viri nobiles,
Nece ceciderunt.

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[1] These lines are taken from MS. Cotton., Titus A xx, fol. 86, r°. The first ten lines are also found in the manuscript in the Bodleian library, MS. Rawlinson, No. 214, fol. 121, r°, with the title, *Numerus annorum et interfectorum in bello de Chesey.*

[2] *contigentia*, MS. Rawl.

[3] *Chesey*, MS. Rawl.

Mox audaces Anglia,
Tuno majores Scotia,
Fuga sequebantur,
Plures lueti vulnere,
Rex et Duglas proprio
Capti carcerantur.
Subdola Scotorum gens laudem perdit honorum.

Isti versus sunt de bellis de Cressi et de Nevilecros.

On the Truce of 1317.[1]

Cantica letitie mundi flos Anglia promat,
Hostes justitie fortes ubique domat.
Jus viros donat, fortuna favet, Deus astat,
Terras rex vastat, quia gratia cara coronat.
Turturis exemplo castietur[a] fœda libido,
Æro dato templo discedat cuca cupido.
Regia sint castra pia, casta, fidelia, justa;
Numine robusta, penetrantia moribus astra.
E castris procerum procul omnis femina cedat,
No proceres ledat femina, gemma, merum.
Anglia devicit, quia jus habet, et mala vicit;
Culpe nolo caret, celesti lumine claret.
Libera, mundata, premit hostes sanctificata,
Ergo vincetur, si culpa sibi dominetur.

[1] The allusions in this piece seem to leave little doubt that it was written by some one of the war party at the time when the truce was in negotiation, soon after the surrender of Calais. It is printed from a copy preserved in MS. Cotton. Titus A. xx., fol. 120, v°, compared with another in MS. Rawlinson, No. 214, fol. 150, r°. In the margin of the former a later hand has written "Baston," as an intimation that it was one of the productions of the Latin poet named Robert Baston, whose history, however, is more connected with the Scottish wars of the reign of Edward II., and I think there is no sufficient reason for ascribing the present lines to him.

[a] *castratur*, Rawl.

Anglia peccatum, luxum, fastum, dominatum,
Reprimat, et flatum livoris et æris hiatum.
Lis, injustitia, dolus, ars, injuria cedant;
Pax, lex, justitia, pietas amen sibi credant.
Propter peccata transferri regna leguntur;
Vita juvat grata cum prælia dira geruntur.
Anglia dat flores, armatos, eximiores,
Inducens mores, virtutes nobiliores.
Mansuetos, humiles, cautos, probifato soniles,
Fortes, subtiles, claros, agiles dat horiles.
In nostra terra dulces flores patuerunt,
Advenit guerra florum vires mieuerunt.
Flores palmarum verni, rosei violarum,
Dant annum carum nobis, Francis cor amarum.
Anglorum fortes vident varias modo sortes,
Non timeant mortes Valoys[1] impugnando cohortes.
Felices comites videat hunc indo sequentes.
Ad bellum vadunt, Deus est conductor eundo;
Ad mala fata cadunt, Sathan est ductor redeundo.
Ad bellum vadunt, et eis contingit honesta;
In redeundo cadunt, contingit eis inhonesto.
His mare placare Deus aura placans adeundo,
En Deus, aura, mare contraria sunt redeundo.[2]
Vadunt et veniunt ad portum premeditatum;
Sed redeundo sciunt maris et venti cruciatum.
Ergo Deo miro placet ire, volando redire,
Usquequo perfecta fiat victoria recta.
Ergo magnates adeuntes non redeatis,
Donec vincatis, Francorum credito vates.

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[1] *Waleys*, Rawl.

[2] Aboute the fest of Seynt Michael (1347), the kyng took the se into Ynglond, and there had he grete tempest, and mervelous wyndes; and thanne he mad swech a complynt onto oure lady, and seide, "O "blessed mayde, what menyth al "this? Levyr, whan I go to Frauns, "I have fayre weddir; and whanne "I turne to Ynglond intollerable "tempestes."—*Chyppenham's Chronicle*, p. 213.

Flandria ridebit, canet Anglia, Francia flebit,
Scotia lugebit, Normannia victa pavebit.
Anglia gaudebit, fera Picardia dolebit,
Parys ardebit, Aquitannia fame pulsabit.
Francia languescit, viget Anglia, Flandria crescit,
Scotia marcescit, Hibernia sæva quiescit.
Cressei[1] decrescit, Arthesia pallida cessit,
Kaloys[2] ureseit, Britannia parva fulgescit.
Non salvat gladius, non arcubus Anglia sperat;
Salvat propitius Deus cui dulcis adhæret.
Sennacherib arcus, cor, spiritus, vires, tribulabant;
Sed cordas arcus muros subito comedebant.
Sic rex ut vermis effectus, nudus, inermis,
Confusus rediit, turpiter et periit.
Ergo Dei flamen, nostris fortissima turris,
Illis a scurris et culpis protegat; Amen.
In bello miles jacet in lecto moriturus,
Ergo sit purus dando preces humiles.
Lilia non tacta dulci flata redolescunt;
Lilia confracta cito putrescunt et oloscunt.
Anglia militia quasi lilia, laudis amica,
Vincet magnifica sancta pudicitia.
Subjecti Veneri multi fortes periere,
Effecti miseri confusi succubuere.
Armis invictum sommus, luxus, gula, victus,
Turbant, confundunt, turbant, sua viscera findunt.
Casti vivere, quia mundi corde fuere;
Casti vixere, palmam belli meruere,
Sunt agni casti nostri domini generosi,
Constantes, casti, largi, mites, animosi,
Justi, prudentes, nulli fraudem facientes,
In spe gaudentes, et egenis compatientes.
Templa, Deum, clerum mutuo se semper honorent;
Dicentes verum, Dominum devotius orent.

[1] *Cresey*, Rawl. [2] *Caleys*, Rawl.

Ars, spes, justitia, bonitas, patientia vincunt,
Quando corda pia carnis contagia linquunt.
Quid facit in bello mulier? quid pulvis ocello?
Impedit et fœdat mulier, nocet, ergo recedat.
Plures fœminea perimunt, maledicta venena,
Quam lynx, pugnalea, lupus, ursa, leo, vel hyena.
Bellis Romanis juris periere periti,
Bellis Trojanis falsi ceciderc mariti.
Anglorum proceres, uxoribus ergo fideles,
Sancti, sinceres pateant, Noe, Job, Danieles.
Se sua salvabunt, Dominum prudenter amabunt,
Dulciter orabunt, prospera bella dabunt.
Sint Loth, Sampsones, Salomones, et Scipiones,[1]
Non sint Achitopel, ieo spargendo cito fel.
Sint casti, cari, Noe, Job, Daniel modo Zari,[2]
Cum contra jura fiant divortia plura.
Si sacramenti fidei prolis bona cedunt,
Lex, laus discedunt, et causa datur nocumenti.
Ergo magnati tria conjugii bona servent;
Se bene preservent, quia vident purificati.
Sint in amore Dei fixi mites Nazarei,
Ne qua sordc rei victi sunt ut Cananei.
Absolon ingratus lectum patris maculavit,
Stultus et elatus Sichem Dynam violavit.
Sampson, Adam, David, mulieribus infatuati,
Sunt male turbati, quos dulcis amor relevavit.
Temporibus veris rex noster castra movebit,
Factis misteris Deus illum bella docebit.
Rex ergo patiens, largus, mundus, moderatus;
Rex ergo sapiens, justus, cordatus, amatus;
Rex ergo gratus, verax, clemens, miseratus;
Rex ergo plorans, humilis, maturus, et ornus.
Rex est, ergo regit sapienter, more quieto;
Rex est, ergo legit sua de sermone facto.

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[1] *Sapientes*, Cotton. | [2] *moderati*, Cotton.

Non a regnando rex est, sed jure regendo;
Ergo rex stando memorat de jure tenendo.
Nulla superbia, palpo, pecunia regulet illum,
Nulla scientia, nulla potentia deprimat illum.
Se, sua dona dedit Christo cui totus obedit,
Diligit et credit, et ab omni sorde recedit.
Rex, bona bella gerens treugas componere queris;
Bellans victor eris; treugas cape, decipieris.
Lingua Cornubica designat trenga dolores;
Ergo falsidica cedat, quia tardat honores.
Pax, lex sint tecum, facias jus omnibus aequum;
Pacem, justitias, rex, petis, hus facias.
Si lex, fama, fides, amores,[1] pietas religantur,
Clara luce vides quod multa perela parantur.
Fama, fides, pietas, amores,[2] lex, pax habeantur.
Regnet sobrietas, ut justo regna regantur.
Undeno stellae cor habent crudele, rebelle;
Anglorum stellae subsint vel erunt sine pelle.
Profulgens stella rex inclitus Angligenarum
Deponat sella parium modo Francigenarum.
Laude, fide pleni servite pares duodeni,
Edwardo juveni, nobilitate seni.
Tales ergo pares sitis quod clarent res.
Non perent sua res servite sibi sine phares.
Bos dixit Romae, venerata, cave tibi, Roma,
Deficiunt Romae lex, pax, et amoris aroma.
Anglia laudata, caveas tibi ne maculata,
Et nimis elata, pereat tua fama beata.
Sit tibi rex regum, rex,[3] lex, spes, vis, cor, et arma;
Dapnis per te[4] gregum de sanctis moribus arma.
Claro justitiae,[5] fidei lorica paretur;
Aream laetitiae capias, Christus comitetur.
Sanctum lex aequa tibi sit Christus cor ubique.

[1] *amor hes*, Rawl.
[2] *amor hes*, Rawl.
[3] *grex*, Cotton.
[4] *prex*, Rawl.
[5] *justitiæ*, Cotton

Judicium certum galeo signatur aperlum,
Est fervens gladius, oratio fervida, munda.
Te regat eximius Christus cum mente jucunda,
Virgo Maria tibi sit rectrix et moderatrix;[1]
Spes, consolatrix, da pia vota sibi. Amen.

Songs on King Edward's Wars.

By Laurence Minot.[2]

Lithes, and I sall tell zow tyll
The batayle of Halidon hyll.

'Trew king, that sittes in trone,
Unto the I tell my tale,
And unto the I bid a bone,
For thou ert bute of all my bale.
As thou made midel-erd and the mone,
And bestes and fowles grete and smale,
Unto me send thi socore sone,
And dresce my dedes in this dale.

[1] *mediatrix*, Rawl.

[2] This interesting collection of songs exists, as far as is known, only in one manuscript, MS. Cotton. Galba E., ix., fol. 49, r°. Nothing is known of the writer but his name, which he gives us himself. The songs were evidently written separately at the times of the events to which they relate, but the author, for some reason or other, collected them together and united them in one work by adding the metrical titles, which serve as connecting links. We may fix pretty accurately the date at which they were thus collected, from the circumstance that the last of them commemorates the capture of the castle of Guisnes, which was taken by the English on the 22nd of January, 1352, and must have been written immediately after that event, as it begins by informing us that it was composed before the winter was passed. It is probable, therefore, that Minot published his songs in this collective form in the course of the year 1352. The manuscript which has preserved them belongs to the earlier part of the fifteenth century, probably to the reign of Henry V. The dialect in which they are here written is northern, but this would only prove that the scribe who copied it, and not the original author, was a north country man.

In this dale I dompe and dare,
For dern dedes that done me dere;
Of Ingland had my hert grete care,
When Edward founded first to were.
The Franche men war frek to fare
Ogaines him, with scheld and spere;
Thai turned ogayn with sides sare,
And al thaire pomp noght worth a pere.

A pere of prise es more sum tyde
Than all the hoste of Normondye.
Thai sent thaire schippes on ilka side,
With flesch and wine and whete and rye;
With hert and hand, es noght at hide,
For to help Scotland gan thai hye.
Thai fled, and durst no dede habide,
And all thaire fare noght wurth a flye.

For all thaire fare, thai durst noght fight,
For dedes dint had thai slike dout;
Of Scotland had thai never sight,
Ay whils thai war of wordes stout.
Thai wald have mend thaim at thaire might,
And hesy war thai thareabout.
Now God, help Edward in his right,
Amen, and all his redy rowt.

His redy rout mot Jhesu spede,
And save thaim both by night and day
That Lord of Hevyn mot Edward lede,
And maintene hym als he wele may.
The Scottes now all wide will spredo,
For thai have failed of thaire pray;
Now er thai dreand all for dredo,
That war bifore so stout and gay.

Gai thai war, and wele thai thoght
On the erle Morré and other ma;
Thai said it suld ful dere be boght,
The land that thai war flemid fra.
Philip Valays wordes wroght,
And said he suld thaire enmys sla;
Bot all thaire wordes was for noght,
Thai mun be met if thai war ma.

Ma manasinges 3it have thai maked,
Mawgré, mot thai have to mede!
And many nightes als have thai waked
To dere all Ingland with thaire dede.
But, loved be God! the pride es slaked
Of tham that war so stout on stede;
And sum of tham es levid all naked
Noght fer fro Berwik opon Twede.

A litell fro that forsaid towne,
Halydon hill that es the name,
There was crakked many a crowne
Of wild Scottes, and alls of tame;
There was thaire baner born all downe;
To mak slike boste thai war to blame.
Bot nevertheles ay or thai bowne
To wait Ingland with sorow and schame.

Shame thai have, als I here say;
At Dondé now es done thaire daunce;
And wond thai most another way,
Evyn thurgh Flandres into France.
On Filip Valas fast cri thai,
There for to dwell and him avaunce;
And no thing list tham than of play,
Sen tham es tide this sary chance.

This savy chaunce tham es bitid,
For thai war fals and wonder fell;
For cursed caitefes or thai kid,
And ful of treson, suth to tell.
Sir Jon the Comyn had thai hid,
In haly kirk thai did him qwell;
And tharfore many a Skottis brid
With dole or dight that thai most dwell.

Thare dwelled oure king, the suth to saine,
With his menzé, a litell while;
He gaf gude confort on that plaine
To all his men about a myle.
All if his men war nekill of maine,
Ever thai douted thaim of gile,
The Scottes gaudes might no thing gain;
For all thai stumbilde at that stile.

Thus in that stowre thai left thaire live,
That war bifore so proud in prese;
Jhesu, for thi woundes five,
In Ingland help us to have pese.

Now for to tell 30u will I fare
Of [the] batayl of Banocburn.

Skottes out of Berwik and of Abirdone,
At the Bannok burn war 3e to kone;
Thare slogh 3e many sakles, als it was sone;
And now has king Edward wroken it, I wene.
It es wrokin, I wone, wele wurth the while;
War 3it with the Skottes, for thai er ful of gile.

Whare er 3e, Skottes of Saint Johnes. tounc?
The bosle of 3owre baner es bebin all doune;
Whon 3e bosting will bede, sir Edward es bounc
For to kindel 3ow care, and crak 3owre crowne.
He has crakked 3owre croune, wele worth the while;
Schame bityde the Skottes, for thai er full of gile.

Skottes of Striflin war sleron and stout,
Of God no of gude men had thai no dout;
Now have thai the pelers priked about,
Bot at the last sir Edward rifild thaire rout.
He has rifild thaire rout, wele wurth the while;
Bot ever er thai under, bot gaudes and gile.

Ragh-fute riveling, now kindels thi care,
Bere-bag, with thi boste, thi biging es bare;
Fals wrelche and forsworn, whider wiltou fare;
Busk the unto brig, and abide thare.
Thare, wrelche, sulbot won, and wery the while;
Thi dwelling in Dondé es done for thi gile.

The Skottes gase in burghes, and botes the stretes,
All thise Inglis men harmes he betes;
Fast makes he his mone to men that he metes,
Bot fone frendes he findes that his bale-botes.
Fune botes his bale, wele wurth the while;
He uses all throting with gaudes and gile.

Bot, manny man thretes and spekes ful ill,
That sum tyme war better to be stane still;
The Skot in his wordes has wind for to spill,
For at the last Edward sall have al his will.
He had his will at Berwik, wele wurth the while;
Skottes broght him the kayes, bot gat for thaire gile.

How Edward the king come in Braband,
And toke homage of all the land.

God, that schope both se and sand,
Save Edward king of Ingland,
Both body, saul, and life,
And grante him joy withowten strif!
For manì men to him er wroth,
In Fraunce and in Flandres both;
For he defendes fast his right,
And tharto Jhesu grante him might,
And so to do both night and day,
That yt may be to Goddes pay.
  Oure king was cumen, trely to tell,
Into Brabant for to dwell;
The kayser Lowis of Bavere,
That in that land than had no pere,
He, and als his sons two,
And other princes many mo,
Bisschoppes and prelates war thare fele,
That had ful mekill worldly wele,
Princes and pople, ald and 3ong,
Al that spac with Duche tung,
All thai come with grete honowre
Sir Edward to save and socoure,
And proferd him, with all thayre rede,
For to hald the kinges stede.
  The duke of Brabant, first of all,
Swore, for thing that might bifall,
That he suld both day and night
Help sir Edward in his right,
In toun, in feld, in frith and fen.
This swore the duke and all his men,
And al the lordes that with him lend,
And tharto held thai up thaire hend.
Than king Edward toke his rest
At Andwerp, whare him liked best;

And thare he made his mone playne,
That no man suld say thare ogayne.
His mone, that was gude and lele,
Left in Braband ful mekill dele;
And all that land, untill this day,
Fars the better for that jornay.
When Philip the Valas herd of this,
Tharat he was ful wroth iwis;
He gert assemble his baroune's,
Princes and lordes of many tounes,
At Pariss toke thai thaire counsaile,
Whilk pointes might tham most availe;
And in all wise thai tham bithought
To stroy Ingland and bring to nought
Schipmen sone war efter sent,
To here the kinges cumandment;
And the galaies men also,
That wist both of wele and wo.
He cumand tham that men suld fare
Till Ingland, and for no thing spare,
Bot brin and sla both man and wife,
And childe, that none suld pas with life.
The galay men held up thaire handes,
And thanked God of thir tithandes.
At Hamton, als I understand,
Come the gaylayes unto land,
And ful fast thai slogh and brend,
Bot noght so makill als sum men wend.
For or thai woned war thai mett
With men that sone thaire laykes lett.
Sum was knokked on the hevyd,
That the body thare bilovid;
Sum lay stareand on the sternes;
And sum lay knoked out thaire hernes
Tham with tham was non other gle,
Bot ful fain war thai that might fle.
The galay men, the suth, to say,
Most nedes turn mother way;

Thai soght the stremis fer and wide,
In Flandres and in Seland syde.
  Than saw thai whare Cristofer stode,
At Armouth, apon the flude,
Than went thai theder all hidone,
The galayes mẽn, with hertes kene,
Viij. and xl. galays, and mo,
And with tham als war tarettes two,
And other mẽny of gâliotes,
With grete noumber of smale botes;
All thai hoveil on the flode
To stele sir Edward mens gode.
  Edward oure king than was noght there,
But sone, when it come to his ere,
He sombled all his men full still,
And said to tham what was his will.
Ilk man made him redy then,
So went the king and all his men
Unto thaire schippes ful hastily,
Als men that war in dede doghty.
  Thai find the galay men grete wane,
A hundreth over ogaynes ane;
The Inglis men put tham to were
Ful baldly, with bow and spere;
Thai slogh thare of the galaies men
Ever sexty ogaynes ten;
That sum liggos yit in that mire
All hevidles, withowten hire.
  The Inglis men war armed wele,
Both in yren and in stele;
Thai fught ful fast, both day and night,
Als lang as tham lasted might.
Bot galay men war so many,
That Inglis men wex all wery;
Help thai soght, bot thare come nane,
Than unto God thai made thaire mane.

Bot sen the time that God was born,
No a hundreth 3ere biforn,
Was never men better in fight
Than Ingliss men, whil thai had myght.
Bot some all maistri gan thai mis;
God bring thaire saules untill his blis!
And God assoyl thaim of thaire sin,
For the gude will that thai war in! Amen.
Listens now, and loves me,
Who so lifes thai sall se
That it mun be ful dere boght
That thir galay men have wroght.
Thai hoved still opon the flode,
And reved pover men thaire gude;
Thai robbed, and did mekill schame,
And ay bare Inglis men the blame.
Now Jhesu save all England,
And blis it with his holy hand! Amen.

Edward, oure cumly king,
In *Brabant* has his woning,
With mani cumly knight;
And in that land, trowly to tell,
Ordains he still for to dwell
To time he think to fight.

Now God, that es of mightes maste,
Grant him grace of the Haly Gaste
His heritage to win!
And Mary moder, of merey fro,
Save oure king and his menge
Fro sorow and schame and syn.

Thus in Brabant has he bene,
Whare he biforo was seldom sene,
For to prove thaire japes;
Now no langer wil he spare,
Bot unto Fraunce fast will he fare,
To confort hym with grapes.

Furth he ferd into France,
God save him fro mischance
And all his cumpany!
The nobill due of Brabant
With him went into that land,
Redy to lif or dy.

Than the riche floure-de-lice
Wan thare ful litill prise,
Fast he fled for ferde;
The right aire of that emtré
Es cumen, with all his knightes fre,
To schue him hy the berd.

Sir Philip the Valayse,
With his men in the dayes,
To batale had he thoght;
He bad his men thaim purvay
Withowten lenger delay,
But he no held it noght.

He broght folk ful grete wone,
Ay sovyn oganis one,
That ful wele wapind were;
Bot sone when he herd asery
That king Edward was nere tharby,
Than durst he noght cum nere.

In that morning fell a myst,
And when oure Ingliss men it wist,
It changed all thaire chere;
Oure king unto God made his bone,
And God sent him gude comfort sone,
The weder wex ful clere.

Oure king and his men held the felde
Stalwortly, with spere and schelde,
And thoght to win his right,
With lordes, and with knightes kene,
And other doghty men bydene,
That war ful frek, to fight.

When sir Philip of Franco herd tell
That king Edward in feld walld dwell,
Than gayned him no gle;
He traisted of no better bote,
Bot both on hors and on fote
He hasted him to fle.

It semid he was ferd for strokes,
When he did fell his grete okes
Obout his pavilyonne;
Abated was than all his pride,
For langer thare durst he noght bide,
His host was broght all downe.

The king of Bome had cares colde,
That was ful[1] hardy and bolde
A stede to unstride;
The king als of Naverne
War faire ferd[2] in the ferene
Thaire heviddes for to hide.

[1] *fur* in the MS. | [2] *feld*, MS.

And leves wele, it es no lye,
The felde hat Flemangrye
That King Edward was in,
With princes that war stif and bolde,
And dukes that war doghty tolde
In batayle to bigin.

The princes, that war riche on raw,
Gert makers strike and trumpes blaw,
And made mirth at thaire might;
Both alblast and many a bow
War redy railed opon a row,
And ful frek for to fight.

Gladly thai gaf mete and drink,
So that thai suld the better swink,
The wight men that thar ware.
Sir Philip of Fraunce fled for dout,
And hies him hame with all his rout;
Coward, God giff him care!

For thare than had the loly flowre
Lorn all halely his honowre,
That sogat fled for ford;
Bot oure king Edward come ful still,
When that he trowed no harm him till,
And koped him in the herde.

Lithes, and the baldil I sal bigyn
Of Inglisch men and Normandes in the Swyn.

Minot with mowth had menid to make
Suth sawes and sad for sum mens sake;
The wordes of sir Edward makes me to wake,
Wald he salve us sone, mi sorow suld slake.
War mi sorow slaked, sone wald I sing;
When God will, sir Edward sal us bote bring.
Sir Philip the Valas cast was in care,
And said sir Hugh Kyret to Flandres suld fare,
And have Normondes inogh to leve on his fare,
All Flandres to brin, and mak it all bare.
Bot, unkind coward, wo was him thare;
When he sailed in the Swin it sowed him sare.
Sare it tham smerted that ferd out of France;
Thare lered Inglis men tham a new dannce.
The burjase of Bruge ne war noght to blame;
I pray Jhesu save tham fro sin and fro schame!
For thai war sone at the Sluse all by a name,
Whare many of the Normandes tok mekill grame.
When Brug and Ipyre hereof herd tell,
Thai sent Edward to wit, that was in Arwell;
Than had he no liking langer to dwell,
He hasted him to the Swin, with sergantes snell,
To mete with the Normandes that fild war and fell,
That had ment, if thai might, al Flandres to quell.
King Edward unto sail was ful sone dight,
With erles and barons, and many kene knight;
Thai come byfor Blankebergh on Saint Jons night.
That was to the Normondes a well sary sight;
Yit trumped thai and dannced, with torches ful bright,
In the wilde wanand was thaire hertes light.
Upon the morn after, if I suth say,
A mery man, sir Roland out of Morlay,
A half ob in the Swin soght he the way;
Thare lered men the Normandes at bukler to play.

Helpid tham no prayer that thai might pray,
The wreches es women, thaire wapin es oway.
The erle of Northumton helpid at that nede,
Als wise man of wordes, and worthli in wede,
Sir Walter the Mawnay, God gif him mede!
Was bold of body in batayl to bede.
The due of Lankaster was dight for to drive,
With many mody man that thoght for to thrive;
Wele and stalworthly stint he that strive,
That few of the Normandes left thai olive.
Fone left thai olive, bot did tham to lepe;
Men may find by the flode a c on hepe.
Sir William of Klinton was eth for to knaw;
Mani stout bachilere broght he on raw;
It semid with thaire schoting als it war snaw.
The host of the Normandes broghte thai ful law.
Thaire host was abated, and thaire mekil pride.
For might thai noght fle, bot thaire bad tham bide.
The gude erle of Gloweester, God mot him glade!
Broght many bold men with bowes ful brade;
To biker with the Normandes baldely thai bade,
And in middes the flode did tham to wade.
To wade war the wreeches custen in the brim;
The kaitefs come out of France at lere tham to swim.
I prays John Badding als one of the best;
Faire come he sayland out of the suth-west;
To prove of that Normandes was he ful prest,
Till he had foghten his fill, he had never rest.
John of Ailo of the Slays, with schelbron ful schene,
Was comen into Gagent cantly and kene;
But sone was his trumping turned to tene;
Of him had sir Edward his will, as I wene.
The schipmen of Inglund sailed ful swith,
That none of the Normandes fro tham might skrith;
Who so kouth wele his craft thare might it kith.
Of al the gude that thai gat gif thai no tithe.

Two hundreth and no schippes in the sandes
Had oure Inglis men won with thaire handes;
The kogges of Ingland was broght out of handes,
And also the Cristofir, that in the streme standes.
In that stound thai stode with stremers ful still,
Till thai wist full wele sir Edwardes will.
Sir Edward, oure gude king, wurthi in wall,
Fight wele on that flude, faire mot him fall!
Als it es custom of king to comfort thaim all,
So thanked he gudely the grete and the small.
He thanked tham gudely, God gif him mede!
Thus come oure king in the Swin till that gude dede.
This was the bataile that fell in the Swin,
Where many Normandes made mekill din;
Wale war thai armed up to the chin;
Bot God and sir Edward gert thaire hoste blin.
Thus blinned thaire hoste, als we wele ken;
God assoyle thaire sawls! said all. Amen.

Herkins how king Edward lay
With his men bifor Tournay.

Towrnay, 3ow has tight
To timber, troy, and tene;
A bore with brems bright
Es broght opon 3owre grene.
That es a semely sight,
With schiltorums faire and schene
Thi *domes-day* es *dight*,
Bot thou be war, I wene.

When all yowre wele es went,
3owre wo wakkins ful wide,
To sighing or 3e sent
With sorow on ilka syde;

Full rowfull es 3owre rent,
All redles may 3e ride.
Tho harmes that 3e have hent
Now may 3e hele and hide.
Hides and holis als hende,
For 3e er cast in care;
Ful few find 3e 3owre frende,
For all 3owre frankis fare.
Sir Philip sall 3ow schende,
Whi leve 3e at his lare?
No bowes now thar 3ow bende;
Of blis 3e er all bare.

All bare er 3e of blis,
No bost may be 3owre bote;
All mirthes mun 3e mis;
Oure men sall with 3ow mote,
Who sall 3ow clip and kys,
All fall 3owre folk to fote.
A wore is wroght iwis,
3owre walles with to wrote.

Wrote thai sal 3owre done,
Of dintes 3e may 3ow dowt;
3owre biginges sall men brene,
And breke 3owre walles about.
Ful redles may 3e ren,
With all 3owre rowful rout;
With ere men sall 3ow ken
Edward 3owre lord to lout.

To lout 3ow[re] lord in hand,
With list men sall 3ow lere;
3owre harmes emmes at hand,
Als 3e sall lastly here.
Now frendschip suld 3e fand
Of sir Philip 3owre fere,
To bring 3ow out of hand,
Or 3e be broght on bere.

On boro when ȝe or broght,
  Then comes Philip to bote;
He hetes, and haldes ȝow noght;
  With hert ȝe may him bote.
A baro now bus him soght
  Till Turnay the right gate,
That es ful wele bithoght
  To stop Philip the strate,
    Ful still;
Philip was fain he moght
  Graunt sir Edward his will.

If ȝe will trow my tale,
  A duke take love that tide,
A Braban br[e]wed that bale,
  He bad no langer bide;
Cliftes greto and smale
  War sent him on his side.
Gold gert *all that gate*,
  And made him rapely ride,
    Till dede.
In hert he was unhale,
  He come thare moste for mede.

King Edward, frely fode,
  In Fraunce he will noght blin
To nuk his famen wode
  That er wonand thurein.
God, that rest on rode
  For suke of Adams syn,
Strenkith him mine and mode,
  His reght in Fraunce to win,
    And have.
God granto him graces gode,
  And fro all sins us save! Amen.

How Edward at Hoggos unto land wan,
And rade thurgh France or ever he blan.
Men may rede in Romance right
Of a grete clerk that Merlin hight;
Ful many bokes er of him wreten,
Als thir clerkes wele may witten;
And 3it in many privé nokes
May men find of Merlin bokes.
Merlin said thus with his mowth,
Out of the north into the sowth
Suld cum a lare over the se,
That suld mak many man to fle;
And in these, he said ful right,
Suld he schew ful mekill might;
And in France he suld begin,
To mak thaim wrath that er tharein,
Untill tha se his taile reche sale,
All folk of France to mekill bale.
Thus have I mater for to make,
For a nobill prince sake;
Help me God, my wit es thin;
Now Laurence Minot will begin.

A lore es broght on bankes bare,
With ful batail bifor his brest;
For John of France will he noght spare
In Normondy to tak his rest,
With princes that er proper and prest.
Alweldand God, of mightes maste,
He be his bold, for he may best,
Fader, and Sun, and Haly Gaste.

Haly Gaste, thou gif him grace
That he in gude time may bigin,
And send to him both might and space
His heritage wele for to win;

And sone assoyl him of his sin,
Hende God, that heried hell.
For France now es he entrid in,
And thare he dightes him for to dwell.

He dwelled thare, the suth to tell,
Opon the coste of Normondy.
At Hogges fand he famen fell,
That war all ful of felony;
To him thai makked grete maistri,
And proved to ger the bare abyde.
Thurgh might of God and mild Mari,
The bare abated all thaire pride.

Mekill pride was thare in prese,
Both on penoell and on plate,
When the bare rade withouten reso
Unto Cane the graythest gate.
Thare fand he folk bifor the 3ate
Throtty thowsand stif on stede.
Sir John of France come al to late;
The bare has gert thaire sides blede.

He gert blede, if thai war bolde,
For thare was slayne and wounded sore
Thretty thowsand, trewly tolde,
Of pitaile was thare mekill more.
Knightes war thare wele two score
That war new dubbed to that dance.
Helm and hovyd thai have forlore;
Than misliked John of France.

More misliking was thare then,
For fals treson alway thai wroght;
But fro thai met with Inglis men,
All thaire bargan dere thai boght.

Inglis men *with site* thum *noght*,
And hastily quit thum thaire hire;
And at the last forgat thai noght,
The toun of Cane thai sett on fire.

That fire ful many folk gan fere,
When thai se brandes o ferrum flye;
This have thai women of the were,
The fals folk of Normundy.
I sai yow soly now thai lye
Dongen doun all in a dampe;
Thaire frendes may ful faire forthi
Pleyn thum untill John of France.

Franche men put thum to pine
At Cressy, when thai brak the brig;
That saw Edward with both his ine,
Thun likid him no langer to lig;
Ilk *Inglis* man on others rig
Over that water or thai went,
To batail or thai baldly big,
With brade ax and with bowes bent.

With bent bowes thai war ful bolde,
For to fell of the Frankisch men;
Thai gert thum lig with cares colde,
Ful sari was sir Philip then.
He saw the toun o ferrum bren,
And folk for feral war fast fleand;
The teres he leto ful rathly ren
Out of his eghen, I understand.

Then come Philip, ful redy dight,
Toward the town with all his rowt,
With him come mani a kumly knight,
And all umset the bare about.

Tho lare made tham ful law to lout,
And delt tham knokkes to thaire mete:
He gert tham stumbill that wer stout,
Thair helpid nowther staf no stede.

Stedes strong bilovid still
Biside Cressy opon the grene.
Sir Philip wanted all his will,
That was wele on his sembland sene.
With spere and schelde and helmis schene,
Tho lare tham durst thai noght inbide.
Tho king of Bemo was cant and kene,
Bot thare he left both play and pride.

Pride in prese no prais I noght,
Onang thir princes prowd in pall;
Princes suld be wele bithoght,
When kinges suld tham till[1] counsail call.
If he be rightwis king, thai sall
Maintene him both night and day;
Or els to lat his frendschip fall
On faire manere and fare oway.

Oway os all thi wele iwis,
Franche man, with all thi fare;
Of murni[n]g may thou never mys,
For thou ert cumbord all in care.
With speche no moght thou never spare
To speke of Ingliss men despite;
Now have thai made thi biging bare,
Of all thi catell ertou quite.

Quite ertou, that wele we knaw,
Of catell and of drewris dere.
Tharfore lies thi hert ful law,
That are was blith ais brid on brere.

[1] *toll* in the MS.

Inglis men sall 3it to 3ore
Knok thi palet or thou pas,
And mak the polled like a frere;
And 3it es Ingland als it was.

Was thou noght, Franceis, with thi wapin,
Bitwixen Cressy and Abvyle;
Whare thi *felaws lion and gapin*,
For all thaire treget and thaire gile?
Bischoppes war thare in that while
That songen all withouten stole.
Philip the Valas was a file,
He fled, and durst noght tak his dole.

Men delid thare ful mani a dint
Omang the gentill Genevayse;
Ful many man thaire lives tint,
For luf of Philip the Valays.
Unkind he was and unerbayse,
I prais no thing his purviance;
The best of France and of Artayse
War al to-dongyn in that dance.

That dance with treson was bygun,
To *trais* the hare with sum fals gyn.
The Franche men said, "All es wun,
"Now es it tyme that we bigin;
"For here es welth inogh to win,
"To make us riche for evermore."
Bot, thurgh thaire armure thick and thin,
Shine thai war, and wounded sore.

Sore than sighed sir Philip,
Now wist he never what him was best;
For he es enst doun with a trip,
In John of Fraunce es all his trest;

For he was his freud faithfuleed,
In him was full his alliance.
Bot sir Edward wald never rest,
Or that war fold the best of France.

Of France was mekill wo iwis,
And in Paris tha high palays;
Now had the bare with mekill blis
Bigged him bifor Calais.
Heres now how the Romance sais,
How sir Edward, oure king with croune,
Held his sege bi nightes and dais,
With his men bifor Calays toune.

How Edward, als the Romance sais,
Held his sege bifor Calais.

Calais men, now may ye cure,
And murning mun ze have to mede;
Mirth on mold get ze no mare,
Sir Edward sall ken zow zowre crede.
Whilum war ze wight in wede,
To robbing rabbly for to ren;
Men zow sone of zowre misdede,
Zowre cure es cumen, will ze it ken.

Kend it es how ze war kene
At Inglis men with dole to dere;
Thaire gudes toke ze al bidene,
No man born wald ze forbere;
Ze spared noght with sword no spere
To stik tham, and thaire gudes to stele,
With wapin and with ded of were
Thus have ze wonnen werldes wele.

Weleful men war ȝe iwis;
  Bot for on fold sall ȝe noght fare.
A bare sal now abute ȝowre blis,
  And wirk ȝow bale on bankes bare.
  He sall ȝow hunt, als hund dose hare,
That in no hole sall ȝe ȝow hide.
  For all ȝowre speche will he noght spare,
Bot bigges him right by ȝowre side.

Biside ȝow here the bare bigins
  To big his boure in winter tyde;
And all bityme takes he his ines,
  With somly se[r]gantes him biside.
  The word of him walkes ful wide,
Jesu, save him fro mischance!
  In bataill dar he wele habide
Sir Philip and sir John of France.

The Franche men or fers and fell,
  And mase grete dray when thai or dight;
Of thaim men herd slike tales tell,
  With Edward think thai for to fight,
  Him for to hald out of his right,
And do him treson with thaire talgs.
  That was thaire purpos, day and night,
Bi counsail of the cardinales.

Cardinales, with hattes rede,
  War fro Calays wele thre myle;
Thai toke thaire counsail in that stede
  How thai might sir Edward bigile.
  Thai lended thare bot litill while,
Till Franche men to grante thaire grace.
  Sir Philip was funden a file,
  He fled, and faght noght in that place.

In that place the baro was blith,
For all was funden that he soght;
Philip the Valas fled ful swith,
With the batail that he had broght.
For to have Calays had he thoght,
All at his lodeing loud or still;
Bot all thaire wiles war for noght,
Edward wan it at his will.

Lystons now, and ze may lere,
Als men the suth may understand;
The knightes that in Calais were
Come to sir Edward sare wepeand,
In kirtell one, and sword in hand,
And cried, "Sir Edward, thine [wē] are;
"Do now, lord, bi law of land,
"Thi will with us for evermare."

The nobill burgase and the best
Come unto him to have thaire hire;
The comun puple war ful prest
Rapes to bring about thaire swire.
Thai said all, "Sir Philip, oure syre,
"And his sun, sir John of France,
"Has left us ligand in the mire,
"And broght us till this doleful dance.

"Oure horses, that war faire and fat,
"Er etin up ilkone bidene;
"Have we nowther corrig ne cat,
"That thai ne or etin, and hundes kene,
"All or etin up ful clene,
"Es nowther levid bicho ne whelp;
"That es wele on oure semblaud sene;
"And thai or fled that suld us help."

A knight that was of grete renowne,
Sir John de Vione was his name,
He was wardaine of the toune,
And had done Ingland mekill schame.
For all thaire boste thai er to blame,
Ful stalworthly thare have thai strevyn.
A bare es cumen to mak tham tame;
Kayes of the toun to him or gifen.

The kaies er ȝolden him of the ȝate,
Lat him now kêpe tham if he kun;
To Calais cum thai all to late,
Sir Philip and Sir John his sun.
Al war ful ford that thare ware fun,
Thaire leders may thai barely ban.
All on this wise was Calais won;
God save tham that it so gat wun.

Sir David had of his men grete loss,
With sir Edward, at the Nevil Cross.

Sir David the Bruse
Was at distance,
When Edward the Baliolfe
Rade with his lance;
The north end of Ingland
Teched him to dance;
When he was not on the more
With mekill mischance.
Sir Philip the Valayse
May him noght avance;
The flowres that faire war
Er fallen in France.
The floures or now fallen
That fers war and fell;
A bare with his bataille
Has done tham to dwell.

Sir David the Bruse
  Said he suld fonde
To ride thurgh all Ingland,
  Wald he noght wonde;
At the Westminster hall
  Suld his stedes stonde,
Whils oure king Edward
  War out of the ondo.
But now has Sir David
  Missed of his merkes,
And Philip the Valays,
  With all thaire grete clerkes.

Sir Philip the Valais,
  Suth for to say,
Sent unto sir David
  And faire gan him pray,
At ride thurgh Ingland
  Thaire fomen to flay,
And said, yone es at home
  To let hym the way.
None letes him tho way,
  To wonde whore he will;
Bot with schipord staves
  Fand he his fill.

Fro Philip the Valais
  Was Sir David sont,
All Ingland to win
  Fro Twede unto Trent.
He broght mani bere-bag
  With bow redy bent;
Thai robbed and thai reved,
  And held that thai hent.
It was in the waniand
  That thai furth went;
Fro covaitise of catails
  The schrewes war schent.

Schont war the schrowes,
And ailed unsele;
For at the Nevil Cros
Nedes bud tham knele.

At the ersbisschop of Ȝork
Now will I bigyn,
For he may with his right hand
Assoyl us of syn.
Both Dorem and Carlele
Thai wald nevir blin
The wirschip of Ingland
With wappen to win.
Mekill wirschip thai wan,
And wele have thai waken;
For syr David the Bruse
Was in that tyme taken.

When sir David the Bruse
Satt on his stede,
He said of all Ingland
Haved he no drede.
Bot hinde John of Coupland,
A wight man in wede,
Talked to David,
And kend him his crede.
Thane was sir David
So dughty in his dede,
The faire toure of London
Haved he to mede.

Sone than was sir David
Broght unto the toure,
And William the Dowglas,
With men of honowre.
Full swith redy servis
Fand thai thare a schowre;

For first thai drank of the swete,
And sonin of the sowre.
Than sir David the Bruse
Makes his mone,
The faire eorum of Scotland
Haves he forgone.
He luked furth into France,
Help had he none
Of sir Philip the Valais,
No 3it of sir John.

The pride of sir David
Bigon fast to slaken;
For he wakkind the were
That held him self waken.
For Philyp the Valaise
Had he brede baken,
And in the toure of London
His ines or taken.
To be both in a place
Thaire forward thai nomen;
Bot Philip fayled thare,
And David es cumin.

Sir David the Bruse
On this manere
Said unto sir Philip
Al thir sawes thus sere:
"Philip the Valais,
"Thou made me be here;
"This es noght the forward
"We made are to 3ere.
"Fals es thi forward,
"And evyll mot thou fare;
"For thou and sir John thi son
"Haves kast me in care."

The Scottes, with thaire falshede,
  Thus wont thai about
For to win Ingland
  Whils Edward was out.
For Cuthbert of Dorem
  Haved thai no dout;
Tharfore at Nevel Cros
  Law gan thai lout.
Thare louted thai law,
  And loved allane.
Thus was David the Bruse
  Into the toure tane.

How king Edward and his menzé
Met with the Spaniardes in the see.

I wald noght sparo for to spoke,
  Wist I to spede,
Of wight mon with wapin
  And worthly in wede,
That now er driven to dede,
  And ded all thaire dede;
Thai sail in the see grende,
  Fisshes to fede.
Fele fisshes thai fede,
  For all thaire grete fare;
It was in the wanand
  That thai come thare.

Thai sailed furth in the Swin
  In a somers tyde,
With trompes and taburns,
  And mekill other pride.
The word of the werkmen
  Walked full wide;

The gudes that thai robbed,
In holl gan thai it hide.
In holl than thai hided
Grete welthes, als I wene,
Of gold and of silver,
Of skarlet and grene.

When thai sailed westward,
The wight men in were,
Thaire hurdis thaire ankers
Hanged thai on here.
Wight men of the west
Neghed tham nerr,
And gert tham smaper in the snare,
Might thai no ferr.
For might thai noght flit,
Bot thare most thai fine,
And that thai bifore roved
Than most thai tyne.

Boy, with thi blue bord,
I rede that thou blin,
And sone set the to schrive
With sorow of thi syn.
If thou were on Inglund,
Noght saltou win;
Cum thou more on that coste,
Thi bale sall bigin.
Thare kindels thi care;
Kene men sall the kepe,
And do the dye on a day,
And domp in the depe.

Zo broght out of Brotayne
Zowre custom with care;
Zo met with the marchandes,
And made tham ful bare.

It es gudo reson and right
That ȝe evill misfare,
When ȝe wald in Ingland
Lere of a new lare.
Now lare sall ȝe lere,
Ser Edward to lout;
For when ȝe stode in ȝowre strenkith,
ȝe war all to stout.

How gentill sir Edward, with his grete engines,
Wan with his wight men the castell of Gynes.

War this wintor oway,
Wele wald I wene
That somer suld schew him
In schawes ful schone;
Both the lely and the lipard
Suld geder on a grene.
Mari, have minde of thi man,
Thou whote wham I mene.
Lady, think what I mene;
I mak thee my mone;
Thou wroke gude king Edward
On wikked syr John.

Of Gynes ful gladly
Now will I bigin,
Wo wote wele that woning
Was wikked for to win.
Crist, that swelt on the rode
For sake of mans syn,
Hald tham in gude hele
That now or tharein.
Inglis men or tharein,
The kastell to kepe;
And John of Franco es so wroth,
For we will he wepe.

Gentill John of Donnastor
Did a ful balde dede,
When he come toward Dinos
To ken thim thaire aredo.
He stirt into the castell
Withowten any stede,
Of folk that he fund thare
Haved he no drede.
Dred in hert had he none
Of all he fund thare;
Faine war thai to fle,
For all thaire grete fare.

A lethern ledderr,
And a lang line,
A small bote was tharby,
That put tham fro pine.
The folk that thai fand thare
Was faine for to fyne;
Sone thaire dinor was dight,
And thare wald thai dine.
Thare was thaire purpose
To dine and to dwell,
For treson of the Franche mon
That fals war and fell.

Say now, sir John of Franco,
How sattou fare,
That both Calays and Dynes
Has kindold thi care?
If thou be man of mekil might,
Lepe upon thi mare,
Take thi gate into Dines,
And grete tham wele thare.
Thare gretes thi gestes,
And wendes with wo;
King Edward has wonen
The kastell tham fro.

3e men of Saint Omers,
  Trus 3e this tide,
And putles out 3owre paviliownes
  With 3owre mekill pride.
Sendes efter sir John of Fraunce
  To stand by 3owre syde;
A bore es boun 3ow to bikor,
  That wele dar habyde.
Wel dar he habide
  Bataile to bede;
And of 3owre sir John of Fraunce
  Haves he no drede.

God save sir Edward his right
  In ever ilka nede;
And he that will noght so,
  Evil mot he spede!
And lon onre sir Edward
  His life wele to lede,
That he may at his ending
  Have hevin till his mede. Amen.

The Dispute between the Englishman and the Frenchman.[1]

Anglia, fex hominum, pudor orbis, et ultima rerum,
  Res rea plus aliis, quid facis esse reum?
Qua pice verborum promis nova, quo mihi telo
  Insurgis, vel quod fulmen ab ore jacis?

---

[1] *This short poem is preserved in a manuscript in the British Museum, MS. Cotton. Titus A. xx., fol. 98, r°. It is chiefly curious as illustrating the irritation and hatred between the two peoples which had arisen out of the French wars.*

Montem sermo capit, sordes a pectore lingit,
  Contrahit et virus montis ab ore fluit.
Pullulat in ramum vitium radicis, et indo
  Derivat facinus natio tota suum.
Omnia pervertis, doces, in crimina flectis,
  Signum virtutis in vitiosa trahis.
Objicitur crinis pexus, gena pallida, sermo
  Mollis, et obsequia deliciosa pedum.
Si regit ordo comas, et eas docet ordine comi,
  Ne simat hypocrisis passibus iro vagis.
Si pallet facies, a Pallade pallor in ora
  Exit, et a Venere non venit iste color.
Si molles expono sonos, aures primum asper
  Verba reconciliat mollis in ore sonus.
Si pede subtili passus primum una modestus
  Instruit exterior interiora modus.
Singula compta nitent, nitor intimus extima jungunt,
  Et color interior exteriora colit.
Sed quia se vitio modico discrimine nectit,
  Pro vitio virtus crimina sæpe tulit.
Addis avaritiæ crimen, quia lino modesto
  Unius et proli nolimus esse gulæ.
Quos pretor pecudes alit Anglia? venter eorum
  Est Deus, et ventri sacrificare student.
Distendit stomachum gula prodiga gutture pleno,
  Turget et est potius bolus quam sit homo.
In potus usum segetis lucus ipse maritat;
  Hæc duo sunt aliqua, et tamen inde nihil.
Nos alit ipse liquor vitis, sex venditur Anglis,
  Quæ cum sit liquida creditur esse liquor.
Vos fœcem bibitis, sed tantum tempore festo
  Paucis et raro distribuendo venit.
Si tamen hauritis aliquid de more Lyæi,
  Hoc signare decet carmine festa Dei:
Salve, festa dies, toto venerabilis ævo,
  Qua Deus in venas scandit et extra tonat.

Anglus loquitur.

Scire velim quare me Gallicus urget in arma,
Cum qua praesumas, Gallice, fronte loqui.
Quae venimt a fronte mihe, quo murmure pectus
Involvis, quid agunt mitibus ora suis?
Parce viris, socie mulierem lis mulieri,
Impar certamen cum muliere mari.
Quicquid agas gestu, quocunque feraris eidem,
Semper inest aliquid quod tibi crimen emat.
Si *caput aspicias compto dum crine superbit*,
Nescio qua reliquos suspicione trahit.
Si capitis motum nunc hac nunc vertitur illac,
Discurres tanquam non velit esse tuum.
Si faciem Veneris vitio praedante ruborem,
Eloquitur vitium pallida forma tuum.
Si linguam mollit pulsum, ne forte palatum
Obstrepat, et mulier fatur in ore viri.
Si gressum tumidas suspendis in aere plantas,
Vix pede degustans anteriore vias.
Si partes alias mutiebrem cedis in usum,
Foemineo gestu dissimulante virum.
Si quia foemineos castravit Gallica Gallos,
Gallina, Gallo, nomen et omen habe.
Ne Veneris solus Gallos sibi vendicet usus,
Contraxit cupidas caeca cupido manus.
Eloquar hoc crimen, sed non egot ore, quid ergo
Oris a mensa pampere disce fidem.
Servili menso Bacchus de fece reservat,
Et servit pauper pauperе mensa cibo.
Gallia de vite paleam metit, Anglia grauum;
Haurimus liquidum, caetera Gallus habet.
Cum Gallus talis maculet montem contagio Galli;
Gallico praestat enim parcere, parce loqui.

Explicit quaedam disputatio inter Anglicum et Francum.

On Prince Edward's Expedition into Spain.[1]

1367.

Gloria cunctorum detur Domino dominorum,
Qui regit astrorum fabricam terraque polorum,
Per quem grandescit princeps nosterque valescit,
Bellis floresci[t], laudisque[2] valore viresci[t].
Anglia letatur, Vasconia jam modulatur;
Francia tristatur, Hispania justificatur;
Scotia languesci[t], et Flandria falsa timesci[t];
Dacia decresci[t], Hibernia victa quiesci[t].
Res nova, res mira, complentur prelia dira;
Omnis in orbe lyra pungat de principis ira.
Jam denis annis lapsis post bella Johannis,
Ferratis pannis crusis cuplisque tyrannis,
Francia cum victa fuit, et lis tota relicta,
Et pax edicta per fedora regia stricta,
Princeps pergebat, genitor puta principiabat,
Totam subdebat sibi Vasconiamque regebat.
Spurius ingratus tumo surgit ad arma paratus,
Quo rex cognatus Hispanus erat superatus.
Hic nobus Henricus fuit olim regis amicus;
Post fit falsidicus ejus latitans inimicus.
Rex Petrus dictus doluit languore relictus,
Nam motuens ictus fuit Henricus cito victus.
Hic nothus infestus fugat, et fugit illo molestus,
Nos referens gestus stat contra principe questus.
Princeps miratur quando Petrus sibi . fatur,
Et contristatur quia regno sic spoliatur;

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[1] From two manuscripts, one in the British Museum, MS. Cotton. Titus A. xx., fol. 47, v°, the other in the Bodleian Library, MS. Rawlinson, No. 214, fol. 136, r°, in which it has the title, *Incipit bellum Hispanie per primogenitum dicti domini Edwardi regis Edwardum.*

[2] *Bellum . . . . dandisque*, Rawl.

Donec cum decorat mansuete Petrus, et orat,
Tam tenere plorat aqua quod facies sibi roiat.
Princeps mandabat patriquo suo referabat
Quae sibi narrabat rex Petrus, opemque rogabat.
Tunc rex Anglorum stupuit ratione novorum,
Et fuit illorum motus pietate dolorum.
Annuit ergo pater, et transferat illico frater;
Bis, ter, sive quater benedixit eis sua mater.
Princeps gaudebat sibi pergere quando licebat;
Secum ducebat Petrumque viam capiebat.
Spurius intendit princeps quod iter sibi prendit,
Se minus offendit, et ei pugnare tetendit.
Prelia junxerunt, ubi plures morte ruerunt,
Multi fugerunt, capti bis mille fuerunt.
Dux quos minavit Lancastrensis feriavit,
Francos prostravit, Hispanos mortificavit.
A dextro latere vires Offord[1] patuere,
Hispanos fugere qui fecit eumque timere.
Ex reliqua parte Chandos, tali scitus arte,[2]
Pugnat pro parte, furior certamine Marte.
Acriter instabat Knollis, qui non dubitabat,
Vulnera multa dabat, acies audax penetrabat.
Princeps Edwardus stetit in medio puta pardus,
Est cui Ricardus sicut Paulo Leonardus.
Ruro cruentato victor mutat agmine strato,
Ensoque vibrato percussit millia fato.
Francia fraudatur, quoniam Claykyn[3] superatur,
Carcere servatur, cui Doudinham sociatur,
Et colibertorum rostrum turba stat eorum.
Summa ducentorum fit Francorum dominorum.
Vera Deo detur laus, perpes honor societur,
Quo lis deletur Hispanis jusque tenetur.

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[1] Sir Thomas Ufford, son of the earl of Suffolk.

[2] *scius in te*, Rawl.

[3] The form into which the English corrupted the name of Bertrand du Guesclin.

Sit benedictus horus, princeps ornt utpote clarus,
Mitis et austerus, qui scit judex foro verus.
Sic informavit rex illum qui generavit,
Armis aptavit, et Christi lego dicavit.
Nam per sermonem doctum superat Salomonem,
Per vim Sampsonem, per justitiam Simeonem.
Tres portant flores gentiles ut meliores;
Tres sunt victores Judei lucidiores;
Tres nostro fidei sunt ejusdem speciei;
Compar nullus ei dum extat dux aciei.
Ut radix Jesse rex Anglorum patet esse;
Sunt indefesso cui viros stanto necesse.
Quinque quidem natos genuit rex morigeratos,
Viribus ornatos, mites, doctos, ope gratos.
Rex foro jocundus tantis natis quid abundus,
Nam totus inundus per eos rex fit tremebundus.
Horum regina genetrix, Anglis[1] medicina,
Extat digna Sina requiescere cum Katerina.
Esse valet nata[2] in patre matreque hotiflcata,
Talitor ornata tot fratribus et decorata.
Visitet ergo thorum Deus, et conservet eorum,
Qui regit Anglorum regnum sine fraude malorum.

Explicient versus de principis bello in Hispania.

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[1] *Anglie*, Rawl.

[2] *extat digne Syna*, Rawl.

Prince Edward's Expedition into Spain, and the Battle of Najara.

By Walter of Peterborough.[1]

Incipit proemium panegyricum in opus sequens de victoria belli in Hispania, per principem Edwardum et Johannem confratrem ejus ducem Lancastria, pro Petro rege Hispanie.

Mi Martonensis, pater amplexande, Johannes,
  Acceptetis opus hoc breve quaeso meum.
Principe pro nostro scripsi quondam [a] Theoteeon,
  In Pictavensi marte, poeta suus.
Ad decus ecclesie super Ovidium vigilavi,
  Jam duce pro nostro, proque saluto sua,

[a] *Id est Mariale suum, continens 5 m*l *versuum, exponendo opus presens transmissum ad dominum Johannem Marthon thesaurarium domini Johannis ducis Lancastrie, amicum familiarissimum auctoris hujus operis.*

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[1] This poem, on the Spanish expedition of the Black Prince and the battle of Najara, April 3, 1367, is found in two manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, MS. Digby, No. 166, fol. 97, r°, and MS. Rawlinson, No. 214, fol. 188, r°. The first of these contains the poem complete, without the Proemium; while the Rawlinson MS., which alone contains the Proemium, has preserved only about one half (the earlier part) of the poem. The Rawlinson MS. contains also a continuous interlinear gloss, which is here printed in each page under the text.

Of the author of this poem, Walter of Peterborough (Gualterus de Burgo), nothing further appears to be known than that which he here tells us, namely, that he was a monk of Revesby in Lincolnshire, that he was the friend of John Marthon (of Merton ?), treasurer to John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, to whose service our author was also attached, and that he was the author of some other poems, one of which is found in the same Digby MS., which has preserved his poem on the expedition to Spain. He is mentioned in the Chronicle of Peterborough, MS. Cotton. Claudius A. V, fol. 43. v°, where he is called "frater Walterus de Burgo, "quondam monachus de Reveshy."

Sacra Jhesu cecini sub carmine clausa poesis,
  Prodens in lucem quo latuere prius.
Chronica quicquid habet, ab Adam decet ad Julianum,
  De [b]transformatis in tribus illo libros.
Cetera [c]promitto si sors [d]arrideat aetis,
  In presens tempus enucleabo libros.
Porro Narcissum cum toto corde polirem,
  Mollea de vobis personuere nova.
Qua Deus arto ducem magnum prius hic apud Anglos,
  Nunc apud Hispanos magnificavit ibi.
Congaudere decet, quod idem vos nomen habetis
  Cum duce tam magno, gloria magna manet.
Nam nullum nomen magis est memorabile mundo
  Quam vestrum, vobis gratia tanta Dei.
Postquam regna sua tres afflixere Johannes,
  Viluit hoc nomen plebeiumque fuit.
Jam redit ad reges, redit ad papas duce tanto,
  Tam divum nomen papa nobilique timent.
Magnus [e]avis, major animis, modo maximus armis,
  Nomen quodcumque magnificare potest.
Tertius Edwardus post conquestum, pater ejus,
  Carcere tot reges, regna tot ense tenens,
Sufficit isto pater ad prolem magnificandam,
  Anglia quo fulget, quo quasi luce micat.
Teutonici generis mater regina Philippa,
  Ergo de divis imperiique domo.
Per sex Edwardos ponetur stirps othelinga,
  Si dux descendens sit generosus avis
Quis dux, quis dominus, majores progenitores
  Aut habet, aut habuit? saecula longa lege.
Ipse patris pulchor, Plato prudens, Pondus procerus,
  Ense potens, aris pronus, ubique pius,

[b] Metamorphosios.
[c] Exponere.
[d] Liberis expositionis.
[e] Progenitoribus.

Fax fidei fortis, fuga fraudis, forma futuris,
Flos juvenum, felix conjugo, faustus avis.
Turris ad Anglos, Turnus ad hostes, tardus ad iram,
[f]Turtur anima, [g]Turnus roboro, [h]totus homo
Noster [i]dux, noster [j]dominus, noster [k]dominator,
Nostrum [l]lumen, noster [m]leo, nostra [n]lyra.
Lumen [o]conventu, leo [p]conflictu, lyra [q]cantu;
Ergo prudens, ergo probus, ergo pius.
Per tot [r]signa sacra probat Edwardus genitores,
Et plus quo senior predicat ipse patrem.
Arbor aromatica rex Edwardus pater ejus;
Splendida progenies, aurea poma sua.
Quantumcunque procul currat pomum, probat unde
Venit, et vulpes ventilat ejus avos.
Quis regum, quamvis repetas ab Adam patriarcha,
Par probitate potens, plus pietate pluens?
Quamvis percurras omnes ab origine reges,
De nullo poteris dicere, talis erat.
Tam fortis gladio, tam felix prole beata,
Si radix sancta, ramus et ipse sacer.
Novi Romanos et reges Israel omnes,
Gallos et Graecos, nemo latens in eis,
Nullus Romanus, nullus rex Israel illo
Plus probus, immo pius, Numa, nec ipse David.
Compositos in compedibus regesque ducesque,
Plus prece quam pretio solvit abire simens.

[f] Constantissime.
[g] Fortissime.
[h] Integerrime.
[i] Lancastriæ.
[j] Comes Lincolniæ.
[k] Castri de Bullyngbroke.
[l] Consulendo.
[m] Protegendo.
[n] Miserando.
[o] Consilio.
[p] Prælio.
[q] Solatio.
[r] Virtutum.

Quis nomen scit Cesaris? libertati dolit hostes,
Ille sed iratus, iste misertus eis.
Semper enim sanguis vester, de semine divo,
Narrat si quid habet, notificatque patres.
Semen aromaticum semper dulcem dat odorem,
Proxima quaeque sua pascit odore sua.
At contra faciens digitos urtica perurens,
Tangentis tunicam lappa temuxque ligat.
Semen adulterii cupidum, crudele, cruentum;
Qualis fons fuerit, profluo prodit aqua.
Ramus aromaticus, dominus princeps, dominus dux
Lancastrie item, frater ubique fragrans.
A patre rege satis apparet ramus uterque,
Pro pietate Petre, pro probitate nothis.
Balsama tanta metre mandare monet mens alba,
Ac ex opposito notificare nothos.
Tanta metre tali socii constringere cogunt,
Si, pater, accipitis, vestrior[1] esse volo.
Natus eram Burgi, Petri nutritus in aula,
Nomine Walterus, arte poeta ducis.
Ordine sum tanti ducis inter sacra sacerdos,
Rovesbiis monachus, vester ubique puer.
Sum simplex vester, mea mors, mea vita vigantur,
In manibus vestris vivere queso queam.
Si benedixeritis, vox vestra dabit mihi vitam;
Si maledixeritis, mors mihi certa manet.
Perfecistis enim tres bellum, dux, Deus, et vos;
Dux mucrone, Deus munere, vosque prece.
Vos in monte, Deus in celo, dux in arena;
Josue dux, Moyses vos, Deus auctor erat.
Vobiscum Moyses in monte, vir almus Helyas,
Glorificate Deum, belligerante duce.
Ipse[2] Deo debet dux grates, et Deus illi,
Quod sic alterutrum glorificare student.

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[1] *vitor*, MS. | [2] *Ipso*, MS.

Ergo, benigne pater, exoro legatis in aures,
Cum ducis ad vultum venerit istud opus.
A modo gesta ducis dicam, sed paupere lingua,
Heu nimis elinguis bella referre param.

Explicit proemium panegyricum. Incipit victoria belli in Hispania per tres confratres, scilicet dominos principem Edwardum, Johannem ducem Lancastriæ, et Petrum regem Hispaniæ, contra tres nothos, filios Aldefonsi regis, scilicet Henricum, Thilonem, et Senchium.

Bella referre paro fratrum de germine [s] claro,
Plus claros raro protulit [t] ulla caro:
[u] Nam tres contra tres inierunt prælia fratres,
Per multas matres causa fuere patres.
[v] Tres stupro geniti, reliqui tres lege mariti,
Illicitis liciti tres tribus oppositi.
Henricus primus, Thilo, Senchius,[1] ut reperimus;
Quartus legitimus est Petrus et minimus.
[w] Cardo, gith, urtica frumento sunt inimica,
In cujus[2] spica jam tria grana plica.
Spinas lethales contra totidem speciales,
Spicas vitales ecce videre vales.

[s] Nobili.

[t] Ullus pater, vel ulla mater.

[u] Princeps E., dux J., et rex P., contra tres bastardos; duo, scilicet, princeps et dux, fratres fuerunt genere, et tertius, scilicet Petrus, frater fuit fœdere eis.

[v] Hoc dicitur pro Aldefonso, qui præter uxorem tenuit concubinas, de quibus genuit Henricum, Thilonem, et Senchium, sed de uxore *Petrum hæredem legitimum.*

[w] Henricus, Tilo, Senchius, scilicet Petro. Hic ponit auctor 3am comparationem contra nothos 3.

[1] *Danechus*, Digb.

[2] *id est fœdere*, Gloss in Digb.

Fœtus regalis fragrat, et reflcit [x]rosa talis,
  Cum[1] sit legalis, est nisi[1] spina malis.
[y]Sic de rege Petro Castellæ, quem dubio metro,
  Exilio letro cogitur ire retro.

[z]Spina malis fuerat, si quis causam bono quærat,
  Pravos perdiderat, hinc ôdiosus erat.[2]
Pulsus ab Henrico, bastardo cedit iniquo.
  Rex proprio vico proditur in modico.[4]
Henricum bini firmant fratres venerini,[5]
  Plures vicini de patria domini.
[a]Petrum cognati duo restituunt[6] saburrati,
  Fratres dignati tanta pericla [b]pati.

Petrus, legitimus hæres, rex nuper [c]opimus,
  Fœx modo [d]finitimus,[7] exul ab urbe, fimus.
[e]Aspiciat si quos per cuncta requirit [f]amicos,
  [g]Vix sibi pacificos invenions aliquos.
[h]Sic infelici non inveniuntur [i]amici,
  Quondam[8] felici millo fuere vici.

[x] Jam posuit auctor aliam comparationem ad rosam pro Petro.
[y] Hic pandit auctor causam belli.
[z] i. rigidus.
[a] Genere scilicet princeps Aquitaniæ, et dux Lancastriæ.
[b] Pro Petro cognato eorum, filio legitimo Adelonsi regis, et in testamento ejus signo regio donatus.
[c] i. dives et potens.
[d] i. juxta vel extra fines.
[e] *Ut* inveniat aliquos.
[f] Constantes.
[g] Ipse nothus Henricus abjiciens regnum et potentiam suam fregerat tot.
[h] Petro regi abjecto.
[i] Unde Ovid:—

" Tempore felici multi numerantur amici,
  Tempora cum fuerint nebula solus erit."

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[1] *Si*, Rawl.
[2] *vero*, Rawl.
[4] This line is omitted in the Digby MS.
[5] *i. fere*, Gloss in Digb.
[6] *i. adulterini*, Gloss in Digb.
[7] *subportant*, Rawl.
[8] *infinitimus*, Rawl.
[9] *Dudum*, Rawl.
[10] It need, perhaps, hardly be remarked that Ovid's words are not quite correctly quoted.

[j] Tandem cognatos, procul a regione natos,
[k] Edwardi natos reperit [l] esse [l] natos.
[m] Neuter inurbanus [2] dominus, princeps Aquitanus
Et Petrus [n] Hispanus conseruere manus.
[o] Princeps in primis miserebur casibus [p] imis,
Cognati lacrimis compatiendo nimis.
Consensere sibi, placuit tamen omnia [q] scribi,
Rex Edwarde, tibi quæ gererentur ibi.
[r] Ut lamenta legis, expulsi nuncia regis,
Natorum relegis tristis in aure gregis.
In transgressores acuis natos juniores,
[s] Præcipis ultores esse quod ipse [t] fores.
Si tempus sineret, et non [3] tua terra teneret,
Facta nothus fleret, [u] facit et [v] nota foret,
Filius accedit, dux Lancastrensis [w] obedit,
Ad mare procedit, se ratibusque dedit.
Restitit aura Nothi Borea surgente remoti,
Sic duce summoti sunt veniente nothi.

[j] Dominum principem Aquitanie et fratrem ejus ducem Lancastrie.
[k] Regis Anglorum natos filios.
[l] Constantes amicos.
[m] Dominus princeps nec rex Petrus.
[n] Castellanus.
[o] *Aquitanie.*
[p] Miseris.
[q] Sub conditione quod si Edwardus patri principis placeret initum fœdus.
[r] Literam principis de expulsione regis Petri.
[s] *Hispanos.*
[t] Ultor.
[u] Malo.
[v] Malo.
[w] Patri suo regi.

[1] *comperit*, Rawl.
[2] *Neutervo urbanus*, Rawl.
[3] *nisi te tua t.*, Digb.

Intrat [x] Burdegalo portum peritus generalo,
Nil nisi verbalo [y] tinnuit ave, valo.
Summo lubatur princeps, ut cum speculatur;
Si complectatur, questio vana datur.
Firmat cum [z] fratris sermo, benedictio matris,
Et [a] raptis clathris littera leeta patris.
Tunc Aquitanorum princeps et dux [b] Colirorum [1]
Ac Hispanorum rex iniere chorum.
Hinc sacra grana tria jam spica juncta,[2] Maria,
Protege propitia, sunt mea vita quia.
[c] Fœdera junxerunt, se fratres composuerunt,
Amodo sanxerunt, tres velut unus erunt.
Curia densatur, [d] exercitus enumeratur,
Castris mandatur miles, [e] ab urbe satur,
Qui sint tutores terræ scribunt seniores,
Quosdam primores claudere clavo [f] fores.
Summus [g] Fagorum comes et baro Pomeriorum
Curam cunctorum principis usque torum.
Cætera plebs vadit, gratis sua nomina tradit,
Nemo suos radit, mensaque nulla cadit.
Castra per [h] umbones numerando [i] duas legiones,
Anglos aut Britones, Vasconicosve Sones.
Ad bellum properant, divina juvamina sperant,
Cum nisi jus quærant, in pia bella gerant.

[x] Metropolis Gasconiæ.
[y] Resonat.
[z] Ducis Lancastriæ.
[a] Apertis litteris.
[b] Castrensium.
[c] Princeps et dux cum rege Petro.
[d] Exercitus congregatur.
[e] Fastidiens urbem.
[f] Ad custodiendum civitates.
[g] Le count de Ffoys et le sire de Pomeres.
[h] Pars scuti pro toto scuto est, figura metonymia.
[i] Mille armatorum.

[1] *Deirorum*, Rawl.

[2] *Frumenti sancta*, Rawl.

Cum sic armatur exercitus ut gradiatur,
Nuntius effatur,[1] j litera vero datur.
Princeps admisit quo scripta nothus sibi misit,
Sepius immisit quid sapiens ibi[2] sit
Litera lecta sonat quod princeps arma [k]reponat,
Aut iter exponat, sic erit [l]ante tonat.
Reddit persone princeps multa ratione
Responsum, prone concipe, [m]scriba bone.[3]
[n]Fœdera declarat quo [o]patrum cura patrarat,
Postea firmarat ipse patenter arat.
[p]Casum cognati miseratus habet pietati,
Damna [q]relegati de patre rege [r]sati.
Ergo nothus donet testata, Petrumque coronet,
Sic pacem ponet, litera tota monet;
Praco procedit, responsum principis edit,
Litera succedit, nuntius ergo redit.
Stipati pariter per legem premoniti ter,
Nostri non aliter aggrediuntur iter.
[s]Per Cesareos aditus[4] montes Pirenæos,
Campos Navarreos preterierunt per eos.

[j] Litera prima quam bastardus misit ad principem, rogans eum quod vellet sibi certificare per quam viam proponeret intrare regnum Castelli, promittens quod cum auxilio amicorum obviam ei veniret in manu forti.

[k] Bellum deponat.

[l] Nous vous dirrons adevant.

[m] *Scriptor.*

[n] Literam tñsalem (*sic*) domini principis.

[o] Fœdera domini Edwardi patris sui et Aldefonsi patris alterius.

[p] Exilium.

[q] Exiliati.

[r] Geniti.

[s] i. transitum montis Pirenæos quem Cesar fecit, vel Hannibal *melius aperiens montes Pirenæos cum aceto et plumbo.* Postea Carolus magnus rediens de Hispania amisit ibi Rothelande et ceteros in Rowncivale sepultos.

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[1] *affatur*, Rawl.
[2] *sapidum sibi*, Rawl.
[3] *probatione*, Digb.
[4] *predictus*, Digb.

Affuit in pratis locus ampho nobilitatis,
Omnibus armatis servitiisque satis
Illio[1] sunt positi per tres acies [t]stabiliti,
No foret liti causa, fumive siti.
[u]Princeps prolatus medio quasi corde locatus,
Cesar erat gratus, ut petit ille status.
Junctos cameos habuit, multos Machabaeos,
Omnes [v]Vaceos Angligenasve meos.
Quemlibet in numero fortem cognomine vero
Ponere non potero, nec tibi fictor ero.
Quidam [w]questores narrabo notabiliores,
Postea [x]pretores accipe si memor es.
[y]Summus legatus dextro cornu sibimetus,
Dux est profatus frater ad arma datus.
[z]Principis ex ore Chaundos questor ducis ore,
Noluit ex more tradere bella more.
O dea [a]Bellona, pretori [b]martia dona
Da [c]Cosyngtona da moda multa bona.
Firmis tutelis, pretor [d]Girardo[2] fidelis,
[e]Angelus ex coelis *alter ademsso velis.*

[t] *i. distincti inter se et mare.*

[u] Dividens exercitum suum juxta Pampelonium in Navaria, positus est in media custodia, prout modern vocant.

[v] Vascones.

[w] Senescallos.

[x] Marescallos.

[y] Summus status in exercitu sub consule. Unde Sylla questor erat Mari *apud Salustium de bello Jugurthino. Apud Vegetium et* veteres Romanos anterior custodia dicebatur dextrum cornu, cui dominus dux Lancastrie prepositus est a principe.

[z] Ex mandato principis dominus Johannes Chaundos senescallus turme erat que domino duci assignata est, quia mos est domini Johannis Chaundos violenter irruere in hostes.

[a] Dea belli.

[b] *Mars est deus belli.*

[c] Dominus Stephanus.

[d] Alter marescallus.

[e] Angelyn nomine.

[1] *Illuc*, Digb. | [2] *Gerarde*, Rawl.

[f]Tota phalanx, vere ferro contecta vel aere,
Sub duce venere millia bina fere.
Post [g]cornu tulo ductor dextro fuit alo
Rex Petrus, [h]Aspale[1] nec reor isse malo.
[i]Fultus personis est Calverlensis Hugonis,
Armigeris promis militibusque bonis.
Alter erat pretor Machutus[2] nomine rhetor,
[k]Cornaci lector, dicere plura vetor.
[l]Ad lævam propero, quæstores dicere[3] quæro,
Sunt bini numero, quilibet ense fero.
Postea [m]pretores duho, [n]quæstores potiores,
Caudo tutores, exigit hoc modo res.
Quæstor vulgaris rex majoris [o]Balearis,
Militibus claris rex erat ille maris.
Ne quid ei desit, comes Herminæensis[4] [p]adhæsit,
Ut castris præsit, officium bene scit.

[f] Tota turma domini ducis continebat mille armatos et octingentos.

[g] In alia dextra erat dominus Petrus cum Castellanis suis, sub quo senescallus erat dominus Hugo de Calverle, et marescallus dominus Matheus de Gorney,

[h] *Civitas in Hispania.*

[i] Dominus princeps.

[j] Officii civilis.

[k] De Gorney.

[l] i. senescallum secundæ custodiæ, quæ apud Vegetium et veteres *Romanos vocabatur sinistrum cornu.*

[m] Marescallos.

[n] Senescallos.

[o] Rex Majoricarum erat senescallus in sinistro cornu et cum eo confrater ejus.

[p] *In mari Adriatico sunt duæ insulæ dictæ Baleares, quarum* major dicitur Majorica, et minor dicitur Minorica, et dictæ sunt Baleares, id est Balestro, -tras, quod est jacere, quia ibi primo inventæ sunt fundæ, unde fundibularii dicuntur balestarii.

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[1] *Haspale*, Rawl.
[2] *Mathutus*, Rawl.
[3] *ducere*, Digb.
[4] *Blumacensis*, Rawl.

[q] Hi conservabant caudam, dorso vigilabant,
Ibant seu stabant, ultima tuta dabant.
Ala sinistra modo succedit eam, tibi prodo
Quo dilici modo, taliter hanc ego do.
Illic hastatus rex [r] Navario dominatus,
[s] Questor dictatus cinxerat[1] enso latus.
Sub quo [t] pretores duo sunt mundi meliores
Debellatores, nomina commemores.
Robert Knollonis,[2] alter dominus [u] Cinisonis,[3]
Si palmas ponis, dignus [v] utroque thronis.
Sic assignatis castris patribus memoratis,
[w] Dux preit armatis millibus ante datis.
[x] Terras hostiles terit armatus modo miles,
In semras viles usquoque, muro, siles.
In villas vado, sed pacem primo suado,
Nolentes [y] clado, claudo, [z] cruoro nudo.
[a] Spuria castra vides contra te staro, trucides;
Tu non occides, sed sua fracta fides.
Nec pietate penes hostes tua folla refrenes,[4]
Quin[5] furias juvenes propositosque[6] bones.

[q] *Erant duces in sinistro cornu.*
[r] Erat in ala sinistra.
[s] Senescallus.
[t] Marescalli.
[u] De Britannia.
[v] Eo quod erant fortissimi pugnatores.
[w] Lancastrie.
[x] Figura apostropho est hic, cum quis loquitur ad rem irrationalem, ut auctor hic *loquitur ad gladium.*
[y] Pacem.
[z] Velocium pacem.
[a] Bastardi.

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[1] *canterat*, Rawl.
[2] *Robard Cnollonis*, Rawl.
[3] *Clenisonis*, Rawl.
[4] *trina filla facta refrenes*, Rawl.
[5] *Quam*, Rawl.
[6] *re*, Rawl.

[b] Decrepito, [c] pueri [d] cunis omnium, ac [e] mulieri,
Parce prece miseri, porro[1] rebello [f] fori.[2]
[g] Villa majoris illis cognomen in oris
Est Salvatoris, nostra stetere foris.
Castra duris capere villam per vim voluere,
Sed [h] Petro proprie [i] dissiliere[3] j sero.
Se deplorabant fregisse fidem, renovabant,
Claves portabant, introitumque dabant.
Illic plagatus est [k] miles de Burlee vocatus,
Sed cito curatus [l] est equitare[4] ratus.
Villaque fecit idem [m] Petro Beticensis [n] eidem,
Deplorando quidem se violasse [o] fidem.
Hic nostri quærunt ubi spuria castra fuerunt,
Et respondernnt montis opaca terunt.[5]
Nostris ignoti montes, hosti bene noti,
Ergo [p] mane [q] Noti more ruere nothi.

[b] Seni.
[c] Teneri.
[d] Infanti.
[e] Femineo.
[f] Perende.
[g] Prima villa quæ obvia stetit, dicta est Salvatoris, quæ primo clausis portis præparavit se ad bellum, et vulneratus est ibi dominus Ricardus de Burle, sed tandem gratis aperiebant portas Petro regi.
[h] Scilicet regi.
[i] Aperiebantur.
[j] Portarum.
[k] Dominus Ricardus.
[l] *Ita quod potuit.*
[m] Regi.
[n] Sicut villa Salvatoris.
[o] *Quia nothi ibi cum suis exercitibus erant roborati, et postea fugerunt in montibus.*
[p] Summo.
[q] Bastardi descendunt cum impetu venti australis.

[1] *quodque*, Rawl.
[2] *fere*, Rawl.
[3] *propric*, Digb., *dissiliere*, Rawl.
[4] *equitando*, Digb.
[5] *optataque fugunt*, Rawl.

Nostras invadunt [r] cameras, in vincula tradunt,
Multos [s] eradunt ensibus, hiquo cadunt.
Miles ibi cesus [t] do Felton in [u] ilia hesus,
Summus oi Crosus ammat astra Jhesus.
Hastyngis ille [v] baro cum fumo ligatur amaro,
Si plus ignaro conflua[1] litus aro.
Captus et extiterat rex [w] Navario, quia sperat
Quod socius fuerat qui suus hostis erat.
Tunc didicit miles quid prosit habere viriles
Nocturnos vigiles, solicitos pugiles.
Nos irritarant[2] dum nostros sic tribularant,
Multos mactarant, sed[3] sibi flagra parant.
Sic [x] ducis armatur, acies campisque locatur,
Hostis pulsatur, montibus isse datur.
[y] Princeps speravit bellum Petramque suevit,
Collaphizavit, ferret ut arma David.
Omnes [z] tyrones narrarem per stationes,
Sed tot [a] numerones, [b] musa, tacere mones.
Dux Lancastrorum dedit ad [c] bis sex juniorum
Ex auro lorum, dicere mille chorum.
[d] Spurius inventus lux erastina quando revenit,
Quod sibi convenit, vespere namque[4] venit.

[r] Capiunt in lectis.
[s] Necant.
[t] Dominus Willelmus.
[u] Viscera.
[v] Dominus Radulphus.
[w] Per quondam dominum Oliverum.
[x] Dominus dux processit cum exercitu, et hostes videntes retraxerunt se ad montes.
[y] Dominus hoc tempore regem Castelli fecit militem et cum gladio percussit in collo.
[z] Novos milites.
[a] Cujuscunque novi militis.
[b] Discretio.
[c] 12 milites.
[d] Die sequenti usque ad vesperam nil agebatur.

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[1] *conflet*, Rawl.
[2] *irruunt*, Digby.
[3] *qui*, Rawl.
[4] *cumque*, Rawl.

Pars nos voxmo [o] descendit, ad ima rotare,
Proma [1] jactare, tola, duella dare.
Ex his [f] ter denis cæsis, totidemque catenis
Subdebant pœnis corpora, corda threnis.
[g] Anglica pars rugit, pars [h] altera subjuga mugit;
[i] Pars plagas sugit, pars tremebunda fugit.
Nocteque montana conscendunt, nos sua plana
Opc[2] belli vana sumpsimus ex Sathana.
Sic [j] traxere dies, Sathano fraus cognita fies,
Ut nostras acies opprimeret macies.
[k] Defectu panis erat omnis venter inanis,
Usibus humanis defuit ergo canis.
Si carnes [l] comedunt, nec in hoc jejunia lædunt,
Jus gladii credunt tergere quicquid edunt.
Accidit ergo pio sacra festa venire [m] Mario,
Veris tempore tricesimaque die.
Princeps profatis [n] patribus precone citatis,[3]
Narrat adunatis passa pericla [o] satis.
Concludit fine [p] frumenta deesse equino;
Castris vicino sunt, famis ergo mine.
Ad [q] loca munita tulit hostis blada cupita,
Unde fame soita prælia tardat ita.

[o] Tunc quidam descenderunt ad sua singula certamina.
[f] 30 cæsi et 30 capti, cæteri fugati et vulnerati.
[g] Victrix ut leo.
[h] Imbecillium jumentorum.
[i] Victa.
[j] Id est, prout nos fame perderent.
[k] Nostri patiebantur magnam famem in terra quod carnes comedebant.
[l] Credebant causam suam esse tam justam quod in comedendo non possunt peccare.
[m] Annunciationis.
[n] Ducibus exercitus sui.
[o] Quanta pericula passus fuerit exercitus.
[p] Panem deficere.
[q] Castella.

[1] *Omna*, Rawl.
[2] *Spes*, Digb.
[3] *vocatis*, Rawl.

Hic[1] frustra stamus, dum proxima bella putamus,
Nostros vexamus ludibrioque damus.
[r] Castellum petero per dextram credo valero,
Illuc [s] innumero sunt sine clavo sero.
Illic migremus, hostes post terga trahemus,
Tutius intremus, nam caret hosto nemus.
Preco præit, sequitur acies, mons dexter adibur,
[t] Lævus describitur quo nothus instruitur.
Nostri [u] reptabant prorupteque [2] saxa probabant
Crebro saltabant, sæpius [3] ergo labant
Dum descenderunt, jumenta petris perierunt;
Qui bene scivernnt multa fuisse ferunt.
Tandem vallo freti eomam sumpsero quieti,
Umbram [v] dumeti consuluere peti.
Fecit bruma trucem noctem, cernunt [w] ubi lucem
Format quisque crucem fronte sequendo ducem.
[x] Transalpinabant, iterum tandem superabant,
Vallem [y] calcabant, dorsa jugisque [4] dabant.
[z] Portum verrinum sic intravero[5] marinum,
Cives ad dominum displicuere sinum.[6]
[a] Illic sudore cessante cibo meliore,
[b] Pro provisore fit brevis hora more.

[r] Id est, intrare regnum Castellæ per aliam viam, quia montium itinera bastardi obstruxerant.

[s] Quia ibi est libera copia omnium victualium.

[t] Sinister.

[u] Ascendendo montes.

[v] Requieverunt in parva silva.

[w] Summo mane.

[x] Iterum alium montem ascenderunt.

[y] Descenderunt de montibus.

[z] Vocatur Le Croyne; est in mare ut rostrum porci, ubi intraverunt terram.

[a] Et sic aliquantulum ibi post multam penuriam victualium recreati sunt.

[b] Prima non sufficiebat.

[1] *Sic*, Rawl.
[2] *promptaque*, Digb.
[3] *crebrius*, Rawl.
[4] *magisque*, Rawl.
[5] *intravero*, Rawl.
[6] *suum*, Rawl.

Martius exibat, et mensis Aprilis inibat,
Princeps [c] transibat, vix euro [1] castra cibat.
Castris metatis nostris in agris Navaratis,
Fertur [d] prælatis [e] litera lata satis.
Narrat enim [f] Nazore fluvii ripa propiore,
[g] Belligero more, spuria castra fore.
Offert protegere sua castra,[2] locumque placere,
Quem volet eligere lanx utriusque mere.
[h] Dux ut id [3] audierat, acies quem sua præerat
Ad bellum properat, is suus ardor [4] erat
Princeps festinat, dorso ducis agmina minat,
Semper vicinat, ne procul esse sinat.
[i] Caudæ quæstores succedunt posteriores,
Dorsi tutores i scorpio ne qua [5] vores.
Hinc pausis alis acies volat imperialis,
Ore Deum talis turma sit absque malis.
Venerat Aprilis lux tertia, quando fabrilis [6]
Cos acuit [7] pilis pila stilosque stilis.

[c] Primo die Aprilis.
[d] i, melioribus.
[e] Secunda bastardi.

Tenor erat literæ, quod paratus erat in tali loco ad bellum. Rogat etiam principem quod mitteret duos milites in castra sua, et illi duo cum duobus militibus de suis eligerent locum certaminis pro utraque parte; sed hoc feriebat ut tali tractatu tempus belli differret, et fame nostros perderet inedia dilatione; sed cognita fraude, nostri noluerunt respondere nisi peremptorie.

[f] Nomen fluvii.
[g] Bastardi parati ad bellum.
[h] Lancastriæ.
[i] Rex Majoricarum et comes Herminacensis cum postrema acie.
[j] Id est, aliquis adversarius.

[1] *faba*, Rawl.
[2] *cuncta*, Rawl.
[3] *hoc*, Rawl.
[4] *ignis*, Rawl.
[5] *ne Sathan ulla*, Rawl.
[6] *cum fera vilis*, Rawl.
[7] *opposuit*, Rawl.

* * * * *

Cum fors vilis opposuit pilis.[1]
Missis auditis nostris auctoritate petitis,
Omnibus unitis pugna stat una sitis.
Sacra sacerdotum sumpsisse gregem scio totum,
Omnibus est notum[2] posse tonore[3] nothum.
Princeps affatur fratrem, pensare precatur
Quo res tractatur, quum sacra pugna datur.
Addit et, " O frater, moneat nos morbida mater,
" Victor torvo quater rex magis ipso pater.
" Nati credamur, ne degeneres habeamur;[4]
" Si captivamur, fabula longa damur.
" Juro malo mori quam subdere colla minori
" Huic intrusori tam sine lege tori.[5]
" Immo trucidemur, calidi zelo capiemur,
" Sancti dicemur morte sacrasse femur.
" Ridebunt Scoti, Franci, Dani, modo Gothi,
" Si fugimus noti juro timore nothi;
" Ergo verborum finem faciendo meorum,
" Monte bene quorum stirps es habeque forum.
" Stirps invictorum patrum memor esto tuorum,
" Cui Lancastrorum dux dedit ipse forum.
" Frater amans, dico tibi, sicut amicus amico,
" Non quod egos aliquo dignante coto frico;
" Sed sic me doceo per fratrem, deque tropheo
" Certum spem teneo, te duce, dante Deo.
" Prosper procede tua cuncta, Deo rogo credo;
" Oscula concede, posten pergo pede."
Post hoc verba precum dux castra trahit sua secum,
Usque videat manchum nemo relinquit equum.
Descendunt ab equis nostri consensibus nequis,
Sed properet ne quis dux prohibere nequis.

[1] The hexameter which *ought to* precede this line is lost; neither line is found in MS. Rawl.

[2] *notum*, omitted in *Digby*.

[3] *hyme*, Rawl.

[4] *subamur*, Rawl.

[5] The Rawlinson MS. ends here.

Omnes hastati dextris, lævis clypeati,
Pergunt ferrati corpore, corde rati.
Tota phalanx graditur, levis armatura salitur,
Arcus negligitur, nec jaculum jacitur.
Jam tuba proloquitur, hastis certamen initur,
Punctim perentitur, seria res geritur.
Victima bellorum cecidit baro Ferrariorum,
Dignus cœlorum martyr inire chorum.
Collegæ saliunt, feriores vulnere fiunt,
Carnificem feriunt quem temerasse sciunt.
Dux etiam stridet, accurrit ut ipse trucidet,
Sed stans subridet dum cecidisse videt.
Hortatur cuneos, ostendit agros Nazoreos,
Ac Rotholandæos alloro narrat eos.
Cum quidem conspicitur miles, minor hoste pretitur,
Hostis corripitur, et suus eripitur.
A duce sic agitur quotiens vel tiro feritur,
Vel cruor egeritur, plagave consuitur.
Hostem sæpe ferit, cuneos irrumpere querit,
Telum nemo gerit quin moriendo perit.
Paucos exegit Anglos, et in agmina fregit,
Sceptro colla tegit, ne iter ante legit.
Obstantes dejicit, trajicit, truncat, maledicit;
Quis gladius sibi sit, altera pars ibi scit.
Ut tigris incedit, fortes terit, agmina cædit;
Semper procedit fortior ictvo redit.
Fulminat in spata, resecatque secure levata,
Millia truncata membra per arvaque sata.
Cum fremit in frumen, fit ea satis ampla platea;
Nulla venit galea quin quatiatur ea.
Nunc salit in denos dux hostes, nunc duodenos,
In cuneos plenos ingerit ense threnos.
Jam scit pugnare, stabili pede pergere, stare,
Ictus ferre, dare, scitve solumve mare.
Hostes qui juverat non Portigalia deerat;
Regulus affuerat, religiosus erat.
Custos calceti venit, tutorque Toleti,
Falce ferire loti, dignus uterque meti.

Arma, cibos, cives mandavit Gordiba dives,
  Quos vita prives, Christo, pluendo nives.
Ex Abulo stabulo plebs venit equo, pedo, mulo,
  Perjuro populo so socians patulo.
Multos Cartago misit quos monstrat imago,
  Natos de pago Simono patreque mago.
Ex Arragonia profertus cum politia
  Venit et Hesperia tota patente via.
Ac Tripolitani, Libyes, Mauri, Gaditani,
  Sousus insani, quos simulabo cani.
Terra pontifices inter lixas, merotrices,
  Martis ibi replices instituisse vices.
Francorum fures aderant, ne nomina cures,
  Ac alii plures, Teutonici liguros.
Omnes latrones numerantur sex legiones,
  In tot glutones fulgura, Christe, tones.
Stragos prodira fit in hos omnes dueis ira,
  Tot dat vi mira mortis amara pyra.
Exemplum promo, perit Adam perpete pomo
  De quacunque domo venerit omnis homo.
Sic pro peccato bastardi millia fato
  Sunt data, prostrato corpore juro nato.
Angelus est Domini dux in gladio cherubini,
  Vos Edwardini, si reminiscimini.
Nulli parentis, bastardos ejicintis,
  Si comprendatis ponite vincla satis.
Nam nothus exilio reus est, dux fulmine dio
  Urget ejus gladio flammigerante oeio.
Si Sarazenus occurrat, Numida, Pœnus,
  Dux fidit oretenus, oderat omne genus.
Per plures Pœnos, cæsos illic pice plenos,
  Mauros millenos, commemorant bene nos.
Multos erroneos male credentes, ut Hebræos,
  Dux videt inter eos, et neeat ense reos.
Multos Judæos venisse nobis Nathinæos,
  Monstrat Amorræos hos coluisse deos.
Omni parte fremit in eos, et ad infera demit,
  Non clamore tremit, dum pede colla premit.

Irruit, occidit, ad humum vexilla rolidit,
Dixit qui vidit arma virumque fidit.
Dux post signiferos super agmina cuncta procoros,
Inter scutiferos plebis et inter heros.
Preter vulgaros illic ceses populares,
Quos si summares, sunt et arena pares.
Hoc affirmaris, quod erat strages popularis,
In campis claris, sicut arena maris.
Supra prostratum vulgus populumque necatum,
Horum magnatum perdidit ense statum.
Dux hos dejecit prafectos, et patefecit
Anglica gens quæ sit, quas alapas dare scit.
Petrus rex Scoticus ducis ense cadebat iniquus,
Tardus adest medicus Persa, Medusve, Licus.
Petrus juratus pariter perit excerebratus,
Spiritus efflatus est ad Averna datus.
Vaconsis Carolus cecidit sine vulnere solus,
Ore vomebat olus, hoc dabat illo dolus.
Et Jacobus Caroli valefecit hinc ibi soli;
Flere virum noli, qui spernit astra poli.
Inter turmarum prafectos Rodo Rosarum
Ostendit clarum se valuisse parum.
Pluros occisi periere patres ibi visi,
Quosdam promisi mentiar ista nisi.
Sub duce prostrati pendere patres memorati,
Saltem prælati succubuere crati.
Jam stratilates ducis ob multas probitates
Promeriti grates ista fuere crates.
Clara cohors petere tibi palmam gentis Ibere,
Justo Christofore tu tua bella gere.
Millia non plena duo dilacerant in arena,
Plena quater dena millia terrigena.
Per populum totum dux se faciens ita notum,
Cogit ut segrotum quemlibet ire nothum.
Millies in votis cupiit confligere totis
Viribus ignotis cum tribus ille nothis.
Porro nothi pavitant, confligere cum duce vitant,
Per turmas equitant, vota precesque beant.

So retrahunt ab eo quasi museo de scutulneo,
  Enso tot ot clypeo .....uterit iste leo.
Omnem Gironem jurares esse leonem,
  Si sacra gesta lonem, si nisi nota nonem;
Omnes lictores, majores sive minores,
  Agri mossores si prope monte fores;
Omnes Angligenas velut athletas per habenas,
  Per vires plenas hostis uraro genus.
Inter quaestores, Chaundos, praeundo reflores,
  Cum tot agri flores ense molendo vores.
De Cosynglona, praetor probiosa, corona
  Ut sacra persona jam potiere bona.
Calverlensis Hugo, te nulla retraxit aerugo,
  Nullaque ferrugo, liber es absque jugo.
Omnes praetores furunt aquilis feriores,
  Jam prope victores, nam properant ea res.
Propter nostrates, Deus, exsolvo tibi grates,
  Nostros magnates semper amasco pates.
Laudum materia tibi surgit, sancta Maria,
  Sors stat adhuc varia, pertica corpta pia.
O Petre, propria lege pro Christi praedia lege,
  Prague Petre rege praedia nostra rege.
Omnibus in Roma sanctis sonet istud aeroma,
  Spuria casta doma, Cantuarita Thoma.
Rex Edwarde sacer, pro gente tua pugil acer,
  Fando preces alacer, jam miserando nacer.
Sancta Frideswitha, soror in corde stabilita,
  Anglorum capita corne ernere lita.
Coelum stellosum, defendo ducem generosum,
  Ob scutum rosum corde pavens ego sum.
Corduba quem misit satrapum dux stando revisit,
  Have ait et risit, "Hic clypeus mihi sit."
Truncat pollutum, *trahit*, et vollit sibi scutum,
  Suppeditans mutum sicuti molle lutum.
Colla novo sento tegit, regimine tuto;
  Si veniat gluto, stabit ut ante puto.
Hastam vesanus vibrat quidam Lusitanus,
  Sic jaciens vanus, deficiens ut anus.

Hastam quippe jacit cum sollicitudine qua scit,
Trans lentas it, nec plura mala facit.
Sentit ut ad limum dux hoc ferrum peregrinum,
Mittens ad Dominum, mandat inire sinum.
Illa redit sceleri lapsu vix apta videri,
Pertransit miseri missilo corpus heri.
Immo stupenda vi penetrat præcordia pravi,
Transilit ignavi fulmine corda gravi.
Lancea post equitem perimit quendam Tripolitem,
Quem stantem peditem stridula sternit item.
Neutrum salvabant sua scuta nec arma juvabant,
Quin sicut stabant dorsa supina dabant.
Plura paravit ibi dux magnus congrua scribi;
Lector, trado tibi talia bella bibi.
Clausus ab Hispanis dux noster sæpe profanis
Stabat, ut immanis pardus ad ora canis;
Sic dux vallatus, capiendus sæpe putatus,
Ferro salvatus exit ad omne latus.
Hunc premit umbone, petit illum cum pugione,
Multos mucrone, grandia cæde Jonæ.
"Dux ego sum," clamat, prædicta promptissimus hamat,
Stultos diffamat, nolle quod omnis amat.
Si sibi signata stetit ulla cohors tribulata,
Advolat in spata discero damna data.
Ipsius afflatu reparatur, agitque ducatu
Plurima narrata digna ducisque statu.
Hostibus impuris jam prædicat Anglia securis,
In galeis duris miles ubique furis.
Ingens fit cædes, quam vix si dixero credes,
Tot super incedes brachia, crura, pedes.
Hispani mutant, vitam cum sanguine sputant,
Pedismus mutant, damna valere putant.
Se constipabant, latus ad latus associabant,
Tam se densabant, quod neque morte labant.
Hinc post mucrones nostri rapiunt pugiones;
Dux, in prædones ora ferino mones.
Anglus ab hac hora ferit in frontes et in ora,
Ut lupus in pecora; mors venit absque mora.

Ora, genas, oculos, nostri fodiendo genulos,
  Interimunt populos inter agri tribulos.
Dux inter primos erat illic, esse cui mos,
  Post illegitimos oppetit *esse minimos*.
Per medios cuneos quærit post tres Phoroneos,
  Ad pœnam piceos si daret alpha theos.
Respicit in clypeos satraparum, si basileos
  Inter sanguineos forte videret eos.
Dum sic pugnaret dux, et prope palma sonaret,
  Princeps apparet ac pietate caret.
Hostes aggreditur, *jam senior aspide scitur*,
  Qui prius aspicitur, agnus ubi loquitur.
Anglos instigat, Hispanos vero fatigat,
  Fundit, fustigat, ac capiendo ligat.
Lumina dum præfert, ad fratrem quomodo se fert,

* * * * * *

Ex hoc innumeri passim perimuntur Iberi,
  Conspiceres cineri *millia multa* teri.
Multos mortales cæsos, captos, capitales;
  Sudores tales, dux, agitando cales.
Tali sudore palmæ potieris honore;
  Autumni more prælia credo fore.
Mittis in has segetes falcem, monet ecce cometes;
  Palmam fine metes, præmia sero petes.
Laurum nemo legit *nisi* qui bene *bella* peregit;
  Laudes meta tegit, omnia cauda regit.
Instes ergo precor, vadas in humum vel in æquor,
  Dum gero pectore cor, te poliendo sequor.
Dux satis afflatus salit in turmas galeatus,
  Instat ut iratus muribus ipse catus.
Fortes affligit, ferit, et trans pectora figit,
  Ad terram redigit si modicum tetigit.
Multa cadunt capita truncata secure polita,
  Privatur vita Barbarus atque Scytha.
Talia cum fierent, et ad Anglos cuncta favorent,
  Hispani mœrent, nam *cito frena* forent.
Veloces veteres, equites veteres, dixere quirites,
  Hos in equis velites, jam sua gesta cites.

Quingenti tales se constituere sodales,
Currus nostrales perdere resque sales.
Illis opponis te, Calverlensis Hugonis
Virtus mucronis ictibus apta bonis.
Prestas ense trucis pulsi statuere caducis,
Telis, sol, tu scis dorsa ferire ducis.
Turma sagittifera volat obvia cum nive vera,
Turba fugit temera, peste pluente fera.
Dum volites fugiunt, et ubique cadavera fiunt,
Jam quo res abeunt spuria corda sciunt.
Advolat Henricus, Tilo frater adhaeret amicus,
Totus maestificus huic populus reliquus.
Dux celer insequitur, jam caedes plebis oritur,
Creber homo moritur, creber homo capitur.
Vix locus in rure caruit cubito, pede, crure,
De Franco fure, Teutone vel ligure.
Loricis laceris, ruptis, galeisve galeris,
Mars, omnis generis arma per arva seris.
Per sata, per prata discurrunt agmina lata;
Est fuga templata palma meisque data.
Sunt Hispanorum sex millia caesa virorum,
Praeter mersorum quem tulit unda chorum.
Propter tot spolia tibi proprio sonet melodia,
Nam sunt indubia millia capta tria.
Summa ducentorum sit Francorum dominorum
Illic captorum, narro virumque sporum.
Ac colibertorum rostrum fuit unus eorum,
Cloykyn, et illorum qui repulere chorum.
Sancius exorat, laxari vincla laborat,
Petri laborat se temerasse Chorath.
Henrici soboles, Alfonse, temerrima proles,
Dicere magna soles, jam tua dicta doles.
Magni prelati Jacobique Johannis amati,
Flagra catenati dorsa dedere pati.
Custos militiae Christi, baro Caletrapiae,
Captus in hac acie noctu flet acta die.
Sanius indubio servasset claustra Mario,
Quam sic justitiae frena parasse vio.

Scripsi captivos, et quos novi fugitivos,
  Rumor plus divos exposuit mihi vos.
Jam patris in sede resides, Petre, non sine cede,
  Justitiæ cede, sic sine fine sede.
Princeps ecce redit, sua dux ad agenda recedit;
  Terra tibi credit, sceptra fidemque dedit.
Quadra virtute pro te populique salute,
  Regnabis tute, nil trepidante cute.
Omnes tres domini, valeatis, opus dabo fini,
  Si male quid cecini lector id ore lini.
Henricus pone properat, cum fratre Tilone,
  Ad te, patrone publice, papa bone.
Te sanctum flamen justi jubet esse juvamen,
  Petri tutamen, Petre, precamur. Amen.

Metra malas grates fero pro vobis ego vates,
  Inter primates sic modo, musa, scates.
Laudes sperabam, seu præmia danda putabam;
  Frustra sudabam, vos metra quando dabam.
Sed margarita nunquam fuit ulla cupita,
  Porco plus placita stercora dentur ita.
Ergo, libelle, vale; nomen cape non libro quale
  Munerat igne malo te coens absque sale.

Explicit bellum Nasorense gestum, et sic digestum, anno Domini M^mo^ccc^mo^lxvj^o, habens versus quingentos sexaginta, per W. Burgensem.

JOHN OF BRIDLINGTON.[1]

Venerabili domino et mira magnitudine extollendo, temporali prædito potestate, scrutinio etiam excellenti, Humfredo de Bohun, comiti Herefordiæ, Essexiæ, Northamtoniæ, et constabulario Angliæ, et domino de Breiglmok, Dei gratia humilitatis servus, si super consequentiæ notam caput miserationis velitis adjungere, nomen obscurum et obsequium salutare. Cum vestrum, domine, intel-

[1] *The following very curious* piece is a political retrospect of the reign of Edward III., compiled in a form which is by no means unknown in modern literature, namely, that of a supposed old text and of a recent commentary. It is here printed from MS. Cotton. Domitian ix., fol. 17, r°, compared with MS. Reg. 8, C. xvii., both in a handwriting of the latter half of the fourteenth century. In the former it is given anonymously, but in the other, as well as in a copy in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, MS. Digby, No. 89, the text is said to be the prophecy of *John* of Bridlington, and in the Digby MS. the commentary is ascribed, in a hand only of the *sixteenth century*, to *John* Ergome. The old bibliographers suppose the author of the prophecy to *have been John, prior of* Bridlington, who died early in the reign of Richard II., which, however, is very improbable; and it is much more likely that the prophet, John of Bridlington, is a mere invention. He is said in the beginning of the commentary here printed to have been a *canonicus*, but in a MS. in the Ashmolean Museum, No. 1801, fol. 42, v°, he is called *laicus*, a layman. It is hardly necessary to remark that the text of the prophecy must have been written at the same date as the commentary, *and that they are evidently by the* same writer. The text of the pretended prophecies of John of Bridlington is, however, of rather common occurrence in manuscripts, sometimes with the name, and at others anonymously, so that it had evidently become very popular. It is quoted by the writers of the fifteenth century. As will be seen above, in the beginning of the commentary, the author states that he has concealed his name, and tells us his reasons for this concealment, and it is only in the Bodleian MS. just referred to that we are told that it was Ergome. Who he was is not very clear, for he cannot have been, as stated by the old biographers, the *John Erghom, a friar of York*, who flourished in the year 1400. See Tanner, Bibliotheca, p. 263. The *date of this political tract is, indeed*, fixed within sufficiently narrow limits, for the Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Hereford, and constable of England, to whom it is dedicated, succeeded to the title and honours in 1361, and died in 1372, in his thirty-second year. As the third book of the so-called prophecy and its commentary relates entirely to events which took place, or which the writer imagined would take place, subsequently to the first of these years, it is probable that it was written towards the year 1370.

lectum ad subtilitates quasdam video declinare, cupiens secundum meam scientiam vestrum quietare appetitum, hæc scripta et annotationes super versus prophetiales in honore vestri a me collectas vestræ reverentiæ destinare celeriter non omisi, nomen quoque meum, *quod triplici de causa inferius notanda exprimere* non audebam vestro intellectui, sub salutationis stylo est insertum. Verebar namque linguas invidorum et dominorum timui potestates, discretorum etiam cognovi indignationem, i. qui contra juvenem insurgerent talia interpretantem. Quapropter subfugiendo *ne opus propter auctorem eclypsim patiatur, sub silentio nomi*nis mei a triplici me occultavi inimico. Ut evidentius, domine, intelligantur quæ prætendo, non audeo opponere aperte nomen meum in epistola hac vobis destinata, primo propter linguas invidorum, secundum propter potestates dominorum, et tertio propter *indignationem sapientum et discretorum; quia invidi auctorem* detraherent, et domini propter aliqua mala de eis inscripta odirent, discreti etiam suo ingenio confidentes totum opus tanquam fatuum deriderent. Sed vestræ, domine, voluntati confidens et benevolentiæ, quod merui super literam prophetiæ imaginando conjectuari vestro dignemini occultare solatio, alienis dentibus corrosioni non tradendum, quia laudem non quæro ulteriorem, si vestræ placeat voluntati. Valete in futurorum cognitione, ut a superveniente pressura in domino consequamini effectum salutarem.

Incipiunt tria præambula ante expositionem literæ intra.

Comes reverende et domine mihi perpetuis temporibus venerande, ad evidentiam hujus prophetiæ quam ob reverentiam vestram *suscepi declarandum, tria sunt* præambula *præmittenda*, in quibus plura patebunt ad hujus prophetiæ expositionem requisita. In primo præambulo, quatuor causas hujus prophetiæ declarabo. In secundo, modos occultandi prophetiæ reserabo. In tertio, divisionem libri totalem ordinabo. Circa primum præambulum, in quo declarabo quatuor causas hujus prophetiæ, sunt iiij^{or} notabilia pertractanda. Primum notabile est circa causam materialem hujus prophetiæ, pro quo est notandum quod accidentia a principio hujus prophetiæ usque ad ejus finem concernentia regnum Angliæ sunt materia hujus prophetiæ, quæ accidentia in quatuor principaliter consistunt. Primo in accidentibus bellorum, silicet a quibus fient, et quando fient, et in quo loco, et ad quem finem devenient talia bella. *Secundo, in acci*dentibus mores regni, sicut de eorum justitia, audacia, luxuria, avaritia, et cæteris hujusmodi vitiis vel virtutibus. Tertio, in accidentibus quæ concernunt mores dominorum et consiliariorum regis et totius populi. Quarto, de accidentibus quæ conveniunt

populo in communi, sicut mutatio vestium, mutatio monetæ, pestilentiæ, et fames, et cætera hujusmodi, quæ omnia patebunt clare in expositione prophetiæ loco competenti. Secundum notabile est circa causam formalem hujus libri; pro quo est notandum quod modus procedendi, auctor est forma hujus libri qui in tribus consistit. Primo in modo scribendi, qui est metricus, videlicet in versu, et non in prosa, propter triplicem causam quam super prologum assignabo. Secundo in modo intelligendi, qui est obscurus et prophetialis, quia dat alia intelligere quam termini secundum communem usum loquenti significant. Tertio in modo ordinandi partes hujus prophetiæ, quia ordinat partes secundum ordinem gestorum quæ facta sunt et fiendorum quæ futura sunt, sicut declarabitur in tertio præambulo et in processu expositionis. Tertium notabile est circa causam efficientem, silicet, quis fuit auctor et compositor hujus prophetiæ, pro quo est sciendum, quod principalis auctor fuit Spiritus Sanctus, qui inspiravit omnia secundum ordinem, sicut sunt scripta a secundario auctore, videlicet a canonico regulari secundum communem opinionem vulgi, qui febribus infirmatus istum librum composuit, sicut in prologo declarabitur. Quartum notabile est circa causam finalem, pro quo est notandum quod finis rei est id propter quod aliqua res fit, vel propter quod illa res est appetenda, pro quo est notandum quod scientia hujus prophetiæ proper tria est appetenda, ad quæ omnes fines sunt deducendi. Primo est appetenda, propter utile vel utilitatem quæ potest sequi ex cognitione hujus prophetiæ, pro quo est notandum quod ille qui cognoscit istam prophetiam a periculis imminentibus potest se custodire quando ignorantes præoccupati gravabuntur. Secundo, potest præmunire amicos a periculis imminentibus, ut se custodiant. Tertio potest sibi ordinare ut sit particeps in bonis quæ hic notantur futura, et etiam amici sui per consilium suum. Secundo *cognitio istius prophetiæ* est appetenda propter dilectationem quam cognoscens ex scientia consequetur. Primo quod sciet aliqua dicere quæ sui compares nesciunt. Secundo, quia sciet per consimilem modum reserare alias prophetias *quando sibi adhærentur*. Tertio, *multum delectabitur in* Domino quando videt eum tantum curare de vita nostra quod occulta sua velit hominibus reserare, ut de futuris periculis possint præcavere. Tertio, ista prophetia est appetenda propter honestum quod sequetur scientiam ejus; valde enim honestum est dominis et viris generosis qui habent ingenium bonum circa talia occupari quæ non proveniunt ad cognitionem vulgi, et ideo a populo reputabuntur ingeniosi et habiles ad regimen, unde laudem sibi adquirent et favorem populi et timorem, quæ dominis maxime conveniunt. Et sic patent quatuor causæ hujus prophetiæ, scilicet causa materialis, causa formalis, causa efficiens, et causa finalis; et primum præambulum sic finitur.

Sequitur præambulum secundum.

Circa secundum præambulum, in quo reserabo modos occultandi hujus prophetiæ, est notandum quod occultatio ejus in decem principaliter consistit. Prima occultatio est in extranea nominatione propter aliquam convenientiam nominati cum illa re cui nomen proprie convenit; verbi gratia, rex Angliæ nominatur *taurus*, rex Franciæ *gallus*, et rex Scotiæ *cancer*, et hoc propter certas convenientias in quibus concordant cum animalibus habentibus talia nomina. Secunda occultatio est in accidentali designatione propter aliquod accidens competens alicui in moribus vel dispositione corporali, vel ex nomine vel cognomine, vel ex armis sibi convenientibus. Exemplum in moribus: aliquis designatur per blesum propter pulchra verba et fasta quibus utitur. Exemplum in dispositione corporali: aliquis dicitur genitalia læsus, propter infirmitatem seu læsuram quam sustinet in genitalibus suis. Exemplum in nomine vel cognomine: Willelmus la Zouche et Percy designantur per *suspicor* et *penetrans* in isto versu:

"Suspicor et clerus penetrans cognomine verus."

Exemplum de armis: per glaucos leones designatur comes Herefordiæ, quos portat in armis suis in versu:

"Currunt multones fulvi glaucique leones."

Et similiter rex Scotiæ per unum leonem aliquando designatur, qua tantum unum portat in scuto suo, in versu:

"Sternet equos ligni, medio latitat leo signi."

Tertia occultatio consistit in aperta æquivocatione, quando aliquod nomen ponitur ad supponendum pro pluribus et ignoratur *pro quo supponit; sicut iste terminus cancer ponitur ad significandum* piscem maris, signum cœli, et regem Scotiæ, sicut clare patebit in processu. Quarta occultatio consistit in transumptiva locutione; verbi gratia, vocat naves equos ligni, quia deferunt homines in mari sicut equi in terra. Similiter vocat funes et cordas, qui retinent naves in portu, lora canabi, quia retinent naves sicut lora retinent equos, ut infra patebit. Quinta occultatio consistit in numerorum designatione propter aliquas literas numerum significantes in aliqua dictione positas; verbi gratia in isto versu:

"Milvi cædentur, cuculi silvis capientur."

Intelligit quod tot occidentur quot significantur in isto termino *milvi*, i. mille lvij., et tot capientur in silvis quot signantur in isto termino *cuculi*, scilicet, cc.lxj. Similiter in isto versu:

"Milvi sex lustra, cuculi vim non capo frustra."

Et in multis aliis locis ista occultatio invenitur, sicut infra patebit. Sexta occultatio consistit in dictionum expositione quando ex dictione vel dictionibus expositis aliquod nomen constituitur, quod in eis secundum communem modum loquendi non intelligitur; verbi gratia, per expositionem istorum terminorum *terra vada*, signatur hoc nomen, Herthford; similiter per expositionem istorum terminorum *carus vicus*, signatur istud nomen, Derby; et sic de multis aliis. Septima occultatio consistit in nominis diversa acceptatione; nam aliquando tenetur materialiter, aliquando significative, sicut in isto versu:

"Si *quis* habet *taurum*, *caput* amputat, inde fit *aurum*."

Ibi iste terminus, *taurum*, non accipitur pro animali, sed tantum pro isto termino, *aurum*, quasi diceret deponere primam literam hujus dictionis, *taurum*, et remanet tunc ista dictio, *aurum*. Et ista occultatione multotiens utitur in ista prophetia. Octava occultatio consistit in dictionum divisione. Ponit enim aliquas syllabas unius dictionis primo, postea ponit aliam dictionem inter illas syllabas et alias syllabas ejusdem dictionis; verbi gratia, in isto versu:

"Cantu cantabit urbe plebs et jubilabit."

Vult dicere quod plebs Cantuarie cantabit et jubilabit, et tamen isto terminus, cantabit, mediat inter istas syllabas, cantu et urbe. Et isto modo pluries utitur in ista prophetia. Nona occultatio consistit in ambigua locutione, quando una propositio equivoca potest habere duplicem expositionem vel triplicem, et hoc contingit multis modis stante eadem significatione terminorum, sicut infra clare patebit. Decima occultatio consistit in syllabica positione; ponit enim aliquando unam syllabam ad designandum unum nomen; ut ibi:

"Ca. cadet in portis, ca. confundetur in ortis."

i. civitas Caan. Similiter ibi, Pa. pariet pacem, etc., i. Papa faciet pacem. Similiter ibi, Phi. falsus fugiet, i. Philippus rex Francie fugiet. Et in multis aliis locis ista occultatio invenitur. Et sic finitur istud secundum preambulum in reseratione occultationum hujus prophetie.

Sequitur iij^m^ preambulum.

Circa tertium preambulum, in quo ordinata est divisio totius libri, est notandum quod ista prophetia primo dividitur in tres distinctiones, secundum quod auctor isto tres pausationes facit et excusationes de infirmitate capitis sui; unde credo quod tribus

diversis temporibus ista prophetia auctori fuit revelata seu ostensa. Prima distinctio continet accidentia Angliæ a principio hujus prophetiæ pro tempore regis E. de Carnarvan usque ad preparationem belli de Creey, commissi anno Christo M°ccc^mo xlvj^to. Secunda distinctio continet accidentia Angliæ ab anno Christi M°ccc^mo xlvj^to usque ad secundam mortalitatem factam anno Christi M°ccc^mo lxj°. Tertia distinctio continet accidentia Angliæ ab anno Christi M°ccc^mo lxj° usque ad finem prophetiæ. Notandum etiam quod quælibet istarum trium distinctionum habet capitula in principio sui designata propter facultatem inveniendi quæ inspector videre desiderat in ista prophetia. Unde prima distinctio continet vij. capitula.

Capitulum primum continet procmium, in quo ostenditur quomodo auctor dispositus recepit prophetiam, et qualiter est exponenda.

Capitulum secundum determinat mores regis E. de Carnarvan et accidentia regni Angliæ usque ad mortem ejus.

Capitulum iij^m docet mores regis E. de Wyndesore et accidentia regni tempore juventutis suæ.

Capitulum iiij^m. ostendit accidentia inter regnum Angliæ et Scotiæ illo tempore usque ad inceptionem guerræ de Francia.

Capitulum v^m declarat quæ acciderunt inter regnum Angliæ et Franciæ priusquam rex Angliæ transivit mare contra Gallicos.

Capitulum vj^m determinat de bellis et de dispositione bellorum contra Gallicos usque ad primam pacem.

Capitulum vij^m continet pacem inter Anglicos et Gallicos et cætera accidentia usque ad preparationem belli de Creey.

Capitulum j^m continet procmium, in quo ostenditur quomodo auctor dispositus recepit istam prophetiam, et qualiter est exponenda.

Febribus infectus, requies fuerat mihi lectus,
Vexatus mente dormivi nocte repente;
Noscere futura facta fuerat mihi cura.
Scribere cum pennis docuit me scriba perennis;
Me masticare jussit librumque vorare.
Intus erat plene scriptus, redolens, et amœne.
Jussit de bellis me metrificare novellis
Qui sedet in stellis, dat cui vult carmina mellis.

Si verum scribam, verum credo me fore scribam;
Scripsero si vanum, caput est quia non mihi sanum.
Non mihi detractes, sed falsa per omnia mactes.
Nullus deliro credat pro carmine miro.

Sequitur expositio istorum versuum. Istis igitur præambulis præmissis, ad expositionem literæ est procedendum; et primo de prologo, in quo auctor tria docet. Primo, quomodo se habuit ante receptionem prophetiæ in corporali dispositione; pro quo est notandum quod communiter qui vident tales visiones sunt quasi eximaniti per infirmitates corporales, ne caro fortis spiritum repugnet prophetiæ; unde Daniel propheta antequam recepit spiritum prophetiæ se abstinuit a cibis regiis, et legumina comedebat et aquam bibebat. Danielis primo. Et postea meruit esse propheta. Et Johannes evangelista scripsit Apocalypsim in exilio in insula de Patmos, quando sustinuit persecutionem. Apoc. secundo. Et sic de multis fuit prophetis, quos prætereo causa brevitatis, qui post tales infirmitates ponunt se ad requiem, ubi Spiritus Sancti gratia visitantur multotiens, et futurorum recipiunt cognitionem. Et sic dicit de ista prophetia; unde dicit, *febribus infectus*, i. infirmatus per febres, *requies fuerat mihi lectus*, in quo me posui ad requiescendum, et *vexatus mente* per infirmitates prædictas, *dormivi nocte repente*, in qua dormitione *facta fuerat mihi cura noscere futura*, i. cognoscere quæ ventura sunt curavi, vel Deus non aliter ordinavit mihi curam et salutem de mea infirmitate nisi ostendendo mihi futura ut ea cognoscerem; et sic patet dispositio corporalis hujus auctoris ante receptionem prophetiæ. Secundo ostendit auctor quomodo recepit prophetiam per perennem scribam cum spirituali instructione, ubi sunt quatuor notabilia. Primum notabile est a quo doctore habuit istam prophetiam, et quomodo illam addidicit, pro quo dicit, *Scriba perennis docuit me*, i. Spiritus Sanctus fuit doctor meus in ista prophetia, ita quod ex me non finxi, nec ab nomine corporali didici, nec a spiritu recepi maligno, quibus modis solet prophetia falsari. Sed Spiritus Sanctus *docuit me scribere*, quasi diceret, Spiritus Sanctus voluit quod ego scriberem istam prophetiam mihi ostensam, et non alius, qui stylum meum vel sermones meos mutaret in scribendo, *cum pennis*, i. scribendo materialiter, sicut faciunt scriptores, vel cum lingua mea, quæ penna est et calamus scribæ prænominati, scilicet Spiritus Sancti, sicut dicit Psalmista: "Lingua mea calamus scribæ velocitur scribentis." Secundum notabile est, scire ad quem finem scripsit istam prophetiam, et qualis fuit liber quem scripsit; et ista ostendit clare in litera patenti, et primo ostendit ad quem finem ordinatur, dicens, *Me masticare jussit librumque vorare*, quasi diceret, jussit me disponere sententias prophetiæ

hujus in mente mea, sicut homo disponit per masticationem cibum quem post in alimentum recipiet, et vorare verbs sententias cognoscendo, et eas occultare ab hominibus, sicut vorata in ventre a visu occultantur corporali. Secundo quale scriptum erat ostendit, et qualis fuit liber, dicens, *Intus erat plene scriptus*; et dicit *intus scriptus*, eo quod illæ sententiæ tunc tantomodo erant in anima quæ interius est, vel quia illæ sententiæ erant occultæ quæ dicuntur esse intus, quasi in interioribus claudantur, vel ad denotandum quod ista prophetia tantum fuit in occultis quæ perintus notantur, et non ad extra per planum scilicet significationem verborum. Et dicit *intus plene scriptus*, ad denotandum quod anima gratia Spiritus Sancti repleta in nulla parte vacua est, vel quod nullum verbum hujus prophetiæ caret mysterio, sed est plena sententiis; vel ad designandum quod quamvis foris erat scriptum, scilicet in aliquibus locis ad communem intellectum, non fuit plene scriptum foris sicut intus. Et dicit, *Redolens et amœne*, quia talia inspirata per Spiritum Sanctum intellectui humano sunt valde placita et amœna, vel quia ista prophetia fuit valde redolens eam intelligentibus propter mysteria futurorum quæ importat, vel quia ista prophetia, eo quod metrice scribitur, *delectationem et amœnitatem facit audientibus. Tertium notabile est, scire de qua materia sit iste liber, et quomodo illa sit interius masticata, et ad communem hominum intellectum devenerunt.* Unde pro isto sunt tria primitus notanda. Primo est notandum quod iste terminus metrificare idem significat quod versificare, vel versus facere; unde nota quod duplex est modus scribendi, videlicet metricus, qui numero et pede mensuratur, et prosaicus, qui consistit in plano dictamine, sicut litera scribuntur et epistolæ. Secundo est notandum quod triplex potest assignari ratio quare iste auctor potius scripsit in metra quam in prosa; prima, quia metra bene retinentur in mente; secunda, quia plurima continent in verbis paucis; tertia, quia multum sunt delectabilia audientibus et placita, unde versus:

"Metra juvant animos, componunt plurima paucis."

Tertio, notandum est quod in isto versu notantur tres causæ hujus prophetiæ. Primo, causa efficiens, i. *jussit me*, i. Spiritus Sanctus jussit me esse factorem hujus libri; secundo, causa formalis, quando dicit *metrificare*, i. scribere per metrum, quia est forma hujus libri; tertio, causa materialis, qui dicit *de bellis novellis*, de quibus tanquam de causa materiali in isto libro tractatur. Dicit ergo, *jussit me metrificare*, i. scribere per metra seu per versus *de bellis novellis*, futuris in brevi tempore sequenti, ut homines a malis futuris et bellis se poterint custodire. Tertio declarat auctor quomodo ista prophetia est recipienda ab auditore seu exponenda, et pro isto dicto quatuor tradit regulas. Prima

regula est ista, quod si aliqua vera dicta sunt in ista prophetia Spiritui Sancto referendi sunt; unde dicit, *Si verum scribam, verum crede me fore scribam.* Et in hoc vitat arrogantiam, quod sibi non attribuit quod Deo est attribuendum. Secunda regula est, quod si qua vana et falsa scripta sunt, attribuenda sunt scriptori propter capitis insanitatem; unde dicit, *Scripsero si vanum, caput est quia non mihi sanum.* Et hic inourrit humilitatem, quia sibi assumit defectus eos a Deo removendo in quo nulla mala vel imperfecta inveniuntur. Tertia regula est, quod auctor non debet auctorem detrahere nec facta sua, sed potius corrigere vel mala delere; unde dicit, *Non mihi detractes, sed falsa per omnia mactes.* Et ibi excludit præsumptiones auditorum, qui proniores sunt ad detrahendum quam ad laudandum facta aliorum vel corrigendum. Quarta regula est, quod nullus debet eum credere errare, deliare, propter modum mirum scribendi; unde dicit, *Nullus deliro credat pro carmine miro;* ubi sapientum mundi excludit astutias, qui capiunt verba sicut sonant secundum communem expositionem, et sic in proposito non sunt accipienda. Et sic terminatur prologi hujus expositio.

Capitulum ij. determinat mores regis E. de Carnarvan et accidentia Angliæ tempore suo usque ad mortem ejus.

Rex insensatus est bellis undique stratus;
Nobilis est natus, qui dicitur infatuatus.
Nam perdet gentem regni pro jure loquentem,
Ac optimates nullus reddet sibi grates.
Perdet cognatos, pendere sinet veneratos.
Rex pietate carens Christo non fit bene parens;
Regnans perdetur, quia gentis non miserebur.
Mors infecta malis consumet tempora talis;
Summus contritum tandem faciet redimitum.
Sole sagittante, frigido Boreo remeante,
Ex hirco taurum gignet redimita per aurum,
Ex auris aurum ventis componitur aurum.
Exiet et rediet firmatus nomine patris;
Ejus et interiet genitor terebratus in atris.
Arte suo matris regnum rapiet sui patris,
Funera post fratris quæret regalia matris.

Sequitur expositio.—Rex insensatus. Hoc capitulum, in quo determinat auctor mores regis E. de Carnarvan et accidentia regni Angliæ in tempore suo, continet quinque dicta; sed ante expositionem istius capituli sunt tria notanda. Primo est notandum quod iste rex E., a quo iste auctor incipit prophetiam suam, natus fuit apud Carnarvan in North-Wallia anno Christi M°cc° octogesimo iiij^to^, anno regni patris ejus E. xj^o^, in die Sancti Marci evangelistæ, cujus pater moriebatur anno Christi M°ccc.vij^o^, in die translationis Sancti Thomæ, et ipse eodem anno xiiij. kl. Sept. apud Westmonasterium coronabatur in regni successorem. Secundo est notandum quod, sicut apparet, iste auctor scripsit istam prophetiam intra primum annum regni regis E. de Carnarvan et xiiij. annum ejusdem in quo inceperunt bella baronum contra eum pro jure regni tuendo, omnia enim narrat cum verbo de præsenti, ac si facta sint tempore suo usque ad illa bella, et accidentia quæ tunc contingebant et consequenter narrat cum verbo de futuro, tanquam in suo tempore non facta sed fienda, dicens, *Nam perdet gentem,* etc. Tertio est notandum, secundum Randulphum in Policronica sua, quod fuit vir corpore elegans, viribus præstans, sed moribus, si vulgo creditur, multum discrepans, sicut infra patebit. His præmissis sequitur expositio hujus, capituli, in quo ostendit auctor primo iiij^or^ conditiones prædicti regis E. de C. principaliter sibi convenientes. Primam conditionem regis ostendit, dicens, *Rex insensatus*, i. sine scientia et sapientia naturali quibus regnum et seipsum regere debuisset. Et istud bene patet per mores suos, quos Randulphus in sua Policronica sic describit, quod parvipenso procerum contubernio, adhæsit scurris, cantoribus, tragœdis, aurigis, navigiis, et cæteris artis mechanicæ officiis, potibus indulgens, secreta facile prodens, in dando prodigus, in convivando splendidis, ore promptus, opere varius, unde propter istas conditiones merito rex insensatus dicebatur. Secundam conditionem ejus ostendit auctor, dicens, *Est bellis undique stratus*, i. devictus in omni bello quod temptabat. Unde dicitur de eo in Policronica quod fuit contra hostes infortunatus, et in domesticos effrenatus, qui anno Christi M°ccc^mo^xiij^o^, regni sui anno vij^o^, processit cum proceribus regni, excepto Thoma Lancastriæ, ad Scotiam cum pretioso suppellectili pompatice, et apud castrum Strivelinæ die Sancti Johannis Baptistæ, confligentes Anglici, imo potius fugientes, tanta ignominia sunt detriti, ut, occisis nobilibus, amissis thesauris, residui projectis armis sola sibi fuga consularent. Deinde per xij. annos continuos regnante hoc rege Scoti partes Angliæ boreales jugiter prostraverunt, unde propter ista et consimilia dicit auctor de eo quod est *bellis undique stratus.* Tertiam conditionem ostendit auctor de isto regé, dicens quod *nobilis est natus*, i. de genere nobili, patre scilicet rege et matre regina. Et nota quod in isto dicto tollitur error aliquorum qui credebant

eum fuisse filium auriga, proper dictum unius fatui tempore suo. Surrexit enim unus fatuus et vendicabat sibi regnum Angliæ, dicens quod fuit primogenitus regis, et ob negligentiam nutricis, dum fuerat in cunabulis, quedam sus intrans delacerabat eum, et nutrix non audens illud manifestare, accepit filium juvenem unius auriga, et custodiebat loco ejus, ponens eum in curam aliorum ad nutriendum, et sic fuit ipse privatus regno, et Edwardus assumptus; et ad hujus, rei manifestationem ostendebat vestigium vulneris a porca impressi. Etiam dicebat mores regis E. cum moribus progeniti sui concordare, eo quod opera rusticorum nimis diligebat, et propter talia dicta plures sibi adhærebant, et dictis suis credebant, qui tandem tanquam falsus adjudicatus est suspendio Norhamptoniæ. Ad tollendum igitur istam suspicionem et errorem, dicit auctor de isto rege quod *nobilis est natus*. Quartam conditionem hujus regis ostendit, dicens, *qui dicitur infatuatus*. Pro quo est notandum quod ille proprie dicitur infatuatus qui, propter amorem alicujus viri vel mulieris cui adhæret, non curat quid faciat ad eis complacendum; et talem modum habuit iste rex, sicut dicitur in Polieronica, quod ad unum aliquem familiarem ardenter adhæsit, quem summe coleret, diligeret, præferret, præ ceteris honoraret, ex quo utique impetu provenit amanti opprobrium, amasio obloquium, plebi scandalum, et regno detrimentum. Unde suis primordiis taliter Petrum de Gavastone dilexerat, cujus consortium Edwardus iste paterno jussu abjuraverat, sed post patris obitum de partibus revocavit transmarinis, cujus contemplatione reginam suam Isabellam neglexit et proceres suos parvipendit. Sed et Petro extincto per magnates regni ob hanc causam, rex ut prius aliis adhæsit, unde per. istam conditionem dicebatur *infatuatus*. Secundo ostendit auctor quanta mala fecit iste rex contra gentem et dominos regni jura tueri et custodire volentes; pro quo est notandum quod post mortem prædicti Petri rex adhæsit duobus Dispensatoribus, Hugoni patri et filio ejusdem nominis; quorum consiliis cuncta passim agebat, et multa contra statuta quibus juratus fuerat. Ob hoc Thomas comes Lancastriæ et multi nobiles mutuo sibi confœderati regis vires adeo attenuarunt, quod regis assensu saltem verbotenus adhibito, prefatos milites exilio dammaverunt. Sed cito post hæc ipse rex ceteris inconsultis utrumque revocavit. Exinde crescunt odia et schismata, parantur lites et bella, sed inter hæc duo magnates de Mortuomari, priusquam comes Lancastriæ parari posset perpere agentes, urbes quasdam in Marchia capiunt, regis milites profligunt, donec ipse rex cum inspirata peditum multitudine Salopiam veniret, ubi magnates illi de Mortuomari ad deditionem sunt coacti. Quibus incarceratis rex ipse ad orientem tendens versus villam de Burtone sub nivibus hyemalibus comitem Lancastriæ cum suis complicibus mirabiliter dispersit, atque inde

usque ad castrum suum de Pontefracto fugere coegit. Inde comes divertens versus Boream, captus est cum multis nobilibus apud pontem de Burghbrigge, indeque ad castrum suum de Pontefracto adductus, multisque conviciis lacessitus, cum consilio dominorum Dispensatorum decapitatus est, anno Christi M°ccc°xv°, et optimates regni qui secum erant sunt distracti et suspensi; et hoc est quod dicit iste auctor quod *pĕrdet gentem pro regni jure loquentem, ac optimates,* dominos regni, *nullus reddet sibi grates* pro illo maleficio, et tunc *perdet cognatos,* scilicet dominum de Clifford et alios, et *pendere sinet veneratos* in illo conflictu captos cum comite. Circa prædicta sunt tria notabilia. Primum notabile quanta mala accidunt regno cujus rex fatuus est et insipiens. Primo enim regnum tempore suo est bellis prostratum et devictum; secundo, loquentes pro jure regni perduntur et occiduntur; tertio, magnates regni et sapientes perduntur, et insipientes ei similes foventur, sicut patet in versibus prædictis. Secundum notabile est quod sapiens et discretus debet ordinari ductor belli, et non fatuus, licet fuerit multum generosus et fortis, quia sub talibus populus communiter prosternitur et devincitur. Tertium notabile, quod sub rege fatuo, vel sub domino insipiente, nullus potest esse securus de vita sua nec de divitiis suis, quia nec loquentes pro jure regni seu communitatis, nec habentes cognationem regiam, nec optimates regni, sicut patet in versibus prædictis. Tertio ostendit auctor quomodo Deus punivit istum regem pro maleficiis suis, dicens, *Rex pietate carens,* quia non habuit pietatem de populo suo, sed posuit eos ad destructionem, *Christo non fit bene parens,* i. non est obediens sive placens Christo, *Regnans perdetur,* i. dum est in regnando talis destruetur, *quia gentis non miseretur. Mors infecta malis,* i. mors cum magnis miseriis, *Consumet tempora talis,* i. destruet tempora talis regis; quæ omnia completa sunt cum iste rex, dum adhuc viveret, in regno sustinuit multa opprobria, et tandem miserabiliter occisus est, sicut postea patebit; unde dicit, *Summus faciet redimitum,* i. regem coronatum, *tandem contritum,* i. humiliatum et destructum in regno suo. Sed aliter potest iste versus exponi sic: *Summus contritum,* i. Deus post contritionem regis de peccato suo *faciet eum redimitum,* i. coronatum in cœlis. Hic sunt tria notabilia. Primum notabile, quod rex qui caret pietate, et qui non miseretur gentis suæ, perdetur de regno suo. Secundum notabile, quod talis rex non morietur bona morte, quia vel occidetur in prælio, vel morietur in carcere, vel interficietur persecutione regni sui. Tertium notabile, quod Deus multotiens tales persecutiones bonorum in vita sua permittit contriri de peccatis, ut in cœlis coronentur; unde dicit, *Summus contritum,* etc. Quarto ostendit auctor generationem hujus regis qui ei succedit in regno. Nota, quod oportet amodo ponere majorem diligentiam ad intelligendum,

procedit enim subtilius quam prius, ostendens in quatuor versibus quatuor concernentia generationem Edwardi de Wyndesore. In primo versu ostendit tempus anni in quo genitus fuit, dicens, *Sole sagittante*, i. dum sol fuit in signo sagittarii, vel tendens ad sagittarium, quod magis videtur verum, quia natus fuit anno Domini M°ccc.xij^mo^ in festo Sancti Bricii, quo die sol non est in sagittario, sed distat per tres gradus tendens ad eum, sicut patet per tabulas astronomicæ. *Frigido Boreæ remeante*, i. dum frigiditas venti borealis revertitur, quod est illo tempore scilicet mense Novembr. In secundo versu nominat auctor genitum et progenitores suos figurative, dicens, *Redimita per aurum*, i. regina cum auro coronata, *gignet taurum*, i. filium suum tauro assimilatum, *ex hirco*, i. ex rege patre suo hirco comparato propter aliquas conditiones suas. In tertio versu ostendit locum in quo fuit genitus, a quo cognomen recepit, dicens, *ex auris aurum*, i. genitus qui erit auro coronatus, fuit *ex auris*, i. ex rege et regina coronatis auro, *ventis componitur aurum*, i. nomen loci in quo genitus est componitur ex significatione istorum duorum terminorum, *ventis aurum*, Anglice Wyndesor. Aliter exponitur isto versus propter eos qui dicunt quod hoc nomen aurum non habet pluralem numerum, sic *ex auris ventis*, i. ex significatione istius termini aura, quando accipitur pro vento, Gallice *or*, quibus junctis faciunt Wyndesor. Et nota quod auctor utitur hic sexta occultatione et tertia, quia iste terminus aura est terminus æquivocus, et plura significat, unde versus:

"Aura, favor, splendor, flatus dicatur, et aer."

Ideo notabiliter designat eum significare hic ventos, unde dicit, *ex auris ventis*. In iiij^ta^ versu ostendit quod erit nomen geniti, dicens, *Exiet*, scilicet de utero ad baptismum, *et rediet* de baptismo *firmatus nomine patris*, i. habens nomen patris sui, scilicet Edwardi, vel firmatus nomine patris, i. baptizatus in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti. Aliter tamen exponitur iste versus in isto dicto sequenti. Quinto ostendit iste auctor in quatuor versibus qualia accident juveni Edwardo de Wyndesor, et quomodo recipiet regnum Angliæ patre suo vivente; unde in primo versu nota quomodo Edwardus juvenis missus fuit ad Franciam pro pace reformanda *inter regem Franciæ et regem Angliæ patrem suum, quem rex* Franciæ pro homagio Vasconiæ non exhibita multum vexaverat, ob quam causam regina prius transmissa fuerat ad fratrem suum pacificandum. Ideo dicit auctor, *Exiet*, scilicet de Anglia ad Franciam, pro pace reformanda, sed matre et filio in partibus transmarinis sic demorantibus, nec redire volentibus, aut certe propter metum Dispensatorum non audentibus, Dispensatoribus id audientibus, Dispensatorum consilio in foro Londoniæ publice banniti sunt. *Anno tamen Christi M°ccc^mo^xxvj^to^, cum parva manu Hanaldorum*

circa festum Sancti Michaelis Angliam in Essexia apud Horwythe applicuerunt, et ideo dicit auctor, *et rediet*, scilicet ad Angliam de Francia. Qui in auxilio regni regem Edwardum de C. capiunt, et custodibus demandant, Dispensatores etiam detrahunt et suspendunt. Et in festo Purificationis proximo sequenti juvenis Edwardus de Wyndesor xv. circiter annorum, patre viventi adhuc sub custodia, apud Westmonasterium coronatus est, et ideo dicit auctor quod est *fi matus nomine patris*, scilicet in regno pro patre suo cum eodem nomine quo pater ejus prius vocabatur, scilicet Edwardus rex. In secundo versu ostendit quomodo Edwardus de Carnarvan, genitor Edwardi prædicti, post filii sui coronationem interiit. Pro quo est notandum quod tempore prædictæ coronationis, Edwardus ille servabatur in custodia seu carcere. Custodes autem sui scientes quod sibi vendicaret regnum si de carcere evaderet, et palam non audentes eum occidere, mortem occultam sibi ordinabant; unde dicebatur quod eum occiderant in locis occultis, scilicet in ano vel in locis genitalibus cum quodam instrumento, corneo vel ferreo, et hoc est quod dicit auctor, *Ejus et interiet genitor*, i. pater Edwardi de Wyndesor morietur, *terebratus in atris*, i. in locis nigris et obscuris cum prædicto instrumento. In tertio versu ostendit quod E. de Wyndesor devenit ad regnum Angliæ per artem matris suæ, pro quo est notandum quod regina graviter sustinebat prædictam bannitionem sibi factam per consilium Dispensatorum, quia ab anno decapitationis Thomæ de Lancastria usque ad sextum annum quo occisi sunt, cœpit sors invalescere apud regem, et reginæ conditio ancillari. Ob hoc regina post adventum suum ad Angliam per annos conspirabat ad depositionem mariti sui de regno, et ad filii sui elevationem, quem tenerrime diligebat, quia sibi comes fuerat itineris et laboris; ideo dicit auctor de eo quod *rapiet regnum patris sui*, i. accipiet violente regnum Angliæ, *arte suæ matris*, i. per artem et consilium matris suæ; et ita factum est. In quarto versu ostendit quomodo prædictus Edwardus de Wyndesor vendicabat sibi regnum Franciæ ante mortem suam. Pro quo est notandum quod Isabella regina Angliæ fuit soror regis Francorum tunc viventis, proximum jus habens in regno Franciæ si suus frater sine filiis moreretur; quod contigit, unde Edwardus filius sive primogenitus, post mortem illius regis, sibi regnum Franciæ vendicabat, tanquam hæreditatem sibi pertinentem ex parte matris suæ. Hic sunt tria notabilia. Primum notabile est de morte miserabili Edwardi de Carnarvan, quod ille qui sanguinem innocentem effudit injuste morte interiit abominabili et prius inaudita, quia moriebatur *terebratus in atris*. Secundum notabile est de acceptione regnorum penes Edwardum de Wyndesor. Dicit enim auctor quod rapiet regnum Angliæ, et de regno Franciæ tantum dicit quod quæret illud, ad denotandum forte quod tempore suo non recipiet regnum Franciæ,

et tantummodo laborabit in quærendo, quia si reciperet regnum Franciæ, ita faciliter potuit dixisse *recipiet* sicut *quæret*. Tertium notabile est quod iste Edwardus potest dici taurus propter tres conditiones in quibus videtur concordare cum tauro. Primo proprietas est ista, secundum Plinium libro vij°: certum est quod ejus maxima fortitudo est in collo et in cornibus ejus, sic fortitudo istius regis est in dominis Angliæ et populo suo, qui per cornua designantur ibi, *Taurus cornutus stauro fultus bene tutus.* Secunda proprietas tauri est ista, secundum Aristotelem, quod eligit sibi pascua pinguia, in quibus se depascit, sic iste eligit sibi pinguia pascua Franciæ sibi de jure convenientia, ut infra dicetur:

"Tunc taurus gregem ducet per pinguia prata."

Tertia proprietas tauri, secundum Aristotelem, est quod taurus non relinquit pascua nisi tempore coitus, et tunc vaccis se associat, sic credo quod iste rex impedietur per amorem mulierum a regno Franciæ et pascuis suis. Unde auctor dicit infra:

"Hoc dico plane vulvam non laudo Dianæ,
"Quæ taurum mane mulcet verbum per inane."

Et hic terminatur secundum capitulum, continens accidentia regni Angliæ tempore Edwardi de Carnarvan.

Capitulum tertium docet mores Edwardi de Wyndesore, et accidentia regni Anglie tempore juventutis sue, unde versus sequuntur.

Taurus erit fortis, metuens nil tristia mortis;
Sobrius et castus, justus, sine crimine fastus;
Ad bona non tardus, audax veluti leopardus.
Semper erit taurus viridescens utpote laurus;
Fertilis et plenus, nummorum semper egenus.
Agmina vaccarum defendet vi propriarum.
Hic subjugabit hostes, reges superabit;
Vix mundi talis stauri ductor liberalis.
Rex erit et custos, et diliget undique justos.
Temporibus tauri scutum portabitur auri;
Tunc erit argentum per terras undique lentum.
Occultis portis lustris capiet mare mortis;
Illicitis scortis solitum cameris et in hortis.
Qui fuerat fortis, morietur turbine sortis.
Inter silvestres leges pennis volitabunt;
Inter campestres dolus et pax se sociabunt.

Inter scutiferos legis vires dominantur;
Jura per armigeros subjectis dum reserantur.
Fraus mercatorum nummis pandetur eorum,
Dum pugnatorum cupiunt deducere lorum.
Ecce Simon veniet cum militibus sociatus;
Ecclesias rapiet, cum muneribus laqueatus.

Taurus erit fortis. Istud tertium capitulum, docens mores regis Edwardi de Wyndesore et accidentia regni tempore juventutis suæ, continet octo dicta. Primo ostendit mores regis Edwardi tempore juventutis suæ, quorum aliquos credo mutabit tempore medio vitæ suæ, aliquos circa finem; et circa istud dictum sunt tria notanda. Primo est notandum quod auctor istius prophetiæ in tribus locis ejusdem narrat diffuse de moribus istius regis, primo de moribus juventutis suæ in isto capitulo, secundo de moribus quos habebit in media ætate in quinto capitulo secundæ distinctionis; unde in tempore obsidionis de Caleys narrat mores ejus, et ibi aliquos mores omittit quos sibi hic attribuit, sicut sobrietatem, castitatem, humilitatem, agilitatem operandi, innuens quod tunc illas omittet conditiones. Tertio notat iste auctor de bonis moribus quos habebit taurus circa finem suum, capitulo quinto distinctione tertia. Secundo est notandum quod hic describit mores mutabiles juventutis tauri in primo dicto hujus capituli, et in secundo ostendit aliquos mores quos per totam vitam suam continuabit, et in tertio ostendit mores et accidentia sibi diversis temporibus ætatis suæ contingentia. Tertio est notandum quod attribuit sibi in isto dicto septem conditiones bonas pertinentes regi. Primo fortitudinem mentis et corporis qua se in bello et populum potest defendere, dicens, *Taurus erit fortis,* in virtute corporali, *metuens nil tristia mortis,* scilicet in anima; ubi removet ab eo pusillanimitatem spiritus et timorem, quia sine ista stante fortitudine prima nil valeret. Secundo attribuit sibi sobrietatem contra gulam et ebrietatem, quæ magnum vitium in rege æstimatur, dicens, *Sobrius.* Tertio attribuit sibi castitatem contra luxuriam, dicens, *et castus.* Quarto attribuit regi justitiam contra injuriam, dicens quod erit et *justus.* Quinto attribuit regi humilitatem contra superbiam, dicens quod erit *sine crimine fastus.* Sexto attribuit huic regi agilitatem in bonis operibus, dicens, *Ad bona non tardus.* Septimo attribuit sibi audaciam contra inimicos et malefactores regni, dicens quod erit *audax veluti leopardus,* qui est animal magnæ audaciæ et fortitudinis. Et nota quod comparat audaciam regis armis suis, quia tres leopardos portat in scuto suo, et non sine causa, veluti imaginari poterit. Secundo ostendit iste auctor mores regis E. quos per totam vitam suam continuabit. Prima conditio est quod

ejus honor et virtus non marcescent in tempore suo, sed semper augmentabuntur et crescent, unde dicit quod est *taurus virideseens*. Et nota quod hic addit istum terminum semper quem in versibus præcedentibus non addebat ad designandum hujus honoris permanentiam, *quia sicut viriditas lauri non marcescit hyeme vel æstate*, sic nec honor hujus regis juventute vel senectute peribit; ideo dicit auctor, *virideseens utpote laurus*. Secunda quæ consequetur, in regno toto tempore suo est fertilitas terræ et plenitudo bonorum, quia terra erit fertilis in tempore suo et dabit fructum suum, unde magna plenitudo bonorum regno evenit; unde dicit auctor quod est *fertilis et plenus*. Tertia conditio consequens cum continue est egestas nummorum, quia toto tempore vitæ suæ vel indigebit nummis et pecunia propter guerras suas, vel propter avaritiam suam; quando enim cessabit a guerris erit valde avarus pecuniæ, et aliquando magis pecuniæ quam honorum, quod est contra modum generosorum, unde dicit auctor quod erit *nummorum semper egenus*. Quarta conditio consequens cum continue erit bona defensio et conservatio regni Angliæ, quod sibi datur quasi regnum proprium, et ipse conservabit populum illius sicut bonus taurus conservat agmina vaccarum. Ideo dicit auctor, *Agmina vaccarum defendet vi propriarum*, i. defendet populum suum de Anglia contra alia regna vi et fortitudine sua. Et sic patent quatuor conditiones hujus regis semper ipsum comitantes. Tertio ponit iste auctor conditiones regis in diversis temporibus vitæ suæ sibi contingentes. Et nota quod omnes istæ conditiones sunt de facto in rege, ut in expositione sequenti clare patebunt. Dicit enim, *Hic subjugabit hostes*, quod impletum est in Scotia et Francia; *reges superabit*, quod factum fuit in bello de Crecy, ubi rex Bœmiæ fuit occisus et rex Franciæ fugatus. *Vix erit ductor talis in mundo*, quia in tempore suo reputabitur unus de optimis ducibus mundi, et vix aliquis reputabitur ei æqualis, nec ita *liberalis stauri*, quia non concedet populum suum, quem hic vocat staurum suum, ad plura regna, scilicet ad Hiberniam, ad Scotiam, ad Britanniam, ad Franciam, ad magnas guerras et prælia.. *Rex erit et custos*, scilicet de regno Angliæ, et *diliget undique justos*, quod fecit omni tempore suo, quos scilicet scivit et credidit esse justos. Quarto ostendit imitationem et innovationem monetæ tempore hujus regis. Pro quo est notandum quod tempore suo incepit moneta de auro, scilicet nobile seu scutum auri, propter cujus multiplicationem argentum illo tempore erat valde rarum in terra, eo quod domini et mercatores in alios usus varios illud transmutabat. Ideo dicit auctor, *scutum portabitur*, scilicet nobile, *portabitur tempore tauri*, quia tunc incepit, *tunc erit argentum lentum* et rarum *undique per terras*, quia in alios usus tunc mutabitur. Quinto ostendit auctor captionem et mortem domini Rogeri Mortimer tempore illo. Pro quo est notabile quod iste dominus Rogerus concubuit cum regina

ipse rege vivente, etiam post mortem ejus multo tempore, unde omnia negotia regni per reginam et ipsum Rogerum terminabantur, ita quod ipsa fuit quasi rex, et secundum opinionem aliquorum ipse aspiravit ad regnum et ad destructionem regis E. occulte, sicut poterat, ob quam causam prædictus Edwardus amicorum consilio illum accepit in scortis cum regina, quem distraxit et suspendit; et hoc est quod dicit auctor. Rex Edwardus *capiet mare mortis*, i. mortuum, et hic utitur sexta occultatione. *Occultis portis*, quia intraverunt ad eum per portas occultas. *Lustris*, i. in speluncis vel cavernis terræ, vel in locis occultis. *Illicitis scortis solitum*, quia solebat facere illicita scorta cum regina in *cameris et in hortis*, et *qui fuerat fortis*, scilicet ille Mortimer, qui fortis miles et pulcher fuerat, *morietur turbine sortis*. Unde nota quod turbo est ventus circumflexus, qui primo percutit terram et postea elevat se in aera, et ibi finitur. Sic iste primo fuit tractus per terram, inde elevatus in aera, et ibi finivit vitam suam per suspendium. Sexto ostendit auctor iste variationem legis et debilitationem in diverso statu tempore suo; pro quo est notandum quod auctor ostendit status tres hominum in quibus illo tempore debilitabuntur, primo inter silvestres et homines in montibus et silvis manentes, secundo inter campestres et rurales, tertio inter scutiferos et dominos, dicens, *Inter silvestres*, i. habitantes in silvis, *leges pennis volitabunt*, i. cum sagittis, quia tales homines non expectabunt alias leges illo tempore nisi quod potentior inimicum suum opprimat cum sagittis, qui est modus pugnandi inter tales. *Inter campestres*, i. villanos qui habitant campos. *Dolus et pax se sociabunt*, i. firmabunt inter se pacem cum dolo, unde magis pacifici, si possent, vicinum suum vellent destruere cum quo pacem similant. *Inter scutiferos*, scilicet milites, *legis vires dominantur*, ut qui potentior est in viribus habebit legem. *Dum jura reserantur subjectis per armigeros*, i. dum domini non aliud faciunt de jure nisi mittunt subjectis suis et armigeris ut vadant et destruant quem dominus destruere nititur. Septimo ostendit quamdam fraudem mercatorum illo tempore exortam de falsa moneta. Pro quo est notandum quod illo tempore venit de transmarinis per mercatores falsa moneta de cupro, quæ dicebatur lusscheburne, habens formam denarii Anglicani, et de ista moneta dicit auctor *fraus mercatorum* pandetur seu ostendetur *nummis eorum*, sicut de lusshelurun, *Dum capiunt deducere lorum pugnatorum*, i. facere monetam de loris pugnatorum, i. de cupro, de quo illo tempore fuerunt lora pugnatorum. Octavo ostendit simoniam regnantem illo tempore, dicens, *Ecce Simon veniet*, i. Simonia, *cum militibus sociatus*, quia milites, qui olim jurati fuerunt ad conservandum justitias ecclesiæ, jam propter munera et amicitias suos promovent clericos simoniace. *Ecclesias rapiet*, scilicet Simonia seu Simon. *Laqueatus cum muneribus*, quia sicut laqueus retinet avem ne posset evolare, ita munera retinent

ecclesias simoniace quod nullus jam sine munere ad aliquam vix promovetur dignitatem. Sed beati qui possent dicere cum propheta, "Laqueus contritus est, et nos liberati sumus." Et sic terminatur istud capitulum.

Capitulum iiij. ostendit accidentia inter regna Anglie et Scotie illo tempore usque ad inceptionem guerre de Francia.

Taurus regnabit, et mater confœderabit,
Cum Scotis nata Dyna cancro copulata.
Pax erit in terra, rediet sed Scotica guerra.
Quidam ballivus, armis jam nominativus,
Voce vocativus tauri, tauroque dativus,
Sternet equos ligni, medio latitat leo signi.
Ipsos ascendet, ad Scotica cornua tendet,
Militia gyrum Angli facient bene mirum,
Temporibus gentis cum pennatis ferientis.
Nam loco lato non sunt Scoti sine letho;
Scotorum gentes terebrabunt arcitenentes,
Et vidue flentes sponsos quarent morientes.
Sponsus ecclestis taxatur, et incola restis,
Dum Scotis mestis regnant reges duo pestis.
In sacro monte pugnans gens Scotica sponte,
Ursina fronte cadent, Angli nam sine ponte.
Psalletur gestis David luxuria festis,
Qui tenet uxores uxore sua meliores.
Deficient mores regales, perdet honores.
Pignus amoris, pacta sororis non solidabunt,
Anterioris facta doloris nam reboabunt,
Sanguine Scotorum spoliatorum sociorum.

Sequitur expositio istorum versuum.—Taurus regnabit. In isto iiij° capitulo ostendit auctor accidentalia inter regnum Anglie et Scotie, et continet quinque dicta. In primo ostendit pacem factam per filiam regis Anglie copulatam regi Scotie, que pax non durabit. Pro quo est notandum quod Scoti ab anno Christi millesimo cc^mo nonagesimo octavo, in quo Edwardus primus post conquestum occidit 60,000 Scotorum apud Fawkyrke in

festo Sanctæ Mariæ Magdalenæ, per XXX. continuos annos usque ad tempora Edwardi de Wyndesore, Anglicos et Angliæ loca vicina jugiter pertiverunt, secundum Radulphum, ita quod in principio prædicti Edwardi quasi per tres annos fuerunt contra Anglicos. Tunc mater sua ipso regnante copulavit filiam suam regi Scotiæ in fœdere pacis, quam postea Scoti fregerunt. Unde dicit auctor, *Taurus regnabit*, scilicet in Anglia, *et mater confœderabit*, scilicet regina facict fœdus *cum Scotis nata Dyna*, i. filia sua domina, *copulata*, per conjugium, *cancro*, scilicet regi Scotiæ, qui per aliquas conditiones cum quibus concordat cum cancro dicitur cancer. *Pax erit in terra*, scilicet Angliæ, *rediet sed Scotica guerra*, qua pax illa diu non durabit. Secundo ostendit quomodo et per quem pax inter Scotiam et Angliam frangebatur. Pro quo est notandum quod isto tempore aliqui domini Scotorum miserunt occulte Edwardo de Balliolf quod veniret ad vendicandum sibi regnum Scotiæ, cujus ipse erat verus hæres, et ipsum libenter in recto suo juvarent. At ille dictis eorum commotus, primo venit ad Angliam, ubi meruit auxilium contra Scotos per regis promissionem, licet aperte non consentiebat propter pacem prædictam inter Angliam et Scotiam factam per conjugium, et tunc le Balliolle cum classe sua adivit Scotiam et apud Kynkhorn applicuit, qui postea infra breves dies maximam Scotorum stragem fecit apud Dipelingmore; et hoc dicit iste auctor, *Quidam ballivus nominativus jam in armis*, i. E. de Ballioile, quia tunc nominativus in armis fuit, et bellicosus reputabatur. *Vocativus voce tauri*, qua taurus eum forte vocavit contra Scotiam, vel quia voce tauri seu ejus nomine vocatus, scilicet Edwardus. *Tauroque dativus*, vel quia aliqua dona præbuit regi Angliæ, vel forte sibi concessit subjectionem Scotiæ et pacem inter regna postquam eam adquisiverit. *Sternet equos ligni*, i. naves; et hic utitur tertia occultatione. *Medio latitat leo signi*, i. leo scuti Scotiæ latitabat in medio navium, quem secum assumpsit tanquam verus hæres; et hic utitur secunda occultatione. *Ipsos ascendet*, scilicet naves. *Ad Scotica cornua tendet*, i. ad locum in Scotia ubi applicuit, qui dicitur lingua eorum Kynkhorn, et lingua Latina Scotica cornua; et hic utitur sexta occultatione. Tertio ostendit de loco belli et modo ejus, et fine; dicit enim, *Angli facient militiæ gyrum*, scilicet in terra Scotiæ, vel in exercitu, quando congregati sunt domini Scotorum, sagittarii facient gyrum *cum pennatis*, scilicet sagittis. *Temporibus gentis flentis*, i. in capitibus Scotorum, qui flendo pugnabant. *Nam loco læto*, in loco scilicet belli ad quem venerunt Scoti cum magna lætitia et gaudio. *Non sunt Scoti sine letho*, i. morte, quia ibi occisi fuerant. Aliter post iste versus exponitur. Istud bellum fuit commissum in loco qui dicitur Dipelyngmore, et in illo est locus ubi fuit ingressio belli, et vocatur Gladeleye,* quod lin-

gua eorum locus lætus interpretatur, unde in illo loco non fuerunt Scoti sine letho et morte; unde nota hic quod lætus, -ta, -tum, Anglice dicitur *glad*, et hoc lethum, lethi, Anglice *deth*, unde hic utitur auctor tertia occultatione. *Arcitenentes*, in illo bello, *terebrabant gentes Scotice*, i. perforabant cum sagittis suis, *Et viduæ flentes*, post occisionem maritorum, *quærent sponsos morientes*, qui in illo bello occidebantur. Quarto ostendit de bello de Halidone et miseria Scotorum tempore quo duo reges regnabant. Pro quo est notandum quod, post bellum prædictum, E. de Balliolle tenuit se in Scotia tanquam rex, et fecit magnam destructionem de populo, ita quod illud regnum illo tempore fuit valde mœstum et dolorosum propter mala ab illis duobus regibus inflicta; tum Scoti fugaverunt Edwardum usque Carleolum, qui postea auxilio regis Angliæ bellum apud Halidone contra Scotos commisit, et *hujus mentionem facit auctor, dicens, Sponsus cœlestis taxatur*, i. sacræ ecclesiæ rectores et gubernatores, episcopi scilicet et abbates, qui sponsi cœlestes dicuntur eo quod sacræ sponsantur ecclesiæ, ab illis regibus tunc multum per taxam et injustas exactiones gravabantur. *Est incola restis*, i. communitas terræ taxabatur per arestationes, vel per restas, i. per funes et cordas, eo quod aliqui incolæ tunc temporis forte fuerunt suspensi. *Dum duo reges pestis*, scilicet David et Edwardus de Balliolle, qui fuerunt causa pestis, i. mortis Scotorum, *regnant Scotis mœstis*, et doloris propter stragem et destructionem eis inflictam, nec habuerunt regem unde poterant juvari, quia David adhuc fuerat juvenis non valens arma portare bellica. Unde illo tempore Scoti disposuerunt se sponte ad pugnandum contra regem Angliæ venientem pro E. de Balliolle apud Halydone, unde auctor, *gens Scotica pugnans in sacro monte*, scilicet Halydone, ubi bellum commissum fuit, *sponte*, i. propria voluntate, et Angli illo tempore *cudebant ursina fronte*, Anglice Berwyke, vel Berefrount, *sine ponte*, quando enim credebant transire per pontem, fuit destructus, et ibi plures occisi sunt. Quinto ostendit mores David regis Scotorum, dicens, *luxuria David psalletur festis et conviviis, quia sic solebant* ministralli dicere opera strenua et bellicosa bonorum militum, ita de isto David facient gesta luxuriosa. *Qui tenet uxores uxore sua meliores*, non quia concubinæ quibus utebatur fuerunt meliores quam regina, sed quia ministralli Scotorum volentes regi favere in peccato suo dicebant eas meliores, vel quia voluerunt vituperare reginam in despectu regis Angliæ, cujus soror ipsa fuerat, vel quia regi aliæ uxores videbantur meliores quia magis sibi placebant, et in hoc *deficient mores regales*, in eo, et propterea *perdet honores* qui regi pertinerent, quia homines sui eum non honoraverunt ut regem, sed tanquam parem eum tractaverunt, et sapientes eorum reputaverunt eum stultum et fatuum. Etiam *pacta sororum*, scilicet regis Angliæ, quam David accepit in uxorem pacto pacis,

Non solidabunt pignus amoris, et pacem inter regna, quia fata anterioris doloris, scilicet in fortuna bellorum præcedentium, et quomodo rex Angliæ concessit Edwardo de Baillolle adjutorium contra Scotos et contra David, *jam reboabunt*, i. iterum sonabunt et revertentur *pro sanguine Scotorum spoliatorum sociorum*, in bellis præcedentibus effuso. Et sic terminatur istud capitulum.

Capitulum v^tum^ ostendit accidentia inter regem Angliæ et Franciæ priusquam rex Angliæ transivit mare contra Gallicos.

Fastus Francorum facinus faciet fatuorum.
Incipient guerras Anglorum perdere terras;
Subvertent castra tollentes se super astra,
Nec prece nec pretio cessabunt bella parare,
Anglos servitio credentes illaqueare.
Orabunt gentes Messiam bella verentes,
Ut det maternum jus, salvet et ipse paternum.
Galli cessare non curant, vel renovare
Pacem cum tauro, quia confidunt nimis auro.
Franci juridici tauro fient inimici,
Falsi schismatici, quia vera negant bene dici.
Legifer instituit terras habuisse sorores,
Quando mors rapuit sine natis progenitores.
Nunquam natura mutavit adhuc sua jura,
Fœmina quod cura propriorum sit caritura.
Jure sui matris summi natus quoque patris,
Rex Judæorum vocabatur miserorum.
Taurus adhuc crescit, miror quod Gallia nescit.
Matre sua dante rectum sibi quod fuit ante,
Regnum Gallorum sibi vendicat esse suorum,
Proximus extat hæres dum Gallica germina quæres;
Clangunt rumores quod matris quærit honores.

Sequitur expositio inde.—Fastus Francorum. In isto v^o^ capitulo, ubi dicit auctor quæ acciderunt inter regem Angliæ et Franciæ antequam rex Angliæ disposuit se ad bellandum Franciam, sunt quatuor dicta. Primo ostendit iniquitatem Gallicorum contra regem Angliæ ex eorum superbia procedentem, dicens, *Fastus Fran-*

corum fatuorum, i. superbia, *faciel facinus*, i. injustitiam et malitiam, quia *incipient guerras* contra regem Anglorum. *Anglorum perdere terras*, quas sibi voluerunt per injurias subjugare. *Subvertent castra*, i. pertinentia regi Anglie. *Tollens super astra*, per laudes quas per talia facinora credebant se mereri. Unde, *nec precé nec pretio cessabunt bella parare*, contra regem Angliæ, *Anglicos servitio credentes illaqueare*, quia credebant fecisse Anglicos et qui tenebant de rege Angliæ sibi tributarios. Secundo ostendit auctor innocentiam Anglicorum contra omnia ista mala, dicens quod *gentes verentes bella*, scilicet religiosi et clerici sæculares et multi domini de Anglia, qui timuerunt potentiam Galliæ, quia reputabatur unum de potentioribus regnis mundi, *orabant Messiam*, idem Christum qui fuit Messias promissus in lege, ut *det maternum*, i. regnum Franciæ, *salvet et ipse paternum*, scilicet regnum Angliæ, quod jure hæreditario post patrem suum possidebat; sed propter omnia ista *Galli non curant cessare* ab injustitia sua, *nec revocare pacem cum tauro*, sed semper continuabant malitiam suam, quia *confidunt nimis in auro*, credebant enim se habuisse sufficiens auxilium contra regnum Angliæ cum auro suo, sed fuerunt decepti, quia plus valet auxilium Dei cum justitia quam multi thesauri. Tertio ostendit iste auctor quomodo juristæ Francorum dixerunt regem Anglie non habere jus in regnum Franciæ, et contra eos arguit per duo argumenta, dicens, *Franci juridici*, i. professores juris de Francia, *sient tauro inimici*, quia excludebant eum de regno per falsitates; et ideo, *sunt falsi schismatici*, i. facientes divisionem et discordiam inter regna, *quia vera negant bene dici*, contradicentes veris allegatis pro rege Angliæ. Sed contra istos adducit auctor duas leges probantes quod filia debet succedere in regno si pater vel frater moriatur sine filio vel hærede; quod si isti Franci negant contra regem Angliæ. Pro prima historia est notandum, Num. xxvij° dicitur de quatuor filiabus Saphat, quæ "steterunt coram Moyse et Eliazoro sacerdote
" et cunctis principibus populi ad ostium tabernaculi fœderis,
" atque dixerunt, Pater noster mortuus est in deserto, nec fuit
" in seditionem quæ concitata est contra Dominum sub Chore,
" sed in peccatis suis mortuus est. Hic non habuit mares filios.
" Cur tollitur nomen illius de familia sua quia non habuit
" filium? Date nobis possessionem inter cognatos patris nostri.
" Retulit Moysis causam earum ad judicium Domini, qui dixit
" ad eum, Justam rem postulant filiæ Saphat, da eis possessionem
" inter cognatos patris sui, et ei in hæreditate succedant; ad
" filios autem Israel loqueris hæc. Homo cum mortuus fuerit
" absque filio, ad filiam ejus transibit hæreditas; si filiam non
" habuit, habebit successores fratres suos; quod si fratrem non
" habuerit, dabit hæreditatem fratribus patris sui; si autem
" patruos non habuerit, dabitur hæreditas his qui proximi ejus
" fuerint. Erit hoc filiis Israel sua lege perpetua, sicut præcepit

" Dominus Moysi." Istam historiam allegat auctor pro rege Anglie, dicens, *Legifer instituit*, i. Moyses ordinavit, *terras habuisse sorores*, sicut patet in historia prædicta. *Quando mors rapuit sine natis progenitores*, scilicet patrem cum filiis, sed *nunquam natura mutavit adhuc sua jura*, quod *fœmina sit caritura cura propriorum*; quare patet de jure matris quod rex Anglie est verus hæres Francie secundum istam historiam. Secunda historia qua iste auctor idem probat est ista quod *natus summi patris*, scilicet Christus, *vocitabatur rex miserorum Judæorum*, et hoc jure matris sue. Quarto ostendit iste auctor quomodo iste rex vendicabat sibi regnum Francie et jus maternum, dicens, *Taurus adhuc crescit*, i. inter omnia ista mala et adversa prosperatur in honore et reverentia. *Miror quod Gallia nescit* quo sua fuerat superbia obcæcata, credens eum *timore suo decrescere; sed ipso non obstante, vendicat sibi regnum Gallorum esse suorum, matre sua dante rectum sibi quod fuit ante*; quia forte mater ejus tunc concessit sibi executionem justitie quam prius forte ei prohibuit, et ipse *proximus extat hæres* Francie, *dum Gallica germina quæres*, i. si lineam perscrutaveris regalem. *Clangunt ergo rumores*, in diversis terris, *quod matris quærit honores*, scilicet regnum Francie, quod sibi ex matre contingebat.

Capitulum vj^tum determinat de bellis et de dispositione bellorum contra Gallicos usque ad primam pacem factam.

Jam reboant bella, fit causa movens Isabella;
Strident Germani nummorum tempore sani,
Frendent Barbani ambo nummis sine vani,
Et *genus uxoris signum similabit amoris.*
Vellere Flandrenses tunc fient Angligenenses,
Non per tres menses, nisi pro lucro, bene penses.
Fraude sua tandem fraudem patientur eandem.
Insurgent Galli metuentes grandine falli,
Ad sua confugient, victi formidine fient.
Jam redit ad staurum taurus, quia deficit aurum;
Dum livor *candet Gallorum vellera mandet.*
Cancro regnante Phœbo, calido geminante,
Ascendet proras, Gallorum tendet ad oras,
Bino cornutus stauro fultus bene tutus.
In canabi loris equitans Flandrensibus oris,
Gallorum proris assumet nomen honoris.

Hic ter centena sternet castellaque dena;
Baptistæ testis fiet quassatio pestis.
Conjunget flores leopardis deliciarum,
Per pugnatores dum regnum quæret avarum.
Conjuncti flores leopardis deliciarum,
Annos guerrarum tibi monstrat posteriores.

Sequitur expositio inde.—Jam reboant bella. In isto sexto capitulo quatuor dicta continentur. Primo ostendit de transitu regis in Franciam, et quales fuerunt in exercitu suo, dicens, *Jam reboant bella*, i. incipiunt sonare sive manifestantur inter Angliam et Franciam. *Fit causa movens Isabella*, mater regis, unde jus regni movebatur, et ad illa bella, *stridٍent Germani*, i. homines de Germania, *nummorum tempore sani*, quia dum rex eis conferebat nummos et stipendia, steterunt cum eo. *Frendent Barbani*, i. homines de Brabantia, sed ambo sunt vani sine nummis, quia non remanebunt cum rege in bello nisi cum receperint nummos et pecuniam ab eo. Ac *genus auctoris*, homines scilicet de Hannald, *similabit signum amoris*, i. apparebunt amici cum tauro in illis bellis. Et *Flandrenses tunc fient Angligenenses vellere*, i. pro lana Angliæ erunt cum rege. *Sed pensus bene*, et cognoscas quod illud *per tres menses* non facerent, *nisi pro lucro*, quod habent de lanis Angliæ. *Tandem*, tamen, *patientur eandem fraudem* ab Anglicis *pro fraude sua*. Secundo ostendit auctor quomodo Gallici se habuerunt in adventu regis ad Franciam. *Galli metuentes grandine falli*, quasi diceret, Gallici metuebant regem Angliæ propter suam magnam multitudinem, quæ grandinem assimilatur, putantes se falli ab eis, vel vinci, *ad sua confugient*, scilicet castella vel oppida, non audentes arestare bellum contra eum, in tantum quod rex tunc posuit obsidionem de Turnay, quia Gallici *victi formidine fient*. Sed propter defectum auri et argenti dimisit illam obsidionem, et ad Angliam rediit; unde dicit auctor, *Jam redit ad stannum taurus*, i. ad Angliam, quæ semper tanquam in stauro remanebat, *qua deficit aurum* unde militibus stipendia reddere deberet. Et in illo tempore, *dum liror Gallorum caudet*, i. dum ira eorum accenditur, et fervescit taurus, *mandet vellera*, i. comedet in expensis bona quæ recepta sunt pro lanis Angliæ, et mercatoribus suis, scilicet Willelmo atte Pole et sociis suis. Tertio ostendit præparationem regis versus Franciam, et bellum navale apud Selus commissum, dicens primo de tempore quo rex se disposuit ad bellum, sic, *Phœbo regnante in cancro*, i. dum sol fuit regnans in signo cancri, quod per octo dies ante illud bellum ingrediebatur, et *calido geminante*, illo enim tempore concaloret, quia sol tunc est in sua maxima elevatione quantum ad nos. *Tunc taurus cornutus bino*

stauro, i. de hominibus, et argento et auro, qui cornua tauri dicuntur, quia sicut taurus defendit se de inimicis cum cornibus suis, ita iste rex defendit se cum hominibus suis, et auro et argento, cum quibus illo tempore *erat fultus bene tutus*. Unde sic dispositus, *ascendet proras*, i. classem. *Gallorum tendet ad oras*, i. ad fines Franciæ se disposuerit. Et nota quod hic utitur tertia occultatione in isto termino hora, quæ triplicem habet significationem. Primo signat xij^{mam} partem diei artificialis; secundo signat extremam partem vestimenti, sicut dicitur hora [ora] chamidis; tertio dicitur signare finem seu terminum alicujus terræ, et sic accipitur hic. Sed iste taurus *equitans Flandrensibus oris*, scilicet apud Selus, ubi rex fuit cum classe sua equitans *in loris canabi*, i. in funibus et cordis, qui fuerunt de canabo, et dicuntur lora quia sicut lora ferri retinent equos in terra, ita funes retinent naves in portu; et hic utitur quarta occultatione. Et ibi *assumet nomen honoris*, scilicet victoriam, quod est nomen maxime honorificum post bellum. De *proris Gallorum*, scilicet de navigio et classe Franciæ, quia in illo conflictu belli navalis *sternet castella ter centena et dena*, i. navium, et *quassatio hujus pestis*, sive belli, *fiet Baptistæ testis*, scilicet in nativitate beati Johannis Baptistæ, qui testis Christi fuit; unde istud bellum apud Selus commissum fuit anno Christi M°ccc°xl°, viij° kl. Julii, sole existente in octavo gradu cancri, in die nativitatis sancti Johannis Baptistæ, ubi rex Angliæ devicit Gallicos in bello navali sternendo naves trecentenas decem, et obtinuit victoriam cum triumpho. Quarto ostendit auctor quod rex illo tempore mutavit arma sua, dicens, *Conjunget flores deliciarum*, scilicet armorum Franciæ, *cum leopardis* regni Angliæ. *Dum quæret regnum avarum*, scilicet regnum Franciæ, quod avarum dicitur quia desiderat illud injuste quod suum non est, *per propugnatores*, sicut patet in bellis præcedentibus. Et illi *flores deliciarum conjuncti cum leopardis* demonstrant annos posteriores guerrarum, scilicet quod erunt magna bella et multa annis sequentibus inter Anglicos et Gallicos. Hic in isto capitula sunt aliqua notabilia. Primum notabile est quod stipendiarii regum in bello non amplius valent nisi in tempore lucri. Secundum notabile est quod Flandrenses non diligunt Anglicos nisi pro lucro de lanis Angliæ, qui tandem patientur eandem fraudem ab Anglis pro fraude sua. Tertium notabile est quod qui primo victi sunt formidine et terrore sine ictu, postea ut communiter non prævalent, sicut patet de istis Gallicis. Et sic terminatur istud capitulum.

Capitulum vij. docet de pace inter Anglicos et Gallicos, et de ceteris accidentibus usque ad preparationem belli de Crecy.

Mandatis patris residentis culmine matris,
Treugas astringent Galli, vix dummodo mingent
Pacem servabunt, Britones sed fraude necabunt.
Æquorei pestis fiet Britannia testis,
Nautis quassatis, sed Messias pietatis
Taurum salvabit, ad staurum qui remeabit.
Tristia post fata succedent tempora grata.
Festa rotundabit, segetes regni decimabit.
Qui vendet staurum capiet tunc temporis aurum.
Marcescent flores, fatuos dum quærit honores,
Linquens errores, mutat sine crimine mores.
Omnia transibunt, et gaudia vana peribunt.
Perdent Flandrenses ductorem nocte per enses.
Pacificos menses vi reddent Angligenenses.
Tunc Aquitanenses vibrabunt ictibus enses;
Partes burgenses non cedent Angligenenses.
Francus fraude reus muletabitur ut Cananeus;
Diceturque Deus Anglus quondam Nazaræus.
Arcus habentes, tela ferentes, se sociabunt,
Arma gerentes, regna regentes, qui penetrabunt.
Clemens mente ferus, proprio non nomine merus,
Dum ruet Angerus veniet benedicere serus.
Alis Clementis volitat benedictio lentis,
Dum carus vicus fit cognatis hinimicus.
Me jam cessare capitis dolor urget amare;
Templis vesanis sensus vacillat inanis.
Gratia divina capiti fiet medicina.

Mandatis patris. Istud capitulum septimum, continens pacem inter Anglicos et Gallicos et cætera accidentia usque ad præparationem belli de Crecy, habet viij. dicta. Primo ostendit pacem factam inter regna ex mandato papæ, quo tempore Gallici Britanniam minorem expugnabant, dicens, *Galli astringent treugas,*

et pacem inter eos et Anglicos, *mandatis patris*, scilicet papæ, qui pater est omnium Christianorum, *residentis culmine matris*, residet enim papæ in culmine et honore sanctæ matris ecclesiæ, ibi occupans locum Christi; sed ista pax fuit brevis, ideo dicit quod *vix dummodo mingent*, astringent pacem, et tunc *pacem servabunt* inter Franciam et Angliam. *Britones sed fraude necabunt*, scilicet illos qui sunt contra Karulum de Bloys cum comite de Montheforde. Secundo ostendit auctor naufragium regis in mare circa Britanniam, de quo tamen ipse salvabatur. Pro quo est notandum quod rex, videns Gallicos insurgere contra comitem de Montforthe, ordinavit cum navigio suo eum juvare, et posuit obsidionem apud civitatem de Vanes, et tunc in reditu suo accidit sibi magna tempestas ita quod tota classis sua fuit dispersa ad plures partes mundi. Unde dicit auctor, *Britannia erit testis*, scilicet homines de Britannia, quia præsentes fuerant, vel ad cujus aures rumores hujus naufragii devenerunt, *æquorei pestis*, destructionis seu pestis maris. *Nautis quassatis*, quia nautæ in illa tempestate quassabantur per mare. *Sed Messias pietatis*, i. Christus, *salvabit taurum*, i. regem Angliæ, in illa tempestate. *Ad staurum qui remeabit*, i. revertitur ad Angliam, quæ post omnem conflictum sibi remaneret pro stauro. Tertio ostendit auctor actus tauri tempore pacis dum fuerat quietus a bello, dicens quod *tempora grata*, i. tempora læta, *succedent post tristia fata*, i. post istas tribulationes maris. Pro quo est notandum quod rex illo tempore posuit se ad otium et quietem, et ordinavit festum Sancti Georgii, congregans sibi bonos milites Angliæ, ut essent in illa societate propter opera sua strenua et bellicosa, sicut narratur quod rex Arthurus fecit in tempore suo, et vocavit milites illos milites de rotunda tabula; unde dicit auctor quod *festa rotundabit*, i. faciet festum ad modum rotundæ tabulæ, scilicet festum Sancti Georgii apud Wyndesore. *Segetes regni decimabit*, i. expendet decimam partem segetis, vel accipiet valorem decem segetum vel ab ecclesia, et *qui tunc vendet stauram*, videlicet de segete vel aliis rebus, *capiet tunc temporis aurum*, i. monetam de auro quæ tunc regnabit in terra. Quarto ostendit auctor quod ista quietatio tauri multum impedivet honorem suum, quem potuit adquisivisse tempore illo in Francia, dicens, *Marcescent flores*, scilicet lilia Franciæ quæ sibi assumpsit in armis, *dum fatuos quærit honores*, festi Sancti Georgii, qui fatui sunt, et stultum fuit et vanum circa occupari dum regnum Franciæ sibi fuit vendicandum. Sed illa *omnia transibunt, et gaudia vana peribunt*, circa quæ illo tempore fuerant occupati. Quinto ostendit quomodo Flandrenses illo tempore contra comitem et ducem eorum resurrexerunt, dicens, *Perdent Flandrenses ductorem*, i. comitem seu ducem eorum, non quia eum occiderunt, sed quia voluerunt eum occidisse, et fugaverunt eum *nocte per enses*, i. in gladiis suis. *Sed Anglicenses*, tunc in Flandria manentes, *reddent ei*, et fortitudine sua,

pacificos menses, inter ducem et populum. *Sed tunc Aquitanenses*, i. homines de Aquitania, *vibrabunt ictibus enses*, i. facient bellum cum gladiis pro fuga illius ducis ad eum restituendum. *Sed partes illius* belli non *cædent burgenses Angligenenses*, quia Anglicis parebant, in illo conflictu non eis occiderunt. Sexto ostendit auctor unam destructionem Francorum propter fraudem suam eis illo tempore ab Anglis inflictam, dicens, *Francus fraude reus*, i. Gallicus propter fraudem, *muletabitur ut Cananæus*, i. calcabitur seu destruetur admodum Cananæi quem destruxerunt filii Israel. *Dicetur quod illo tempore*, quod *Deus Nazaræus fuit* quondam in Anglia, propter bonam fortunam et prosperitatem quem Anglicis tunc concedet. *Arcus habentes*, i. sagittarii, et *tela ferentes*, homines cum lanceis et clypeis, *se sociabunt* contra Gallicos, et *arma gerentes*, scilicet milites Franciæ. *Regna regentes et penetrabunt*, i. percutient rectores Franciæ. Septimo ostendit quod benedictio papæ Clementis nimis tarde Gallicis illo tempore devenit. Pro quo est notandum quod papa Clemens semper fuit Gallicis affectuosus et non Anglicis, et in hoc a *proprio nomine* declinavit, quod Clementia sonat; unde dicit auctor, *Clemens mente ferus*, i. papa habens nomen Clementis, sed in mente et voluntate est ferox, seu ferus. *Proprio non nomine merus*, i. non habens conditionem et proprietatem cum proprio nomine suo, quod sonat clementiam. *Dum ruet Angerus*, i. aliquis magnus ex parte Gallorum. *Veniet benedicere serus*, quia ejus benedictio veniet nimis tarde super eum. *Et benedictio Clementis*, papæ, *volitat alis lentis*, et tardis, quia Gallis in nullo proficiebat. *Dum carus vicus*, Anglice Derby, *fit cognatis inimicus*, scilicet cognatis papæ, qui Gallicus natione fuerat; unde hic notat auctor quod comes Derbye fuit auctor principalis illius conflictus. Octavo iste auctor excusando se de infirmitate capitis sui hic primam facit quietationem, dicens, *Me jam cessare*, a prophetia, *urget dolor capitis amare*, i. cogit me dolor capitis. *Sensus enim vacillat inanis*, et stultus. *Templis vesanis*, i. in tali parte capitis mei propter insanitatem. Sed *gratia divina*, idem post istam quietationem *fiet capiti medicina*, ut postmodum resum et prophetiam. Et sic terminatur prima distinctio in prima quietatione auctoris.

Incipit secunda distinctio hujus prophetiæ.

Post primam quietationum hujus auctoris, ubi terminatur prima distinctio, resumit iste auctor prophetiam suam, continentem accidentia Angliæ a primo tempore dispositionis versus bellum de Creey, scilicet anno Christi M°ccc°xlv^to, per sexdecim annos usque ad secundam mortalitatem factam anno Christi millesimo lxj°; et ista est secunda distinctio, continens decem capitula.

Capitulum primum ostendit accidentia et facta regis Edwardi de Wyndesore a prima dispositione versus Creey usque ad belli commissionem.

Capitulum secundum ostendit accidentia et eventum bellorum de Creey et Dunolmia, quæ eodem anno fuerant commissa.

Capitulum tertium ostendit quomodo rex obsedit villam de Caleys, et qualia sibi acciderunt in principio obsidionis.

Capitulum quartum ostendit conditiones tauri illo tempore, et quomodo a dominis Angliæ in illa obsidione recepit auxilium.

Capitulum quintum continet captionem Karoli de Bloys, et falsitatem papæ Clementis contra Anglicos in causa Franciæ.

Capitulum sextum pertractat de uno bello disposito contra regem Angliæ dum fuerat in obsidione de Caleys, et quomodo bellum frustrabitur.

Capitulum septimum ostendit accidentia in principio regis Johannis, quæ acciderunt in Anglia et Francia.

Capitulum octavum ostendit quomodo rex Angliæ tardatur a proposito de Francia propter peccata sua.

Capitulum nonum ostendit quanta mala Gallici sustinuerunt propter peccata sua.

Capitulum decimum continet bella et facta Anglorum ab anno Christi M°ccc.liiij. usque ad annum Christi M^{m}ccc^{mm}lxj^{m}.

Capitulum primum ostendit accidentia et facta regis E. de Wyndesore a prima dispositione versus Creey usque ad belli commissionem.

Jus cum justitia me cogit versificare,
Sunt mihi materia de tauro plura notare.
Gradibus inspectis, aliis causis bene lectis,
Tauri sunt bella per singula justa novella.
David eructavit, et psalterio modulavit,
Est justus Dominus, hic justitias adamavit;
Qui Deus est trinus, ac unus cuncta creavit,
Falsos prostravit, justis columque paravit.
Armis robustos facit omnipotens fore justos,
Sub cauda tauri dum frondet virgula lauri.
Taurus cornutus stauro fultus bene tutus.
Ligni sternet equos, Messias diligit æquos,
Plangere vult mœchos sua lubrica linquere cœcos.

Curva retrocedens dum fert vestigia cancer,
Grex curret cædens, taurus volitabit ut anser,
Ascendet proras, Gallorum tendet ad oras.
Qui tonat in cœlis det prospera flamina velis!
Plebs infidelis, sine suffultu Michaelis,
Transilient pontes, catapultæ sunt quia sontes,
Et ruet in fontes mallens transcurrere montes.
Arcubus utentes viduas facient-fore flentes.
Tunc propter falsum gustabit Neustria salsum,
Bastardi natos non invenient sibi gratos.
Ca. cadet in portis, Ca. confundetur in hortis;
Gallorum portæ displodentur sibi sorte.
Gallica plebsque cadet, dum taurus trans vada vadet.
Flumina non lædent, cui Christi munera cedent,
Missis Clementis, cathedra Petri residentis.
Gallorum ficta gens, subdola, gens maledicta,
Cum fuerint stricta protendent munera picta.
Cum fuerit victa, spondebit morte relicta,
Sic erit astricta, quod vim capient sua dicta.
Nil prodest fastus dum deficit undique pastus.
Nam propter fastum patietur Gallia vastum;
Gallorum lastum vix perquiret sibi pastum.

Sequitur expositio istorum versuum.—Jus cum justitia. Istud capitulum, continens præparationem ad bellum de Crecy, continet decem dicta. Primo ostendit iste auctor quod resumit suam prophetiam iterum de tauro, propter justitiam quam habet taurus in regno Franciæ, dicens, *Jus cum justitia*, quas scilicet habet taurus in regno Franciæ, *cogit me versificare* iterum de tauro et prophetiam resumere, quia illa *sunt mihi* materia de quibus volo *de tauro plura notare*, et ampliora describere, quia *bella novella tauri*, quæ faciet, *sunt per singula justa*, et sine scrupulo conscientiæ. *Gradibus inspectis*, i. si gradus consanguinitatis bene inspicias, *et aliis causis bene lectis*, i. bene legas alias causas, et cognoscas quomodo Gallici sibi resistebant, nolentes permittere eum habere regnum sibi debitum ex hæreditate. Secundo ostendit iste auctor ex auctoritate psalmistæ quod Deus roboravit taurum in ista justa causa, et prostravit falsos sibi resistentes, dicens, *David eructavit*, i. prophetando scripsit, *psalterio modulavit*, istam auctoritatem sequentem quod *justus est Dominus*. Hic justitias et amaverit, qui est Deus trinus et unus, ac *cuncta creavit* in prin-

cipio, *falsos prostravit* in bellis et operibus suis justus, eelumque paravit post finem vitæ suæ; et ille Deus vult Anglicos habere illam fortitudinem in armis et bellis contra Gallicos propter justitiam quam habent in regno Franciæ. Tertio ostendit auctor tempus quo rex ordinavit navigium suum ad transeundum versus Franciam. Pro quo est notandum quod in mense Maii, quando sol est quasi in fine tauri, fecit rex navigium suum congregari et præparari versus Franciam; ideo dicit auctor, *Dum frondet virgula lauri*, i. dum laurus facit frondes et folia, *sub cauda tauri*, i. in mense Maii, quando sol est in fine, sive in cauda signi tauri, quo tempore arbores frondes emittunt. Tunc *taurus cornutus*, i. rex Angliæ cum hominibus suis et fortitudine sua, *bene fultus stauro*, et victualibus in navibus suis, et *tutus*, auxilio divino, contra inimicos suos. *Sternet equos ligni*, i. ordinavit naves et classem suam pro justitia suâ vendicanda in Franciam; quia *Messias diligit æquos*, i. rectos et justos; et hic utitur tertia occultatione. Et *plangere vult mœchos*, et luxuriosos Gallicos, propter peccata sua, et *sua lubrica linquere cæcos*, i. Gallicos, qui cæcos sunt in malitiis et luxuriis suis, vult linquere luxuriosa sua lubrica carnis per bellum et strages eis ab Anglicis infligenda; et hic est notandum qualem punitionem receperunt isti Gallici pro luxuria sua. Quarto ostendit tempus quo rex transivit mare ad partes Gallorum. Pro quo est notandum quod posuit se ad mare in mense Julii, quo tempore sol est in cancro, et dies incipiunt abbreviari; unde dicit auctor, *Dum cancer retrocedens*, i. dum sol est in signo cancri in quo retrocedit a capitibus nostris, *fert vestigia curva*, i. abbreviat dies qui sunt vestigia solis super terram, *tunc currel grex cædens*, i. populus Angliæ qui cædem et stragem magnam facient in Francia; *currel* ad naves, et *taurus volitabit ut anser*, i. per aquam per quam anser multum desiderat volutare; et sic iste rex *ascendet proras*, i. naves, *Gallorum tendet ad oras*, i. ad fines Franciæ. Et auctor hic rogat proris prosperos ventos, dicens, qui *tonat in cœlis*, i. Deus, cui est proprium tonare, *det prospera flamina velis*, i. concedat prosperum ventum in illo navigio. Quinto ostendit quomodo gens Gallica, seu Normandiæ, fregerunt pontes in adventu Anglorum, quos tamen Anglici pertransibant eos occidendo. Pro quo est notandum quod fregerunt Gallici pontem quæ est super Secanam et vocatur Pontlarge, ut Anglici ibi non pertransirent, ubi tamen Gallicos cum sagittis debellabant et transierunt; unde dicit auctor, *Plebs infidelis*, i. gens Franciæ, quæ infidelis contra regem Angliæ fuerat, et *sine suffultu Michaelis*, i. sine auxilio sancti cujus die prædictum pontem forte fregerunt ne Anglici transirent, *tamen transibunt pontes*, per auxilium sagittariorum. *Catapultæ sunt quia sontes*, i. quia sagittæ Gallicis sunt nocivæ, quæ catapultæ dicuntur, *et ruet in fontes*, gens Franciæ resistens, *mallens transire montes*, et loca

altiora illo tempore occupasse. Sexto ostendit auctor quantam stragem et destructionem facient sagittarii per Normanniam in transitu suo, dicens, *Arcubus utentes*, i. sagittarii, *facient viduas fore flentes*, propter occisionem maritorum in illo transitu; et tunc *Neustria*, i. Normandia, *gustabit salsum*, i. amaritudinem et dolorem, *propter falsum*, quia falsi fuerint contra regem Angliæ, qui fuit de genere Willelmi Bastardi, quondam ducis illius patriæ; ideo dicit auctor, *quia non inveniet natos bastardi sibi gratos*, sed ingratos et resistentes sibi in illo transitu. Septimo ostendit captionem de Caam in illo transitu. Pro quo est notandum quod exercitus regis Angliæ posuit se ad recipiendum civitatem Caam in transitu per Normanniam, quæ civitas habet unum pontem introitu suo ante portas, ubi fecerunt magnum conflictum ante captionem civitatis. Tandem tamen Anglici per illam portam potiti sunt victoria et ceperunt civitatem; unde dicit auctor, *Ca. cadet in portis*, quia ibi incipient civitatem debellare. *Ca. confundetur in hortis*, i. illa civitas de Caam recipiet confusionem in hortis post suam captionem, *et portæ Gallorum*, i. illius civitatis Franciæ, *displodentur sibi sorte*, i. aperientur tauro per fortunam post magnam stragem et conflictum. Octavo ostendit auctor destructionem Francorum in transitu regis super unum fluvium, dicens, *Gallia plebsque cadet*, per bellum, *dum taurus trans vada vadet*, i. dum transivit vadum illius fluvii, ubi Gallici in quodam castello sibi resistebant, quod castellum ab Anglicis tunc captum fuit. Sed *flumina non lædent*, in illo transitu cui *Christi munera cedent*, i. cui gratia Christi dat locum ad transeundum. *Missis Clementis*, i. orationibus domini papæ, *residentis in cathedra Petri*, seu dignitate papali. Unde hic notat auctor quod aliqui de Francia in transitu illius fluminis erant salvati per missas et orationes papæ Clementis, qui in ista causa semper fuit pro Gallicis contra Anglicos favorabilis. Nono ostendit falsitates Gallorum in promissionibus suis dum fuerant in necessitate, quas postea noluerunt implere, dicens, *Gallorum ficta gens, subdola, gens maledicta*. Hic ponit tres malas conditiones de Gallicis. *Cum fuerint stricta*, potestate Anglicorum, *prætendent munera picta*, i. promittent magna dona et multa. *Cum fuerit victa spondebit morte relicta*, i. spondebit redemptionem pro vita sua ut mortem relinquat, et tunc *sic erit astricta* et cuncta per Anglicos, *qui vim capient sua dicta*, quia reddent quantum promittebant vel amplius. Decimo ostendit auctor quod fastus et superbia Gallorum nihil illo tempore eis proficiebat, et propter eam multa mala patiebantur, dicens, *Nil prodest fastus* et superbia Gallorum, *dum deficit undique pastus*, quia cibus et pastus eorum tunc undique per Anglicos destruebantur. *Nam propter fastum*, et superbiam, *patietur Gallia vastum*, ab Anglicis illo tempore et destructionem, quia si non fuisset superbia eorum reddidissent regi Angliæ regnum suum in prima

petitione, et ideo *Gallorum lastum*, i. lacinia vel superbia, *vix perquiret sibi pastum*, tanta erit penuria victualium illo tempore propter guerram. Et sic terminatur istud capitulum.

Capitulum ij. ostendit accidentia et eventum bellorum de Crecy et Dunolmia, etc., eodem anno commissorum

Jam crescunt bella, crescunt ter trina duella,
Alma maris stella, fer nunc vexilla, puella.
Bis dux vix feriet cum trecentis sociatis;
Phi. falsus fugiet, non succurret nece stratis.
Rex, dux, et miles fient post funera viles.
Frangentur capita ducum gemmis redimita;
Non margarita salvabitur a nece vita.
Gaviso monte nullus transit sine sonte;
Pro nulla marcha salvabitur ille hierarcha.
Exaltabuntur in Gallos cornua justi,
Lætificabuntur Angli pinguedine musti.
Nitens per guerras Anglorum perdere terras,
Testis erit cultor, David perdetur adultor.
Suspicor et clerus, penetrans cognomine verus,
Viscera Scotorum penetrabunt belligerorum.
Angusta spata forientur vulnera lata;
Nam Lucas medicus Scotis non fiet amicus.
Dæmone namque duce vincentur vespere Luce,
Teste novæ cruce villæ latitant sine luce.
Cum pauca gente Christo vexilla ferente,
Mundata mente, non fit victoria lente.
Sacri cornuti divino dogmate tuti,
Sub signo scuti fient hoc tempore tuti.
Non erit et mutum Scotos solvisse tributum.

Sequitur expositio versuum.—Jam crescunt bella. Hoc capitulum, continens accidentia bellorum de Cresey et Dunolmia, continet octo dicta. Unde pro istis bellis est notandum quod illa fuerunt commissa anno Christi M^{o}ccc^{mo}xlvj^{to}, bellum de Creey septimo kal. Octobr., et bellum Dunolmiæ xvj. kal. Novembr. In primo dicto ostendit auctor multitudinem bellorum futurorum implo-

iando auxilium beatæ Mariæ virginis pro rege Edwardo, dicens, *Jam crescunt bella*, quæ inferius ostendentur, *crescunt ter trina duella*, i. novem conflictus, qui forte ab illo bello de Creey fient inter homines duorum regnorum, vel forte tot erunt conflictus singulares inter milites Angliæ et Franciæ; quia duellum dicitur proprie *duorum bellum, unde pro istis bellis auctor invocat auxilium* beatæ Virginis sicut prius solebat, dicens, *Alma maris stella*, scilicet virgo Maria, *puella Christi, fer nunc vexilla*, regis Edwardi contra inimicos suos. Secundo ostendit auctor annum Christi in quo ista duo bella fuerunt commissa, et quomodo Philippus rex Franciæ fugiebat a bello de Crecy, dicens, *Bis duæ*, i. M°xxx., qui est numerus signatus per literas hujus dictionis dux duplicatus, *vix feriet*, i. copulat sexdecim, qui est numerus signatus per literas hujus dictionis vix, *cum trecentis sociatis*, quia trecenta sociata seu copulata cum numeris prædictis ostendunt numerum annorum Christi quo bellum fuit commissum, scilicet annum Christi M.ccc.xlvj. *Et tunc Phi. falsus fugiet*, i. Philippus rex Franciæ de illo bello, et *non succurret nece stratis*, nec juvabit populum in illo bello occisum et prostratum, sed eum derelinquet; et ita factus est. Tertio ostendit qui occiduntur in illo bello de magnis dominis. Pro quo est notandum quod fuerunt ex parte regis Franciæ rex Boemiæ, dux vel comes Flandriæ, et magister hospitalariorum, qui omnes in illo bello occisi sunt cum multis aliis valentibus; unde dicit auctor, *Rex*, scilicet Boemiæ, *dux*, sive comes Flandriæ, et *miles*, sive milites, *sient post funera viles*, eo quod in illo bello occisi sunt, et *capita ducum*, i. virorum fortium vel tot militum quod signantur per istum terminum ducum, i. M°dcx., *frangentur*, licet *gemmis fuerant redimita et lapidibus pretiosis in* galeis, quia *vita non salvabitur* in illo a *nece*, seu morte, *pro margarita*, i. lapidibus suis pretiosis. *Et nullus transibit sine sonte*, i. dolore, *gaviso monte*, pro *Mountjoye*, quod fuit verbum Gallicum quo utebantur Franci; vel nomen loci in quo bellum fuit commissum. *Et ipse hierarcha*, i. magister hospitalariorum, *pro nulla marcha salvabitur*, quia in illo bello fuit occisus. Quarto ostendit finem belli, et gaudium Anglicorum post bellum, dicens, *Exaltabuntur in Gallos cornua justi*, i. potestas et exercitus justi Edwardi dominabuntur super Gallicos in illo conflictu, *et Angli lætificabuntur* post illud bellum *pinguedine musti*, i. per bona vina quæ bibent ad suorum confortationem transeundo per terram Franciæ. Quinto ostendit auctor quomodo David rex in bello Dunolmiæ capietur. Pro quo est sciendum quod iste David rex, audiens regem Angliæ esse in Francia cum populo suo, collegit exercitum magnum contra Angliam, ut eam in regis absentia destrueret; unde de illo dicit auctor, *Nitens per guerras Anglorum perdere terras*, scilicet in regis absentia; sed *cultter erit testis*, i. sagitta, quod *David perdetur adulter*, quia sagittatus primo fuit in facie,

et deinde per Johannem de Coupelonde captus; qui adulter dicitur propter concubinas suas. Sexto ostendit, dicens qui fuerunt duces illius belli. Ex parte Anglie fuerunt Willelmus de la Souche, episcopus Eboracensis, et dominus de Percy, cum suis militibus; unde dicit auctor, *Suspicor et clerus*, i. Willelmus de la Souche et clerus qui cum eo erat, et *penetrans cognomine verus*, i. verus homo habens cognomen Percy, scilicet penetrans, et ipsi *penetrabant viscera Scotorum belligerorum*, cum lanceis et sagittis quos in illo bello occident, *et lata vulnera*, et magna, ferientur spata angusti, cum gladio angusto vel angustie in illo bello. Septimo ostendit diem belli, et locum in quo Scoti vincentur et occidentur. Pro quo est notandum quòd bellum in vigilia Sancti Lucæ evangelistæ fuit commissum, in loco juxta Dunolmiam, prope crucem Nevillæ, ubi Scoti occisi fuerunt; ideo dicit auctor, *Nam Lucas medicus*, i. Sanctus Lucas evangelista, qui fuit arte medicus, *Scotis non fiet amicus*, in illo bello, *namque vincentur vespere Lucæ*, in vigilia Lucæ, xvj. kal. Novembr. *Dæmone duce*, quia per diabolum ducti erant illo tempore ad Angliam; *et latitant sine luce*, i. sine visu et vita post eorum occisionem, *teste cruce novæ villæ*, quia crux Nevillæ perhibebit testimonium juxta quam sepulti sunt post bellum. Octavo ostendit quod illa victoria fuit cum pauca gente per auxilium Christi, dicens, *Christo vexilla ferente*, i. dum Christus portat vexilla in illo bello, *non fiet victoria lente*, i. tarde, sed cito, *cum pauca gente mundata mente*, i. pura conscientia ex parte Anglorum, quia Anglici fuerunt in parvo numero valde ad Scotos quos devicerunt auxilio et supportatione Christi. Nono ostendit de episcopis qui fuerunt in illo bello sub scuto, quod erant muti dogmate divino, dicens, *Sacri cornuti*, i. episcopi qui cornua mitre in capite portant, *muti dogmate divino*, quia non predicant divinam legem seu evangelium, sicut deberent. *Vient hoc tempore tuti*, et securi, *sub signo scuti*, i. sub scutis quibus se custodiebant in illo bello, Sed *non erit mutum*, seu occultum, *Scotos solvisse tributum*, in illo bello; et hic dicit Scotis verbum opprobriosum. Et sic istud capitulum terminatur.

Capitulum tertium, quomodo vexa obsedit villam de Oxeys, et qualia sibi acciderunt in principio obsidionis.

Taurus pasturam post eliget undique duram;
Attamen est suma juxta fontes bene pluma
Audivi verba, quod gregi delicit herba;
Delicit ac aurum, non potest pascere staurum.

Ad loca præfata veniet Diana parata,
Simia lactata dicetur clunagitata.
Vespere vel mane grex non satus est bene pane,
Taurus vesanæ lapidat dum crura Dianæ.
Illecebris tritus vix potest esse peritus.
Tunc excillabit, et latronem generabit.
Calles calcabit, colles fundo lapidabit.
Taurum vexabit amor, et taurum superabit,
Subdola vesanæ dum complet vota Dianæ.
Est opus insigne fraudem vitare malignæ;
Dalida Sampsonem decepit, amor Salamonem,
Decipit et multos fallax dilectio stultos.
Si modo plus dicam, faciam mihi tunc inimicam.
Dedita gens scortis morietur fulmine sortis;
Scribitur in portis, meretrix est janua mortis.
Propter peccata venient immania fata;
Virgo Deo grata precibus conservet amata.
Spernetur Dyna, comitis fiet inde ruina;
Dat lex divina, mors falsis fit medicina.
Est quia Brabani non incipient fore sani,
Trippi Germani sine nummis sunt Madiani;
Necnon Flandrenses partim sunt Franeigenenses.
Expedit tauro proprio confidere stauro.

Sequitur expositio inde.—Taurus pasturam. Hoc tertium capitulum, ostendens obsidionem de Caleys, et alia facta in principio obsidionis, continet septem dicta. Primo dicit de obsidione, et de defectu victualium et expensarum in principio ejus. Pro quo est notandum quod eodem anno quo bellum de Creey commissum fuit, rex Anglie posuit obsidionem apud Caleys; unde dicit auctor, *Taurus eliget post*, scilicet bellum de Creey, *undique duram pasturam*, et terram sterilem juxta Caleys, ubi populus non potuit sustentari. *Attamen* illa pastura *est sana*, propter aerem et bene plana juxta fontes et rivos aquarum. Dicit tamen auctor, sed *audivi verba*, scilicet a Spiritu Sancto, *quod gregi deficit herba*, i. populo Anglie, qui grex tauri dicitur, victualia defecerunt. Ac *defuit aurum* illo tempore regi. *Non potest pascere staurum*, i. populum suum propter defectum auri. Secundo ostendit auctor adventum regine ad Cales, et defectum victualium illo tempore, *ad loca præfata*, scilicet Cales, *veniet Diana parata*, i. regina Anglie. *Simia lactata*, i. regina prædicta, vel alia mulier habens

conditiones simiæ lactatæ, vel habens lac in uberibus suis; quæ *dicitur clunagitata*, i. supposita per regem vel alium qui cum ea concubuit. Clunus enim nates dicitur, et componetur cum isto termino agitata, qui idem signat quod mota, inde clunagitata, i. nates mota, seu vitiata. *Et dum taurus lapidat crura vesana Dianæ*, i. dum concumbit cum ea, quæ vesana seu male sana dicitur, eo quod eum in illo facto impedivit; et vocat hic lapides tauri testiculos ejus, qui crura vesanæ Dianæ lapidabat ad ejus libidinem perfruendam in illo tempore. *Vespere vel mane*, i. nulla hora diei, *grex non satus est bene pane*, i. panem non habuit ad sufficientiam, tanta inter eos pro tunc fuerat penuria. Tertio ostendit auctor quod taurus illo tempore amore vesanæ Dianæ superabatur, unde multa habuit impedimenta, dicens quod taurus *tritus illecebris*, et operibus illicitis deditus, *vix potest esse peritus* et sapiens in operibus suis; quasi diceret quod taurus tunc fiet imperitus propter luxuriam suam; et *tunc excillabit*, i. coibit cum uxore sua, quia excillare est mancre cum uxore propria, secundum Catholicon. *Et latronem generabit*, nescio quis sit ille latro, si sit aliquis filius regis tunc generatus in tempore obsidionis vel qui proximo fuit generatus post illam obsidionem, vel quod faciet populum suum latronem et prædari ab eo declinacem, qui sibi victum et stipendia præbebabat, dum talibus indulgebat maleficiis, et illo tempore *Calles calcabit*, per semitas transeundo occultas eas faciet communes. *Colles fundis lapidabit*, quæ fecit pro tempore obsidionis, quando cum fundis colles et muros civitatis cum lapidibus nitebatur obruere, dum *complet subdola vota*, et falsa, *Dianæ vesanæ* prædictæ, quæ sibi suggerit ad libitum suum perficiendum, quia taurum *vexabit amor*, illo tempore, et taurum superabit, quia, propter amorem superatus, faciet secundum concilium prædictæ mulieris. Quarto ostendit auctor quod est opus magnum et insigne vitare fraudes et falsitates malignæ mulieris et falsæ, dicens, *Est opus insigne*, et magnum, *fraudem vitare malignæ*, et falsitatem malæ mulieris declinare seu evadere, quia *Dalida Sampsonem decepit*, qui fuit homo fortissimus, et *amor decepit Salamonem*, qui fuit sapientissimus; et *fallax dilectio* mulierum et falsa *decepit multos stultos*, qui capti amoris alicujus mulieris nesciunt dimittere. Sed *si modo plus dicam*, de muliere falsa, *faciam mihi tunc inimicam*, scilicet de muliere prædicta, quasi diceret si applicarem ista prædicta ad reginam Anglia, seu ad prædictam mulierem, quod ipsa regem infatuat et decipit, sicut prædictæ mulieres viros enamatos deceperunt, facerem eam inimicam mihi. Quinto ostendit auctor quanta mala venient propter luxuriam et scortum populo et genti, dicens quod *gens dedita scortis* et luxuriæ, *morietur fulmine sortis*, i. mala morte per similitudinem fulminis, vel cum fulmine; et ideo *scribitur in portis*, tanquam commune proverbium, quod *meretrix est janua mortis*, i. qua homo cito adducitur ad mortem. Nota quod apparet hic

auctorem invenire quod taurus concubuit tunc cum alia muliere quam regina, quia aliter non diceretur scortum illud peccatum luxuriæ, nec tantum ponderat illud factum cum uxore propria, nec tanta vindicta sequeretur quanta immit hic auctor, dicens quod *immania fata*, i. magnæ destructionis et nocumenta, *venient propter peccata*, quæ enumeravit regis Angliæ et populo suo, sed *virgo Deo grata*, scilicet Sancta Maria, *precibus conservet amata*, i. regem et populum apud Deum cum precibus suis a prædicta ruina quam propter peccata sua meruerunt. Sexto ostendit quomodo comes Flandriæ spernet filiam regis Angliæ, quam prius concessit recipere in conjugem, unde ejus ruina eveniet; dicit enim, *Spernetur Dyna*, i. filia regis, et *comitis fiet inde ruina*, i. comitis Flandriæ, eo quod eam sic delusit; quia *dat lex divina*, ex ordinatione Dei, quod *mors falsis fit medicina*, quia falsi ante mortem ut communiter non corrigumtur; et ideo dicit istum versum, quia forte ille comes recipiet mortem suam per illam falsitatem, vel per vindictam Dei, vel per manus Anglicorum, qui eum forte occident. Septimo ostendit quod omnes fere stipendiarii regis illo tempore eum derelinquent, et tunc sua confidentia tota in proprio stauro consistet; unde dicit, *Et quia Brabani*, i. homines de Brabantia, *non incipient fore sani*, regi Angliæ in bello suo, et *Trippi Germani*, qui secum fuerant, *sine nummis sint Madiani*, i. falsi et divisi ab eo. *Necnon Flandrenses*, i. homines de Flandria, *sunt partim Francigenenses*, i. aliqualiter se inclinabunt ad partes regis Franciæ. Et tunc *exp diet tauro*, scilicet regi Anglim, *proprio confidere stauro*, i. hominibus de Anglia. Et sic terminatur istud capitulum.

Capitulum iiij^tum ostendit conditiones tauri circa ista tempora, quomodo a dominis Anglie in illa obsidione recepit auxilium.

Eulogium didici, tauri perient inimici.
Nam rex robustus armis, per singula justus,
Rex bonus et fortis, cui nulla nocent mala mortis,
Rex nunquam victus, gladii cui non nocet ictus;
Emanuel dictus, cum quo fit copia victus,
In mundo talis non est pugnans generalis;
Nobilis hic miles acies ducet juveniles,
Dum fuerint grati, peccatis non maculati,
Moribus aptati, nunquam fient superati.
Pondere peccati sunt plures pauperiati.

Post hyemis frigidum milvus faciet sibi nidum.
Exiet edictum, taurum promittere victum,
Pascua fœcunda dabit atque virentia, munda.
Jam grex lætatur, taurumque juvare paratur;
Nam longum castrum, armis rutilans velut astrum,
Læsis emplastrum, veniet cædens quasi rastrum,
Unabit staurum, confortabit bene taurum.
Tunc vituli multique canes juvenes et adulti,
Ursi, multones, leopardi, sicque leones,
Ad taurum venient, qui victores bene fient.

Sequitur expositio istorum versuum.—Eulogium didici. Istud quartum capitulum, ostendens tauri victoriam propter suas bonas conditiones, et quomodo in illa obsidione recepit auxilium a dominis Angliæ, continet quinque dicta. Primo ostendit quomodo taurus habebit victoriam de inimicis suis propter bonos mores suos, quos hic enumerat, dicens, *Eulogium didici*, i. bonum sermonem a Spiritu Sancto, quod, *tauri perient inimici*, i. Gallici obsessi in civitate de Calesia, qui propter famem equos et ratones comedebant, et multi mortui sunt in civitate per penuria, qui tandem civitatem regi obtulerunt; *nam rex robustus in armis*, hic quasi assignat rationem istius expeditionis, et quare rex isto est ita fortis in armis, quia est *per singula justus*, in vendicatione Francie, et est *rex bonus et fortis*, i. virtute corporali; *cui nulla nocent mala mortis*, quia nec pestilentia nec gladius nec victoria, qui est *rex nunquam victus*, ab inimicis suis; *gladii cui non nocet ictus*, quia creditur quod illo tempore nunquam recepit ictum nocivum in bello; qui *Emanuel* est *dictus*, i, nobiscum Deus, quia Deus in omni tempore suo erit cum Anglicis. *Cum quo fit copia victus*, quia licet aliquando patiebatur in victualibus, nunquam tamen fuit aliquis rex in Anglia in cujus tempore tanta fuerat copia victualium. Et *in mundo talis non est pugnans generalis*, qui ita generaliter pugnat sicut isto rex. Secundo ostendit isto auctor quod dum isto rex duxerit milites suos sine peccato, semper habebit victoriam; unde dicit, *Nobilis hic miles*, i. rex Anglie, *acies ducet juvenilis*, scilicet in exercitu suo, *qui nunquam fient superati*, ab inimicis suis, *dum fuerant grati*, Deo et regi suo, et *peccatis non maculati*, scilicet in conscientia, sed bonis *moribus aptati*. Sed auctor jam dicit de eis quod *plures sunt pancratiati*, i. gravati et depressi, *pondere peccati*, quod isti portant in conscientiis suis propter maleficia sua. Tertio ostendit auctor qũomodo rex post hyemem congregavit sibi populum, eis victualia et stipendia tribuendo. Pro quo est notandum quod rex, videns quod populus recessit ab eo, misit ad Angliam pro auro, et argento, et victualibus, ut populum sibi

congregaret, et ita factum est. Populus enim post hyemem revertebatur sibi, audiens quod omni revertenti promiserat stipendia et expensas; unde dicit auctor, *Milvus facict sibi nidum*, i. rex Angliæ, qui milvo assimilabatur propter pusillanimitatem suam, faciet obsidionem circa villam de Caleys ad modum nidi, *post hyemis frigidum*, i. postquam frigiditas hyemis recessit. Et *exiet edictum*, et mandatum regis, *taurum promittere victum*, scilicet quod taurus promittit victum omnibus venientibus, et *dabit pascua fœcunda*, i. victualia ad sufficientiam, *atque virentia, munda*, i. bona et placita in tempore virenti et mundo, scilicet in vere. *Jam grex lætatur*, post illud promissum, *taurumque juvare paratur*, i. parat se in adjutorium tauri in illa obsidione. Quarto ostendit quomodo dux Lancastriæ in illa obsidione veniebat ad auxiliandum tauro. Pro quo est notandum quod dux illo tempore venit de Vasconia ad obsidionem de Calays; unde dicit, *Nam longum castrum*, i. dux Lancastriæ, *armis rutilans velut astrum*, quasi diceret quod in armis fuit splendens et rutilans sicut stella cœli, qui fuit *læsis emplastrum*, quia sicut emplastrum curat infirmitates et allevat, ita ipse læsis et percussis valebat in bello. *Veniet cædens quasi rastrum*, rastrum est instrumentum magnum et horribile, et sic iste fuit horribilis in bello et nocivus inimicis suis. *Unabit staurum*, i. populum ad regem, *et confortabit bene taurum*, in adventu suo. Et istud est valde notabile dictum de illo bono duce, per quem Anglia multos recepit honores et magnam gloriam per opera sua bellica et labores magnos quos sustinuit. Quinto ostendit auctor multitudinem dominorum et populi venientem tauro ad illam obsidionem post edictum regis de victualibus; unde dicit auctor, *Tunc vituli multi*, i. fortes juvenes ad similitudinem vitulorum, *quæ cunes juvenes et adulti*, i. populus valde mordax et nocivus in bello ad similitudinem canum in juventute et senectute existens. *Ursi*, aliqui habentes conditiones ursorum; et *multones*, mores ovinos habentes in simplicitate; *leopardi*, portantes leopardos in scutis suis; *sicque leones*, i. domini portantes leones in armis suis. Omnes isti *ad taurum venient* existentem in obsidione de Calays, *qui victores bene fient*, qui obtinuerunt civitatem de inimicis suis. Et sic finitur istud capitulum.

Capitulum v. continet captionem Karoli de Bloys et falsitatem papæ Clementis contra Angliam in causa Francie.

De miris gestis psallentur cantica festis;
De Gallis mœstis, cæsis, Britannia testis.
Carceribus captus Karolus lustris erit aptus;

Non ut perdatur, auro sed ut hic redimatur,
Vix sine fermentis est pastor cunctipotentis.
Taurus Clementis non confidet documentis,
Plus quam Clementis valet auxilium redimentis.
Gratia nam Christi succurret concito tristi.
Mundatis mente currit charisma repente;
Vanis Clementis volitat benedictio ventis.
Non vivit sane qui dispendit sacra vane;
Gentis Romanæ pastor erit alter inane,
Qui Petri plane solium capiet sibi mane.
Balthasar in cœnis vasis potavit amœnis,
Summo dicatis, de templo vi spoliatis;
Per techel et mane phares discussaque plane,
Quod fuit inane didicit sacra tangere vane.

Sequitur expositio inde.—De miris gestis. Istud quintum capitulum, continens captionem Karoli de Bloys et falsitatem papæ Clementis contra Anglicos, habet quinque dicta. Primo ostendit quomodo Karolus de Bloys fuit captus et ductus London. ad carcerem donec solvat redemptionem suam, dicens quod *cantica psallentur in festis*, i. conviviis, *de miris gestis*, i. magnis, *de Gallis mœstis, cæsis*, qui scilicet fuerant mœsti et dolorosi propter eædem et stragem quam ab Anglicis patiebantur. *Britannia testis*, i. Britannia erit testis hujus dicti, ubi Gallici fuerunt occisi juxta castellum de Rochele, quod cupere nitebantur. Et *Karolus captus lustris*, vel locis densis et occultis in illo bello, *carceribus erit aptus*, qui post illud bellum posuerunt eum ad carcerem; vel *lustris*, i. per decem annos, quæ duo lustra dicuntur, qui per tantum tempus fere stetit in carcere. *Non ut perdatur*, sive ut occidatur, positus fuit in carceribus; *auro sed ut hic redimatur*, i. ut reddat aurum pro redemptione sua; et ita factum fuit. Secundo ostendit auctor quod papa circa illud tempus voluit decepisse regem, cujus documentis rex non confidit. Pro quo est notandum quod papa Clemens semper in quantum potuit fuit cum Gallicis contra Anglicos, et induxit regem in quantum potuit per literas et nuncios quod dimitteret bellum suum et vendicationem regni Franciæ, in quo nullum jus habuit nec justitiam; et hoc innuit auctor, dicens quod *vix sine fermentis*, i. falsa simulatione, *est pastor cunctipotentis*, i. papa, qui pastor Dei est, habens gregem Christi in custodia sua, qui false et dolose docuit regem Angliæ. *Sed taurus non confidens in documentis Clementis* papæ, qui fuerunt contra honorem suum, sed suam causam in manum Dei omnipotentis committit, quia *plus valet auxilium redimentis*, i.

Domini nostri Jhesu Christi, *quam auxilium Clementis* papæ, quod bene invenerunt Anglici in causa sua. Tertio ostendit auctor quomodo papa Clemens Gallicis concessit benedictionem in causa sua, sed Anglici Christi benedictionem receperunt; unde dicit auctor, *Gratia nam Christi*, scilicet benedictio Dei, *succurret concito tristi*, i. regis Angliæ, qui fuit tristis quando vidit ecclesiam contra eum, vel propter peccata sua, et *charisma*, i. donum episcopi sancti, *curret repente* et cito, *mundatis mente*, i. Anglicis, qui conscientiam suam mundaverunt de peccatis suis, et *benedictio Clementis*, scilicet papæ, *volitat vanis ventis*, quia non proficiet Gallicis in aliquo, quia data fuit contra justitiam. Unde hic est notandum quod papa potest errare multotiens contra justitiam, et excommunicare partem veram, et benedicere partem falsam, et dare indulgentias pugnantibus in parte falsa; et tunc Deus apponit benedictionem suam parti veræ, ut alia lata a papa ei non noceat. Quarto reprobat auctor modum faciendi papæ, et quod *nimis erravit in factis suis, dicens, Non vivit sane*, i. vita bona et Deo placita, *qui dispendit sacra vane*; et hoc dicit propter papam qui sacra et bona ecclesiæ quibus adjuvit regem Franciæ contra regem Angliæ vane expendidit et male, et *mane erit pastor alter*, et successor Sancti Petri ad regimen *gentis Romanæ*, i. ecclesiæ Romanæ et sancti Dei, *qui capiet sibi solium Petri plane*, i. expendit res ecclesiæ pertinentes ad solium Sancti Petri plane secundum voluntatem suam, et non secundum justitiam, nec ad conservationem justitiæ; *sed sibi mane*, i. ad suam destructionem, quia mane est verbum Græcum signans quod numeravit Deus regnum tuum et complevit illud, Danielis quinto, et sic Deus regnum papæ et ejus vitam abbreviabit propter peccata sua. Quinto ostendit auctor unam historiam contra papam, ostendendo *quod mala fecit expendendo sacra ecclesiæ vane*. *Pro quo est* notandum quod Danielis quinto habetur quomodo Baltasar rex Babylonis in convivio quod fecit optimatibus præcepit afferre vasa aurea quæ tulerat pater ejus rex Nabugodonosor de templo Jerusalem, ut biberent in eis rex et optimates ejus uxoresque ejus et concubinæ. Ideirco a Deo est missus articulus manus, qui scripsit in pariete, vidente rege, Mane, techel, phares, et hæc est interpretatio sermonis: Mane, numeravit Deus regnum tuum et complevit illud; techel, appensum est in statera et inventum est minus habens; phares, divisum est regnum tuum et datum est Medis et Persis. Hanc historiam tangit auctor, dicens quod *Balthasar in cœnis*, quas optimatibus suis fecerat, *potavit vasis amœnis*, quæ fuerant de auro et argento, *summo dicatis*, i. sacratis summo Deo æterno, *de templo vi spoliatis*, per Nabugodonosor regem et patrem prædicti Balthasar, et ille *didicit*, scilicet in cœna, *per techel et mane, phares*, i. per scripturam istam, seu per ista verba, *discussa plane*, i. clare exposita, *quod fuit inane*, et nimis

grave peccatum, *sacra tangere vane*, illa quo Deo sacrata fuerunt, quia pro illo facto fuit privatus regno. Et istam historiam intendit auctor adducere contra papam Clementem, qui male bona ecclesiæ expendidit fovendo falsam causam Franciæ.

Capitulum vj^tum^ pertractat unum bellum dispositum contra regem Anglia dum fuerat in obsidione Calesiæ, et quomodo frustrabatur.

Vix cum vi culli bis septem se sociabunt,
Gallorum pulli tauro bellum renovabunt.
Jam reboant bella, fer adhuc vexilla, puella;
Rex Saul erravit quærens occidere David,
Quem Deus elegit, ejus mandataque fregit,
Sortilegis credens, et ab ejus lege recedens.
In bello stratus fuit inde Saul sceleratus.
Est opus inane Christo contendere vane.
Cum comitatenses vibrabunt eminus enses,
Bussi burgenses, Bolones, Francigenenses,
Tanti pugnantes vix mundo sunt equitantes,
Quanti pro bellis veniunt fugientque novellis.
Judice cœlorum rumpetur turma malorum;
Falsus non stabit, Phi et lippus fugitabit,
Cum sit conflictus non expectabit ad ictus;
Qui semel est victus, est armis postea fictus,
Est nimis afflictus a Christo quisque relictus,
Descendensque fora descendet ad inferiora.
Non valet immo cadet qui victus ad infera vadit.
Regnum cœleste non cernet demone teste.

Sequitur expositio inde.—Vix cum vi culli. Istud capitulum, pertractans dispositionem belli contra regem Anglie existentem in obsidione Calesiæ, continet quinque dicta. Unde pro isto bello est notandum quod Calesienses obsessi miserunt regi Franciæ Philippo per nuncios quod non poterant amplius custodire villam sine ejus auxilio propter famem quam sustinuerunt; unde Philippus collegit magnum exercitum contra Anglicos, ut eos expugnaret in illa obsidione, et venit versus Calesiam, qui per nuncios audiens dispositionem et fortitudinem Anglicorum perterritus fugit sine adjutorio prestito Calesiensibus; et ista est materia hujus capituli.

Primo igitur ostendit auctor annum Domini in quo istud bellum disposuerunt, et invocat auxilium beatæ Virginis pro rege Edwardo. Pro quo est notandum quod istud bellum fuit dispositum *primo anno post bellum de Creey, licet non pervenit ad effectum,* scilicet anno Christi millesimo ccc^mo^xlvij^mo^; unde dicit auctor, *Vix cum vi culli,* i. numerus signatus per literas istarum dictionum, et *bis septem,* i. quatuordecem, *se sociabunt* in uno numero, dum resultat numerus annorum Christi M.ccc.xlvij., in quo *Gallorum pulli,* i. homines de Francia, *tauro bellum renovabunt,* ad renovendum cum de obsidione Calesiæ. *Jam reboant bella,* contra regem Angliæ, ideo tu Maria, mater Christi, *fer adhuc vexilla, puella,* regis Edwardi contra inimicos suos. Secundo ostendit auctor per historiam quod vanum est pugnare seu contendere contra ordinationem divinam et ejus voluntatem. Pro quo est notanda historia quod Saul rex, postquam audivit a Samuelo propheta quod Deus deponeret eum de regno et daret proximo suo David, persecutus est David multotiens ut eum destrueret, qui tandem in bello coangustatus suscitavit Samuelem per phitonissam, undè in bello die sequente fuit occisus secundum responsum Samuelis. Et hanc historiam alludit auctor, dicens, *Rex Saul erravit,* et male fecit, volens *occidere David, quem Deus elegit,* ad regnum Israel, et ipse Saul *ejus mandataque fregit, sortilegis credens,* quando per phitonissam suscitavit Samuelem, quod fuit contra mandatum legis, *recedens* igitur fuit in hoc *ab ejus lege, et inde Saul sceleratus,* et malus, *fuit in bello stratus,* in die sequente contra Philistæos; unde patet ex ista historia quod *est opus inane,* et fatuum, *Christi contendere vane, et pugnare fatue contra voluntatem* Christi. Nota quod istam historiam adducit contra regem Franciæ, qui vane pugnat contra regem Angliæ, cui Deus ordinavit regnum Franciæ vel suis successoribus. Tertio ostendit pugnatores congregatos pro illo bello, et qualiter virtute Dei rumpebantur sine conflictu; unde dicit, *Cum comitatenses,* i. homines de comitatibus, *vibrabunt eminus enses,* i. disponunt se ad bellum, a longe non audentes appropinquare, et *Bussi burgenses, Bolones, Francigenenses,* qui omnes congregati fuerunt in illo bello, et *tanti pugnantes vix mundo sunt equitantes quanti pro bellis venium fugientque novellis,* ita quod hic auctor innuit quod iste magnus numerus populi sicut venit ita fugiet sine conflictu, quia, *Judice cœlorum,* i. virtute Dei qui est justus judex cœlorum, *rumpetur turma malorum,* i. societas Francorum, qui recesserunt ad propria sicut venerant. Quarto ostendit auctor quod Philippus rex Franciæ propter istam totam congregationem non expectabit ad pugnandum, *sed ante conflictum fugiet, dicens, Falsus non stabit,* scilicet ad pugnandum, *Phi at lippus fugitabit,* et rex Franciæ Philippus fugiet. *Cum sit conflictus,* i. si fuisset conflictus, *non expectabit ad ictus,* quia, *qui semel est victus,* in bello, *est armis*

postea fictus, et non audens aggredi bellum pro timore, quia *quisque relictus a Christo*, in operibus suis *est nimis afflictus;* ita quod innuit auctor duplicem causam fugæ hujus regis. Prima causa fuit pusillanimitas de timore alterius belli in quo fuit victus. Secunda causa fuit quod Christus eum reliquit in ista causa sine auxilio, quia fuit injusta. Quinto ostendit finem damnabilem hujus regis, dicens, *Descendensque fora*, i. Parisius, ubi est principale forum Franciæ, *descendet ad inferiora*, i. inferna, propter falsitatem suam. *Non valet*, i. non habet nomen verum Valoys, *immo cadit*, scilicet a valore, *qui victus* est *ad infera vadit*, i. post omnia bella quibus victus fuerat transibit ad infernum, quia regnum cœleste non cernet nec videbit, *dæmone teste*, qui eum habebit in inferno. Et sic terminatur istud capitulum.

Capitulum vij^mum^ ostendit accidentia inter regna Anglie et Francie circa principium regni Johannis de Francia, unde versus.

Fama boat cannis Jo. dum sponsabitur annis,
Quod cum tyrannis edictis undique bannis,
Confidens mannis tauro nova bella parabit,
Non visis pannis tauri tamen hic fugitabit.
Nam fame vincetur, ipsum quoque turma sequetur.
Non binis annis durabit pompa Johannis,
In sano fonte perient milvi sine ponte,
Averso fronte qui nolunt cedere sponte.
Plangent infantes genitores bella parantes,
In postris verbis reseram tibi mystica ter bis.
Si bene rimentur, falsi non invenientur;
Si fuerit metrum falsum bene discute tetrum.
Cum canis intrabit, leo cum tauro volitabit;
Ambo mordebunt, canis et leo letha minebunt.
Augusti portis veniet pars optima sortis,
Scrutinium mortis, disperdet scuta cohortis,
Gallorum fortis qui post capietur in hortis.
Ca. per mordacem taurus capiet cruciatam,
Pa. pariet pacem pariendo perpetuatam.

Fama boat cannis. Istud capitulum, continens accidentia inter regna Anglie et Francie circa principium regni Johannis de Francia, habet sex dicta. Et tria sunt notanda in principio hujus

capituli. Primo est notandum quod Johannes quasi secundo anno post bellum de Crecy fuit coronatus, anno scilicet Christi M°ccc^mo^xlviij., post quem annum dicta in isto capitulo acciderunt. Secundo est notandum quod circa idem tempus fuit secundo uxoratus *post mortem primæ uxoris*. Tertio est notandum quod anno sequenti fuit illa generalis pestilentia qua tot hominum millia mortui sunt, anno scilicet Christi M°ccc^mo^xlix°. His premissis sequitur expositio literæ. Primo ostendit auctor quomodo fama fuit in Francia in principio regni Johannis quod ipse bellum tauro renovaret, dicens, *Fama boat cannis*, i. fama, seu rumor, per ora hominum multiplicatur; canna enim nomen æquivocum est, et ponitur pro arundine in qua canit, et pro canna gulæ, et pro quodam fluvio, sed hic accipitur pro canna gulæ in qua sonus rumorum formatur. *Jo. dum sponsabitur annis*, i. illo tempore quo Johannes disponsabitur, *quod cum tyrannis*, i. magnis dominis, quibus jungetur ex parte uxoris, *edictis undique bannis*, i. dum facta fuit solemnizatio et proclamatio matrimonii, quod papa *confidens mannis*, i. equis et palafridis suis. Mannus enim palafridus dicitur. *Tauro nova bella parabit*, i. ordinavit nova contra regem Angliæ; et nota quod ista ordinatio et fama non pervenit ad effectum, sicut cito patebit. Secundo ostendit auctor quomodo ista fama frustrabatur nec pervenit ad effectum. Pro quo est notandum quod rex Johannes non fecit bellum contra regem Angliæ a principio regni sui usque ad bellum de Peyters, in quo captus fuit; unde dicit auctor, *Non visis pannis tauri*, i. licet non videbat regem Angliæ, *tamen hic fugitabit*, i. desistet a proposito suo. *Nam fame vincetur*, i. pro penuria victualium non perficiet propositum suum. *Ipsum quoque turma sequetur*, i. communitas cum eo a proposito suo desistet, quia forte illo tempore cogitaverunt Gallici aliquod malum contra regem Angliæ, quod tamen non perficiebant. *Non binis annis durabit pompa Johannis*, vel quia in secundo anno coronationis suæ fuit mortalitas magna per quam sua pompa fuit remissa, vel quia nunquam fuit ita pomposus sicut fuit in duobus primis annis regni sui. Tertio ostendit stragem magnam hominum in quodam flumine de Sayn, dicens, *Milvi perient sine ponte*, i. tot homines quot signantur per literas hujus dictionis milvi, i. m^l^vij., *in sano fonte*, i. in tali aqua habente nomen Sayne, ubi illi occisi sunt, *qui nolunt cedere sponte*, seu dare liberum transitum, *averso fronte*, ab eis, *et plangent infantes*, i. pueri, *genitores bella parantes*, qui in illo loco occisi fuerunt; sed quando istud bellum factum fuerit, nescio. Scientes tamen historiam bene cognoscent. Quarto ostendit auctor quod in versibus sequentibus sunt mystica per magnum studium cognoscenda. *In postris verbis*, i. in versibus sequentibus, *reseram tibi mystica ter bis*. Et istud verbum potest tripliciter exponi. Primo, sic dicam tibi sex mirabilia quæ futura sunt. Secundo,

dicam tibi mystica et occulta sex annorum, scilicet a secundo anno regni Johannis usque ad bellum de Paytors, incipiens ibi completo pleno. Tertio potest exponi per quintam occultationem Gallice sic, *mystica ter bis*, i. *mervailles tresons*, quia forte aliqui fuerunt illo tempore falsi homines regi. Sed istam tertiam occultationem seu sententiam non intelligit auctor hic; unde dicit, *Si bene rimentur*, illa scilicet verba, *falsi non invenientur*, i. ibi non accipientur pro falsis hominibus, seu pro *tresons*, et vel si isti versus sequentes *bene rimentur*, et exponentur, *falsi non invenientur*, licet ad communem intellectum falsi appareant, et ideo si fuerit metrum falsum, accipiendo intellectum versus sicut litera sonat. *Bene discute tetrum*, i. bene discutias occultam sententiam litere et obscuram per occultationes auctoris, et sic veritas invenietur. Et nota quod illa sex occulta vj. annorum patebunt in istis tribus capitulis sequentibus. Quinto ostendit auctor primum mysticum, scilicet primam magnam pestilentiam, factam anno Christi M°ccc°xlix°, dicens, *Cum canis intrabit*, i. cum illa stella nociva in cœlo quæ canis primus dicitur oriatur cum sole, quod est quando sol est in fine cancri in mense Julii in diebus caniculariibus, qui sic dicuntur ab illa stella, tunc *leo cum tauro volitabit*, i. illa duo signa in cœlo, se quartili aspectu respicientia, in cœlo circumvolverunt, et in leonem sol cito post intrabit, et tunc *ambo mordebunt canis et leo*, per aeris pestilentiam quem cavebunt in terram, mordebunt et destruent homines, *et letha manebunt*, i. mortalitatem facient. Hoc lethum, lethi, idem est quod mors, et ista pestilentia predicta illo tempore anni incepit sicut innuit iste auctor. Sexto ostendit quando illa pestilentia se transtulit ad Franciam ad Anglicorum utilitatem, dicens, *Pars optima sortis veniet*, i. bona fortuna et bona sors Anglicis accidit, *Augusti portis*, i. in fine mensis Augusti, quia illo tempore incepit pestilentia in Anglia cessare, et transivit ad Franciam, ubi *scrutinium mortis*, i. operatio illius pestilentie, *disperdet scuta cohortis*, i. fortitudinem et arma communitatis Francie; quia cohors proprie dicitur multitudo rusticorum, illos forte ordinavit Johannes ad resistendum regi Anglie in primo conflictu si declinasset tunc ad Franciam, sed per pestilentiam Deus disperdet scuta cohortis. *Gallorum fortis*, i. illorum Gallorum regis Johannes quem fortem hic dicit, *qui post capietur in hortis*, in bello scilicet de Peyters; et hic aperte predixit captionem regis Johannis de Francia. Septimo ostendit auctor quomodo rex Anglie propter illam pestilentiam expectavit a bellis suis, et quomodo papa nitebatur fecisse pacem inter regna, dicens, quod *taurus capiet cruciatam*, i. dolorem et cruciatum de morte gentis suæ. *Ca. per mordacem*, i. per canem mordacem predictum, scilicet stella. *Pa. pariet pacem*, i. papa faciet pacem inter regna, *pariendo perpetuatam*, volens facere eam perpetuatam, quamvis ita non factum fuerit. Et sic terminatur capitulum.

Capitulum viij^m^ ostendit quomodo rex Anglie tardatur a proposito suo de Francia.

Virgine vibrante non excillabit ut ante,
Immo Deo dante confinget cum fugitante.
Non collidetur taurus cum ipse labetur;
Nam supponetur per eum qui justa tuetur.
Gratia tardatur cum peccatum dominatur;
Qui nimis inflatur peccato non vacuatur.
Spreta mensura vacillant undique jura;
Inter omne quod est mensuram ponere prodest.
Clamor bidentis boat auribus omnipotentis,
Innocue gentis sanguis queritur morientis.
Non sine tormentis rapitur lana gregis egentis;
Dilanians gregem rex non servat bene legem.
Cedentem legem summus fert cedere regem;
Excorians staurum, staurum consumit et aurum.
David peccavit quia Barsabe cumagitavit,
Et magis erravit Uriam cum nece stravit;
Tertio peccavit cum gentem communeravit.
Omnipotens tandem culpam punivit eandem,
Non tamen omnino, veluti pro crimine trino,
David mactare, seu cum penis macerare;
Justus erat David, ideo bona multiplicavit.
Contritus corde meruit esse sine sordo,
Eructans vere "Deus, alme, mei miserere."

Sequitur expositio versuum.—Virgine vibrante. Istud capitulum, ostendens quomodo rex Anglie tardatur a proposito suo propter peccata sua, continet quinque dicta. Primo ostendit quod rex Anglie illo tempore declinabat ad alias mulieres quam ad uxorem suam, unde punietur, sed non ad mortem, dicens, *Virgine vibrante*, i. dum aliqua virgo quam rex diliget vibrabit se et se prebuerit placitam regi et amabilem, *non excillabit ut ante*, i. non manebit cum uxore sicut prius, quia illa virgo forte subtrahet appetitum et dilectionem regis ab uxore sua; et nota quod excillare idem est quod manere cum uxore propria. Sed *Deo dante*, i. permittente, taurus *confinget cum fugitante*, i. faciet et finget sibi excusationes

recedere a regina ut cum prædicta virgine manere poterit. Sed propter illud peccatum *non collidetur taurus*, i. punietur ad mortem; *cum ipse labetur*, i. recipiet aliquod grande malum propter illud peccatum, de quo tamen relevabitur; *nam supponetur*, i. supportabitur, *per eum qui justa tuetur*, i. per Deum qui custodiet eum ad vendicandum justitiam suam in Francia. Secundo ostendit quomodo gratia regis tardatur illo tempore propter peccata sua, dicens, *Gratia tardatur*, a rege, *cum peccatum dominatur* in eo, quia *spreta mensura*, quando scilicet mensura spernitur ab aliquo, *vacillant undique jura*, et debilitàntur, et ideo, *inter omne quod est, mensuram ponere prodest*. Innuit auctor quod reges illo tempore excessit mensuram in factis suis, et primo in peccato prædicto. Secundo propter occisione gentis innocentis in Francia. Tertio propter rapinam et exactionem in Anglia; unde dicit auctor, *Clamor bidentis*, i. rumor et oratio duarum gentium Angliæ et Franciæ, *boat auribus omnipotentis*, i. devenit ad aures Dei, ubi *innocuæ gentis sanguis quæritur morientis*, i. sanguis communitatis Franciæ, quæ nihil ei nocebat quæritur apud Deum, *et lana gregis egentis*, Angliæ quem ab eis abstulit. *Non rapitur sine tormentis*, quibus pro istis factis rex postea punietur. Tertio ostendit auctor quod rex illo facto tria mala incurrebat. Primo fregit legem quam obligatur observare; unde dicit auctor, *Dilanians gregem rex*, i. populum suum destruendo per injustas exactiones, *non servat bene legem*, ad quam obligatur. Secundo submittit se magnis periculis per hoc quod egit contra legem, quia *summus fert cadere regem*, i. Deus permittit regem perculi et castigari, *cadentem legem*, illum scilicet qui non servat legem, sed frangit. Et tertio rex sic faciendo destruit et populum et thesaurum suum; quia rex *exorians staurum*, i. expolians populum, *staurum consumit et aurum*, quia destruet populum suum et aurum quod ab eis habere poterit si indigeret. Quarto inducit historiam de rege David, ostendens ejus triplex peccatum. Pro quo est notandum quod David in tribus principaliter peccavit; primo in luxuria, quando concubuit cum Bersabee uxore Uriæ marito suo vivente; secundo in homicidio, quando Uriam fecit occidere ut Bersabe haberet in uxorem; tertio in superbia, quando fecit populum suum numerare, unde magnam stragem sustinuit per mortalitatem factam angelo ultore. Et ista tangit auctor, dicens, *David peccavit, quia Bersabe clunagitavit*, i. quia concubuit cum Bersabe; *et magis erravit Uriam cum nece stravit*, i. quando fecit illum bonum militem pro uxore sua occidi. *Tertio peccavit, quia gentem connumeravit*, populum suum ut cognosceret quantum populum ad arma bellica haberet. Quinto ostendit auctor quod Deus non punivit David ad pœnam condignam tiplici peccato propter pœnitentiam et justitiam suam, dicens, *Omnipotens tandem culpam punivit eandem*, in David per multas tribulationes, quando proprius filius eum in regno prosequebatur,

et tanta strages per angelum fiebat in populo. *Non tamen* Deus punivit eum *omnino, veluti pro crimine trino*, nec voluit *David mactare seu cum penis macerare*, et causa fuit, quia *justus fuit David, ideo bona multiplicavit, et contritus corde*, de peccatis suis, *meruit esse sine sorde*, i. labe peccati. *Eructans vere*, i. clamans ad Deum, in psalmo. *Deus, alme, mei miserere*, i. invocando divinam misericordiam. Nota quod auctor inducit istam historiam in hoc loco pro rege, qui jam multis maculatur peccatis, ad similitudinem David; Deus tamen non puniet eum ad plenum pro omnibus illis peccatis, sed pro aliquibus, propter misericordiam quam a Deo recipiet pro justitia et contritione sua. Et sic terminatur istud *capitulum*.

Capitulum ix^m^ ostendit quanta mala Gallici sustinuerunt propter eorum superbiam et alia peccata; unde versus.

In cœlis natus fastus fuit et reprobatus;
Corruit in terram, commovit undique guerram
Inter cognatos bellum commovit amatos;
Fecit et ingratos proprio patri fore natos.
Gallos cæcavit et eos saligia stravit;
Destruxit Cyrus ob peccatum Babylones;
Peccati virus sic Gallorum glabriones.
Blado vastato, vineto non reparato,
Urbes fœcundæ fient statim sitibundæ;
Urbes jocundæ ferientur fulmine fundæ.
Deficiet granum, castrum fiet cito vanum.
Destructis granis, decrit mox copia panis;
Pœna fames panis, venter fluxu fit inanis.
Membris *sanctorum* loca *quæ* fuerant *decorata*,
Laudibus illorum dum parent sunt mediata.
Septima pars terræ periet post tristia guerræ;
Oportet ferre, consumunt pinguia terræ.
Summum læserunt cui jussa decem perierunt.

Sequitur expositio versuum.—In cœlis natus. Istud capitulum, continens stragem Gallorum pro peccatis suis, habet quinque dicta. In primo declarat conditiones superbiæ, et quomodo per eam, et propter alia mortalia peccata, destruentur. Pro quo est

notandum quod Gallici primo propter fastum et superbiam eorum inceperunt bella inter regna, sicut habetur capitulo quinto primo distinctionis; secundo propter superbiam et fastum patiebantur destructionem et famem tempore belli de Creey, capitulo primo hujus distinctionis; et tertio jam specialiter ostendit mala eis supervenientia propter peccata sua, et specialiter propter fastum eorum, dicens, *Fastus fuit in cœlis natus*, ubi Lucifer primo incepit superbiam, quando voluit esse similis Altissimo, et ibi fastus ejus fuit *reprobatus*, quando illum angelum pulcherrimum ad pœnas inferni æternaliter propter suam superbiam detrudit; et tunc superbia *corruit in terram*, cum illo angelo damnato, et *commovit undique guerram*, et prælia, in tantum quod *inter cognatos bellum commovit amatos*. Et hoc dicit auctor propter bellum commotum inter regem Angliæ et Franciæ, qui cognati fuerant. *Fecit et ingratos proprio patri fore natos*, i. superbia fecit filios proprio patri fore ingratos; et hoc dicit auctor, quia filii regis Johannis erunt ingrati proprio patri, et sic resistentes in regno Franciæ, *Gallos cæcavit* superbia et fastus, non permittendo eos videre justitiam regis Angliæ, nec casum eis inflictum a Deo, quia justitiæ resistebant, et ideo *eos saligia stravit*, i. septem peccata mortalia eos destruxerunt et straverunt, sub potestate Anglicorum. Et nota quod in ista dictione *saligia* continentur septem literæ designantes septem peccata mortalia. Per *s*, primam literam, designatur superbia, quæ est primum peccatum mortale; per *a*, secundam literam, designatur avaritia, secundum peccatum mortale; per *l*, tertiam literam, designatur luxuria, tertium peccatum mortale; per *i*, quartam literam, designatur invidia, quartum peccatum mortale; per *g*, quintam literam, designatur gula, quintum peccatum mortale; per *i*, sextam literam, designatur ira, sextum peccatum mortale; per *a*, septimam literam, designatur accidia, septimum peccatum mortale. Quia igitur Gallici omni peccato mortali fuerant maculati, unde strati sunt ab Anglicis, dicit auctor *et eos saligia stravit*. Secundo ostendit auctor per historiam quod sicut Cyrus rex Persarum destruxit Babylones propter peccata sua, ita Gallici propter peccata sua destruentur. Prima est notandum quod Cyrus rex Persarum subjugavit sibi quasi totum regnum orientis, inter quæ regna destruxit regnum Babyloniæ propter peccatum Nabugodonosor, qui Jerusalem destruxit et vasa de templo Domini abstulit. Unde dicit auctor, *Destruxit Cyrus ob peccatum Babylones*, i. homines de Babilonia, propter peccata sua, et sic *peccati virus*, et malitia, destruet *Gallorum glabriones*, i. populum de Gallia. Et nota quod secundum Catholicon glabrio tria significat, scilicet imberbem, calvum, turmosum; et designat quod tria genera hominum destruentur a bellis in Francia. Per calvum designantur senes, calvitia infecti; per imberbem designantur juvenes sine barbis; per turmosum

designantur pauperes, sive communitates populi, qui destruentur in Francia per bella et alias strages supervenientes propter peccata sua. *Tertio ostendit auctor destructionem bladi et vini per Anglicos* in Francia futuram, et famem in civitatibus; unde dicit auctor, *Blado vastato*, i. quando bladum vastatur. Et nota quod *bladum dicitur seges dum est viridis in bladis et foliis existens*, et sic signat Anglicos tali tempore anni ad Franciam venturos. Et *vineto non reparato*, i. dum non poterant reparare vineas suas *propter guerram, et tunc urbes fœcundæ*, i. *nobiles de Francia, fient cito sitibundæ*, i. famelici, propter destructionem bladi et vini in Francia. Et *urbes jocundæ*, in ludis et solatiis, *ferientur fulmine fundæ*, i. percutientur cum lapide fundæ, Anglice *engyn*, qui modo fulminis percutit magna vi et virtute; et illo tempore *deficiet granum* in Francia, et *castrum fiet cito vanum*, quia sine pane et vino et victualibus castrum non valet præbere auxilium, et, *destructis granis*, in Francia, *deerit mox copia panis*, ita quod illo tempore erit Gallicorum *pœna fames panis*, quia non comedent panem in saturitate, et *venter fluxu fit inanis*, vel forte propter fluxum quem illo tempore sustinebunt, vel quia venter sit inanis ad fluxum, quia non comedent, unde fluxus ventris rationabiliter cansaretur. Quarto ostendit quod una causa destructionis Gallicorum fuit eorum indevotio, quod sanctos suos non digne honorabant; unde dicit quod *loca quæ fuerant decorata membris sanctorum*, ubi sancti sepulti sunt, *dum parent laudibus eorum*, i. dum laudaverunt illos sanctos et confidebant in eorum auxiliis, *sunt mediata*, i. fuerunt in mediatione coram Deo per preces illorum sanctorum, et conservata a ruina; quasi diceret quod quia Gallici desistent a laudibus sanctorum et a bona devotione, eveniet super eos destructio per Anglicos in multis bellis. Quinto ostendit finaliter magnam stragem propter inobedientiam decem mandatorum Dei, quæ non conservabant; unde dicit, *Septima pars terræ*, i. Franciæ, *periet post tristia guerræ*, i. in illo tempore pacis post guerram et prælia; et hoc *oportet ferre* Gallicos et sustinere. *Consumunt pinguia terræ*, illa videlicet quæ post prælia relicta sunt tunc. consumunt Gallici, vel quia Anglici supervenientes illa consument pinguia. Et dictum est quod sic destruantur Gallici quia *summum læserunt* in peccatis suis, *cui jussa decem perierunt*, i. decem mandata Dei neglexerunt, seu non custodierunt, et propter negligentiam decem præceptorum septima pars terræ destruetur. Et sic terminatur istud capitulum.

Capitulum ix^m^ continet bella et facta Anglicorum ab anno Christi M°ccc°liiij^to^, etc. Versus.

Completo pleno bellorum tempore deno,
Pax erit in terra, rediet sed barrida guerra.
Milvi sex lustra, cuculi vim non cape frustra;
In precedenti da tempore quo fero menti;
Hoc quatuor cullos Gallorum tempore pullos
Vincent caudati, pro caudis improperati.
Scotorum terra ballivi pro vice guerra,
Plebs obstringillis stringetur cedere villis;
Nam mors pupillis se festinabit in illis.
Rex qui cuncta regit falsos per bella subegit.
Scotos ballivus domitabit dummodo vivus;
Nam penetrativus erit auxilii sibi rivus.
Ast ablativus erit ipsi morte nocivus,
Accusativus quia non fiet genitivus.
Propter mercedem taurum firmabit heredem,
Et soror insignis, precibus mulcendo benignis,
Scotis indignis foret optima pacta malignis.
Laus et honor crescet penetranti quando senescet.
Quod sit fidelis David pandetur obelis.
Turrim mactarum Karolus dux Londoniarum
Intrabit, taurum capitabit et afferet aurum.
Tauro signatum remanet tamen intemeratum.
Lux cuculum fallit, dum ter sex cantica psallit.
Tunc taurus gregem ducet per pinguia prata;
Non metuet regem grex quin rapiet sibi grata.
Nullus deliro credat pro carmine miro.
Jam canis intravit, rugiens leo me maceravit;
Expedit ut credo taceam, cerebrum quia lædo.

Completo pleno. Istud capitulum, continens bella et facta Anglicorum per vij. annos, habet ix. dicta. Primo ostendit auctor tempora belli de Peyters contra Gallicos et captionis Berewyci per Scotos. Pro quo tria sunt notanda. Primo notandum est quod iste auctor primo ponit tempus belli de Peyters quam captionis Berewyci,

quamvis captio Berewyci præcessit; et causa est quia numerus belli de Peyters dependet ex versibus precedentibus, et numerus captionis Berewyci clare in numeris ostendetur. Secundo est notandum quod eodem ordine ponit bellum de Peyters ante captionem Berewyci, sicut posuit tempora, ut in expositione patebit. Tertio est notandum quod a bello de Creey usque ad bellum de Peyters fuerunt decem anni completi præter quinque dies. His præmissis, sequitur expositio. *Completo pleno bellorum tempore deno,* i. dum plene completur tempus decem annorum a principio bellorum quæ inceperunt apud Creey, *Pax erit in terra,* infra illos annos quando rex multum quievit a bellis, illis tamen decem annis plene completis, *rediet sed barrida guerra,* i. forte bellum; et ita factum est, quia completis plene decem annis a bello de Creey, commisso anno Christi M°ccc^mo^xlvj^to^, xiiij. kal. Octobr., rediet bellum de Peyters, commissum anno Christi M°ccc^mo^lvj^to^, xiij. kal. Octobr.; et sic ostendit auctor tempus hujus belli. Ostendit tempus captionis Berewyci, dicens, *Milvi, sex lustra, cuculi vim non cape frustra,* quasi diceret numerum signatum per istam dictionem milvi et *sex lustra,* i. triginta annos, lustrum enim est spatium quinque annorum, et numerum signatum per literas hujus dictionis *cuculi;* sed *vim non cape frustra,* i. numerum signatum per ultimam literam hujus dictionis vim, quia superflueret et esset frustra, sed omnibus aliis numeris conjunctis efficitur numerus annorum Christi M.ccc.liiij., qui fuit annus Christi tempore captionis Berewyci. Unde dicit auctor, *In præcedenti de tempore quæ fero menti,* i. in prædictis versibus dicas et cognoscas tempora quæ ego habeo in mente mea. Et nota quod dicit notabiliter tempora ad designandum quod in prædictis versibus duos numeros ostendebat, signantes dua tempora prædicta. Secundo ostendit auctor bellum de Peyters et victoriam Anglicorum super Gallicos in illo conflictu. Pro quo est notandum quod Edwardus de Wodestoke, primogenitus et hæres regis Angliæ, commisit bellum in Francia contra Gallicos apud Peyters, ubi Johannes rex Francorum captus est, cum militibus nobilibus Franciæ, anno Christi M.ccc.lvj°; unde dicit auctor, *Hoc tempore caudati pro caudis improperati,* i. Anglici, qui a Gallicis caudati dicuntur in improperium, *vincent Gallorum pullos,* i. homines de Gallia, *quatuor cullos,* i. regem cum tribus filiis, quos auctor vocat improperando cullos, sicut Gallici vocant nos caudatos. Et illi quatuor victi fuerant in illo bello, ubi rex cum uno filio captus est, et duo alii de bello fugierunt. Tertio ostendit auctor captionem Berwyci et destructionem per Scotos factam. Pro quo est notandum quod Scoti furtive de nocte intraverunt Berwycum super muros, et Anglicos ejecerunt de civitate, eos expoliando et occidendo multos eorum, anno Christi M.ccc.liiij°, ut prædictum est; unde dicit auctor, *Plebs obstringillis,* i. obstructa et captiva, *stringetur cedere villis,* i. cogetur recedere de villis Berwyci, quæ

sita est *Scotorum terra*, pro guerra et bellis, *pro vice ballivi*, quia tunc rediderunt Scoti vicem Anglicis pro destructione quam habuerint per bellum Edwardi de Balliolle apud Halydoun, quo tempore Anglici ceperunt Berwycum. *Nam mors pupillis se festinabit in illis*, per stragem Scotorum in illo conflictu, quia *Rex qui cuncta regit*, i. Deus, *falsos per bella subegit*, i. Anglicos, qui tunc propter falsitatem suam subacti sunt et spoliati per bella predicta. Quarto ostendit auctor quod per totum tempus vitæ Edwardi de Balliolle Scoti semper erunt subjecti Anglicis, propter ejus justitiam et auxilium dominorum Angliæ sibi adherentium; unde dicit auctor, *Scotos ballivus domitabit dummodo vivus*, i. Edwardus de Balliolle domitabit Scotos per totam vitam suam. *Nam penetrativus*, i. dominus de Percy, *erit auxilii sibi rivus*, i. erit sibi in auxilium. *Ast ablativus erit ibi morte nocivus*, i. auferens eum de vita ad mortem ipsi nocebit, quia per mortem domini de Percy Edwardus de Balliolle multum perdidit auxilium. *Ablativus* erit Edwardus de Scotia, *quia non fiet genitivus*, nec habebit progeniem quæ post mortem suam poterit regnum Scotiæ vendicare. Et nota quod auctor loquendo de isto Edwardo, tribuit sibi omnem casum declinationis in quarto capitulo primæ distinctionis, et in isto, scilicet, nominativum, genitivum, dativum, accusativum, vocativum, ablativum. Quinto ostendit quomodo predictus Edwardus de Baliolle firmabit regem Angliæ heredem suum, et quomodo soror regis Angliæ juvabit Scotos illo tempore. Pro quo est notandum quod rex Angliæ graviter sustinens captionem Berwyci, ordinavit se contra Scotiam circa natalitium Domini, prius sibi jure predicti Edwardi concesso quod habuit in Scotia; ideo dicit auctor de eo, *Propter mercedem taurum firmabit heredem*, i. propter aliquod quod rex Angliæ sibi donabit, concedet sibi justitiam hereditatis in regno Scotiæ. Sed postquam villa Berwyci per adventum regis Anglicis reddita fuerat, regina Scotiæ, soror regis Angliæ, precibus suis pactum pacis apud fratrem suum meruit; ideo dicit auctor, *Et soror insignis*, i. nobilis, regis Angliæ, *precibus mulcendo benignis* fratrem suum, *Scotis indignis*, propter falsitates suas, *fert optima pacta malignis*, inter eos et regem Angliæ. Sexto removet falsum rumorem de domino de Percy, qui infidelis regi Angliæ a pluribus dicebatur, dicens, *Laus et honor crescet penetranti quando senescet*, i. domino de Percy in senectute sua, scilicet apud Dunolmiam, in quo bello ipse fuit unus de principalibus ducibus quando rex Scotiæ captus erat, ubi sua fidelitas ostendebatur; *quod sit fidelis David pandetur obelis*, i. ostendetur ejus fidelitas cum sagittis quibus David percussus fuerat in facie in bello prædicto. Septimo ostendit liberationem Karoli de Bloys de turri Londoniarum, facta sua redemptione, dicens quod *Karolus dux mactarum*, i. gregum occisarum seu populi destructi, *intrabit turrim Londoniarum*, ubi incarceratus

fuerat, *capitabit taurum*, i. deponet primam literam hujus dictionis taurum, *et afferet aurum*, pro sua redemptione, quod remanebit de ista dictione taurum; prima litera deposita, efficitur aurum. *Tauro signatum*, i. solutum, *remanet tamen intemeratum*, i. infractum, quod iste Karolus remanebat ad propria. Octavo ostendit auctor transitum regis Angliæ in Francia anno Christi M.ccc^mo^lx., et destructionem illo tempore factum. Pro quo est notandum quod rex Angliæ illo tempore transivit ad Franciam cum magno exercitu; et multam ibi fecit destructionem, cujus tempus auctor ostendit, dicens, *Lux cuculum fallit*, i. numerus signatus per literas istarum duarum dictionum lux et cuculum decipit calculantem, *dum ter sex cantica psallit*, i. dum iste numerus signatus per ter sex accipitur secundum signationem dictionis quod tunc tantum signaret xviij.; sed debet accipi per signationem literæ, scilicet x., et tunc sunt xxx., qui numerus conjunctus cum numero signato per literas duarum dictionum præcedentium, scilicet *lux et cuculus*, faciunt numerum annorum Christi M.ccc.lx. *Tunc taurus gregem ducet per pinguia prata*, et bona Franciæ, et *non metuet regem grex quin capiet sibi grata*, i. placita in terra Franciæ prædicta. Et hic impletur prophetia exposita in capitulo præcedenti, ubi dicit auctor de destructione Gallorum propter peccata sua, *quod oportet ferre, consumunt pinguia terræ*. Nono auctor tacendo propter capitis infirmitatem secundam distinctionem hujus prophetiæ terminat, dicens, *Nullus deliro credat pro carmine miro*, quasi diceret, nullus credat me errare propter mirabilem modum scribendi. *Jam canis intravit*, i. stella quæ canis primus dicitur oritur; *rugiens leo me maceravit*, i. color solis existentis in leone impedivit me multum in infirmitate mea, et ideo *expedit ut credo taceam*, a prophetia, *cerebrum quia lædo*, propter æstus illius temporis, et forte in isto versu prædixit infirmitatem capitis ex qua multi homines moriebantur, quæ accidit solo existente in leone, anno Christi millesimo ccc^o^lxj^o^; vel per canem et leonem notat bestias sibi apparentes tempore prophetiæ, quæ sibi dixerunt seu ostenderunt quod quiesceret a prophetia propter cerebri læsionem. Et sic terminatur secunda distinctio hujus prophetiæ.

Hic incipit tertia distinctio istius prophetiæ. Capitulum i., unde versus.

Me timor invadit describere quæ nocitura;
Stultus sæpe cadit, reputans se scire futura.
Sed quia sunt pura tauri per singula jura,
Sic mihi fit cura de tauro scribere plura.

Nam pater in cœlis, qui verbo cuncta creavit,
Tauri fidelis rectum bene notificavit.
Sic ego de justo scribam, madeo quia musto,
Signis obscuras hic derivabo figuras.
Qui mala præfatur de magnis improperatur,
Et plus culpatur qui falsidicus reprobatur.
Quam mala præcinere de magnis nulo tacere;
Solus secura novit Deus ipse futura.
Auctorum dictis confidas carmine fictis,
Quicquid delirant reges plectuntur Achivi;
Qui calles gyrant ferientur in inguine vivi.
Scribitur in libris, fluxus nocet undique fibris;
Extirpat fluxus pollutos crimine luxus.
Cari perdentur, planctus David rapientur,
Namque repentina fiet gregis ipsa morina;
Rex cum regina transibunt absque ruina.
Classes quassabit moys et pir tecta cremabit.
Quem sublimabit Deus ipsum purificabit;
Et castigabit in mundo quem decorabit.
Unda maris lavit quos luxus contaminavit;
Ignis purgavit quos fastus commaculavit.
Taurus ad staurum remeabit et afferet aurum.

Sequitur expositio istorum versuum.—Me timor. Istis igitur capitulis sic præmissis, sequitur de expositione literæ, primitus de capitulo primo, in quo auctor resumit suum prophetiam et predicit *unam pestilentiam fluxus et destructionem hominum per* ignem et aquam; et istud capitulum continet quatuor dicta. Primo enim dicit se timere describere nociva quæ sequuntur, tamen propter jura pura tauri ea describit, dicens, *Me timor invadit*, quasi diceret ego timeo, *describere quæ nocitura*, i. ista quæ sequuntur, quæ sunt valde nociva per pestilentias et per destructiones hominum multis modis, et propter mala statuta, sive propter regimen regni illo tempore, vel propter tribulationes quas taurus sustinebit, de quibus dicetur capitulo quarto, et ostendit causam, quia *stultus sæpe cadit*, in errores, *reputans se scire futura*, i. credens se scire futura cum tamen *ignoret. Sed isto non obstante, quia jura tauri*, quæ scilicet habet in regno Franciæ, *sunt pura per singula*, i. sine scrupulo conscientiæ, ideo sic *fit mihi cura*, i. voluntas et desiderium, *de tauro scribere plura*, quæ contingent sibi. *Nam pater in cœlis*, scilicet pater æternus, *qui verbo cuncta*

creavit, in principio, *rectum bene notificavit*, i. jus tauri fidelis, scilicet regis Angliæ. Secundo ostendit quod consequenter obscure scribit per figuras, quia de magnis malis non vult dicere aperte, ne sibi improperetur, dicens, *Ego scribam sic de justo*, scilicet de rege Angliæ, et *hic derivabo obscuras figuras*, i. diversos modos loquendi et obscurandi in signis, i. in occultatibus in principio libri notatis in secundo præambulo. *Quia madeo musto*, i. quia inspiratus sum potu et doctrina Spiritus Sancti, de cujus doctrina dicitur, musto madere deputant, quos spiritus repleverat, et volo dicere occulte; quia *qui male præfatur de magnis*, i. prædicit aliqua mala de dominis sive de malis quæ accidunt regno, *improperatur*, scilicet ab aliis dominis qui ejus librum audiunt, sicut quondam fuit de prophetis Judæorum, qui puniti erant et interfecti pre veris prophetis. Sed cum propheta *plus culpatur*, scilicet a Deo et hominibus, *qui falsidicus reprobatur*, in suis dictis, et ideo *malo tacere de magnis* et silere de istis periculis magnis infra notandis, quam *mala præcinere* quæ ventura sunt. Sed quia ego sum instructus et doctus per Spiritum Sanctum, et oportet quod faciam secundum voluntatem sui, non accipias istam prophetiam tanquam ex voluntate et ordinatione mea procedentem, sed ex voluntate et doctrina Dei, qui non fallitur, quia *ipse solus Deus*, et non homo nec angelus, *novit futura secura*, i. quæ venient ex certa securitate. Tertio ostendit unam pestilentiam de fluxu futuram propter peccata regum, quam rex et regina bene transibunt sine morte; et forte istam pestilentiam sustinuerunt bellatores, quando rex fuit in Francia juxta Parisius, quando multi mortui sunt, vel forte ventura est adhuc infra breve; dicit enim, *confidas dictis fictis*, i. des credulidatem dictis poeticis auctoris, scilicet Horatii carmine, i. primo libro epistolario, ubi versus sequens ponitur, *Quicquid delirant reges*, i. errando committunt, *plectuntur Achivi*, i. milites et homines qui luent, quasi diceret quod populus propter peccata regum punietur, quod contingit, quia *qui calles gyrant*, i. qui circuent occultas semitas, cujusmodi sunt exploratores in bellis, vel qui circuent terras debellare eas, *ferientur in inguine vivi*, i. punientur in ano seu in inguine dum vivunt; quia *scribitur in libris*, scilicet medicorum et aliorum auctorum, *quod fluxus nocet undique fibris*, i. ventri et venis interioribus, quod jam continget propter peccata luxuriæ vel regis vel papæ, quia qui gaudent in locis occultis per luxuriam in loco digne punientur secreto. Unde *fluxus extirpat*, i. destruit et occidit *pollutos* et maculatos *crimine luxus*, per luxuriam. *Cari perdentur*, scilicet in illa pestilentia, et nimis dilecti regis et aliis, et eos *planctus David rapientur*, quia amici dolebunt de morte eorum, sicut David de morte Saul et Jonathæ, secundo Regum capitulo primo, ubi dicitur: "Planxit autem David planctum hujus super Saul et "Jonatham filium ejus," et jussit flere Israel de interfectis suis et

vulneratis. Et forte isti fuerunt domini qui moriebantur in Anglia infra breve tempus, sicut dux Lancastriæ, comes del Marche, comes Northamptoniæ, et alii domini. *Namque repentina fiet gregis ipsa morina*, quæ facta fuit anno Christi M.ccc^{mo}lxj., circa illud tempus quo ista dicta sunt. Sed *rex et regina*, scilicet Angliæ, *transibunt absque ruina*, mortis in illa pestilentia. Quarto ostendit unam destructionem futuram Anglicorum per ignem super terram et per undas maris, dicens, *Aloys*, i. aqua, *quassabit classes*, i. franget seu debilitabit et per tempestates totaliter destruet, et *pir*, i. ignis, *cremabit*, i. ardet, *tecta*, quia forte superveniet aliquis magnus ignis super Angliam, vel super regem in aliqua obsidione, sicut patebit in quarto capitulo hujus distinctionis, ubi istam materiam clarius pertractat. Quia *quem Deus sublimabit*, scilicet ad vitam æternam, *ipsum purificabit*, per tales tribulationes et angustias in ista vita pro peccatis suis, *et in mundo castigabit*, per tales pressuras, *quem decorabit*, scilicet corona gloriæ in vita æterna; et hoc cum condignis pœnis, quia *unda maris lavit*, scilicet in naufragio, *quos luxus contaminavit*, i. illos qui fuerant maculati cum luxuria, et *ignis purgavit quos fastus*, i. superbia, *commaculavit*. Unde nota propter luxuriam et superbiam fient isto duo destructiones et pestilentiæ; et sequitur quod *taurus remeabit ad staurum*, scilicet de Francia, illo tempore, anno Christi scilicet M^{o}ccc.lxj^{o}, ad Angliam, *et afferet aurum*, quasi diceret quod non venit propter defectum auri, sicut multotiens solebat, sed afferet et reportabit secum aurum ad Angliam. Et sic terminatur istud capitulum.

Capitulum ij^{m} ostendit accidentia regni post illam pestilentiam, et conditiones diversorum hominum illo tempore, et opera eorum.

Omnibus hoc dico, ne se subdant inimico.
Frontibus in stauri contrita littera prima
Sculpetur, tauri ne grex feriatur in ima.
Tau consignati mare transibunt meditati.
Nomen virtutis est taurus, sicque salutis.
Tau crux formatur, rus rusticus insinuatur;
Rusticus ipse crucis transibit ad ardua lucis.
Hoc dico plane, vulvam non laudo Dianæ,
Quæ taurum mane mulcet verbum per inane.
Dum vacat his bellis, hanc mallem colere collis,
Regnantem stellis precibus rogitare novellis.

Est mihi res certa, mulier sit fraude referta ;
Fercula fert follis bombinans fœmina bellis.
Dum multat taxa, non fiet gratia laxa.
Sic opus inceptum laxum patietur ineptum,
Ac fient tuti Galli pro nomine scuti.
Nulla pejor pestis quam familiaris amicus ;
Traulus erit testis, qui tauro fiet iniquus.
Spirans ut Saulus, tandem periet malo traulus.
Seduus et blæsus, hircus genitalia læsus,
Panniculos cæsus, glaucus, sic fulvus, obesus.
Dum mel in ore gerent, taurum retro pungere quærent.
Fraudibus illorum pignus rumpetur amorum ;
Fraus tamen illorum nudabitur arte suorum.
Per pannos cæsos animos monstro tibi læsos ;
In bello tales nulli fient speciales.
Undecies anno fiet mutatio panno.
Sic variis pannis erit exul copia scannis.
Curtato vestes, erumnæ sunt mihi testes,
Omnoque peccatum manet undecimum irreputatum.
Et quia mortale dum se notat exitiale,
Ante Dei vultum nihil unquam transit inultum ;
Nemo Dei cultum præsumat dicere stultum.
Quæ peccata latent ignoto tempore patent.

Sequitur expositio versuum.—Omnibus hoc dico. In isto capitulo ostendit accidentia Angliæ post illas pestilentias et conditiones diversorum hominum illo tempore, et sunt sex dicta. Primo enim ostendit, ut mihi videtur, quod aliqui domini Angliæ accipient signum tau, seu signum crucis, ad Terram Sanctam contra inimicos Christi, propter pestilentiam seu malitiam fluxus, et ibi dux eorum occidetur; unde dicit, *Omnibus hoc dico*, scilicet istud accidens futurum, quod sequitur, *ne se subdant inimico*, scilicet diabolo. Unde *contrita litera prima*, i. deposita, *in frontibus stauri*, scilicet *s* de prima syllaba hujus dictionis stauri, et remanet tau, quod *soulpetur* super transeuntes, *ne grex tauri*, i. regis Angliæ, *feriatur in ima*, per aliquam pestilentiam fluxus. Secundo sic exponitur iste versus ; *contrita prima litera in frontibus stauri*, scilicet *s*, consequenter prima litera tauri *soulpetur*, scilicet *t*, quæ est prima litera hujus dictionis tauri, quæ signum tau designat, ne grex vel populus Angliæ *feriatur in ima*, in inguine scilicet, vel in

ano, per fluxum. Tertio sic exponitur. *Contrita prima littera tauri,* i. ablata *t*, quod signum tau denotat, *sculpetur in frontibus stauri,* scilicet in frontibus hominum regis Anglie, *ne grec feriatur in ima.* Et iste expositiones perveniunt quasi ad unam sententiam. Tunc *tau consignati,* scilicet homines Anglie signo crucis seu tau accepto, *transibunt mare meditati,* i. per meditationem et per bonum consilium et maturum; et *taurus est nomen salutis,* i. continet salutem in se, *sicque virtutis,* quia continet in se multam virtutem, et hoc per duas syllabas quas iste terminus continet, quia prima syllaba, scilicet tau, est signum crucis, unde provenit salus Christianorum; ideo dicit, *Tau crux formatur,* i. tau est forma crucis qua isti qui transibunt mare signabuntur. *Rus rusticus insinuatur,* i. per secundam syllabam istius dictionis, rus, insinuatur rusticus, qui est nomen virtutis, quo designatur aliquis dominus qui ducet istum populum contra paganos et inimicos Christianorum virtuose, qui rusticus forte dicitur, eo quod sit rudus in moribus ad modum rusticorum, vel eo quod habet nomen vel cognomen pertinens, sicut Charls, vel Charltoun, vel aliquod hujusmodi. *Sed ipse rusticus crucis,* i. ductor, *transibit ad ardua lucis,* i. ad vitam æternam, quia in aliquo bello forte contra Sarracenos occidetur pro nomine Christi, unde merebitur vitam æternam. Secundo loquitur contra reginam Anglie, seu contra aliam mulierem cujus amore et consilio rex a multis bonis bellis impedietur illo tempore, dicens, *Hoc dico plane,* i. manifeste, scilicet quod *nullam non laudo Diane,* i. regine vel alterius mulieris, *que mulcet taurum mane,* i. effœminat eum et facit eum quietare a bellis, dum scilicet juvent mane; *per verbum inane,* quod sibi excitando eum ne mare transeat, sed quod domi remaneat ad sui placitum et ad luxuriam exercendum; unde dicit auctor quod *mallem,* i. citius vellem, *hanc cedere cellis,* i. esse in ecclesiis et oratoriis suis, et *rogitaret regnantem in stellis,* scilicet Deum eternum, *precibus novellis,* et bonis, *dum iste vacat bellis,* i. habet bella perficienda in Francia, seu disponit se ad bella, quam ipsa sic mulcerit ad quietem et luxuriam. Sed ecce quid auctor dicit. *Est mihi res certa,* i. cognosco certitudinaliter, quod *mulier sit referta,* i. repleta, et plena *fraude,* quia per fraudem suam eum decipiet; quia *femina bombinans,* i. requiescens in bombis et trullis suis, *fert ferula fellis,* i. amaritudinem et malitiam, *bellis,* que non deberent et ordinari quiete, sed amaritudine laboris et sudore. Tertio ostendit quod *opus* bonum *inceptum* contra Francos isto tempore pro defectu gratie deficiet, dicens, *Dum multat taxa,* i. dum recipit taxam et exactiones de regno, *gratia non fiet laxa* sibi et larga, sed deficiet, et sic *opus inceptum* et *luxum* quod fuit de captione regis Francie, quando nos habuimus inceptionem et latam viam ad

conquerendum regnum Franciæ, *patietur ineptum*, i. deficiet seu destructur. Et hoc tempore *fient Galli tuti*, i. securi ad redeundum ad patriam suam et libertates suas de captivitate, *pro nomine scuti*, i. pro auro quod scutum dicitur. Unde iste auctor notat quod iste modus faciendi multum fuit contra Angliam, et nota quod istud factum fuit anno Christi M°ccc.lxij. Quarto ostendit de quodam inimico tauri isto tempore, qui male tandem finietur, dicens, *Nulla pejor pestis*, nec aliquid est majus timendum, *quam familiaris amicus*, i. quam ipse qui se prætendit familiarem amicum, sed non est, sed est falsus interius, sed ipse pejor quam inimicus, et ad versificandum istam auctoritatem, *Traulus erit testis*, qui apparet amicus tauri, sed tauro fiet iniquus et decipiens eum in aliquibus factis suis seu dictis. Et nota quod traulus proprie dicitur ille homo qui non potest bene proferre regi, sed peccat in ejus prolatione, et iste erit *spirans ut Saulus*, i. faciens magnas minas et magna verba pomposa, sed *tandem periet male traulus*, i. habebit malum finem. Quinto ostendit circa illud opus falsos homines circa regem et eorum mores, dicens, *Sedaus*, i. homo qui non *potest bene dicere* s., *qui Anglice dicitur wlysp, et blæsus est* aliquis qui habet verba delectabilia et pulchra, falsa tamen. *Hireus* est aliquis homo pilosus ad modum hirci, vel fœtidus et malus et incompositus in moribus, vel luxuriosus. *Genitalia læsus*, est aliquis qui habet læsuram per casum, vel in bello, vel per fracturam, in locis genitalibus et secretis. *Panniculos cæsus* est aliquis qui nimis et ultra communem modum utitur pannis cæsis. *Glaucus* est homo habens talem colorem in facie, vel qui utitur tali colore in vestibus vel bagis suis. *Fulvus*, per easdem conditiones exponitur. *Obesus* est aliquis homo carnosus, pinguis, et crassus, qui excedit communes homines in pinguedine. Ad ampliorem intelligentiam istorum versuum est notandum primo quod illi qui volunt cognoscere istos homines, oportet eos considerare mores eorum et cognoscere eos in societate, et tunc applicare nomina prædicta eis secundum conditiones. Secundo est notandum quod quodlibet nomen potest signare dominum sive hominem per se secundum diversitatem conditionum, et sic erunt octo in toto, vel duo nomina vel tria possunt signare unum hominem, eo quod habeat conditiones pertinentes, cum signatione istorum nominum, et ad minus sic erunt duo. Tertio est notandum circa significationem istorum terminorum *fulvus et glaucus*, qui signant colorem, quod fulvus est color rubeus ad modum fulminis cujusmodi et colora auri, ut infra habetur, *current ad taurum cui fulvum defecit aurum*. Et iste terminus glaucus signat colorem subnigrum, sicut est color ferri, aliqualiter declinans a nigro, et veniens ad viride vel album. Istis præmissis melius possunt personæ præmissæ cognosci, de quibus dicit auctor, *Dum*

mel in ore gerent, i. dum habent bona verba et dulcia in ore cum rege et mollita, et *quærent pingere taurum*, i. decipere seu detrahere retro et in absentia sua cum complicibus suis vel aliis dominis diversorum forte regnorum, et sic *rumpetur pignus amorum*, scilicet inter regem et alios dominos quos bene rex diligeret si non essent verba eorum; vel forte *rumpetur pignus amorum* inter diversas terras et regna, contra quæ adducent regem ad pugnam vel odium. *Fraudibus illorum*, quia semper in operibus suis intendent regem defraudare; tamen in fine *fraus nudabitur eorum*, i. cognoscetur a rege, *arte suorum*, i. per aliquam falsitatem apertam seu per aliquem hominem, vel per aliquos homines suos, eorum falsitates cognoscentes, qui fraudes eorum regi revelabunt. Sexto ostendit quanta mala erunt in Anglia *per pannos cæsos*, i. per frequentem mutationem pannorum, dicens, *Monstro tibi animos læsos*, scilicet peccatum superbiæ et aliorum vitiorum, per *pannos cæsos*, quia habitus multotiens ostendit exempla qualis anima interius existat; et *tales nulli fient speciales*, seu specialiter diligentes in bello ad adjuvandum seu pugnandum, quia timent forte occidi in bello pro peccatis suis, vel quia magis cupiunt delectabile quam honorem belli, et ideo non audent aggredi *tristia bellorum*, unde honor sequeretur. Et isto tempore *undecies fiet mutatio panno in anno*, i. undecim vicibus infra annum, et sic *copia*, scilicet ciborum et potuum, *erit exul*, i. remota, de *scannis* et mensis quibus comedent, *variis pannis*, i. per variam mutationem pannorum, quia forte tantum expendent in pannis suis, quod non habebunt aliquid ad comedendum; vel Deus, propter illud peccatum, castigabit illos per famem, quam forte mittet in terram Angliæ illis temporibus. Et ideo dicit, *Curtate vestes*, quibus homines utuntur. *Sunt mihi testes eramnæ*, i. alicujus magni mali seu destructionis in regno, et causa est quia istud peccatum in anno undecies est iteratum, vel per duodecim annos contractum a tempore quo incepit usque ad ejus punitionem, et *omne peccatum undecimum*, scilicet per undecim annos contractum, vel factum undecies, *manet irreputatum*, scilicet in conspectu Dei ad vindictam, *quia dum est mortale*, scilicet tale peccatum, dignum morte puniri, *se notat caitiale*, i. periculosum propter mala quæ sequuntur ex eo; *quia nil transit unquam inultum*, i. nullum peccatum transit sine ultione et vindicta, *ante Dei vultum*, scilicet ante ejus facialem cognitionem, et ideo nemo præsumat seu audeat dicere *cultum Dei esse stultum*, sicut multi reputant qui sunt multis peccatis involuti, et Deus permittet eos stare in peccatis suis occultis sine ultione, sed hoc non debet monere eos, quia illa *peccata quæ latent*, i. quæ homines faciunt latentur per se, de quibus alii nesciunt, *patent*, i. manifesta erunt, *ignoto tempore*, scilicet in tempore quo non credunt, vel quando ea nollent manifestari. Et sic terminatur istud capitulum.

Capitulum iij^m^ ostendit quomodo taurus quiescit a bellis, et qualia ordinabit illo tempore in destructionem regni.

Tempore rex dicto, Gallorum calle relicto,
Anglorum terra pacem statuet sine guerra.
Mittet censores sex, dæmone deteriores,
Qui per terrores dispergent inferiores,
Exactorque gregis fiet pacto sine legis.
Successor Thomæ sublatus munere Romæ,
Hunc Satel a sede rapiet subito, mihi crede.
David eructavit, veniam genibus rogitavit,
Sed delictorum veniam feret esse suorum,
Ast genus uxoris pactum tractabit amoris,
Radix erroris quod fiet posterioris.
Tartareæ portæ frangentur vertice tortæ,
Inficient morte rumpentia flumina forte.
Scoti captivi fient hoc tempore vivi.
Mittet tortores alios his deteriores,
Qui per raptores confundent nobiliores,
Qui staurum fine spoliabunt undique trina.
Judicium rectum non permittent fore lectum.
Qui capitat staurum, bene formabit sibi taurum,
Sed capitans taurum taurum convertet in aurum;
Sic staurus taurum, taurus generabit et aurum.
Dum tamen obliquis hi tres flectentur iniquis,
Hi tres consortes sunt armis undique fortes.

Sequitur expositio istorum versuum, sic.—Tempore rex. In isto capitulo, ubi ostendit ordinationes tauri in tempore quietis, sunt octo dicta. Primo ostendit quomodo taurus illo tempore faciet pacem inter Angliam et Franciam, dicens quod rex Angliæ statuet pacem in terra Anglorum, *dicto tempore*, i. in illo tempore, *relicto calle Gallorum*, quia tunc non ibit contra Gallicos ad pugnandum per aliquas vias vel calles, sed manebit in terra sua in quieto. Secundo ostendit quomodo ordinabit malos judices illo tempore ad destructionem regni, dicens, *Mittet censores sex*, i. judices morum, scilicet qui judicant de furto, de homicidio, et hujusmodi quæ

pertinent ad mores hominum regni, qui per diversa loca erunt positi numero sex; qui scilicet judices *dispergent inferiores*, scilicet populum sub suo judicio existentem, per falsa judicia et *terrores*, quos populo infligendo extirpabunt terram. Tertio ostendit de quodam episcopo Cantuariensi simoniace exaltando et cito deponendo, dicens, *Exactorque gregis*, i. aliquis clericus qui faciet exactiones injustas in populo ad præceptum regis fiet successor Thomæ episcopi Cantuariensis, *sine pacto legis*, i. contra ordinationem juris canonici; quia erit sublatus, i. exaltatus, *munere Romæ*, i. per simoniam veniet ad illam dignitatem. *Sed credo mihi*, dicit auctor, quod *Satel*, i. diabolus, vel aliquis malus, *rapiet hunc a sede*, vel scilicet cum deponendo a sede episcopali, vel forte cum occidendo, quod diu non reget episcopatum. Quarto ostendit de pace quæ debet fieri inter David regem Scotorum et Anglicos illo tempore, dicens, *David eructavit* et *rogitavit veniam genibus*, i. cum fletu et magna humilitate, a rege Angliæ pro delictis quæ contra eum multotiens fecit, sed ipse feret veniam esse delictorum suorum, quia rex Angliæ sibi omnia concedet; et *genus uxoris*, i. aliquis de genere regis Angliæ, qui fuit filius uxoris David, *tractabat pactum amoris*, inter regna Scotiæ, scilicet, et Angliæ. Sed istud pactum erit principium erroris qui postea fiet inter regna Angliæ et Scotiæ, scilicet in magno prælio futuro de quo dicetur infra capitulo sexto et septimo. Quinto ostendit unum accidens quod fiet in Borea illo tempore in monte qui vocatur Chevyot, pro quo est notandum quod de illo monte contra pestilentias et bella seu cæristias prorumpent flumina quæ occident fere pisces omnium rivulorum illius patriæ, de quo dicitur, *Tartareæ portæ*, i. Chevyhot, inferni, *tortæ*, i. declives, *frangentur vertice*, i. in summitate montis, et illa *flumina rupentia forte*, i. per fortitudinem, *inficient morte* scilicet alias aquas et torrentes in partibus illis. Sexto ostendit unum accidens concernens Scotos, dicens quod *Scoti captivi*, scilicet qui fuerunt captivi Anglicis vel qui sunt captivi Anglicis, *fient hoc tempore vivi*, i. volentes pugnas renovare contra Anglicos, vel liberati sua vi a potestate Anglicorum et captivitate. Septimo ostendit quod rex constituet alios judices pejores sex præcedentibus, qui confundent nobiliores regni sicut primi judices communitatem destruxerunt, dicens, *Mittet tortores*, scilicet rex, *deteriores* et pejores, his sex scilicet prædictis qui jussu eorum rapient bona sua ab eis, quia *spoliabunt staurum*, i. dominos Angliæ qui sunt staurum regis. *Undique*, scilicet per totam terram, *fine trina*, quia cogent eos facere tres fines pro terris suis per cautelas et falsitates suas. *Vel fine trina*, i. terna vice in qualibet fine regni spoliabunt staurum, et *non permittent judicium rectum fore lectum*, seu visitatum in Anglia illo tempore. Octavo ostendit tria quæ maxime fortificant bellum, si in eo consortiantur, et quomodo placebit ista exspoliatio dominorum, dicens

qui capitat staurum, i. aliquis istorum judicum qui accipit capitalem honorem isto modo de dominis, *bene formabit sibi taurum*, i. adquiret dilectionem et honorem ab eo. *Sed capitans taurum*, i. aliquis qui accipit bona tauri ipso forte nesciente, *taurum generabit*, i. aurum, quia multum aurum habebit et divitias de tauro. Secunda expositio hujus versus, *sed capitans taurum*, non curando de ejus honore capitali, *generabit et aurum*, i. colliget illo tempore multum aurum de regno. Tertio expositio, *taurus generabit et aurum*, i. taurus generabit filium vel filiam cujus cognomen Handoner, sicut nomina filiorum regis dantur a loco generationis. Quarta expositio est ista, aliquis erit *capitans taurum*, forte in aliquo prælio, et tunc *taurus generabit et aurum*, quod solvet pro sua redemptione, et qui tunc *capitat staurum*, i. accipiet staurum de Anglia, ad eum juvandum, *bene formabit sibi taurum*, qui adquiret suam amicitiam in illo facto. Quinta expositio est secundum aliam occultationem sic, *qui capitat staurum*, i. qui deponit literam capitalem hujus dictionis staurum, scilicet *s*, *bene formabit sibi taurum*, i. istam dictionem taurum, quæ tunc remanebit, *sed capitans taurum*, scilicet deponendo *t*, de ista dictione taurum, *taurus generabit et aurum*, quia de ista dictione taurum tunc remanebit aurum, et dum hi tres termini, staurum, taurus, et aurum, *flectentur iniquis, obliquis talibus* scilicet *decapitationibus*. *Hi tres consortes*, i. si ista tria consortiantur adinvicem, scilicet staurum, taurus, et aurum, *sunt bello undique fortes*, quasi diceret, si taurus habeat staurum, i. homines de Anglia, et aurum, scilicet expensas pro eis, undique fortificatur, et adquiret victoriam. Eligat auctor expositionem quem voluerit. *Et sic terminatur istud capitulum.*

Capitulum iiij^m^ ostendit quot mula, impedimenta, *et labores taurus sustinebit propter peccata illo tempore.*

Ut dīdici referam, mercedem non mihi quæram;
Propter peccata tardantur munera grata.
Scriba velut scribit, presumptio falsa peribit.
Omnia transibunt, et gaudia vana peribunt.
Taurus transibit maris undas, vique redibit.
Vix mare transibit, perit semel atque redibit;
Ibit, transibit, pugnabit, quibit, inibit;
Quibit et exibit, omnis mortalis obibit.
Dum pertransibit ad terram terra redibit;
Vincere non quibit, cum terra terra coibit.

Tunc decus Anglorum transibit belligerorum.
In mensis justi pandetur copia crusti;
Fundis falsorum premet areta funes famulorum.
Sic cognoscetur cujus omnipotens miserotur.
No nimis elatus sit taurus magnificatus,
Singula tormenta tauro facient elementa.
Tellus namque tremet, sic undique bella parabit,
Æquoris unda fremet, commotus aer violabit.
Nautas quassabit infectus aerque necabit.
Obses arma gemet, ignis dum tegmina demet;
Per pelagi metas tristes feret ipse dietas.
Propter peccata venient discrimina lata,
Tristia post læta, post tristia sæpe quieta.

Sequitur expositio istorum versuum præcedentium.—Ut didici. In isto quarto capitulo docet auctor impedimenta et labores quos taurus sustinebit propter peccata sua et regni sui, et continet quatuor dicta. Primo enim ostendit quod *grata* scilicet regnum Francie tardatur *propter peccata* varia quæ sine profectu pertransibunt, dicens, *Ut didici referam*, i. scribam ut docuit me Spiritus Sanctus, et non occultabo mala futura, quia *non quæram meredem*, scilicet de ista prophetia ab illis quibus prophetabo; sicut qui multi scribunt propter lucrum et meredem, occultant mala et dicunt bona, sed aperte dicam veritatem; quod *munera grata*, i. bona quæ Deus gratis dat, scilicet regna Francie, *tardantur* ab Anglicis propter peccata sua. Et nota quod dicit *tardantur*, quod licet jam non veniant, postea tamen recipientur; et *velut scriba scribit*, i. Spiritus Sanctus dicit mihi, *præsumptio falsa peribit*, quam jam habent Anglici per tribulationem cito futuram, et *omnia transibunt*, scilicet quæ inter eos jam ordinantur, *et gaudia vana*, quæ sibi fingunt, *peribunt* et deficient. Secundo addit multas tribulationes quas taurus sustinebit vel sustinuit pro peccatis suis. Unde est notandum quod istæ tribulationes sunt quas sustinebit post prædicta secundum prophetiam, seu quas sustinuit a principio bellorum diversis vicibus quando mare transivit, quas auctor hic colligit summatim, dicens, *Taurus transibit undas maris*, scilicet in Franciam, et *redibit vi* et fortitudine bellatorum qui resistent ei, vel propter aliquam necessitatem, sicut forte expensarum; et hoc forte fuit in primo transitu suo, quando revertebatur propter defectum expensarum, vel forte adhuc est venturum, quod cogetur virtute hominum redire ad Angliam, et in illo transitu ad Angliam *vix transibit mare*, propter pericula maris et tempestates, quia *periet semel*, naves perdendo

multas in illo transitu, dum cogetur per tempestates applicare ad extranea litera. Sed tandem in Angliam redibit, et post illum reditum ibit et disponet se versus Franciam, et transibit mare illa vice, et pugnabit cum Gallicis ante reditum suum, et *quibit*, i. habebit potestatem et victoriam in illo, et *inibit*, scilicet fœdus pacis cum eis pro illo tempore. Tertio dicit quod *transibit*, scilicet mare, et *quibit*, i. habebit potestatem et victoriam, et *expugnabit, scilicet inimicos suos, in illo bello, et præibit eis*, scilicet obvia in aliqua fuga, et *quibit*, i. habebit victoriam, ibi iterum de eis, et *exibit* tunc forte de terra Franciæ; *et omnis mortalis obibit*, scilicet in illo bello ex parte Franciæ; et *dum pertransibit*, scilicet mare, post illud bellum, iterumque Gallicis redibit, scilicet ad Angliam sive terram suam, de terra Franciæ, quia non quibit vincere eos illo tempore, et *tunc terra coibit*, concordabit, *cum terra*, scilicet Franciæ, in fœdere pacis, et *tunc decus Anglorum belligerorum transibit*, i. morietur, quod videtur fuisse verum quando rex ultimo fuit in Francia, quando bellatores Angliæ multi moriebantur, scilicet circa annum Christi M.ccc.lxij.; vel forte hoc venturum est, vel sic videtur quod rex faciet talo pactum cum Francia, et propter illud pactum *decus Anglorum belligerorum*, i. fortitudo regni Angliæ transibit versus Franciam ad eam debellandam, et illud ultimum credo verum. Tertio ostendit quod illo tempore erit quædam fames ventura, vel forte toto regno, vel tantum illis qui erunt in illo bello; unde dicit quod *copia crusti*, i. abundantia panis, *pandetur* et ostendetur, *in mensis justi*, i. bonorum hominum. Sed *arcta fames*, i. magna *famulorum, premet*, i. regnabit, in *fundis*, i. tenementis, *falsorum* hominum, scilicet non habebunt unde suam familiam poterunt sustentare. Ex quo patet quod pauperes illo tempore male stabunt propter penuriam victualium, et *tunc cognoscetur*, scilicet illo tempore, *cujus omnipotens miseretur*, ei sufficienter victum tribuendo. Quarto ostendit quod omnia quatuor elementa insurgent contra taurum ad eum humiliandum, ne nimis exaltetur propter suum magnificentiam, dicens, *Ne taurus magnificatus*, propter sua bona opera et bellicosa quæ gessit, *sit nimis exaltatus*, in corde suo per superbiam, singula elementa facient tauro tormenta et tribulationes, quia *tellus namque*, primum elementum, i. terra, *tremet* tempore suo, ac *parabit undique bella*, contra eum, et *unda æquoris*, i. maris, quod est secundum elementum, *fremet*, scilicet per tempestatem ei nocendo; et *aer commotus*, sive infectus per pestilentias, qui est tertium elementum, *necabit*, scilicet homines suos, quod factum est in diversis pestilentiis, et *obses*, scilicet dum est in aliqua obsidione, *gemet arma*, i. dolebit pro armis destructis, *dum ignis demet tegmina*, i. comburit locum suum ubi erit cum armis suis; et sic ignis, qui est quartum elementum, ei faciet tormenta; et ipse feret,

i. sustinebit, *tristes dietas*, i. labores dierum, *per metas pelagi*, i. per terminos maris. Et ista *discrimina lata*, i. labores diversi, venient *propter peccata* quæ ipse vel populus suus commisit. Ita quod *sæpe post læta*, i. gaudia, *venient tristia*, et *sæpe post tristia*, i. dolorosa, *venient quieta*, i. gaudiosa, a laboribus. Et sic terminatur istud capitulum, in quo ostendit tribulationes quæ evenient tauro propter peccata sua.

Capitulum v^m^ ostendit quomodo taurus corriget vitam suam post tales tribulationes.

Sic emundatus elementis, purificatus,
Belligeram vitam taurus ducet redimitam,
Legibus aptatam, virtutibus atque probatam,
Atque juventutis mutabit lubrica lutis.
Antiquos mores mutabit et in meliores,
Falsos censores torquentes inferiores.
Conspiratores non tractabit per amores,
Qui per pressuras staurum disperdere duras,
Justos torquere quondam solitique fuere.
Falsos mutabit, sic censum multiplicabit;
Leges firmabit, et pacem continuabit.
Hic exaltabit justos, solliisque locabit;
Taxaque cessabit, extortio non fugitabit.
Gens calamizabit omni quo tempore stabit;
Delubra ditabit, staurum dum subpeditabit.
Leges pugnabunt, perjuria sed superabunt.
Tunc taxet listas, pannus quia tendit aristas
Taurus cornutus, ex patris germine Brutus,
Anglicus est natus, Gallus de matre creatus;
Anglicus et Brutus, Gallus certamine tutus,
Triplex natura perquiret pristina jura.
Omnia dat gratis divinæ fons pietatis.
Grata superveniet qua non sperabitur hora,
Usurpans periet, succedent prosperiora.

Sequitur expositio versuum præcedentium.— *Sic emundatus.* In isto v^to^ capitulo docet auctor quomodo taurus mutabit vitam suam malam in conditiones bonas, et continet quinque dicta. Primo

ostendit quod post emundationem elementorum taurus ducet vitam belligeram et virtuosam, vitam lubricam dimittendo, dicens, *Taurus* sic *emundatus*, i. purificatus, *elementis*, i. tribulationibus omnium elementorum, ut præactum est, tunc *ducet vitam belligeram*, scilicet in bellis, *redimitam*, i. coronatam, et *aptatam legibus*, scilicet dominii regni, *atque probatam virtutibus*, quas tunc exercebit, vitia sua dimittendo; quia *mutabit lubrica juventutis*, quæ sunt gula, luxuria, otium, et hujusmodi, quæ temptant hominem in juventute, pro *tutis*, i. bonis actibus quibus ab illo tempore utetur, et tunc *antiquos mores*, i. perversos, *mutabit in meliores*, bene et juste vivendo, pro injuste vivendo. Secundo ostendit quomodo injustos malos mutabit quos prius ordinaverat in regno ad populi inquietationem, dicens, Non *tractabit falsos censores*, scilicet judices prædictos, qui fuerant *conspiratores*, contra dominos regni et contra communem populum, et *torquentes inferiores*, ab eis bona sua rapiendo per injustas exactiones. Et *qui soliti fuere disperdere staurum*, i. regnum et populum, *per duras pressuras et censuras*, i. injustas exactiones quas fecerunt in suis judiciis, et qui *soliti fuere justos torquere*, vel ab eis accipiendo bona sua temporalia, vel eos in carcerem mittendo. Sed justus *falsos mutabit*, scilicet de officiis suis, et bonos in locis eorum constituet; et sic *multiplicabit censum*, i. aurum et argentum, quod habebit forte ab illis malis in suorum malorum redemptionem, vel a bonis quos constituit propter fidelitatem suam, qui sibi plus adquirent quam falsi, qui multum quod regi pertinebat penes se retinebant. Tertio ostendit aliquas bonas ordinationes in utilitatem et profectum regni sui, quæ prius per falsos prædictos infirmabantur, et continuabit pacem in regno suo inter vulgus et dominos, et *exaltabit justos*, in loco falsorum judicum, *soliisque locabit*, i. ponet eos in cathedras et sedes ad judicia. *Taxaque cessabit*, illo tempore in regno Angliæ. Sed *extortio non fugitabit;* quamvis enim taxam ab eis non recipiet, tamen accipiet extortionem. *Gens calamizabit*, i. cantabit læta et jocunda ab illo tempore, *omni quo tempore stabit*, i. per totum tempus regni sui. Nota quod hic habetur articulum quod iste non erit gallus, quia in tempore galli erit magnus dolor et tristitia pro duabus pestilentiis futuris tempore suo. Et taurus illo tempore *delubra ditabit*, i. sacra templa et monasteria augebit, quæ delubra dicuntur, quia in eis umbra delentur peccatorum per sacramenta baptismatis et confessionis. *Dum subpeditabit staurum*, i. dum ponit staurum, aurum scilicet et argentum, sub pedibus, de eo sicut prius non curando, vel quia illo tempore forte recipiet aliquam extortionem a populo Angliæ, eos aliqualiter suppeditando, quia quamvis omnia prædicta bene ordinabit pro utilitate communi, ita quod *leges pugnabunt* pro justis, illo tamen tempore eo quod falsi non poterunt cum auro vel argento, seu exenniis, vel per terrores, habere propositum suum et extortionem in placitis, et cogitabunt novam malitiam, i.

facinus novum, scilicet facere perjuria in assisis per falsos homines, et sic illo tempore habebunt victoriam contra leges. Nam dicit, *perjuria sed superabunt.* Quarto ostendit quomodo taurus post omnia ista falsa, vindicabit sibi pristina jura Franciæ, dicens, *Taurus cornutus*, scilicet per homines suos, *Brutus ex germine patris*, quia pater ejus in Wallia fuit natus, ubi est locus germinis Bruti, *Anglicus est natus*, scilicet apud Wyndesore in castello Angliæ, *Gallus de matre creatus*, quia mater ejus fuit de Gallia, unde vendicat sibi regnum Franciæ. Patet ergo *quod ipse est Anglicus*, propter locum in quo genitus fuit, et ipse *est Brutus ex patre et Gallus de matre. In certamine tutus*, quia fere in omni bello obtinet victoriam. *Triplex ergo natura*, scilicet Anglicus, Brutus, et Gallus, *perquiret pristina jura*, scilicet regnum Franciæ. Quinto ostendit quod illa regna Franciæ propter usurpationem tunc temporis sibi non advenient, dicens quod *fons divinæ bonitatis dat omnia gratis*, quia non per potentias regum vel per eorum merita, sed gratis quando sibi placet reddet ea, i. talia grata, quia scilicet Deus reddet, *veniet hora qua non sperabitur*, i. non tempore quo aliquis credit ea adquirere per bella, sed *usurpans periet*, i. peribit per præsumptionem a proposito suo, quia forte credit tunc per potestatem aliam adquirere regnum Franciæ quod tunc non recipiet, sed *succedunt prosperiora*, scilicet in bello proximo sequente, ubi habebit victoriam, vel in tempore filii sui in quo ad manus Anglorum regnum Franciæ deveniet. Et sic terminatur istud capitulum.

Capitulum sextum, ostendens unum bellum fiendum inter Anglicos et Scotos, et nominat bellatores utriusque partis.

Sed nimis acerba tunc audivi nova verba;
Barrida nam bella cancer parat ipse novella.
Pro cancro venient delphines, grandia cete,
Consortesque fient focæ mercede dictæ,
Turdi, salmones, mori, milli, capitones.
Horum nam numerum tibi nescio dicere verum.
Rumbus ab oceano venit squamis redimitus,
Arripiet plano juxta fontem sibi litus.
Conducet megaros ac ypotaros sibi caros;
Ducet bubones, piratas, vespiliones,
Et Gallos tantos tibi nescio dicere quantos.

Tauri pasturam satagent corrodere puram,
Contra naturam tauri disperdere curam.
Nunc opus est tauro proprio confidere stauro,
Propter destructum staurum deducere luctum,
Atque favissores percunctari meliores.
Jam reboant bella, fer adhuc vexilla, puella;
Gratia divina taurum regat absque ruina.
Morte repentina falsos liberet libitina.
Ecce canes cani, boves currunt veterani,
Currunt multones, fulvi glaucique leones.
Non fiunt tardi, currunt vituli, leopardi.
Trans mare, trans montes currunt, trans flumina, fontes;
Currunt ad taurum, cui fulvum deficit aurum.
Attamen ingrati non sunt ad bella parati.

Sed nimis acerba tunc audivi. In isto sexto capitulo ostendit bellatores et dominos qui erunt in bello committendo inter Scotiam et Angliam ex utraque parte; sed pro isto capitulo et sequenti sunt aliqua primitus notanda. Primo est notandum quod subtrahendum numerum annorum et dierum pacis inter illud et jubilæum tauri, qui sunt tres anni, ix. menses, et duo dies, ut infra patebit, ab anno jubilæo tauri, scilicet anno Christi millesimo cco^mo lxxvij., propter quod istud bellum erit anno Christi millesimo ccc^mo lxxiij^o, in mense Maii, x. kal. Junii, vel circa illud tempus. Sed potest patere bene calculanti. Secundo est notandum quod istud bellum committetur in uno plano campo juxta rivum et fontem aquarum, cui silvæ et nemora situantur, sicut in expositione patebit. Ideo qui voluerit illum locum cognoscere, primo imaginetur ubi est verisimile quod applicent, et ad quam partem regni declinabunt, in quantum transibunt antequam bellum habebunt, et ibi inveniat locum prædictum. Tertio est notandum quod omnes qui venient ex parte Scotiæ per pisces figurantur, vel quia venient per mare in navibus, vel quia in gurgite fontis devincentur ad modum piscis; sed Anglici per animalia terrestria designantur, quia sunt intranei, et non venient a transmarinis, vel quia ad modum animalium terrestrium in bello custodient campum, et non transibunt ad fontem sicut alii. His igitur præmissis, sequitur expositio literæ, ubi septem dicta notantur. Primo enim ostendit in quo illa bella movebuntur, dicens, *Sed tunc audivi*, scilicet post prædictam expositionem regis, *verba nova*, scilicet de bello futuro, *nimis acerba*, quia gravia et difficilia nun-

ciabant. *Nam ipse cancer*, scilicet rex Scotiæ, *parat barrida bella*. Unde est notandum quod est terminus *barrida;* vel descendit a barri, quod est grave, vel forte quia illud bellum erit grave et forte sicut patet, vel derivatur a barro, -nis, eo quod in illo bello erunt barones multorum regnorum, vel dicitur a barrus, barri, qui est elephans, eo quod elephantes forte adducentur per trans mare ad illud prælium, quæ dicuntur *bella novella*, quia de novo venient infra breve fient, vel quia omnia futura novella vocat in ista prophetia. Secundo ostendit multitudinem dominorum qui venient ad auxiliandum cancro in illo bello, dicens, *Quod delphines venient pro cancro*, id est aliquis dominus portans delphines in scuto suo, vel habens tale nomen vel cognomen, sicut princeps et hæres Franciæ, vel servi sui sub nomine suo, et ipse non veniet. *Et grandia cete*, Anglice *hodoves*, qui sunt aliqui magni domini transmarini qui venient pro cancro. *Consortes fient focæ*, i. aliqui domini qui focæ dicuntur propter suam magnitudinem, vel propter arma, vel conditiones convenientes cum focis. *Mercede dietæ*, quia recipient mercede pro labore dierum qui erunt conducti, sicut *turdi*, *salmones*, *mori*, *milli*, i. quidam piscis rubei coloris, *capitones*, Anglice *gurnardes*, cum magno capite; et ista quinque genera piscium signant homines habentes certas conditiones concordantes cum illis piscibus qui venient cum foca contra Anglicos propter mercedem dietæ, qui erunt in tam magno numero quod *nescio tibi dicere verum numerum*, i. equalem horum. Tertio ostendit specialiter de uno magno rege cum suo exercitu, qui venient in auxilium cum rege Scotorum, dicens, *Rumbus ab oceano;* et credo quod ista sit rex Danemarche, qui venet ultra magnum mare oceanum, *squamis*, in navibus scilicet cum vento et remis qui serviunt hominibus in mari sicut squamæ piscibus. *Redimitus*, i. coronatus, quia rex erit, et *arripiet*, scilicet cum classe sua, *litus in plano*, i. in campum planum in litore, *juxta fontem*, i. juxta aquam ubi bellum committetur, qui locus forte dicetur Playneclyf, vel Evynclyf, vel Smethclyf, vel Smethefeld; imaginetur sic qui voluerit nomen loci. Et iste conducet sic secum sex genera hominum, *megaros ac ypotauros sibi caros*, vel scilicet in suo regno convictos, et *ducet bubones*, i. aliquos homines qui raro veniunt ad bella, vel qui bubonibus propter aliquam proprietatem assimilántur, vel *piratas*, vel fures et spoliatores marinos, et *vespiliones*, scilicet fures nocturnos et occultos, qui vespere spoliant homines. *Et Gallos tantos*, scilicet homines de Francia, *quod nescio dicere quantos*, propter eorum multitudinem. Et omnes isti *satagent*, i. nitentur, *corrodere*, i. destruere, *puram pasturam tauri*, scilicet regnum Angliæ, quod sibi obtinet inter omnia tanquam purum dominium et hæreditatem tibi debitam, in qua se depascat; et *satagent disperdere curam tauri*, i. destruere regnum Angliæ, de quo taurus habet curam, *contra naturam*, quia est

contra naturam piscium se occupare circa pasturam tauri, vel ipsi vendicant sibi regnum Angliæ contra naturam, quia eis non debetur, vel esset contra naturam quod pisces in terra taurum debellarent. Quarto ostendit quid sit faciendum tauro tempore hujus belli, et quomodo in Anglia tunc consistit suum auxilium, dicens, *Nunc opus est tauro*, i. taurus habet necessitatem, *proprio confidere stauro*, i. dominis et viris bellatoribus de terra Angliæ, et *deducere luctum*, i. facere dolorem et gemitum, *propter staurum destructum*, i. propter homines quos destruet per malos officiarios suos et injustas leges, ut prædictum est in tertio capitulo præcedenti ante illud bellum. Et nota quod semper in omni necessitate iste taurus non habet auxilium de alienigenis, sed tantum de terra Angliæ, sicut in pluribus patet locis. Quinto facit iste auctor invocationem pro auxilio tauri, et primo ad beatam virginem Mariam, dicens, *Jam reboant bella*, i. sonus de bellis et rumor, *fer nunc vexilla, puella*, i. tu, virgo Maria, Christi fer vexilla regis Edwardi, et *gratia divina regat taurum*, in illo bello, *absque ruina*, ut ipse non cadat in prælio contra inimicos, sed *libitina*, i. feretrum in quo ferunt corpora mortuorum, *liberet falsos*, i. portet falsos pugnatores contra regem, *morte repentina*, i. subitanea morte quam in illo bello percipient. Sexto ostendit qui venient ad auxilium regis Edwardi adversus hostes suos in illo prælio, dicens, *Ecce canes cani current*, i. antiqui domini et homines regni Angliæ cum canitie propter ætatem, *currunt que boves veterani*, i. antiqui domini milites qui cum rege fortiter laboraverunt, vel aliqui domini portantes boves in scuto suo vel in crestis suis, vel aliqui habentes tale nomen vel cognomen, *currunt multones*, i. aliqui habentes multones in possessione, vel in aliquo sibi pertinenti, vel in nomine vel cognomine, sicut si forte aliquis diceretur Multoun, vel Sheptoun, vel cætera hujusmodi, vel Multoun dicitur communitas populi, quæ ovibus assimilantur propter eorum simplicitatem. *Fulvi leones*, i. leones de colore auri quos comes Herforde portat in scuto suo, et nullus est dominus Angliæ qui multos portat præter ipsum, qui portat sex. *Glaucique leones*, signant alium dominum tale portantem scutum, vel plures dominos, vel eundem comitem Herford, quia color qui fulvus dicitur Latine, Gallice arma describendo dicitur seu glaucus; et ideo in isto versu duo termini fulvi et glauci non signant diversos, sed eundem secundum diversum modum loquendi. *Vituli non fiunt tardi*, i. juvenes de regno qui sunt in sua maxima fortitudine, non fient tardi ad taurum, sed veloces. *Currunt leopardi*, i. aliqui domini portantes leopardos in scuto suo, cujusmodi sunt filii regis. Et nota quod ut credo domini hic non enumerantur secundum valorem suum in ordine, sed qui primo venient primo enumerentur, et qui ultimo venient ultimo enumerantur, sicut filius regis, qui hic forte ultimo venit, ultimo enumeratur. Septimo

ostendit loca a quibus isti venient ad gratitudinem eorum penes taurum illo tempore, dicens quod *aliqui currunt trans mare,* aliqui *trans montes,* aliqui *trans flumina, fontes;* ita quod denotat homines sibi venire quasi ex omnibus partibus Angliæ, qui *currunt ad taurum cui fulvum deficit aurum,* eo quod non habebit aurum pro stipendiis illo tempore. *Attamen illi parati ad bella,* tamen tauro *non sunt ingrati,* qvia stabunt secum gratis sine stipendio pro expensis in illo bello. Et sic terminatur istud capitulum in quo hujusmodi prælii bellatores declarantur.

Capitulum vij^m^ ostendit quomodo erit de pugna, et fine belli prædicti, etc.

Cancer natura semper retrogradietur,
Nullius cura procedens efficietur;
Taurus pastura ductor gregis efficietur,
Vaccarum jura procedens vique tuetur.
Cancer non stabit in primo, sed latitabit;
Taurus pugnabit, pisces, gallos superabit.
Nunc opus est contis contrari gurgite fontis;
Necnon pennatas opus est transmittere latas.
Rumbus rumpetur, pinnas pennis feriętur;
Branchia cum squamis rumbi lacerabitur hamis.
Pro tauri cœna capietur et ipse sagena.
Lignis pennatis ferientur grandia cete;
Delphines spatis, focæ perient quoque rete.
Pinnas frangentur salmones dum capientur;
Caudam monstrabunt alii, pinnis fugitabunt;
Non expectabunt pro contis dum reboabunt.
Galli terga dabunt, catapultæ dum volitabunt.
Milvi cædentur, cuculi silvis capientur.
Grossos multones occident vespiliones;
Et vitulos multos inventos vespere stultos;
Et leo lædetur, sed læsus non perimetur.
Pessima falsorum mors est, pretiosa bonorum.
Plus tibi de bellis nolo narrare novellis,
Quæ cancer faciet, semper victus quia fiet.
Semper, taure, vale, tibi sit decus imperiale!
Tantum vel tale decet omnia numina quale.

Cancer natura. Istud capitulum septimum, in quo ostendit quomodo erit de pugna et de fine belli prædicti, continet sex dicta. Primo ostendit quomodo illi reges se habebunt in congressu belli; unde primo dicit de cancro, *Cancer*, i. rex Scotiæ, *natura semper retrogradietur*, in illo bello; quia semper in omni bello suo sic fecit, ad modum piscis qui vocatur cancer, qui semper retrogradietur et nunquam anterior procedit, quia nullius cura nec aliquo modo seu alicujus doctrina *efficietur procedens*, ad bellum, sed *taurus efficietur ductor gregis*, quia ducet exercitum suum recte ad pugnam, *pastura*, in illo campo in quo pugnabit, et procedens et non retrogradiendo sicut cancer. *Vique tuetur*, i. fortitudine exercitus sui custodiet, *jura vaccarum*, i. regnum Angliæ et bellum populi sui. *Cancer non stabit in primo*, i. rex Scotiæ non stabit in primo ad pugnandum; *sed latitabit*, i. abscondet se, sed *taurus pugnabit*, scilicet in illo bello, et *superabit pisces*, i. dominos designatos per pisces prædictos, et *Gallos*, i. dominos et bellatores de Francia qui venient contra eum. Secundo ostendit quomodo et ubi Anglici melius debent debellare inimicos suos; unde nota quod in transitu, sive *gurgite fontis*, juxta quem pugnabunt, maxime nitentur evadere, et ibi ponendum esset obstaculum, dicens, *Nunc opus est*, i. Anglicis in illo bello, *contrari*, i. perscrutari ad modum piscatorum, *in gurgite fontis*, qui forte dicetur Waterforthe, vel Forthe, vel Welworthe, vel aliquod hujusmodi nomen habens, a quo populus a bello fugiet, et ibi debent *contrari cum contis*, i. cum lanceis; conti enim lanceæ sunt piscatorum secundum Catholicon, quibus investigant pisces in flumine. *Necnon opus est*, i. necesse Anglicis, *transmittere latas pennatas*, i. sagittas ad occidendum eos in transitu fontis, quia forte multi transibunt ab hominibus bellantibus cum lanceis si non apponunt remedium per architenentes, ut eos in transitu occident. Tertio ostendit de his qui capientur in illo prælio, et quomodo capientur, dicens, *Rumbus rumpetur*, i. exercitus illius regis qui per rumbum designatur, et *pennis pinnas ferietur*, i. homines sui exercitus, qui sic dicuntur *pinnæ* in illo exercitu *ferientur cum sagittis*, et lacerabuntur brachia, quia milites qui magis sibi appropinquant *lacerabuntur*, i. occidentur, *cum squamis rumbi*, i. cum illis qui sunt juxta cum *hamis*, i. in lorica et armatura sua cum lanceis et gladiis, et *ipse capietur pro cœna tauri*, i. ad repræsentandum tauro in cœna in *sagena*, quando vellet forte transisse gurgitem fontis et fugere, et *grandia cete*, i. domini per tales pisces designati, *ferientur lignis pennatis*, i. sagittis, quæ sunt ligna pennata, et *delphines*, i. domini qui tales pisces designati, *perient spatis*, i. transitu aquarum seu fontis prædicti; et *forcæ*, i. domini per tales pisces designati, *perient rete*, qui capientur vel occidentur; et *salmones frangentur pinnas*, i. homines designati per salmones per-

dent homines suos, *dum capientur*, in illo scilicet bello. Quarto ostendit de illis qui fugient de illo bello, et quomodo fiet de eis, dicens, *Caudam monstrabunt alii*, i. prænominatis sua posteriora, et *pinnis fugitabunt*, i. fugient cum suis hominibus et exercitu, *non expectabunt pro contis*, i. pro lanceis et gladiis quos fugient pro timore et terrore, *dum reboabunt*, i. dum facient sonitum cum tubis ad pugnandum. *Galli terga dabunt*, scilicet fugiendo de prælio, *catapultæ dum volitabunt*, scilicet dum sagittæ magnæ volant quæ catapultæ dicuntur. *Milvi cædentur*, i. ex illis qui fugient occidentur tot quot signantur in isto termino milvi, M.l.vij. *Cuculi silvis capientur*, i. tot capientur in silvis quot signantur in isto termino cuculi, cc.lxj. Ex hoc patet quod istud bellum committetur prope unam sylvam in qua isti fugitivi se receptabunt. Quinto ostendit quomodo Anglici occidentur in illo bello propter sui fatuitatem et imprudentiam, dicens quod *vespiliones*, i. nocturni latrones prædicti, *occident grossos multones*, i. homines designatos per multones ut prædictum est, *et vitulos multos*, homines scilicet designatos per vitulos, *inventos vespere stultos*, quia forte invenientur in aliquo loco propter sui stultitiam ubi non poterunt habere refugium ab exercitu, et ipsi sic erunt dispositi, vel forte dormiendo vel vigilando, quod seipsos non poterunt defendere ab hominibus fugientibus a bello qui ipsos in nocte occident. *Et leo lædetur*, i. filius regis qui leo dicitur, qui forte invenietur inter prædictos, vel alius qui leonem in armis suis portat, *sed læsus non perimetur*, quia illo tempore evadet cum læsura sua sine morte. Sed *mors falsorum est pessima*, qui post suam occisionem descendent ad infernum, *pretiosa bonorum*, qui recipient vitam æternam; unde psalmista: "Pretiosa in conspectu "Domini mors sanctorum ejus." Sexto facit finem de bello cancri, et laudat taurum ei bona prædicando, dicens, *Nolo narrare tibi plus de bellis novellis, quæ cancer faciet, semper victus quia fiet*. Hic nota quod iste cancer faciet plura bella quæ iste auctor non vult narrare, quia cancer semper vincetur, et ideo dicit tauro, scilicet regi Angliæ, *Taure, semper vale*, i. valeas, *tibi sit decus imperiale*, vel forte erit imperator, vel quia auctor vellet eum esse imperatorem, *quia tantum vel tale decet tibi*, quantum et quale decet *omnia numina*, i. deos omnes quos antiqui numina vocabant. Et sic terminatur istud capitulum, in quo eventus belli declaratur.

Capitulum viij^m^. ostendit de jubilæo tauri, et accidentibus contingentibus contra eum.

Me carmen lene dumus modulantis amœne.[1]
Ad jubilum tendo, gallo mea carmina pendo.
A vi tolle ducum, cuculi vim discute fucum.
Pacis erunt dies, belli terrore remoto,
Tauri curta quies si cedat Gallia voto;
Planget facta reus dum proximus est jubilæus,
Diceturque Deus Anglus quondam Nazaræus.
Sed pater in terra vix absolvat sine guerra.
Legatus Romæ, vi regis sed sede Thomæ,
Cantu cantabit ariæ plebs et jubilabit.
Per ferias septem lætum nosces fore cleptem;
Vincti solventur, sed captivi redimentur.
Pignora cum natis firmabuntur copulatis;
Sed Satel antiquus, bellorum semper amicus,
Impediet pacta, nisi sit sua fraus prece fracta.
Divinæ legis fiet meditatio regis,
Quæ temptabuntur per eum tunc prosperabuntur.

Me carmen lene. In isto capitulo viij° intendit auctor determinare de jubilæo tauri, et de accidentibus et contingentibus contra eum. Primo quod annus jubilæus secundum Magistrum in historiis est annus quinquagesimus septimana hebdomadorum annorum continens, in quo omnes destructiones rerum ad pristinos redibant. Eodem anno requiescebat terra, et servi liberi dimittebantur, et septem diebus ac noctibus solemnizabant ante ipsum, clangentes tubis, et ista et multa alia quæ causa brevitatis omitto patent in historiis suis leniter et hoc. Secundo notandum est quod jubilæus tauri *erit annus quinquagesimus regni sui, et non ætatis, quod faciunt* religiosi in anno quinquagesimo religionis suæ et non ætatis. Tertio est notandum quod annus Domini M.ccc.lxxvij. erit annus jubilæus regis Edwardi, qui coronatus fuit anno Christi M.ccc.xxvj., ætatis suæ anno xiiij., in festo conversionis Sancti Pauli. His præmissis, procedendum est ad expositionem literæ, in qua septem dicta continentur. Primo enim transfert se auctor ad loquendum de jubilæo tauri, de Gallo interim expectando. Et nota quod loquitur

[1] The commentary seems to show that a line is wanting after the first line in the text, but it is not found in the MSS.

ac si fuisset in una silva sonora, ubi cantus audisset philomene et concentus nemorum proportionatos cum excitantes jubilæum tauri discribendum, dicens, *Me carmen lene*, i. dulce et amœnum, *dumus modulantis amœne*, i. silvæ amœne sonantis et modulantis, et *cantus philomenæ*, i. talis avis dulcissime canentis, Anglice *nyght-yngale*. *Vocita me plene*, ad jubilæum tauri scilicet describendum. Et nota quod dicit plene quod iste numerus hic dicendus plene ostenditur et ducitur usque ad tempus jubilæi tauri, vel quia jubilæum hic perfecte describitur omnia alia omittendo, dicens, *Ad jubilum tendo*, scilicet describendum, *gallo mea carmina pendo*, i. expecto de carmine galli, donec tauri descripsero jubilæum, et tunc describam galli conditiones, in capitulo nono. Secundo ostendit quantitatem temporis inter bellum prædictum et jubilæum in quo requiescit taurus. Et nota quod litera fuit indifficilis, dicit enim auctor, *vi tolle ducum*, i. a numero contento in isto termino ducum, scilicet M.dcx., subtrahas *cuculi vim*, i. numerum contentum in isto termino cuculi, scilicet cc.lxj., *et discute fucum*, i. vide obscurum numerum inde remanentem, scilicet M.ccc.xlix., qui est numerus remanens post subtractionem, *pacis erunt dies*, scilicet ille numerus remanens signat numerum dierum pacis a tempore belli prædicti usque jubilæum tauri, qui numerus si dividatur in annis erunt tres anni novem menses et duo dies, faciendo mensem de xxviij. diebus, et istud erit tempus pacis tauri. *Belli terrore remoto*, sed *si Gallia cedat voto*, i. habeat voluntatem quam intendit, *tauri quies erit curta*, i. brevis. Tertio ostendit correctionem tauri ante tempus jubilæi, dicens, *reus*, i. Edwardus, culpabilis in aliquibus peccatis, *plangat facta*, i. peccata sua, *dum proximus est jubilæus*, i. per modicum ante jubilæum, qui in tantam mutabitur bonitatem quod dicetur a populo quod *Deus Nazaræus fuit quondam Galilæus, sed pater in terra vix absolvet sine guerra*. Nota quod iste versus potest habere triplicem expositionem. Prima est ista, quod *pater in terra*, i. papa, *vix absolvet sine guerra*, regem Angliæ tunc contritum de aliquibus peccatis ad ecclesiam pertinentibus. Secunda expositio est ista, papa *vix absolvet*, seu custodiet regnum Angliæ, *sine guerra* contra Gallicos. Tertia expositio est ista, quod *pater in terra*, Edwardus, *vix absolvet*, seu custodiet, *terram, sine guerra*, quæ forte tunc temporis excitabitur inter dominos Angliæ. Quarto ostendit de quodam legato Romæ, qui erit Cantuariæ tempore jubilæi ad faciendum solemnitatem, dicens, *Legatus Romæ*, qui forte mittetur a papa ad Angliam pro aliqua causa forte tractanda in regno vel in ecclesia Anglicana, cantabit Cantuariæ gens, i. faciet solemnitatem jubilæi in civitate Cantuariæ, ubi forte constituetur episcopus, *vi regis*, quia rex forte coget eum stare in regno vel facere solemnitatem contra voluntatem suam. *Sed sede Thomæ*, i. Cantuaria, quem sedem Sanctus Thomas regebat, et *plebs jubilabit*, quæ ibi congregabitur ad solemnitatem propter aliquam remissio-

nem quam forte tunc temporis rex faciet populo et communitati. Quinto ostendit quæ bona faciet latronibus et captivis in tempore jubilæi, dicens, *Nosces*, i. cognosces, *cleptem fore lætum*, qui fur dicitur eo quod res sibi clepit et collegit alienas, et *ferias septem*, quia per unam septimanam tantam facit clementiam et gratiam, quod *vincti solventur*, scilicet de carcere, et *captivi redimentur*, scilicet de captivitate, ad similitudinem jubilæi Judæorum, ut prætactum est in principio hujus capituli. Unde nota quod verisimile est quod si tantam faciet gratiam istis malefactoribus, quod amplius faciet communitati regni et bonis viris. Sexto ostendit aliqua pacta pacis fieri per conjugium, dicens, *Pignora firmabuntur*, id est pacis, illo tempore, *cum natis*, cum filiis et filiabus regis vel aliorum dominorum, *copulatis*, scilicet per conjugium, *sed Satan antiquus*, id est diabolus, *semper amicus bellorum*, quia nollet pacem, sed semper guerram, *impediet pacta*, scilicet ista quæ fuerunt per conjugium facta, *nisi sua fraus*, i. deceptio, *sit fracta*, i. destructa, *prece* aliquorum bonorum. Hic tria notantur. Primo notandum est quod illo tempore fient pacta de pace per aliqua conjugia quæ postea servabuntur cum magna difficultate. Secundo notandum est quod diabolus semper in quantum potest excitat homines ad bella, qua sicut Deus est amicus et auctor pacis, ita diabolus est amicus bellorum. Tertio est notandum quod fraus diaboli, i. ejus malitia, quando excitat homines ad bella vel alia mala consimilia, debet per preces frangi bonorum. Septimo ostendit vitam regis post tempus jubilæi, dicens quod *meditatio regis fiet*, scilicet tunc temporis, *divinæ legis*, scilicet in meditatione et oratione, non curando de temporalibus, et *quæ tunc temptabuntur, per eum prosperabuntur*, scilicet ad vitam æternam. Et nota quod his alludit auctoritati in quo ostendit David in primo psalmo beati virgini, dicens, "In lege Domini voluntas ejus, et in lege ejus meditabitur " die et nocte, et sequitur, omnia quæcunque faciet semper pros- " perabuntur," ad denotandum quod ab isto tempore jubilæi rex ponet se ad bona opera et adquirendum bonitatem æternam. Et sic terminatur istud capitulum.

Capitulum nonum, in quo intendit auctor tractare de gallo quem credit regnare post taurum et ei succedere.

Amodo de tauro taceo, gallo tibi psallo ;
Gallum de bruto noscos genitum fore scuto.
In mundo talis nullus gallus volat alis.
Ad gallum nomen tauri transibit et omen ;
Nomen mutatur, species sed continuatur.

Gallus erit magnus, justus, mansuetus ut agnus;
Ut taurus fortis, æqualis munere sortis.
Victus fertilitas hunc gallum nobilitabit;
Actus nobilitas decus illius geminabit.
Tempore brumali gallus nido boreali
Pullos nabit, et se volitare parabit.
Fient pennati pro caudis improperati;
Sic gallo grati, statim volitare parati.
Porci Flandrenses non cedent Angligenenses;
Falsi sunt penses, cum possint impetuenses.
Pacem tractabunt, sed fraudem subtus arabunt.
Non fient falsi fideles sunt nisi salsi.
Fient caudati nimium tunc infatuati,
Pennis cristati, vestitu degenerati.
Regnum Gallorum reputabunt esse suorum;
Sed remanet multum quod cor pensat modo stultum.
Advolat in vento sine tempore penna memento;
Penna volans gratis descendet zelotopatis.
Non venient sana dum turgent talia vana.

Amodo de tauro taceo. In isto capitulo nono incipit tractare de gallo quem credo regnaturum post taurum, et ei succedere in regno, et continet sex dicta. In primo ostendit quomodo transfertur a tauro ad loquendum de gallo, et qualis erit iste gallus, dicens, *Amodo taceo de tauro*, quasi diceret, non loquar amplius quam proposui in contemplatione divinæ legis post jubilæum; sed *gallo tibi psallo*, i. faciam carmina et versus sequentes de te et de actibus tuis, sicut prius feci de tauro, sed tu, lector, *noveres gallum fore genitum*, i. procreatum, *de bruto scuto*, i. de Wodestok, quia brutus, -ta, -tum, Anglice *wod* dicitur, et scutum, Anglice *stok*, ex antiquo, quia antiqui talibus loco scuti utebantur, quibus junctis faciunt Wodestoke, et sic habemus cognomen galli; et *nullus talis gallus*, sicut ipse, *volat in mundo alis*, quia non erit gallus volans, sed gradiens in terra, quia homo, vel quia nullus Gallus vel homo de Gallia *volat cum alis*, i. *cum tanta militia* sicut ille, et *nomen tauri*, scilicet patris sui Edwardi, et *omen*, i. hæreditas et vendicatio regni Franciæ et regnum Angliæ, *transibunt* ad gallum; quia gallus vocabitur Edwardus rex, sicut pater ejus prius vocabatur. *Nomen mutatur*, scilicet galli, quia gallus vocabitur, et rex quomodo prius non vocabatur, et alia nomina sua dimittentur. *Species sed continuatur*, quia erit idem homo in specie

et natura sicut prius, quamvis aliter vocabitur. Secundo describit mores istius galli, quos habebit in tempore suo, dicens, *Gallus erit magnus*, vel in statura corporali, vel in honore, vel in bellis; *justus*, scilicet in regno suo contra malefactores et iniquos homines, *mansuetus ut agnus*, bonis viris et justis de regno suo; *ut taurus fortis*, scilicet in bellis contra inimicos suos erit fortis sicut pater ejus fuit, et *erit æqualis* tauro *munere sortis*, quia multa bona recipiet per fortunam et munera sortis quæ per consilium suorum nunquam cogitabuntur, sicut talia acciderunt tauro patri suo. Et nota istud quod est bonum verbum. *Victus fertilitas*, i. abundantia ciborum et victualium, *nobilitabit hunc gallum*, quia libenter *recipiet homines ad prandium suum, et erit in dapibus valde* liberalis, et *nobilitas actus*, scilicet in bellis, *geminabit decus illius*, id est duplicabit honorem suum, quia primo laudabitur de dono et abundantia victualium, secundo de operibus bellorum. Tertio ostendit quomodo iste gallus congregabit exercitum in Borea ad unum bellum, dicens, *Pullos unabit*, i. congregabit in unum, *pullos*, homines scilicet bellatores sui regni, *in tempore brumali*, scilicet in hyeme, quando dies abbreviantur, *in nido boreali*, id est in aliquo loco in Borea; et *parabit se volitare*, id est, transire ultra mare ad debellandum contra Gallicos pro suo regno. *Et pennati*, i. architenentes, qui sagittis pennatis pennati dicuntur, *improperati pro caudis*, a Gallicis, quia vocant eos caudatos in despectu, *fient grati cum gallo*, illo tempore, et *parati volitare* contra Gallicos. Quarto ostendit falsitates Flandrensium contra gallum, dicens, *Porci Flandrenses*, id est, vocat eos porcos propter eorum immunditiam et bestialitatem, *non cedent Angligenenses*, id est, non erunt contra Anglicos illo tempore propter aliquod commodum quod de regno tunc habebunt. *Sed penses*, i. cognosces, *quod falsi sunt* contra Anglicos, *cum possint impetuenses*, quia erunt contra gallum cum impetu si crederent habere victoriam seu non timerent perdere utilitatem quam habent de Anglia; unde *pacem tractabunt*, scilicet cum gallo, *sed fraudem subtus arabunt*, cum Gallicis forte contra eum. Quinto ostendit quomodo Anglici illo tempore frustrabuntur a proposito suo propter fatuitatem, dicens quod *caudati*, id est Anglici, qui reprobantur pro caudis, *fient tunc nimis infatuati*, propter opera quæ facient in illo bello, et propter eorum superbiam; *quia vestitu sunt degenerati*, propter diversum modum vestimentorum et cissuram eorum, *et quia reputabunt regnum Gallorum esse suorum*, unde credent forte quod regnum Franciæ sit totaliter in manibus suis, *sed remanet multum*, id est, multum distat, sive multa sunt facienda priusquam illud fiat, *quod cor pensat modo stultum*, id est, quod cor stultum eorum pensat factum et completum. Sexto ostendit quomodo finis illius itineris frustrabitur, dicens, *Memento*, id est, cognoscas firmiter in mente tua, quod *penna*, id est, sagitta pennata, *advolat in vento*, id est in

nere, *sine tempore*, id est extra tempus, quia forte perdent sagittas suas frustra in aliquo facto ante tempus belli, et *penna volans gratis*, scilicet necesse vel utilitate, *descendit zelotopatis*, id est aliquibus dominis forte qui manent in castello cum uxoribus propter zelotypiam, circa qualia castella Anglici forte occupabuntur debellando, donec expendiderint sagittas suas, id est, *dum talia vana turgent*, id est, fiunt per Anglicos. *Non venient sana*, scilicet illa quæ intendit, et frustrabuntur a proposito suo. Et sic terminatur istud capitulum.

Capitulum decimum, in quo loquitur auctor de pestilentia tempore galli.

Heu! quod peccatum tanto mundo sit amatum!
Mors pro peccato ruet in terram veterato.
Me fore delirum dices, si dixero mirum;
Mors faciet gyrum per terras undique dirum.
Non consummabit carnem sed dimidiabit,
Quantum durabit medium lustri reserabit,
Et pennatorum fastum feriet fatuorum.
Tunc mors vesana disperdet gaudia vana;
Deponent pennas, metuent intrare Gehennas.
Gallus adhuc stabit et nomen continuabit.
Cum gallo bella cancer pingetque novella,
Sed frangit pactum cum gallus tendet ad actum.
Fortunare bonam renuet Jo. namque coronam.
Nunquam Gallorum cessabit fraus patruorum,
Carnificum nati patrui de stirpe creati,
Jura paterna pati renuent quia magnificati.
Prædecessores proprii quia non meminere
Jura per uxoris qui regnum cœpit habere.
Dedecus artificem fit propria facta negare,
Necnon carnificem decreta patris reprobare.

Heu! quod peccatum. In isto capitulo decimo loquitur auctor de pestilentia in tempore galli fienda, et aliis accidentibus illo tempore, et continet quatuor dicta. Prima condolendo ostendit illam pestilentiam futuram propter peccatum, dicens, *Heu! quod peccatum tantum amatum sit mundo*, quod *mors*, seu mortalitas, *ruet*, id est accidet, in terram Angliæ, *pro peccato veterato*, quod

Anglici ex antiquo continuabant; sed tu, lector, *dices me fore delirum*, id est errantem, *si dixero mirum*, de illa pestilentia, quod *mors* tunc temporis *faciet gyrum*, id est circuitum, *dirum*, id est crudelem, *undique per terras*, et erit pestilentia universalis in omni terra, sed *non consummabit*, id est omnem viventem, *carnem sed dimidiabit*, id est accipiet unam medietatem hominum, *et medium lustri*, id est medietas quinque annorum, *reserabit quantum durabit*, quia durabit tantum, scilicet duos annos et dimidium. Unde patet quod ista pestilentia non præteriit, quia præcedentium nulla tantum duravit. Secundo ostendit quomodo ista pestilentia impedit propositum galli de bello prædicto, dicens, *Et feriet fastum*, i. superbiam destruet, *pennatorum fatuorum*, i. architenentium Angliæ, qui fatui erunt illo tempore, ut prædictum est; et *sic mors vesana*, i. dira pestilentia, *disperdet gaudia vana*, quæ prius habuerunt credentes se habuisse victoriam et regnum Franciæ per suam potentiam, qui tantum per istam pestilentiam erunt humiliati, quod *deponent pennas*, i. sagittas et arcus, vel pennas quas portant in capillis suis, quia *metuent intrare Gehennas*, i. pœnam æternam propter peccata sua. Tertio ostendit quod gallus vivet post istam pestilentiam, et rex Scotiæ bella movebit, sed non expectabit ad conflictum, dicens, *Gallus adhuc stabit*, scilicet post illam pestilentiam; et *nomen continuabit*, quod prius habebat, et *cancer pinget*, i. faciet seu similabit, *bella novella cum gallo*, cum prædicto scilicet rege Angliæ; sed *cum gallus tendet*, i. disponet se ad actum, non expectabit sed fugiet, et *franget pactum*, quod faciet de pugna. Quarto ostendit fraudes et falsitates Francorum illo tempore, dicens, *Fortunare bonam renuet Jo. namque coronam*. Unde pro ista litera sunt tria notanda. Primo est notandum quod lex fuit in Francia quod mulieres deberent portare hæreditatem usque ad tempus Philippi le Bewes, quem una de hæredibus Franciæ tulit sibi in conjugem de macello propter ejus pulchritudinem, et tunc ordinatum fuit quod mulieres non gauderent hæreditate propter despectum personæ, quod carnifex factus fuit rex; unde omnes reges Franciæ ab illo tempore de genere fuerunt carnificum. Secundo est notandum quod iste terminus fortunare idem significat quod fœcundare, prosperum facere, vel emundare. Tertio est notandum quod iste terminus patruus proprie dicitur frater patris mei, et avunculus dicitur proprie frater matris. His præmissis, sequitur expositio literæ. *Fortunare bonam renuet Jo. namque coronam*. Iste versus habet duplicem expositionem. Prima est quod *Jo. renuet*, Johannes rex Franciæ refutabit, *fortunare bonam coronam*, i. prosperam facere vel honorare coronam Franciæ, quia forte destruet vel mutabit aliqua quæ pertinent ad dignitatem coronæ et regni, ut perdet aliqua pertinentia ad coronam contra aliquem dominum sui regni vel alterius, vel. qui impediet eos

coronari quibus de jure competeret corona, et qui melius eam regerent quem ipse, et amplior fortuna sequeretur. Secunda expositio hujus versus est ista: *fortunare*, i. per fortunam ut accipiatur nominaliter in ablativo casu, *renuet Jo. bonam coronam*, quia forte permittet aliquem filiorum suorum coronari suo tempore voluntate propria ad instantiam regni, vel forte hoc erit contra voluntatem suam, per aliquod infortunium, seu per fraudem regni et illorum de sanguine suo in quibus confidit; unde dicit, *Fraus gallorum patruorum*, i. descendentium a patre, scilicet Philippo Bewes carnifice, *nunquam cessabit*, quia volunt esse certi de alio rege, ut rex Angliæ non vendicet regnum Franciæ tempore quo esset sine rege, quia in quantum possunt semper per fraudes et falsitates suas nitentur impedire gallum de Francia et excludere a regno Franciæ; unde auctor reprobat eos, dicens, *Carnificum nati*, i. de genere carnificis, *creati de stirpe patrui*, qui de stirpe Philippi Bewes processerunt, *renuent pati jura paterna*, i. sustinere leges antiquorum patrum a quibus ordinabatur quod mulieres deberent habere hæreditatem sicut mares, si pater sine mare decederet vel frątre, et hoc faciunt quia *magnificati* fuerant et exaltati per fortunam Philippi prædicti, qui cœpit habere regnum Franciæ per jura uxoris, scilicet per idem jus quod modo reprobant; unde est *dedecus artificem reprobare decreta patris*, i. leges patrum, videlicet quibus ipse fuit promotus, et elevatus in regnum. Et sic terminatur istud capitulum.

Capitulum xj. ostendit secundam pestilentiam tempore galli futuram, et causam inde, et alia accidentia.

Est Notus infestus Saturni cum ruet æstus,
Assub quando cadet, mors per terræ vada vadet.
A peccatore salus est longe brevis horæ.
Mors infecta malis pernicibus evolat alis.
Mors veniet demens, vix evadet bene clemens.
Ecclesiæ patres solvent hoc tempore fratres.
Flebunt discreti maculas formidine lethi;
Hostia divina mundis fiet medicina.
A nece tam tristi salvabit visio Christi.
Non est res mira summi si percutit ira;
Non est in mundo dives qui dicit abundo.

Pax et justitia strinxerunt basia dudum;
Fastus, avaritia destruxerunt modo ludum.
Verum de terra nunc non oritur sine guerra.
Justum de cœlo non metuitur sine telo;
Et nimis ingrata jam plebs de fonte renata
Munera tam grata non est summi meditata.
Ast impinguata, per delicias jaculata,
Summi mandata renuit servare beata.
Gratia tardatur, et sic vindicta paratur;
Universalis nam mors erit exitialis.
Decrescet luna, cancer decrescet, et una
Perdet fallacem, mors coget stringere pacem.

Est Notus. In isto undecimo capitulo, ubi pertractat de secunda pestilentia tempore galli et aliis actibus, et continet v. dicta, primo ostendit causas et signa pestilentiæ secundæ, a quibus transibit, et quis capiat, unde tria sunt hic primitus notanda. Primo est notandum quod Saturnus est stella maximo nociva terræ et inductiva pestilentiarum, unde secundum Misaelem Saturnus est planeta malevolus, frigidus, siccus, ponderosus, et nocturnus, et secundum Catholicon in judiciis signat mœrorem et tristitiam. Secundo est notandum quod Assub est excutio quæ apparet in nocte ac si stellæ caderent de cœlo, et signat magnam siccitatem et æstum seu calorem in aere. Tertio est notandum quod quando ista duo simul apparent, sunt signa mortalitatis et pestilentiæ ex aere infecto propter æstum nimium et siccitatem inordinatam in aere, ita quod ibi deficiat humidum sufficienter vitæ conservativum. Et his præmissis clarius patebit expositio. Dicit, *cum æstus Saturni*, i. calor inordinatus sive destructivus causatus ex natura Saturni, *ruet*, i. fiet vel accidet in terra, quod continget per modicum tempus ante annum Christi $M^{m}ccc^{mmm}v^{m}$, sicut expressius alias calculabo per astronomiam; tunc erit *Notus infestus*, i. ventus inter Austrum et Orientem qui Notus dicitur, erit contrarius et destructivus ex infectione constellationis Saturni; et *quando Assub cadet*, de cœlo in noctibus serenis, tunc *mors vadet*, i. transibit, *per vada terræ*, i. per Herforthe; et hic utitur sexta occultatione, quia credo quod villam de Herforthe dimittet, et alias villas occupabit, vel quia non nocebit comiti de Hertforde quando multi alii domini per illam pestilentiam morientur, quia illo tempore forte comes de Herforthe bonus erit et Deo devotus, et alii mali et peccatores, qui in illa pestilentia maxime morientur; unde dicit, quod *salus brevis horæ*, i. illius pestilentiæ, *est longe a peccatore*, quia tunc peccatores morientur

et non salvabuntur. *Mors infecta malis*, i. hominibus quos tunc accipiet, vel multis malis vel multis miseriis quæ in illa pestilentia contingent morientibus. *Pernicibus evolat alis*, i. velocibus alis volat de terra in terram, ita quod cito occupabit plures partes mundi. *Mors veniet demens*, illo tempore scilicet quod non parcet alicui, nec diviti nec pauperi, in tantum quod *vix evadet bene clemens*, scilicet de ista pestilentia. Et nota quod iste terminus clemens potest accipi pro quolibet bono homine et clementi, vel pro papa qui forte tunc temporis Clemens vocabitur, qui evadet de illa pestilentia. Secundo notat auctor unum accidens quod illo *tempore fiet circa fratres mendicantes, dicens, Ecclesiæ patres*, scilicet episcopi et cardinales, *solvent hoc tempore fratres*, i. destruent eorum religionem, quod amplius non erunt ligati ad eam; vel illo tempore erit tanta penuria sacerdotum sæcularium propter pestilentiam præcedentem, quod papa et episcopi solvent illam constitutionem in qua cavetur quod fratres non ministrant sacramenta sæcularibus nisi confessionem, et tunc concedent eis plenariam executionem sacramentorum, sicut jam habent rectores et sacerdotes parochiales; vel tunc temporis propter penuriam sæcularium recipient fratres ab ecclesia Romana præbendas et dignitates ecclesiæ et terras a dominis devotis, sicut nunc faciunt monachi, et non tenebuntur amplius tunc ad tantam paupertatem ut hostiatim mendicent. Vel potest aliter exponi quod fratres illo tempore *solvent patres ecclesiæ secundum bonam expositionem; lector recipiet* sicut placet, quia de prælatis ecclesiæ nolo aliqua mala inferre. Tertio ostendit dolorem hominum illo tempore, et eorum salvationem per medicinam, in tribus versibus, dicens, *Discreti flebunt maculas*, i. sapientes erunt contriti de maculis peccatorum suorum, *formidine lethi*, i. pro timore mortis; sed illo tempore *hostia divina*, i. sacramentum altaris, *fiet medicina mundis*, scilicet ad vitam æternam; quia per illud sacramentum mundi salvabuntur, vel mundis fiet medicina eos liberando ab infirmitate corporali; et *visio Christi*, scilicet in sacramento altaris, vel propter aliam corporalem apparitionem qua forte tunc temporis se ostendet mundis, vel forte in cœlesti patria, *salvabit a nece tam tristi*, scilicet ab ista magna pestilentia; dicens, *Non est res mira*, i. non est mirandum, *si ira summi Dei percutit*, per istam scilicet pestilentiam, primo propter avaritiam divitum, *quia non est in mundo dives qui dicit abundo*, i. nulli diviti videtur quod habeat ad abundantiam; et sic exponas cæteros versus ad literam, quia non continent difficultatem. Quinto ostendit quod illa mors erit universalis; et quod rex Scotiæ in illa pestilentia morietur, dicens, *Gratia tardatur*, scilicet propter ista peccata, *et sic vindicta paratur*, per istam pestilentiam prædictam; *nam mors exitialis*, et destruens, *erit universalis*, scilicet per diversas terras; *et luna decrescet*, et dominetur ac si dicatur Scotice *in the wanyand, cancer decrescet*, i. rex Scotiæ

infirmabitur, *et una perdet fallacem,* quia forte una mulier erit causa suæ mortis vel destructionis suæ, qui falsus et fallax fuit ad Angliam tempore suo, et tunc ista *mors coget stringere pacem,* quia ab illo tempore firmabitur pax inter Angliam et Scotiam, quæ per multos annos non continuabitur. Et sic terminatur istud capitulum.

Capitulum xij^m^ ostendit quomodo gallus recipiet Franciam.

Lethum præcedet, tunc gallo Gallia cedet;
Quod Deus ipse dare vult nemo valet revocare.
Inferni porta gallus transibit adorta,
Anglorum causa longinquo tempore clausa.
Dum perdet centum, feriet caput et nece lentum.
Tristia post letha venient vix tempora læta,
Mors dum purgabit, cum gallo non jubilabit.
Stirps Parisatina periet confrissa ruina.
Non divinavi mendacia, sed simulavi;
Plurima narravi, sed somnia vera putavi,
Et magis erravi, quia non mea dicta probavi.
Qui nil audivit, nil vidit, nil bene scivit;
Qui bene nil scivit, describere nil bene quivit.
Universalis defectus fit mihi talis,
Visus et auditus testis fortunamque peritus,
Solus secura novit Deus ipse futura.
Omnia formavit veluti voluit et amavit.
Quod deliravi sermonibus insinuavi.
Per summum juro, te credere non mihi curo.
Judicium faciet gestorum quisque suorum;
Mercedem capiet laborum quisque suorum.
Ad mortem tendo, morti mea carmina pendo.

Expositio.—Lethum præcedet. In isto xij. capitulo auctor ostendit quomodo gallus recipiet regna Franciæ, et finit prophetiam suam, et continet quinque dicta. In primis duobus versibus ostendit quomodo gallus recipiet regnum Franciæ, dicens, *Lethum præcedet,* ista pestilentia prædicta prius erit, et *tunc Gallia cedet,* i. dabit locum, *gallo,* scilicet regi Angliæ prædicto, quia *quod Deus*

vult dare, nemo potest vel *valet revocare,* seu impedire. Secundo ostendit auctor ubi et quomodo gallus recipiet Franciam; unde pro expositione illius dicti sunt tria notanda. Primo est notandum quod hoc dictum, *adorta,* potest esse una dictio, scilicet participium, ab hoc verbo adorior, adoriris, et tunc signat idem quod hoc participium aggressus ante vel juxta hortus vel mansionem secundum Papiam; et potest esse duæ dictiones, scilicet ad et ortus, -ta, -tum, i. natus vel genitus. Secundo est notandum quod si accipiatur primo modo, sic est ablativus casus, et adjectivum hujus dictionis porta; si secundo modo, est accusativus pluralis cum præpositione ad. Tertio est notandum quod Parisius est una porta quæ vocatur porta inferni, quam claudebant sive murabant Gallici propter causam exortam inter Angliam et Franciam. Istis præmissis, sequitur expositio literæ sic. Primo potest exponi: *porta inferni,* scilicet baratri, *adorta,* i. invasa sive aggressa, quæ scilicet fuit *clausa longinquo tempore,* pro *causa Anglorum;* tunc *gallus transibit;* sed non ostendit ad quem locum debet transire isto modo exponendo. Secundo potest sic exponi: *gallus transibit porta inferni,* i. per portam inferni, quæ fuit *clausa longinquo tempore pro causa Anglorum adorta,* i. ad genitos suos seu natos per progenitores, qui eum ad infernum præcesserunt. Tertio potest sic exponi: *porta inferni adorta,* i. quando porta inferni Parisius est aggressa per bellum seu invasa, quæ fuit *clausa longinquo tempore pro causa Anglorum,* ut per eam Anglici civitatem non intrarent, *gallus transibit,* scilicet ad civitatem accipiendum. Quarto sic exponitur: *gallus transibit adorta,* i. ad regna ex origine sibi data per matrem, scilicet ad regnum Franciæ, *porta inferni,* scilicet per portam inferni Parisius, quæ fuit *clausa longinquo tempore pro causa Anglorum;* et secundas duas expositiones reputo veriores. Tertio ostendit modum et tempus adquirendi Franciam in isto versu, *dum perdet centum,* pro cujus expositione sunt tria notanda. Primo est notandum quod iste terminus dum potest accipi dupliciter; primo pro adverbio temporis, sicut communiter accipitur; secundo pro numero quem literæ in eodem contentæ signant, qui est M. d. v. Secundo est notandum quod iste terminus caput accipitur tripliciter; primo pro parte corporis, scilicet in qua sensus maxime vigent; secundo pro domino capitali seu principali alicujus rei, sicut dicimus quod rex est caput regni, vel vir est caput mulieris; tertio pro aliqua re inanimata excellenti, sicut dicimus quod Roma est caput civitatum Italiæ, London. caput civitatum Angliæ, et Parisius caput civitatum Franciæ. Tertio est notandum quod lethum est æquivocum; quando dicitur hoc lethum, idem est quod mors; quando dicitur lætus, -ta, -tum, idem est quod gaudiosus, -a, -um. Iis præmissis, sequitur expositio hujus versus, qui tripliciter exponitur sic. *Dum perdet centum,* iste numerus designatur per literas con-

tentas in ista dictione dum, scilicet M. d. v. *perdet centum* per subtractionem seu diminutionem, et remaneant M.iiij^{c} v., qui numerus signat annos Domini in quo *gallus feriet caput*, i. civitatem principalem Franciæ, *nece lentum*, i. debilitatum per necem et mortem præcedentem de hominibus suis, ita quod non sufficiet gallo resistere. Secunda expositio est quod anno prædicto *feriet caput*, i. dominum capitalem, qui erit lentus nece, i. fatigatus per pestilentiam præcedentem. Tertio exponitur sic: *dum gallus perdet centum*, i. illo tempore quo gallus perdet centum milites vel homines pugnantes contra civitatem vel regem devincendum, *feriet caput et nece lentum*, i. occidet ductorem capitalem illius prælii, vel illam civitatem capitalem prædictam contra quam pugnant. Et *post illa tristia letha*, i. pestilentias prædictas, vel post tristem mortem illius belli, *vix venient tempora læta*, et gaudiosa, tanta erit destructio hominum illo tempore vel tanta malitia et nequitia post illud tempus erit inter homines. Et iste versus aliter exponitur, quod *post illa tristia letha*, centum hominum quos perdet aggressu contra inimicos, *venient vix tempora læta*, i. tot anni læti et gaudiosi venient gallo, qui in illo prælio adquiret regnum Franciæ, quot sunt unitates designatæ per literas hujus dictionis vix, quæ sunt xvj., quia forte tantum tempus gaudebit in regno Franciæ ante mortem suam, vel per xiiij. secundum aliam expositionem illius dictionis; eligat lector expositionem quam voluerit. Quarto ostendit qualia accident gallo in illo conflictu vel post, sicut eligere poterit lector in expositione, quia isti versus habent duplicem expositionem. Prima expositio quod *dum mors purgabit*, i. faciet purgationem de peccatoribus eos extirpando, *non jubilabit cum gallo*, i. non faciet jubilum seu gaudium cum gallo, quia homines sui tunc morientur, vel quia forte ipsemet morietur, qui stirps Parisatina dicitur forte quia processit ex illa generatione quæ tunc periet, seu peribit, *confrissa ruina*, i. per aliam ruinam, vel per bellum quod sibi fiet, ita quod illa generatio non amplius regnabit seu durabit. Secunda expositio est ista, quod *dum mors purgabit*, scilicet occidendo homines et eos destruendo, *stirps Parisatina non jubilabit cum gallo*, i. forte aliqua mulier de genere vel de stirpe Parisatina, quæ erit uxor galli, vel forte sibi amicabilis, non jubilabit vel gaudebit amplius cum gallo, quia periet seu peribit, *confrissa ruina*, mortis, vel occisa; vel forte morietur in partu per violentiam alicujus ruinæ; et utraque istarum expositionum potest verificari pro tempore quo civitas prædicta capietur, vel pro xvj^{o} anno post, vel xiiij., sicut dicitur in prædicta expositione præcedenti super istam dictionem vix. Quinto ostendit de modo suo prophetandi et respondendi quatuor quæstionibus, seu dubiis, quæ poterant moveri contra eum in prophetia sua. Primo potest aliquis quærere ab eo, ex

quo scribit prophetiam, et prophetia deberet continere totaliter veritatem, quare divinavit et prophetavit mendacia. Dicit *non divinavi mendacia*, i. non scripsi quæ sunt mendacia pro seipsis, sed ad signandum alia per aliquam similitudinem, ut præexposita est, et ideo simulavi et locutus sum per similitudinem. Secunda quæstio possit moveri contra istum auctorem, quare tot et talia narravit, cum propheta deberet pauca dicere, et in verbis paucis multa continere. Huic quæstioni seu dubio respondit, dicens, *Plurima narravi*, i. scripsi narrando in dictis meis, quia *putavi somnia vera*, quasi diceret quia quæ Spiritus Sanctus revelavit mihi in somnis putavi vera, ideo ea scripsi ad intelligentiam auditoris. Tertia quæstio possit moveri, quare erravit aliquando et male scripsit, et non secundum veritatem, nec secundum ordinem; et respondit huic quæstioni, dicens, *Et magis erravi*, scilicet non scribendo clare et aperte, *quia non probavi dicta mea*, sed fui alienatus in sensibus corporalibus, nil audiendo, nil videndo, nil sciendo; sed *qui nil audivit*, sed auditu fuit privatus, *nil vidit*, scilicet oculo, *nil bene scivit*, sed scientia bona ex visu procedit vel auditu, et *qui nil bene scivit*, de aliquibus *nil quivit*, seu poterit, *bene describere;* et *talis defectus*, scilicet *visus et auditus, fit mihi universalis*, quia nec potui videre nec audire, namque fit *testis peritus*, i. Spiritus Sanctus est testis si alia est causa quare erravi et nescivi secure seu certitudinaliter futura, quia *ipse solus Deus novit futura secura*, scilicet quæ venient certitudinaliter, *qui formavit omnia veluti voluit*, i. secundum voluntatem suam, et secundum quod *amavit*. Quarta quæstio, seu dubium, poterit esse, ex quo iste erravit in scribendo et deliravit, quomodo aliquis deberet credere sibi, seu dare fiduciam dictis suis; et huic quæstioni respondet, dicens, *Insinuavi* et ostendi quod *deliravi in sermonibus*, et in verbis occultis, sed non in sententiis; quasi diceret, licet verba mea appareant deliramenta et falsa propter occultum modum loquendi, si tamen bene exponantur continent veritates, et ideo sic est mihi credendum, et si volueris *mihi credere*, seu dictis meis, per *Deum juro non curo*, quia quisque faciet judicium *gestorum suorum*, i. judicabit istam prophetiam esse veram secundum illud quod sibi accidit, et *quisque* accipit *mercedem laborum suorum*, pro gestis et factis suis. Et quia *ego tendo ad mortem*, propter febres et infirmitates meas, pendo seu finio carmina mea morti, quia amplius scribere non valeo.

Et sic sententiam hujus libri, comes reverende, ob vestram declaravi reverentiam, non affirmans istum librum tanquam prophetiam, et tanquam versus multis difficultatibus implicatos exposui, nec dico me in omnibus invenisse veritatem; sed ut magis mihi videbatur pro tempore expositionis ad sententiam, literæ cum occultationibus convenientibus deduxi intellectum.

Rogo, si vestræ placuerit reverentiæ, quod iste liber manibus *multorum non tradatur, et si secretioribus aliquotiens contingat* ostendi, nomen tamen auctoris occultatur, ne incurram aliorum indignationem propter opus quod vestram tantum curavi honestare dignitatem. Valete ad mundi honores cum spirituali incremento per preces humilitatis servi vestri, cui talem decet venerari sublimantem. *Explicit expositio hujus prophetiæ.*

On the Death of Edward III.[1]

1377.

A! dere God, what may this be,
  That alle thing weres and wasteth away?
Frendschyp is but a vanyté,
  Unnethe hit dures al a day.
  Thei beo so cliper[2] at assay,
So leof to han, and loth to lete,
  And so fikel in heore fay,
  That selden isciȝe is sone forȝete.

I sei hit not withouten a cause,
  And therfore takes riht god hede;
For ȝif ye construwe wel this clause,
  I puit ȝou holly out of drede,
  That puire schame ȝor hert wold blede,
And ȝe this matere wysly trete.
  He that was ur most spede
Is selden seye and sone forȝete.

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[1] This English song on the death of King Edward III. is preserved in two manuscripts, one in the British Museum, MS. addit., No. 22,283, fol. 132, r°, the other in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, known as MS. Vernon, fol. 410, v°. The latter manuscript is well known to antiquaries by the title of the Vernon manuscript; the former has been recently purchased by the British Museum, and, singularly enough, the two manuscripts resemble each other in shape, in handwriting, and in their contents, so closely, that there can be no doubt of their having come from the hand of the same scribe. The song is here printed from the Museum MS., with the only variations of any importance of the other.

[2] *sliper*, Vernon MS.

Sum tyme an Englis schip we had,
  Nobel hit was, and heih of tour;
Thorw al Christendam hit was drad,
  And stif wold stonde in uch *a* stour,
  And best dorst byde a scharp schour,
And other stormes smale and grete;
  Nou is that schip, that bar the flour,
Selden seiȝe and sone forȝete.

Into that schip ther longeth a roothur,
  That steered the schip, and governed hit;
In al this world nis such anothur,
  As me thenketh in my wit.
  Whil schip and rothur togeder was knit,
Thei dredde nother tempest, druyȝe, nor wete;
  Nou be thei bothe in synder flit;
That selden seiȝe is sone forȝete.

Scharpe wawes that schip has sayled,
  And sayed alle sees at aventur;
For wynt ne wederes never hit fayled,
  Wil the roothur miht enduir.
  Thouȝ the see were rouȝ, or elles dimuuir,
Gode havenes that schip wold geete.
  Nou is that schip, I am wel suir,
Selde iseye and sone forȝete.

This good schip I may remene
  To the chivalrye of this londe;
Sum tyme thei counted nouȝt a bene
  Beo al Fraunce, ich understonde.
  Thei toke and slouȝ hem with her wonde,[1]
The power of Fraunce, bethe smale and grete;
  And brouȝt the kyng hider to byde her bonde;[2]
And nou riht sone hit is forȝete.

[1] *honde*, Vern.

[2] *bote*, MS. Addit.

That schip hadde a ful siker mast,
And a sayl strong and large,
That made the gode schip never agast
To undertake a thinge of charge.
And to that schip ther longed a barge,
Of al Fraunce ȝaf nouȝt a cleete.
To us hit was a siker targe;
And now riht clene hit is forȝete,

The *rother was nouther ok* no elm,
Hit was Edward the thridde the noble kniht;
The prince his sone bar up his helm,
That never scoumfited was in fiht.
The kyng him rod and rouwed ariht,
The prince dredde nouther stok nor streete.
Nou of hem we lete ful liht;
That selden is seiȝe is sone forȝete.

The swifte barge was duk Henri,
That noble kniht, and wel assayed;
And in his leggaunce worthily
He abod mony a bitter brayd.
ȝif that his enemys ouȝt outrayed,
To chasteis hem wolde he not lete.
Nou is that lord ful lowe ileyd;
That selde is seiȝe is sone forȝete.

This gode comunes, bi the rode,
I likne hem to the schipes mast;
That with heore catel and with heore goode
Mayntened the werre both furst and last.
The wynd that bleuȝ the schip with blast,
Hit was gode preȝeres, I scy hit atrete;
Nou is devoutnes out icast,
And mony gode dedes ben clene forȝete.

Thus ben this lordes ileid ful lowe;
The stok is of the same roto;
An ympe biginnes for to growe,
And ȝit I hope schal ben ur bote,
To wolde[1] his fomen underfote,
And as a lord be set in sete.
Crist, lene that he so mote,
That selden iseiȝe be not forȝete.

Weor that impe fully growe,
That he had sarri,[2] *sap, and pith,*
I hope he schulde be kud and knowe
For conquerour of moni a kith.
He is ful livelich in lyme and lith
In armes to travayle and to swete.
Crist, live we so fare him with,
That selden seiȝe be never forȝete.

And therfore holliche I ou rede,
Til that this ympe beo fulli growe,
That uch a mon up with the hede,
And mayntene him bothe heiȝe and lowe.
The Frensche men cunne bothe bost and blowe,
And with heore scornes us to-threte;
And we beoth bothe unkuynde and slowe,
That selden seiȝe is sone forȝete.

And therfore, gode sires, taketh reward
Of ȝor douhti kyng that deyȝede in age,
And to his sone prince Edward
That welle was of alle corage.
Suche two lordes of heiȝe parage
Is not in eorthe whom we schal gete.
And nou heore los beginneth to swage,
That selde iseiȝe is sone forȝete.

---

[1] *holde*, Vern.

[2] *sarr*, Vern.

On the Death of Edward III.[1]

Proemium in epitaphium domini Edwardi regis Anglorum tertii.

Regis in Edwardi bene debeo funere flere,
  Anglicus armatus sæpius ense suo.
Per mare, per terras totiens pertriverat hostes,
  Quod nec adhuc audent jure referre minas.
Is pugil abscessit anima poscens paradisum,
  Rex sibi succedens æquiparatur ei.
Par proprio patri sit, avo par, sit proavis par,
  Parque Ricardo sit, par quia non habuit.
Ille David dormit, Salomon silet, ac obit Obeth,
  Mors sua me flere jam memorata facit.
Heroicum carmen lacrimabor eum lucubrandum,
  Heroico metro si mihi, musa, faves.

Explicit Proemium. Incipit epitaphium domini Edwardi regis Anglorum tertii.

Qui quinquaginta felices fecerat annos
  In solio regni, rex noster nobis olim,
Tertius Edwardus, bene notus nomine tanto,
Nam genitor gessit et progenitor præhabebat.
Dulce Deo nomen donatum pollice pingui,
Ad tres Cæsareos apud Anglos sceptrigerantes,
Post conquestorem rebus regnoque potitos,
Quorum gemma, jubar, rosa regum, regula regni,
Luciferum luna lunam sicut superat sol.
Sic meritis, sic militia, sic moribus altis,
Inclitus Edwardus, excellentissimus ille,
Omnes præradians obscuravit præeuntes.

---

[1] Taken from a manuscript in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, MS. Rawlinson, No. 214, fol. 130, r°.

Gestum regium in ministerio divino.

Ad sacratam supplex quod toto tempore vitæ,
Post duplices matutinas horasque diei,
Cotidie missam dexter committeret auri,
Mane die Martis, sed sexta pace petente
Accumulans altare Dei dono pretioso,
Nunc auro, nunc argento, nunc veste valoris,
Codicibus, cum calicibus bene commemorandis,
Sacras reliquias sanctorum sæpius addens,
Ut monachis nigris caput abbatis Benedicti,
Ac monachis albis caput Annæ progenitricis
Christi, Londoniæ lætantur utroque jocali.
Est hoc ad Estmynster, ad Westmynster caput illud.

Fertilitatem sobolum domini regis et industriam principis Edwardi regis Edwardi primogeniti.

Tam summus sobole quod totum terruit orbem
Per primogeniti præclari principis arma;
Fregit enim Francos, regem reliquosque rebelles
Londonias ducens in vincula dura ligandos;
Intrans Hispanos princeps feriendo fugavit
Omnes obstantes, captivans milia multa.
Dux Leonellus, duxque Johannes, germina regis,
Dux *Edmundus, duxque Thomas, nam juniores,*
Willelmique duo parvi pueri morientes.
Fœminei sexus fuerant Ysabella, Johanna,
Blanchia de Turri, Britonumque ducissa Maria;
Ultima Margareta fuit, Pembroke comitissa.

Misericordiam et modestiam domini regis erga delinquentes.

Tam timuit cœlum cum portaret gladium rex,
Ob malefactores mulctandos cuspidis ictu,
Quod non occidit unquam proprio pugione,
Talem tollendum quietus qualibet ira,
More suo sancto, sed justitiarius ejus
Posceret a præsentato pro crimine quovis,
Quid responderet ad crimen tale relatum.
Si se purgaret ad perjuratos duodenos
De convicinis, sua mors sua vitave venit.

Victoriam domini regis apud bellum de Cresey et obsidionem Calays.

Quot per eum cæsos inito certamine belli
Mercurius nullus numeraret mille lapillis;
Semper enim victor et nunquam victus abibat.
Tam ferus et fortis, et formidatus in armis,

Ad Francos fuerat, quod apud campestriam Cresey,
Dum dominus princeps acie prima peracutus
Fortius infremeret geminos reges jugulando,
Ac occursantes omnes occideret ense.
Tunc ubi Francorum vidit adesse Philippus
Edwardi regis aciem validam venientem,
Fronte sagittatus negat ultra nosce sagittas,
Festinus fugere, fidens pedibus palefridi.
Sicut apud Cresey, sic claruit ante Caletum,
Dum rapidus fugeret rex et totum quasi regnum,
Dorsa duodecies ibi centum milia dando.

Victoriam domini regis E. super Scotos in 3 prœliis.

Tam felix Scotis, quod primo flore juvente,
Ipso rege duce, discumbebat Halydona
Monte quadraginta Scotorum milia cæsa.
Bello-mount duce cognomine cum Baliolo,
Milia Scotorum tunc sexaginta cadebant;
In castra mora fuit hoc bellum bene factum,
Milleque quingenti fuimus, qui nos numerasset.
Dunelmi campis dux archiepiscopus illic
Mortua Scotorum viginti millia vidit.
Sic variis vicibus vel per se perve suorum
Prœlia de Scotis tribus his bellis perierunt
Centum milia, rex Scotorum vinclaque cepit.

Victoriam domini regis super Francos, et fallaciam papæ Clementis erga Anglos.

Tam super equum erat audax et amarus in hostem,
Quod quinquaginta Francorum milia fudit
Extra sola classe collecta nomine papæ;
Sed nobis inimica nimis mala multa minata est.
Rex ut hoc invenit, invasit, et in mare mersit,
De toto numero fugere decem nisi naves.
Papa Clemens sextus, gazis papæ Benedicti,
Hos ad Jerusalem conductitios adi viros,
Procurante via Francorum rege Philippo,
Misit et amisit, quia percuterent prius Anglos;
Ac Anglis domitis tunc Joppen adire minaret,
Sed Deus Angligenas bene salvans sit benedictus!

Victoriam domini regis super Hispanos.

Torvus in Hispanos, qui clara classe superbi
Litora cum ferro feriebant nostra frequenter,
Tollentes prædas, tradebant predia flammis,
Non puero parvo parcentes seu seniori,
Quin cunctas animas crudeli morte metebant,
Sic semel effrenos rigido rex ense recepit,
Transfodiens nautas, subigens naves, bona vorans,
Classe duæ naves de tota diffugiebant;
Sed velo veloce magis citius revocantur
In similem sortem quam sustinuere sorores.

Victoriam domini regis super mare.

Ex hoc in præsens navalia prælia multa,
Per mare cautus erat.
Tam fortunatus victor vitam faciebat
Per tantum tractum, prope septuaginta per annos,
Semper supponens inimicos inferiores;
Dum princeps prosper dicti duces equitabant,
Ac comites clari nunquam nomen minuentes;
Pingues prisones tunc Londoniis lacrimati,
Rex Francorum, rex Scotorum, duxque Britannus,
Immo duces, immo comites, immo numerosi
De cunctis gradibus in vincula nostra cadebant.
Quos dominus rex dimisit, quosdam domini papæ,
Quosdam florenis, et quosdam fœdere facto,
Quamplures confugerunt de carcere furto.

Statuta domini regis de annona capienda.

Tam pius in plebem, quod serenissimus æqui
Edidit edicto durandum dulce statutum
Ejus in iconomos, populum prius excoriantes,
Quod provisores annonæ regis in aulam
Non animalia, sed nec oves, nec aves, nec avenas,
Perciperent de pauperibus, viduisve micellis,
Sed de divitibus digno pretio comitante.
Confusam curam primus projecit eorum,
Qui plures proprias perdebant quolibet anno
Depopulando domos depascebant sata cuncta,
Dilapidando thoros meretrices mille trahebant,
Horrea frangentes sua firmabant bona regni.

Judiciarios per eum constitutos pro jure servando.

Tam prudens dum præfectos posuit patriarum,
Quod cunctis patriis ignotos intitulavit,
Jura volens fieri, neque flecti qualibet arte,
Ut mihi Mercensi judex Westsaxo veniret;
Sed Westsaxo satis ignoto jus sequeretur,
In neutram partem portandus amore vel ira;
Pervertunt amor vel odium quod judicis iram.
Hinc statuit patriis alienum semper adesse,
Qui nullo voto loqueretur libera jura.
Is non audiret verba potentis amici,
Nec contra condemnaret capiens inimicum.

Statuta domini regis contra juris transgressores, et pœnas eisdem debitas adjudicandas.

Tam plenus stabili studio mala tollere terræ,
Sicut sacrilegos per compita cuncta latrones,
Qui pulsi procul a patria quacunque querela
In silvis se servabant vacuando viantum
Ex nummis loculos, ex vita corpora crebra,
Hos multum minuit rex optimus ordine tali.
Archipredones captos post crimina pœnis
Taliter absolvit, ut præsidis ante tribunal
Discipulos appellarent, agerentque duello,
Damnandos furcis, vel digna morte perirent
Ipsi prædones qui crimina tanta patrarant.
Terruit innumeros tunc turgida lingua latronum.
Talia plura darem, sed tandem terminus instat.

Transitum domini regis ex hoc mundo ad cœlum.

Milleque trecenti jam septuagintaque septem
Anni sunt Domini, dum tantus transit ad astra;
Tantus rex, tam magnificus, tanquam Deus esset,
Sed modo tam modicus, quod eum claudit petra parva.
Parvus homo parvo tumulo dum clauditur isto,
Conarer cantare dominum, sua singula pensans,
Tot palmas, talem prolem, tam nobile tempus,
Tot sacra judicia, tam plena fide pretiosa,
Ipsum semideum saltem sine fine faterer,
Recta reclamaret nisi mors hominem manifestans.
Non Deus est, sed homo, quia sic homo terminat omnis.

Te libeat, lector, tot themata vera videre,
Quæ resonant regem nunquamque fuisse tyrannum.
Si Sathanas fregit carnem, fragiles sumus omnes;
Hinc homines hominem, fragiles fragilem, caro carnem,
Vel pia gens pugilem, pro qua fera prælia fecit,
Saltem pro Sathana precibus munite meantem;
Dicite quæso pater noster aveque Maria
Pro tam rege bono, qui regnum tam bene rexit.
Cœtibus angelicis societur in æthere summo,
Qui supra vident dulcem faciem deitatis.
Sumat cum sanctum Michael, precor, in paradisum,
Conjubilant ubi cum Christo { quicunque beati, / sancti sociati. } Amen.

Explicit epitaphium excellentissimi principis et floris militiæ domini Edwardi regis Anglice 3ti.

On the Rebellion of Jack Straw.[1]

1381.

Tax has tenet us alle,
probat hoc mors tot validorum,
The kyng therof hade smalle,
fuit in manibus cupidorum;
Hit hade harde honsalle,
dans causam fine dolorum;
Revrawnce nede most falle,
propter peccata malorum.

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[1] From MS. Corpus Chr. Coll. Cambridge, No. 369, with additions (printed here in parenthesis) from another MS. preserved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, MS. Digby, No. 196,

In Kent this kare began,
mox infestandò potentes,
In rowte thè rybawdus ran,
sua pompis arma ferentes;
Folus dred no mon,
regni regem neque gentes,
Churles were hor chevetan,
vulgo pure dominantes.

Thus hor wayes thay wente,
pravis pravos æmulantes,
To London fro Kent
sunt predia depopulantes;
Ther was an uvel covent,
australi parte vagantes;
Sythenne they sone were schent,
qui tunc fuerant superantes.

Bondus they blwun bost,
nolentes lege domari,
Nede they fre be most,
vel nollent pacificari;
Charters were endost,
hos libertate morari;
Ther hor fredam thay lost,
digni pro cæde negari.

Laddus loude thay loȝe,
clamantes voce sonora,
The bisschop wen thay sloȝe.
et corpora plura decora;
Maners down thay drowȝe,
in regno non meliora;
Harme thay dud inoȝe,
habuerunt libera lora.

[Jak Strawe made yt stowte
in profusa comitiva,
And seyd al schuld hem lowte
Anglorum corpora viva.
Sadly can they schowte,
pulsant pietatis oliva,
The wycche were wont to lowte,
aratrum traducere otiva.

Hales, that dowghty knyȝght,
quo splenduit Anglia tota,
Dolefully was he dyȝght,
cum stultus pace remota,
There he myȝght not fyght,
nec Christo solvere vota.

Savoy semely setto,
heu! funditus igne cadebat,
Arcadon there they bett,
et eos virtute premebat,
Deth was ther dowe dett,
qui captum quisque ferebat.]

Owre kyng hadde no rest,
alii latuere caverna,
To ride he was ful prest,
recolendo gesta paterna;
Jak Straw down he kest
Smythfeld virtute superna.
Lord, as thou may best,
regem defende, guberna.

Vulpes cum cauda cancat, cum cantat alauda,
Ne rapide pecus voculus capiatur et equus.

ON THE SLAUGHTER OF ARCHBISHOP SUDBURY.[1]

Versus de tempore Johannis Straw.

Proh dolor! accrevit nuper confusio rerum;
Dum virtus procerum silet, et vulgus[2] male sævit,
Servit nobilitas, et rusticitas dominatur,
Ad res illicitas omnis plebs præcipitatur.
Garcio bacchatur et ingenuos agitatur;
Judex damnatur, reus et in sede levatur;
Lex ancillatur, injuria jugis amatur;
Sanguine mucro satur, actus miseros operatur.
Anglia, quid gaudes? cum sis anathemate cincta;
Quomodo sic audes patriarchæ sanguine tincta.
Vel modo perpende tibi quid fortuna paravit,
Laus tua cessavit, insurgunt res metuendæ.
Rex imbecillis nec adhuc a plebe timetur;
Ruribus et villis hinc vulgus ad arma movetur.
Exercent cædes[3] frendentes more ferino;
Præcipitant ædes, spoliant, dant atque camino.[4]
Ætatis teneræ quia tunc erat ipse hierarcha,
Mactatur temere sine judicio patriarcha;
Ecclesiæ princeps, patronus, et archithronatus,
Est decollatus, restat vindicta deinceps.
Votis scurrarum caput arripitur patriarchæ,
Non procul ex arce quæ fertur Lundoniarum.
Insuper a lixis caput est in ponte levatum,
Atque capellatum clavis in[5] vertice fixis.
Walword tunc[6] miles caput abstulit inde patenter,

[1] From two manuscripts at Cambridge, one in the University Library, with the shelf-mark Dd. 4, 35, fol. 44, 1°, the other in the Library of Corpus Christi College, No. 59.

[2] *procerum contra vulgus*, MS. Corp. C.

[3] *edes*, MS Corp. C.

[4] *camino*, MS. Corp. C.

[5] *clavis est in*, MS. Corp. C.

[6] *it*, MS. Corp. C.

In pallas habiles involvit idem reverenter.
Posteriore die plebs tam fuit impia regi,
Scripta sibi veniæ quod rex dedit obvia legi.
Regem transfodere ductor vulgi voluisset,
Ni Walword propere caput ejus præripuisset;
Quod jubet in ponte sursum super altera poni,
Ac ea deponi vulgi superaddita sponte.
Sic moritur Symon de bacca dictus et austri,
Ecclesiæ plaustri rota, dux, auriga, vel ymon.
Rector erat regis et cancellarius iste,
O facinus triste! perit hic sine judice legis.
Festo[1] Basilii sexta rutilante diei,
Post ictus gladii Symon datus est requiei.
Gleba fuit capiti de nocte reddita tandem,
Pectore contriti cives comitanter eandem,
Versus metropolim, Cantuaria quæ vocitatur,
Bustum portatur,[2] quo præsul præfuit olim.
Post tempus multum Dorobernia corpus humavit,
Atque decoravit cathedrali sede sepultum..
Ultio monstratur dum tortores cruciantur,
Sensu privantur duo, tertius et jugulatur.
Quidam plectuntur, quidam subito moriuntur;
Carcere truduntur alii, nec adhuc redimuntur.
Multorum capita detruncant Londonienses,
Hæc bene sanctita digno libramine penses.
Qui feriunt gladio, gladio debere perire;
Hoc in evangelio Christi poteris reperire;
Hoc juste fieri dictant civilia jura,
Ne pateat sceleri via sed mors inde futura
Nunc gemat ecclesia[3] tanto patre sic viduata,
Cujus in opprobria vigilant discrimina lata
Hostes exterius feriunt vibramine guerræ,
Vulgus et interius devastant viscera terræ.

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[1] *Festa*, MS. Corp. C.
[2] *portantur*, MS. Corp. C.
[3] *gema ecclesiæ*, MS. Corp. C.

Culpant innocuos ut eos de crimine plectant,
Arctant ingenuos ut et[1] ad servilia flectant.
Rusticus in magnis[2] aperit temerarius ora,
Ac[3] ad dedecora fremit et furit ut lupus agnis.
Tandem post modicum proceres simul[4] arma resumunt,
Pravos consumunt, vulgus capiunt inimicum.
Horum pejores et conspirando priores,
Ob pravos mores, detruncant ut proditores.
Mactant signiferos, nec eis[5] curant misereri,
Ut doceant miseros proditoria tanta vereri.
Hoc faciunt domini regno pacem reparando,
Non debacchando quasi victi robore vini.
Sic mediante[6] Deo respirat pax recidiva,[7]
Ne duce stramineo pereat plebs crismate diva.
Sed mihi[8] lamenta renovant tua, Cantia, facta,
Nam nihil es tenta quæ stabas ante beata;
Regni metropolis de gestis plaudere nolis,
Cum sis facta dolis paternæ[9] conscia molis.
Patria plena bonis, grege, milite, sive colonis,
Prædita patronis, doctis templo Salomonis.[10]
Gratuitate cares, et amoris viribus ares,
Indeque plorares quod contigit arte tua res.
Quæ fueras prima celebris baptismate Christi,
Omine nunc tristi Babylonis mergis in ima.
Nec modo diceris solum simplex homicida;
Sed quia pejor eris lupa, demens, trux, parricida,
Et quia peccasti patrem proprium jugulando,
Regnum turbasti patriotas depopulando,

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[1] Omitted in the MS. of the University Lib.
[2] *agnis*, MS. Corp. C.
[3] *Hæc*, MS. Corp. C.
[4] *tunc*, MS. Corp. C.
[5] *eos*, MS. Corp. C.
[6] *moderante*, MS. Corp. C.
[7] *residiva*, MS. Corp C
[8] *in*, MS Univ.
[9] *patricie*? MS. Corp. C.
[10] These two lines are wanting in the MS. of Corpus Christi College

Amodo despecta reputaberis ac odiosa,
Utpote suspecta, temeratrix, impetuosa.
Hanc tibi dat[1] pœnam vindex ingratuitatis,
Ut de peccatis veniæ revoces tibi venam.
Est Deus infestus regno pro crimine nostro;
Fastus et incestus regnant quia quilibet ostro;
Incola vestitur, et philacteria tendit,
Crimina defendit, sic sic atrocius itur.
Hinc orare Deum lucrum foret atque necesse,
Ut miserando reum strages dignetur abesse,
Temperet indigenas, et motos[2] terreat hostes,
Per fidei postes horas restauret amœnas.
Annum mil. ter c. octogesimumque coerce,
Sunt mala præfata vulgo furiente patrata;
In quarto regis Ricardi posterioris,
Anno sunt pestes hæ præsumptæ per agrestes.
Jak Chep,[3] Tronche, Jon Wrau,[4] Thom Myllere, Tyler,
Jak Strawe,
Erle of the Plo, Rak to, Deer, et Hob Carter, Rakstrawe;[5]
Isti ductores in plebe fuere priores,
Per quos mœrores creverunt atque dolores.
Istorum capita collistrigiis[6] modo vernant,
Ut populi cernant no cupiant vetita

Explicit.

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[1] *det*, MS. Corp. C.
[2] *more*, MS. Corp. C.
[3] *Schep*, MS. Corp. C.
[4] *Wram*, MS. Corp. C.
[5] *Rakestrawe*, MS Corp. C.
[6] *super portas*, MS. Corp. C.

AGAINST THE LOLLARDS.[1]

1381.

Dissipa gentes quæ bella volunt, Domine Jhesu.

1. Præsta, Jhesu, quod postulo,
Fac quod in tuo populo
Nulla labes resideat;
Hortolanus in hortulo
Secat salutis sarculo
Veprem, ne crescens noceat.
Fac quod non emineat,
Et quod nusquam absorbeat
Semen, cum serpit clanculo.
Fac quod hortus revireat,
Et novo fructu floreat,
Vernans ornatu sedulo.

2. Hic hortus est ecclesia,
Dudum spirans fragrantia,
Fulvis decora floribus,
Ut Paradisi patria,
Omni repleta copia,
Sacris onusta fructibus;
Conclusa magnis mœnibus,
Signataque custodibus,
Velut regalis curia;
Fructiferis arboribus,
Cunctisque aromatibus
Fluens in abundantia.

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[1] This curious metrical manifesto against the Lollards is taken from a manuscript in the British Museum, MS. Cotton. Vespas. D. ix. fol. 165, r°. The confessions extorted from the ex priest John Balle, one of the most active agents in the popular insurrections of the year 1381, had compromised some of the leaders of the Wycliffite party, and furnished an occasion for a general attack upon the religious reformers. The way in which John Balle is mentioned in this document shows that it was one of the compositions which originated in these circumstances, and it probably appeared in the latter part of the year referred to.

3 Sed hostis tui populi,
Auctor omnis periculi,
Gravi spumans invidia,
In humo hujus hortuli
De fundo sui sacculi
Modo jecit zizania;
Quæ suffocant virentia,
Velut frumentum lollia,
Ac spinæ, vepres, tribuli;
Sic *florida marcentia*,
Fragrantia fœtentia,
Sicci sunt fontis rivuli.

4 Lollardi sunt zizania,
Spinæ, vepres, ac lollia,
Quæ vastant hortum vineæ;
Nam pejor pestilentia
Non fuit in ecclesia,
Incedens tam erronee.
Quorum linguæ vipereæ,
Et dentes sunt ut frameæ,
Omni pleni fallacia.
Hi telæ sunt araneæ,
Parvis et magnis foveæ,
Cunctis occultant retia.

5. Sub sanctitatis specie
Virus vomunt malitiæ
Cunctis qui ipsos audiunt.
Zelatores ecclesiæ,
Sectatores justitiæ,
Seipsos esse garriunt.
Sic simplices decipiunt,
Et mobiles inficiunt
Sub simulata facie.
Vulpes incautos rapiunt,
Lupi in agnos sæviunt,
Hostes omnis clementiæ.

6. Hæc pestis jam in Anglia,
Et nulla gente alia,
Regnat sine remedio ;
Ni Christus sua gratia
Reducat hanc in omnia,
Ac tollat hanc de medio.
His tanta fit præsumptio,
Ex plausu fiet nimio,
Quod astruunt enormia.
Omnis quidem religio,
Omnis status, conditio,
Censetur his stultitia.

7. O terra jam pestifera,
Dudum eras puerpera
Omnis sanæ scientiæ ;
Hæresis labe libera,
Omni errore extera,
Exsors omnis fallaciæ.
Jam schismatis, discordiæ,
Erroris, et insaniæ
Extas noster sceptigera ;
Omnis sectæ nefariæ,
Omnis doctrinæ variæ,
Tu es sectatrix perpera.

8. Villarum in exitibus
Se nudant sotilaribus
Cum populum ludificant.
Nudis incedunt pedibus,
Cum appropinquant foribus
Locorum quibus prædicant.
Pœnas foris amplificant,
Intus tamen lætificant
Se multis voluptatibus.
Seipsos sic magnificant,
Quod alios parvificant
Multis pravis sermonibus.

9. Nullus ut Paulus judicat,
Nisi sit missus prædicat,
Nec sumit scamnum dogmatis,
Nec doctoratum vendicat,
Nisi quum judex applicat,
Et præbet normam thematis.
Sed hi *doctrinam schismatis*,
A nullis missi satrapis,
Docent quæ cunctos toxicat.
Pestem pravi problematis,[1]
Fraudem ficti sophismatis,[2]
Docent, quæ plures implicat.

10. Cum prædicant ad populum,
Præponunt pacis titulum,
Pacem primo pronunciant.
Totum post hoc præambulum
Est iræ, fellis jaculum,
Sic lædunt et sauciant;
Omnem statum dilaniant,
Et fama bona spoliant,
Per os, sepulcrum patulum.
Brigis et rixis satiant,
Felle cunctos inebriant
Per Babylonis poculum.

11. Omnis prior hæreticus,
Insanus, seu schismaticus,
Errat in uno aliquo;
Nec est *quis sic hæreticus*,
Quin saltem sit catholicus
In magno vel in modico.
In statu evangelico,
In sacramento mystico,
Errat Lollardus laicus;
Omni dicto prophetico
Et scripto apostolico
Interpres est falsidicus.

[1] *ꝑplexus*, MS. [2] *sophistus*, MS.

12. Summa quidem perfectio
Est veræ pacis unio,
Qua fulgent regni filii.
Sic schismatis divisio,
Ac statuum detractio,
Erant, qui sunt regni spurii.
Hi sunt auctores odii
Cleri, vulgi dissidii,
Et regni perturbatio.
Hinc clades, homicidii,
Venit et fax incendii,
Servilis ac rebellio.

13. Johannes Balle hoc docuit,
Quando morti succubuit
Propter suam nequitiam.
Quod quidem nidus tenuit
Pullos pravos, et aluit
In regni ignominiam.
Monstrans Wycleffe familiam,
Causam brigæ primariam,
Quæ totum regnum terruit.
Præbens experientiam
Quam gravidam stultitiam
Hæc secta vulgus inbuit.

14. Horum fuit contentio,
Et plebis informatio,
Atque scriptum pestiferum,
Quod subditis correctio
Incumbit et frænatio
Magnatum sive procerum.
Ex quo *caput sceptigerum*
Ejus agmen belligerum
Petebant homicidio.
Sic regnum, olim prosperum,
Triste fuit et exterum
Et pronum exterminio.

15. Vetant dari stipendia,
Decimas ac novalia,
Curatis dum sunt miseri;
Nec dominis servitia,
Redditus, vel homagia,
Quamdiu se dant sceleri.
Non medium plus repperi
Per quod sic possent conteri
Cuncta jura civilia.
Regnarent sic pestiferi,
Fine claudentur celeri
Cuncta mundi dominia.

16. Christus a sceptro sceleris,
Necnon a jugo oneris
Nullum fidelem excipit;
Solvit didragma stateris,
Et Cæsari quæ Cæsaris
Cuncta persolvi præcipit.
Justus perversum suscipit,
Regem tyrannum recipit,
Et servus præest liberis.
Ergo Lollardus decipit,
Cum contra verum accipit
Sacris inscriptum literis.

17 Thronum regale numinis,
Fastigium regiminis,
Sæpe committit frivolis;
Petrus honorem culminis
Jubet impendi dominis
Modestis atque discolis.
Nonne tu scriptum reperis
Quid nato pravæ indolis
Commisit parvi luminis?
Ergo sicut benevolis,
Sic dari vult malevolis,
Quod juris est et hominis.

18. Decimæ ac primitiæ
Fidelium sunt hostiæ,
Divino datæ cultui;
Deo dantur primariæ,
Cedentes secundariæ
Presbyterorum usui.
Sacrantur primo ritui,
Secundo darent statui,
Et non personæ dubiæ,
Ascribi debet raptui,
Si ratione fatui
Quicquid defalces latriæ.

19. Hoc Christus plane docuit,
Quando leprosos instruit
Offerre legis hostias;
Quæque minuta monuit
Decimare ut congruit,
Velut res magnas alias.
Quas pravis in delicias,
Transireque lacinias
Sibi satis innotuit.
Istas tamen excubias,
Propter horum malitias,
Omitti nusquam voluit.

20. Ne fiat diis detractio,
Aut principi rebellio,
Lex scripti dat Mosaici;
Ex quo patet conclusio,
Quod major non judicio
Minoris debet subjici.
Nec ipsi tanquam judici
Parere neque vindici,
Pro quovis maleficio.
Nam omnis lex sic instrui,
Ac omnis rex sic dejici,
Servorum potest odio.

21. Item grande prodigium
Erroris et elogium
In horum dictis patuit,
Quod sceleris mancipium
Nec dare quid sacrarium,
Nec sacramenta potuit;
Absolvere nec valuit,
Nec ordines contribuit,
Nec celebrat connubium.
Ergo qui istud astruit,
Omnem fidem mox destruit,
Et totum ponit dubium.

22. Quis novit si quis præsulum
Peccati portet cumulum,
Quando largitur ordines;
Et cum confessat populum,
Si de peccato scrupulum
Habet, tu nusquam retines.
Ergo fidem non obtines,
Quod sacros ritus detines,
Vel an sis mortis pabulum.
Cœli non intret cardines,
Qui ponit tot caligines
In fidei periculum.

23. An consecret quis hostiam,
Vel agat idolatriam,
Nullus jam novit hominum;
Aut si per pœnitentiam,
Vel confessoris curiam,
Remissio si criminum;
Vel per baptisma fluminum
Quis purget catechuminum,
Non habet quis scientiam.
Hic ergo spernit Dominum
Qui sacramentis terminum
Dat, ponens hanc stultitiam.

24. Virtute Christi sanguinis,
Non consecrantis hominis,
Vim sacramenta obtinent;
Vigore Dei nominis,
Ex flatu sacri flaminis,
Effectum solum retinent.
Ad ipsa nihil pertinent,
Nec ipsis quicquam attinent,
Res meriti vel criminis;
Per hoc nec vires possident,
Nec a virtute desident
Impulsu turpitudinis.

25. Est argumentum editum
Cum prophetiæ spiritum
Pravo dedit pontifici,
Viri non pensat meritum,
Sed statum sacrum inclitum,
Virtus doni deifici.
Per hoc jam potest conjici
Stat donum sacri mystici,
Quamvis per pravos traditum
Virtus collati celici
Nequaquam potest infici
Per virum culpis subditum.

26. Major plebis coercio,
Profundaque subjectio
Quæ fuit jam ecclesiæ,
Vocalis est confessio,
Per quod curati ditio
Magnæ fit efficientiæ.
Nam tantæ est potentiæ,
Quod solvit vim sententiæ
Dei, ejus absolutio,
Clavem exsolvit veniæ,
Portas cœlestis curiæ
Ejus linguæ laxatio.

27. Nam proprium consilium,
Post Adæ primi vitium,
Nobis juste secluditur;
Sacrum dat hoc eloquium,
Alius per judicium
Vita nostra nunc regitur.
Nec sibi quis committitur,
Sed quisquis reus sequitur
Alterius arbitrium
Ex hoc plane committitur,
Sacerdos instituitur
Ut fiat directorium.

28. Videtur hoc innuere,
Præceptaque statuere,
Antiquæ legis litera,
Presbyteris committere
Sagaciter distinguere
Inter leprarum genera;
Ac inter legis munera
Est his potestas libera,
Quod juris est discernere;
Hinc ratio est propria,
Bona plebis et scelera
Incumbit his discutere

29 Sed hoc Lollardi renuunt,
Cum soli Deo instruunt
Nostras culpas detergere
Ergo qui istud astruunt,
Ecclesiam destituunt
Et gravi lædunt vulnere
Vultum gregis agnoscere,
Ægrorum curas gerere,
Isti proterve renuunt;
Curati jura spernere,
Leve jugum abjicere
Audacter vulgus instruunt

30. Dicunt quod est expediens,
Et nullum inconveniens
Paparum multiplicitas,
Unus non est sufficiens,
Ut patet aliquotiens,
Et sacra dat antiquitas.
Quantorum hæc fatuitas
Malorum sit causalitas,
Quid inde sit provenens,
Homeri nam loquacitas,
Maronis seu subtilitas,
Effari est deficiens

31 In omni re jam publica,
Necnon persona mystica,
Est unum caput omnium
Metrum mensura practica
Oportet quod sit unica,
Non multitudo plurium.
Sic corpus Christi varium,
Membrorumque divortium,
Compago vitæ lubrica;
Sic dissonum est servitium,
Ac ordinis diffugium,
Et secta diabolica.

32. Dicunt, siquis fidelium,
Si melior sit omnium,
Gradu papali præsidet,
Penes ipsum jus clavium
Et jurium papalium
Plena potestas residet.
Quantus error hunc obsidet,
Articulum et possidet,
Non concipit lux vitium
Papatui quid insidit,
Scire quis cunctis eminet,
Cœli Deo est proprium.

33. Collatæ sunt divitiæ
Sacræ dudum ecclesiæ
Causa quidem multiplici;
Ne servientes latriæ
Cogantur ex esurie
Squaloro famis aflici.
Egeni possent refici,
Honorem queant clerici
Habere reverentiæ;
Pravorum cervix dejici,
Substerni possent laici
Jugo obedientiæ.

34. Timeret quis ecclesiam
Jam nisi per potentiam
Posset pravis resistere?
Utilitatem aliam
Si non conferrent quampiam,
Ista posset sufficere.
Videntur hi desipere,
Qui templo Dei demere
Ejus quærunt substantiam;
Regnare vellent libere
Pravos, atque despicere
Totam Christi familiam.

35. Jam horum est opinio,
Defensio, dotatio,
Catholicæ ecclesiæ,
Necnon Silvestri ditio
Ac Sancti Thomæ passio
Sint species insaniæ.
In actu pœnitentiæ
Quæsissent locum veniæ,
His esset ignis torsio;
Sic honor reverentiæ
Quem damus istis dubie
Grandis esset abusio.

36. Isti condemnant nimium
Virorum differentium
Sectam vivendi variam,
In clericis dominium,
In monachis peculium,
In fratribus penuriam.
Non curant quam contrariam
De sectis dent sententiam,
Et dissonum judicium ;
In plausu non lætitiam,
In planctu non tristitiam,
Monstrant, sed solum odium.

37. Qui opibus renunciant,
Et bonis se exspoliant,
Atque mendicant libere,
Dicunt quod isti deveniant,
Et vanam vitam somniant,
Et velint se occidere.
Sed nolunt hi perpendere,
Quod non potest deficere
Fidem quam ipsi laniant.
De pietatis opere
Nulli debent diffidere,
Sed fidem rectam sapiant.

38. Si Christus panem proprium
Mendicavit per hostium,
Sacris non patet literis ;
Sicut si quod caputium
Habuerit, vel pallium,
In libris nusquam reperis.
Si statim hunc cum cæteris
Commune sibi dixeris,
Nullum profers mendacium ;
Dempta mercede operis,
Omisso dono muneris,
Tunc mendicasset prandium.

39. Quod Christus gessit patulum
Mendicantis titulum,
Ex multis liquet credere;
Hoc dat præsepe, stabulum,
Ac aliorum pabulum
Quæ cogebatur sumere.
Non habuit quæ vendere
Quibat, nec quicquam emere,
Nec proprium latibulum;
Ex *alieno munere*
Ac manuali opere
Vixit, aut per miraculum.

40. Ut patet intuentibus
In rebus temporalibus,
Christus non sumpsit proprium,
In agris seu pecoribus,
Thesauris seu proventibus,
Nec grandi lucro mercium;
Nec quovis domicilium,
Nec castrum nec villagium,
Nec quicquam in terrestribus.
Vixit donis fidelium,
Sive per laboritium,
Aut mendicatis panibus.

41 Jam mendicantes lacerant,
Horum statum vituperant,
Depravunt vitam, opera.
Ne detur istis imperant,
Blasphemant et improperant
Multa nefanda scelera.
Dicunt quod non ad supera,
Sed potius ad infera,
Transire fratres properant,
Ut inferant pestifera,
Et quæque dicant aspera,
Globatim se confederant.

42. Sic horum prædicatio
Est vilis diffamatio,
Probrosumque convitium;
Fidei extirpatio,
Statuum detractio,
Virtutum exterminium.
Rancoris est exordium,
Amoris est exilium,
Et morum relegatio;
Antichristi mysterium,
Et sectæ lunæ præsagium,
Et Satanæ delusio.

43. Prælatorum coercio,
Et fratrum prædicatio,
Sunt duæ sacri gladii.
Satis ex evangelio
Patet horum incisio
Quod lima sit flagitii.
Sed fumus horum odii
Rubigoque obloquii
Ipsos privat officio,
Sic quod in die prælii,
Quo sterni solent impii,
In nullo sunt auxilio.

44. Amorem dat extaticum,
Cum sacramentum mysticum
In cibum nobis contulit;
Arram et pignus cœlitum,
Jocale quoque unicum
Nostris thesauris intulit.
Cunctis sacris hoc prætulit,
Suis fastis hoc extulit
Cunctis fore viaticum.
Memoriam quam pertulit
Mortis, dedit et detulit
Munus magis salvificum.

45. Nil fidem sic pulchrificat,
Nec Dei posse explicat,
Cum hoc sit mirabilius;
Nil iram sic pacificat,
Nec animam vivificat,
Cum nil sit hoc salubrius.
Nil isto unit fortius
Mentem, nec stringit arctius,
Quam sibi indemnificat;
Nil isto sapit dulcius,
Nil replet abundantius,
Nil mentem sic lætificat.

46. Sed hoc Lollardus minime
Curat, dum struat pessime
De hoc sacro donario.
Fidei antiquissimæ
Repugnat in hoc maxime
Hujus sectæ opinio.
Nam transubstantiatio,
Videtur his delusio,
Et velut res vanissimæ;
Postquam fit consecratio
Manet ut in principio
Carnis cibus non animæ.

47. Auctor sectæ primarius
In hoc erravit stultius,
Quæ ejus est confessio,
Quem siquis diligentius
Attendat, quod profundius
Sciet quæ est opinio,
Ut unum in vinario
Signo, sicut calcario,
Fit Christus, et non amplius.
Vestra corda conventio,
Ut vestra sit discretio,
Quid potest dici nequius?

48. Rursus hic doctor asserit,
Quod ubicunque fuerit
Christus præsentialiter,
Septempedalis aderit,
Nec hanc mensuram deserit,
Nec usquam fuit aliter.
Re patet aliqualiter,
Quod Christus corporaliter
Sacramento non inerit,
Si sic carnis quam nequiter
Ecclesia fallaciter
Hucusque nos deceperit.

49. Jam nuper hæc opinio
Doctorum magno studio
Probata fuit frivola.
Ergo si hanc discutio,
Stillam in mare jacco,
Et silvis do ligneola.
Nam cum juris incola
Ullam dicar sic sciola
Quæ istis sint confusio,
Ullam dabo mediola,
Concludam seu malevola,
Quin pejor sit contentio.[1]

50. Si Christus in hoc ferculo,
Ut vinum est in circulo,
Falsam do reverentiam,
Nonne in loco patulo,
Ac coram omni populo,
Committo idolatriam?
Nam cum adoro hostiam,
Impendo sibi latriam
Et sanguini in poculo,
Cum colo eukaristiam,
Tunc lædo conscientiam,
Trabes ponens in oculo.

[1] This sentence, in which the MS. is followed exactly, is evidently written incorrectly.

51. Universi perfectio
Est Christi generatio,
Ut valet quis concludere;
Sic perturbatio
Ejusdem est completio,
Si quis velit advertere.
Sic in utroque genere,
Ac omni Dei opere,
Est vera circulatio.
In isto ergo munere
Nullus debet supponere
Panem inesse proprio.

52. Non fuit septennario
Constrictus pedum spatio
Cum ventre matris latuit,
Nec cum signato hostio
Intravit, stans in medio,
Non hanc mensuram tenuit.
Cur igitur non potuit,
Aut cur idem noluerit
In hoc sacro mysterio,
In libris non innotuit,
Nec quisquam auctor docuit,
Nec hoc concludit ratio.

53. Nullus periculosius
Errat, vel dicit stultius,
Quam in hac sacra hostia;
Nihil fidem perfectius
Extollit vel sublimius
Inter Christi magnalia.
Quanta ergo dementia
Vexat horum ingenia,
Excaecatque profundius!
Se propria malitia
Tanta ponunt mendacia,
Et errant velut ebrius.

54. In hortum nunc introeas,
Dulcis Jhesu, et videas
Quot clades ipsum obruunt;
Liga vulpes erroneas,
Quæ sic devastant vineas,
Et gravem pestem instruunt.
Ejus sepes jam destruunt,
Grandes insultus irruunt
Per bestias extraneas;
Ejus flores jam defluunt,
Et fructus fere renuunt,
Hinc curam ejus habeas.

55. Ex te fides quam sequimur,
Ab ipsis omnes pascimur
Tuæ doctrinæ epulis.
Hinc, si errore fallimur,
Per te falsc decipimur,
Seducti vanis fabulis.
De te ac tuis famulis,
Tanquam de nugigerulis,
Juste modo conquerimur;
Quod tot transactis sæculis
Cum falsis fictis garrulis
Hucusque sic deludimur.

56. Sed nefas est hoc credere,
Quod quemquam vis decipere,
Cum tu sis ipsa veritas;
Aut velis quemquam perdere,
Vel oberrare temere,
Cum sis suprema bonitas.
Hinc hujus sectæ novitas,
Præsumptio, temeritas,
Quam fidem vult abducere,
Erroris est impietas,
Et Antichristi falsitas,
Qua mundum habet fallere.

On the Earthquake of 1382.[1]

Yit is God a courteis lord,
  And mekeliche con schewe his miht,
Fayn he wolde bringe til acord
  Monkuynde to live in treuthe ariht.
  Allas! why set we that lord so liht,
And al to foule with hym we fare?
  In world is non so wys no wiht,
That thei ne have warnyng to be ware.

We may not sey, but ȝif we lyȝe,
  That God wol vengaunce on us stele.
For openly we see with eiȝe
  This warnynges booth wonder and feole.
  But non this wrecched worldes weole
Maketh us live in synne and care;
  Of mony merveyles I may of mele,
And al is warnynge to be ware.

Whon the comtynes began to ryse,
  Was non so gret lord, as I gesse,
That thei in herte bigon to gryse,
  And leide heore jolité in presse.
  Wher was thenne heore worthinesse,
Whon thei made lordes droupe and dare?
  Of alle wyse men I take witnesse,
This was a warnyng to be ware.

[1] This song is preserved in a manuscript in the British Museum, MS. additional, No 22,283, fol. 132, v°, and in the Vernon MS. in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, fol. 411, 1°. See before the note on p 215. It is here printed from the MS. in the British Museum

Biforo, ȝif men hedde haad a graas,
  Lordes mihte wonder weel
Han let the rysing that ther was;
  But that God thouȝte ȝit sum del
  That lordes schulde his lordschup feel,
And of heore lordschipe make hem bare.
  Trust therto as trewe as steel,
This was a warnyng to be ware.

And also whon this eorthe qwok,
  Was non so proud he nas agast,
And al his jolité forsok,
  And thouȝt on God whil that hit last.
  And alsone as hit was over past,
Men wox as uvel as thei dede are.
  Uche mon in his herte may cast,
This was a warnyng to be ware.

For sothe this was a Lord to drede,
  So sodeynly mad mon agast;
Of gold and selver thei tok non hede,
  But out of ther houses ful sone thei past.
  Chaumbres, chymeneys, al to-barst,
Chirches and castelles foule gon fare;
  Pinacles, steples, to groundo hit cast;
And al was for warnyng to be ware.

The movyng of this eorthe iwis,
  That [s]chulde bi cuynde be ferm and stabele,
A pure verrey tokuyng hit is
  That mennes hertes ben chaungabele,
  And that to falsed thei ben most abele.
For with good feith wol we not fare.
  Leef hit wel, withouten fabele,
This was a warnyng to be ware.

The rysyng of the comuynes in loude,
  The pestilens, and the eorthe-qwake,
Theose three thinges, I understonde,
  Beoth tokenes the grete vengaunce and wrake
  That schulde falle for synnes sake,
As this clerkes conne declare.
  Now may we chese to leve or take,
For warnyng have we to be ware.

Evere I drede, bi my trouthe,
  Ther may no warnyng stande in sted;
We ben so ful of synne and slouthe,
  The schame is passed the sched of hede,
  And we leggen riht hevy as led,
Cumbred in the fendes snare.
  I leeve this beo ur best red,
To thenke on this warnyng and be ware.

Sykerliche I dar wel say,
  In such a plyt this world is in,
Mony for wynnyng wold bitraye
  Father and moder and al his kyn.
  Nou were heih tyme to bigyn
To amende ur mis, and wel to fare;
  Ur bagge hongeth on a cliper pyn,
Bote we of this warnyng be ware.

Be war, for I con sey no more;
  Be war, for vengaunce of trespas;
Be war, and thenk uppon this lore;
  Be war of this sodeyn cas.
  And ȝit be war while we have spas;
And thonke that child that Marie bare,
  Of his gret godnesse and his gras,
Sende us such warnyng to be ware.

On the Council of London.[1]

1382.

Heu! quanta desolatio Angliæ præstatur,
Cujus regnum quodlibet hinc inde minatur,
Et hujus navigium pene conquassatur;
Regnum nec consilio nec ope juvatur.
With an O and an I, præ dolore ventris,
Meum jam consilium jacet in vi mentis.

Sed ad pœnitentiam convertat Deus gentem,
Et dirigat divinitus nostri regis mentem,
Ut tortuosum lucide cognoscat serpentem,
Monachis et fratribus hypocrisim latentem.
With an O and an I, ne istis attendat,
Sanctorum oratio ad cœlos ascendat.

In nos pestilentia sæva jam crescit,
Quod virorum fortium jam populus decrescit,
Quæ diversis partibus adhuc invalescit,
Cum noster jubilus totaliter recessit.
With an O and an I, huic finem ruinæ
Addat qui supremus est auctor medicinæ.

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[1] This Latin song is taken from MS. Cotton. Cleopatra B. ii. fol. 59, r°. Its date, and the events to which it refers, are indicated by the allusions to the pestilence, to the insurrection of the serfs (*servi*), and to the earthquake which happened at the very moment when the council was proceeding to business, as well as by the names of a certain number of individuals concerned in the acts of the council. In the manuscript, which contains also the two following English songs of the same class, these compositions have been crossed through, no doubt by some friar, or opponent of the reformers, who had become possessed of it after they were written.

In maligno positus nunc est mundus totus,
A viris Angligenis non est Christus notus;
Pro peccato populi venit terræmotus;
In religiosis jam nullus est devotus.
With an O and an I, debacchantur servi,
Et in servos Domini nimis sunt protervi.

In hoc terræmotu ab hora diei,
Quia tunc convenerant scribæ, Pharisæi,
Cum summis sacerdotibus contra Christum Dei,
Vultus iræ patuit divinæ faciei.
With an O and an I, sanctos diffamarunt,
Per hæreses et schismata quæ falsa patrarunt.

Heu! jam mala plurima de nobis sunt scita;
Per ventos et flumina jacent grana trita;
Ab antiquis patribus hæc sunt inaudita;
Qui campos conspicitis, scitis quod est ita.
With an O and an I, causam si quæratis,
Dico quod hoc accidit nobis pro peccatis.

Si status conspicimus, nullus excusatur;
Quod in shopis venditur male mensuratur;
Quilibet perjurio vel fraude lucratur;
Sed quod sic adquiritur adquirens furatur.
With an O and an I, res male quæsita,
Ut indies conspicimus, sæpe vadit ita.

Clerici, qui speculum forent laicorum,
In fastum libidinis multi laxant lorum.
Rectores jam rapiunt bona subditorum.
Scitis quod hæc omnia signa sunt dolorum.
With an O and an I, sic est mundus versus,
Qui luceret aliis, tenebris est mersus.

Ultra si progredimur, ubi sunt prælati ?
Nescio ; sed certum est, multi sunt elati,
Scholis theologicis pauci baptizati,
Sed prece vel pretio vel penna sublimati.
With an O and an I, libens scire quare
Penna viros erigens facit non volare.

Quid dicemus præter hæc de religiosis ?
Immo mendicantibus, falsis, et mendosis,
Qui se fingunt similes actu rubris rosis,
Cum mores odoriferos exemplum morosis.
With an O and an I, rosæ marcuerunt,
Instar sterquilinium saporem dederunt.

Hi domos conficiunt miræ largitatis,
Politis lapidibus, quibusdam quadratis ;
Totum tectum tegitur lignis levigatis ;
Sed transgressum regulæ probant ista satis.
With an O and an I, facta vestra tabent,
Christus cum sic dixerat, foveas vulpes habent

Qualiter ædificant vere non est mirum ;
Ingens opus construunt quasi magnum Tyrum ;
Qualitercunque fuerit circumvallant gyrum.
Si decretum verum sit, est totum delirum.
With an O and an I, destructis fundatis,
Nova statim construant, pecuniis paratis.

Non est monasterium tam possessionatum,
Nec rex nec episcopus, ut satis est probatum,
Habens opus aliquod tam cito paratum,
Sicut qui cotidie vadunt mendicatum.
With an O and an I, vel sunt furatores,
Vel faciunt numismata, regni proditores.

Se mendicos publicos clamant cunctis horis;
Non tamen dedecoris, sed magni honoris,
Habitu se protegunt panni melioris,
Tunicis, pelliciis frigus claudunt foris.
With an O and an I, dicunt Pharisæi,
" Ecce quanta patimur pro amore Dei."

Si quis impugnat hoc, dant responsum gratum,
Quod ad usum proprium nobis est hoc datum;
Bonum vident intime, non accedunt statum,
Sed præceptum regulæ sic est vacuatum.
With an O and an I, per idem possunt isti,
Uti roba rubea pro amore Christi.

Minores induerent pannum viliorem,
Et de corda cannabi induerent cinctorem;
Sed ut locum teneant fastis altiorem,
Semetipsos induunt regium colorem.
With an O and an I, exivi de Paradiso,
Absconditur sub modio, papa sit deriso.

Inter fratres griseos sic est ordinatum,
Quod nullum velle mortuum post erit mutatum;
Si conventum videant penuriis gravatum,
Non donabunt aliquid, sed monstrant legatum.
With an O and an I, Helmebrigge testatum,
Firmum stat cum Frauncos dicunt dispensatum.

Isti fratres prædicant per villas et forum,
Quod si mortem gustet quis in habitu minorum,
Non intrabit postea locum tormentorum,
Sed statim perducitur ad regna cœlorum.
With an O and an I, habitu cum zona
Adquiritur ab Helmebrigge fratribus annona

Si dives in patria quisquis infirmetur,
Illuc frater properans et currens monetur;
Et statim cum venerit infirmo loquetur,
Ut cadaver mortuum fratribus donetur.
With an O and an I, ore petunt ista,
Dum *cor et memoria simul sunt in cista.*

Quod si pauper adiens fratres infirmetur,
Et petat ut inter hos sepulturæ detur,
Gardianus absens est, statim respondetur,
Et sic satis breviter pauper excludetur.
With an O and an I, quilibet est negans,
Quod quis ibi veniat nisi dans vel legans

Fratres in capitulis solent compilare
Literas, suffragia quas solent vocare;
Vere sunt naufragia, debent nominare,
Pueros cum præcipitent in profundum mare.
With an O and an I, quod papa non audet,
Falsus frater annuit, et spe lucri gaudet.

In his sunt participes omnium missarum,
Et precum similiter et abstinentiarum;
Nunn personæ dignæ sunt, curant valde parum;
Numquid tales literæ sunt de usu Sarum?
With an O and an I, tot partes dederunt,
Quod ipsis non aliquæ credo remanserunt.

Tam vivis quam mortuis tales partes dantur,
Sed blasphemi publici doctores probantur;
Hæc et his similia fratres operantur;
Quæ restant gravissima hic non recitantur.
With an O and an I, vos, fratres, valete,
In vos capiet pravos, si quis trahat rete.

Quid dicam de monachis sancti Benedicti?
Dicti per antiphrasim, sed sunt maledicti,
Nam non servant regulas quibus sunt astricti;
Ab antiquo Mamona minus sunt deficti.
With an O and an I, leporem venari
Malunt quam Jeronomi vitam contemplari.

Nulli sunt in sæculo qui magis se dederunt,
Quam illi qui sæculo renunciaverunt;
Ut canes ad vomitum, tales redierunt,
Manus dantes aratro retro respexerunt.
With an O and an I, hoc peccato rei,
Nullo modo dicti sunt apti regno Dei.

Monachus qui proprium solet abnegare,
Obbam die quolibet vult appropriare,
Nec vult ciphum socii sed proprium potare,
Et ni discus plenus sit, hic vult murmurare.
With an O and an I, fuit dictum prisco,[1]
Monachus mundo mortuus vivens est in disco

Hæc ego qui feceram, monachus agressus,
Per hos rasus fueram, sed nondum professus;
Sed de magnis ocreis cito fui fessus,
Et ad Christi regulam statim sum egressus.
With an O and an I, de visis in domo,
Cum juratus fuerim, nunequam sciet homo.

Tantos motus intuens Dominus in mari,
Quosdam viros nobiles fecit magistrari,
Ut fides ecclesiæ possit restaurari,
Wyclif et discipulos voluit vocari.
With an O and I, hi sunt viri nautæ,
Ducentes a Domino navem Petri caute.

[1] *Presto* in the MS.

Hi doctores monachos solent increpare,
Quia nolunt proprias regulas servare,
Injungentes monachis otium vitare,
Et dant per quod medium debent laborare.
With an O and and I, monachi pinguati
Laborare manibus hoc non possunt pati.

Tunc fratres ulterius probant delirare,
Nullo modo validi debent mendicare,
Sed aptantur regula manu laborare,
Quia quam accipere beatius est dare.
With an O and an I, Fraunces laboravit,
Ut posteri sic facerent, primus exemplavit.

Tacto laboritio fratres furiebant,
Et ex parte propria monachi timebant.
Monachi tunc proprie fratribus mittebant,
Qui, læti de nuntio, læti veniebant
With an O and an I, sit Deus beatus,
Hic amici facti sunt Herodes et Pilatus.

Armacan,[1] quem cœlo Dominus coronavit,
Discordes tantomodo fratres adunavit;
Sed magno miraculo Wyclif coruscavit,
Cum fratres et monachos simul collocavit.
With an O and an I, consortes effecti,
Quovis adversario dicunt sunt protecti.

Factum est cum monachis simul concordarent,
Atque falsas fabulas fratres prædicarent,
Et doctores ordinum scholis doctrinarent,
Per quas famas floridas in sonitum migrarent.
With and O and an I, viri veritatis
Multum diffamati sunt dictis contractatis.

[1] Richard Fitz Ralph, archbishop of Armagh, who died in November, 1360. He was a great opponent of the mendicant friars, and may be regarded justly as the precursor of Wycliffe.

Tunc primus determinans est Johannes Wellis,[1]
Istos viros reprobans cum verbis tenellis,
Multum conversatus est ventis et procellis;
Hinc in ejus facie patet color fellis.
With an O and an I, in scholis non prodest,
Imago faciei monstrat qualis hic est.

Hic promisit in scholis quod vellet probare
Wyclif et Herford[2] simul dictis repugnare;
Sed cum hic nesciorat plus argumentare,
Nichol solvens omnia jussit Bayard stare.
With an O and an I, Wellis replicabat;
Sed postquam Nichol solverat, tunc Johannes stabat.

Tunc successit alius, Goydoun nuncupatus,
In monachis egregius, et vir magni status;
Propter meum dicere nemo sit iratus,
Hic non erat clericus, sed laicus literatus.
With an O and an I, sub veste monachatus,
Goydoun fere laicus est clam piliatus.

Hic dixit quod monachi non debent laborare,
Sed quod fratres validi deberent mendicare;
Sed ejus asserere vel sui negare
Non est factum aliquod liquide probare.
With an O and an I, magis audax pecus,
Quod in biga cernitur extat Bayard cæcus.

---

[1] John Welles was a monk of Ramsey, and the great enemy of the Wycliffites. He was an active member of the council of London.

[2] Nicholas Hereford, or Herford, was one of the most eminent followers of Wycliffe. In the sequel of these proceedings he was obliged to recant his opinions, and is said to have died a Romanist.

Tunc Crophorne accesserat, omnibus ignotus,
Non Anglicus nec Gallicus, nec Francus nec Scotus,
Non claustro, sed sæculo se donabat totus;
Apostata jam publicus a nobis sit remotus.
With an O and an I, a claustro sic dempti,
Christi non sunt, quare sic? quia sunt adempti.

Tu, Crophorne stultissime, credo quod insanis,
Ut quod scholas occupas frivolis et vanis;
Dicta tua non valent unum stercus canis,
Omnes isti monachi coaxant cum ranis.
With an O and an I, dixit bufo crati,
Maledicti desuper sint tot dominati.

Facto fine monachis, frater sequebatur,
Doctor de minoribus, qui Mertoun vocatur;
Sed quia balbutiens tanquam corvus fatur,
Nihil quod proposuit tunc reportabatur.
With an O and an I, sileat ut mutus,
Donec per Franciscum sit loquelæ restitutus.

Tunc processit Whappelode, fere cerebrosus,
Non arguens sed garrulans, et nimis mendosus;
Cujus labor quilibet est infructuosus,
Cum sit pro mendaciis omnibus exosus.
With an O and an I, talis frater fictus,
Est frater æquivoce, sicut frater pictus.

Tunc accessit alius, Stokis nominatus,
Rufus naturaliter, et veste dealbatus,
Omnibus impatiens, et nimis elatus,
Et contra veridicos dirigens conatus.
With an O and an I, sub tam rubra pelle,
Animus non habitat nisi unctus felle.

Hic per dies plurimos doctor laboravit,
Nihil ad propositum quod argumentavit,
Allegans quod fœmine Christus imperavit,
Ut potum porrigeret, ipsa ministravit.
With an O and an I, si tunc tacuisses,
Tu nunc stulto similis philosophus fuisses.

Si legas a sæculo non erat inventum
A quibus hæc religio cepit fundamentum;
Pollimitum primitus habebat indumentum;
Sed cur hæc despicitur est magnum portentum.
With an O and an I, fuerunt pyed freres;
Quomodo mutati sunt rogo dicat Pers.

Horum quidam prædicant quod sunt ex Maria;
Alii tamen asserunt quod sunt ex Helia.
Cum istorum quilibet discordet a via,
Nullus talis veniet cœli monachia.
With an O and an I, si fundator detur,
Ipse dedit regulam quæ rogo monstretur.

Post hæc die postera Nichol[1] veniebat,
Et ad tacta singula clare respondebat;
Et Philippus Repyndoun[2] omnia solvebat,
Quæ Petrus apochryphus in scholis tangebat.
With an O and an I, postquam sic voluerunt,
Fratres tunc et monachi vultum depresserunt.

[1] Nicholas Hereford.

[2] Philip Repingdon, or Reppington, canon of Leicester, was also one of the ablest and warmest supporters of the Wycliffite opinions. Nevertheless, he not only recanted his opinions after the council of London, but he was afterwards made bishop of Lincoln (1405), and became a great persecutor of the Lollards. Philip Repingdon's recantation of his opinions was made at Oxford on the 24th of November, 1382, before which date we must suppose our song to have been written.

Monachi cum fratribus pariter videntes
Quæ facére poterant versus innocentes,
Pauperum pecuniis loculos replentes,
Quantum possunt properant Londonias currentes.
With an O and an I, pro quæstu sanctorum,
Largas dant corrigias de bonis aliorum.

Post hæc simul adeunt metropolitanum;
Nichol Herford asserunt hæreticum profanum,
Et Philippum Repyndoun proclamant insanum,
Præsulis pecuniis liniantes manum.
With an O and an I, pecuniis placatus,
Quicquid fratres cupiunt, dicit, "sum paratus."

Tunc ipsos episcopus et fratres citabant;
Contra quos cum venerant nihil allegabant;
Qui multis injuriis ipsos aggravabant,
Qui visis periculis ad papam appellabant.
With an O and an I, filius et flamen
Hos cum patre dirigant in agendis. Amen.

Explicit.

Song against the Friars.[1]

Preste, ne monke, ne ȝit chanoun,
Ne no man of religioun,
Gyfen hem so to devocioun,
As done thes holy frers.
For summe gyven ham to chyvalry,
Somme to riote and ribaudery;
Bot ffrers gyven ham to grete study,
And to grete prayers,
Who so kepes thair reule al,
bothe in worde and dede;
I am ful siker that he shal
have heven blis to mede.

[1] From MS. Cotton. Cleopatra, B. ii. fol. 62, v°, the same manuscript which has furnished the preceding song in Latin.

Men may se by thair contynaunce,
That thai are men of grete penaunce,
And also that thair sustynaunce
Simple is and wayke.
I have lyved now fourty 3ers,
And fatter men about the neres
3it sawe I never then are these frers,
In contreys ther thai rayke.
Metcles so megre are thai made,
and penaunce so puttes ham doun,
That ichone is an hors-lade,
when he shal trusse of toun.

Allas! that ever it shuld be so,
Suche clerkes as thai about shuld go,
Fro toun to toun by two and two,
To seke thair sustynaunce.
By God that al this world wan,
He that that ordre first bygan,
Me thynk certes it was a man
Of simple ordynaunce.
For thai have noght to lyve by,
thai wandren here and there,
And dele with dyvers marceryc,
right as thai pedlers were.

Thai dele with purses, pynnes, and knyves,
With gyrdles, gloves, for wenches and wyves;
Bot ever backward the husband thryves
Ther thai are haunted tille.
For when the gode man is fro hame,
And the frere comes to oure dame,
He spares nauther for synne ne shame,
That he ne dos his wille.
3if thai no helpe of houswyves had,
when husbandes are not inne,
The freres welfare were ful bad,
for thai shuld brewe ful thynne.

Somme frers beren pelure aboute,
For grete ladys and wenches stoute,
To reverce with thair clothes withoute;
Al after that thai ere.
For somme vaire, and somme gryse,
For somme bugee, and for somme byse,
And also many a dyvers spyse,
In bagges about thai bere.
Al that for women is plesand
ful redy certes have thai;
Bot lytel gyfe thai the husband,
that for al shal pay.

Trantes thai can, and many a jape;
For somme can with a pound of sape
Gete him a kyrtelle and a cape,
And som what els therto.
Wherto shuld I othes swere?
Ther is no pedler that pak can bere,
That half so dere can selle his gere,
Then a frer can do.
For if he gife a wyfe a knyfe
that cost bot penys two,
Worthe ten knyves, so mot I thryfe,
he wyl have er he go.

Iche man that here shal lede his life,
That has a faire doghter or a wyfe,
Be war that no frer ham shryfe,
Nauther loude ne stille.
Thof women seme of hert ful stable,
With faire byhest and with fable
Thai can make thair hertes chaungeable,
And thair likynges fulfille.
Be war ay with the lymitour,
and with his felawe bathe,
And thai make maystries in thi bour,
it shal turne the to scathe.

Were I a man that hous helde,
If any woman with me dwelde,
Ther is no frer, bot he were gelde,
Shuld com within my wones.
For may he til a woman wynne,
In priveyté, he wyl not blynne,
Er he a childe put hir withinne,
And perchaunce two at ones.
Thof he loure under his hode,
with semblaunt quaynte and mylde,
If thou him trust, or dos him gode,
by God, thou ert bygyld.

Thai say that thai distroye synne,
And thai mayntene men moste therinne;
For had a man slayn al his kynne,
Go shryve him at a frere,
And for lesse then a payre of shone
He wyl assoil him clene and sone,
And say the synne that he has done
His saule shal never dere.
It semes sothe that men sayne of hayne
in many dyvers londe,
That that caytyfe cursed Cayne
first this order fonde.

Nou se the sothe whedre it be swa,
That frer Carmes come of a k.,
The frer Austynes come of a.,
Frer Jacobynes of i.,
Of m. comen the frer Menours;
Thus grounded Cayn thes four ordours,
That fillen the world ful of errours,
And of ypocrisy.
Alle wyckednes that men can telle
regnes ham among;
Ther shal no saule have rowme in helle,
of frers ther is suche throng.

Thai travele ȝerne and bysily,
To brynge doun the clergye;
Thai speken therof ay vilany,
And therof thai done wrong.
Whoso lyves oght many ȝers,
Shal se that it shal falle of frers,
As it dyd of the templers,
That wonned here us among.
For thai held no religioun,
bot lyved after lykyng,
Thai were distroyed and broght adoun,
thurgh ordynance of the kyng.

Thes freis haunten a dredful thing,
That never shal come to gode endyng;
O frer for eght or nyen shal syng,
For ten or for elleven.
And when his terme is fully gone,
Conscience, then has he none,
That he nȯ dar take of ychone
Markes sixe or seven.
Suche annuels has made thes frers,
so wely and so gay,
That ther may no possessioners
maynteine thair array.

Tham felle to lyvé al on purchace,
Of almes geten fro place to place,
And for alle that tham holpen has,
Shuld thai pray and syng.
Bot now this londe so neghe soght is,
That unnethe may prestes seculers
Gete any service for thes frers,
That is wondre thing,
This is a quaynt custome
ordeyned ham among,
That frers shal annuel prestes bycome,
and so gates selle ther song.

Ful wysely can thai preche and say;
Bot as thai preche no thing do thai.
I was a frere ful many a day,
Therefor the sothe I wate.
Bot when I sawe that thair lyvyng
Acordyd not to thair preching,
Of I cast my frer clothing,
And wyghtly went my gate.
Other leve no toke I none,
fro ham when I went,
Bot toke ham to the devel ychone,
the priour and the covent.

Out of the ordre thof I be gone,
Apostota ne am I none,
Of twelve monethes me wanted one,
And odde days nyen or ten.
Away to wende I made me boun;
Or tyme come of professioun,
I went my way thurghout the toun,
In syght of many men.
Lord God, that with paynes ille
mankynde boght so dere,
Let never man after me have wille
for to make him frere.

On the Minorite Friars.[1]

Of thes frer mynours me thenkes moch wonder,
That waxen are thus hauteyn, that som tyme weren under;
Among men of holy chirch thai maken mochel blonder;
Nou he that sytes us above make ham sone to sonder!
With an O and an I, thai prayson not seynt Poule,
Thai lyen on seyn[t] Fraunceys, by my fader soule.

[1] From MS. Cotton. Cleop B. II. fol 61, v°.

First thai gabben on God, that alle men may se,
When thai hangen him on hegh on a grene tre,
With leves and with blossemes that bright are of hle;
That was never Goddes son, by my leuté.
With an O and an I, men wenen that thai wede,
To carpe so of clergy, thai can not thair crede

Thai have done him on a croys fer up in the skye,
And festned on hym wyenges, as he shuld flie.
This fals feyned byleve shal thai soure bye,
On that lovelych Lord so for to lye.
With an O and an I, one sayd ful stille,
Armachan distroy ham, if it is Goddes wille.

Ther comes one out of the skye in a grey goun,
As it were an hog-hyerd hyand to toun;
Thai have mo goddes then we, I say by Mahoun,
Alle men under ham, that ever beres croun.
With an O and an I, why shuld thai not be shent?
Ther wantes noght bot a fyre that thai nere alle brent.

Went I forther on my way in that same tyde;
Ther I sawe a frere blede in myddes of his syde;
Bothe in hondes and in fete had he woundes wyde.
To serve to that same fier, the pope mot abyde.
With an O and an I, I wonder of thes dedes,
To se a pope holde a dische whyl the frer bledes.

A cart was made al of fyre, as it shuld be;
A gray frer I sawe therinne, that best lyked me.
Wele I wote thai shal be brent, by my leauté;
God graunt me that grace that I may it se.
With an O and an I, brent be thai alle!
And alle that helpes therto faire mot byfalle

Thai preche alle of povert, bot that love thai noght;
For gode mete to thair mouthe the toun is thurgh soght.
Wyde are thair wonnynges, and wonderfully wroght;
Murdre and horedome ful dere has it boght.
With an O and an I, for sixe pens er thai fayle,
Sle thi fadre, and jape thi modre, and thai wyl the assoile.

On the Times.[1]

1388.

Syngyn y wolde, but, alas!
descendunt[2] *prospera grata;*
Englond sum tyme was
regnorum gemma vocata;
Of manhod the flowre
ibi quondam floruit omnis,
Now gon ys that honowr,[3]
traduntur talia somnis.

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[1] This piece is found in two manuscripts in the British Museum, MS. Harl.; No. 536, fol. 34, r° (A), and MS. Harl, No. 941, fol. 21, v° (B), and in a third in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, E 5, 10 (C). It is here printed from the last of these manuscripts, which appears to be on the whole the best, collated with the others. The description of the costume and other circumstances point to the reign of Richard II as the date of this poem, and some rather obscure allusions would lead us to think that it was composed among the political troubles of the year 1388. The retreat of "Jacke" accompanied with "Jacke Noble," to "regna remota," in all probability refers to the flight of the king's favourite, Robert de Vere duke of Dublin, with Michael de la Pole earl of Suffolk, to the continent.

[2] *procedunt*, C, with *discendunt* written above it. *Descendunt*, A, with *decedunt* above.

[3] *tom*, A. *owe*, B.

Lechery, lust,[1] and pryde,
hæc sunt quibus Anglia paret;
Sone trowyth[2] ys set asyde,
dic qualiter Anglia staret.
Where[3] owre freridis were,
nostri sunt jam[4] *inimici,*
With bowes, scheld, and spere;
poterunt heu![5] *talia dici.*
Oftyn tyme have we here
mala nobis esse futura;
But ever have we desire
a nobis commoda[6] *plura.*
Lo! within owre lond
insurgunt undique guerræ;
But God put to his hond,
fiet destructio terræ.
On water and on lond,
quæ quondam nos timuerunt,
Now many a thowsand
nos parvo[7] *per mare quærunt.*
Dred of God is went,
humanis sed timor astat;
Ho seythe[8] truth he[9] is schent,
regnum violentia vastat;
Rowners[10] and flatreres,
hi regno sunt nocituri;
Woldo God swoch claterers[11]
sua subdant colla securi.
Englond, awake now,
nunc consurgunt jugiter hostes,
And good heede take thow,
fac hostia, dirige postes.

---

[1] *slouthe*, A. *slewthe*, B.
[2] *sith trouthe*, A. *Sethyn trewth was sett o syde*, B.
[3] *Whiche*, A.
[4] *nostri sient.*, A.
[5] *en*, A.
[6] *commercia*, A.
[7] *pro ens*, C.
[8] *sayth the*, B.
[9] *he* is omitted in A and B.
[10] *Robberes*, C.
[11] *flaterars*, C

The ryche make mery,
sed vulgus collachrimatur;
The pepul ys weri,[1]
quia ferme depopulatur.
The chyrche is grevyd,
quia spiritualia cedunt;
And so sume be[2] myschevyd,
plus damni crescere credunt.
Englond goth to noght,
et plus hoc facit ut viliosus;[3]
To the lust man is broght,
nimis est[4] *homo deliciosus.*
Goddes dere[5] halydayys ar noght,
non observantur honeste;
For onthryfty pley ys worght,[6]
regnat in eis manifeste,
Unthryfty lust and yois,[7]
steriles et luxuriosi,
Gentyl, gromys, and boyys,
socii sunt atque gulosi.
Soget[8] and sovereynys
uno quasi fune[9] *trahuntur;*
Put theso to the peynys,[10]
ad eos quicunque loquuntur.
At Westmyster halle
legis sunt valde scientes;
Never the lesse for hem alle,[11]
ibi vincuntur juru[12] *potentes.*

---

[1] *wer*, C.

[2] *Som bethe*, A.

[3] *plus fecit homo vitiosus*, A.

[4] *Nummis*, C ?

[5] *dere* is omitted in A, and the two last words of the line are found in neither of the London MSS.

[6] These two words are found only in C.

[7] *unthrifte and wombe joye*, A.

[9] *Sojettys*, A.

[9] *fine*, A and C.

[10] *put thei he to peyne*, A.

[11] *Noght ellys before thayme alle,*
for hem wolle, C.

[12] *jura*, omitted in C.

In that he never herd the cause,[1]
juramento moderavit ;[2]
The mater wyl he have,[3]
et justum damnificabit ;
And an obligacion,
ac de jure[4] *valitura ;*
Thorgh a fals cavelacion,
erit affectum[5] *caritura.*
His owyn cause[6] many a man
nunc judicat et moderatur ;
Law helpyth noght than,[7]
ergo lex[8] *evacuatur.*
Manslaught and thefte
crucis ad votum redimuntur ;
Qwere ille spone wolle,[9]
dona pravos prava sequuntur.[10]
Jerorys han[11] peyntyd slewys,
inopes fumuli dominorum ;[12]
This hurtys and grevys,
novit Deus ipse deorum.
Gret hurt to this lond
est usurpata potestus ;
Therfor put to ys hond
regis metuenda majestas.
For harme that wyle[13] falle,
non ulla[14] *statuta parantur ;*
The kyng knowythi not alle,
non sunt qui vera[15] *loquuntur.*

---

[1] *That never herd the caas*, A.
[2] *j. tunc mediabunt*, A.
[3] *Than the mater wolle thei face*, A.
[4] *de jure satis v.*, A and B.
[5] *effectu*, A.
[6] *caas*, A.
[7] *hem*, A.
[8] *ergo heu ! lev e.*, A.
[9] *Be ware of evel spon wefte*, A. *Be ware of ylle sponon weft*, B.
[10] *locuntur*, C.
[11] *Jurrours with*, A.
[12] *inops fieti*, C. ?
[13] *mow*, A.
[14] *nonnulla*, A.
[15] *sunt vera quæ*, C.

He and he seyd wel,
et sermo placere videtur ;
The cattys nee to bylle[1]
hic et hic[2] *ligare veretur.*
Qwat is the cause of this?
vere violatio[3] *legis ;*
Amon[de] that is amys
poterit clementia regis.
Noght with a jake,[4]
paucos timuit[5] *remanere ;*
Sum hath hym on his bak,
in[6] *bursa mallet habere.*
Good Jake, qwere is thi Jon?
ubi gratia nunc requiescit?
Jake, now grace is gon,
ad regna remota recessit ;
Jake nobil with hym ys,
iter insimul arripuerunt ;[7]
Of bothe ys gret mys,
illos multi modo quærunt.
Galauntes, purs penyles.
per vicos ecce vagantur ;
Yf yt be as I gesse,
male solvunt quod mutuantur.
On with another anon
satagit committere guerrum ;
Now is he here, and now is he gon,
discurrit[8] *ut advena terram.*
Fresch of[9] the newe towch,
incedunt ridiculose,
Lityl or noght in her powch,
pascuntur deliciose.

[1] *to the belle*, A.

[2] *ille*, A.

[3] *violentia*, A, B.

[4] *now without a jacke*, A.

[5] *pauci metuunt*, A. *paucos luimur*, B.

[6] *sed*, B.

[7] *iterum simul accipierunt*, C.

[8] *destruxit*, A.

[9] *freshe and of*, B. *fresshest of*, A.

Bredder than ever God made
humeri sunt arte tumentes;[1]
Narow[2] they be, they[3] seme brode,
vana sunt hoc facite, gentes.[4]
They bere a newe fascion,
humeris in pectore tergo;
Goddes plasmacion
non illis complacet[5] *ergo.*
Wyde coleres and hye,
ei gladio sunt colla parata;
Ware ȝe the prophecye
contra tales recitata.
Long sporys on her helys,
et rostra[6] *fovent ocrearum;*
They thynke it do welle,
cum non sit regula Sarum.
A strayth bende hath here hose,
laqueant ad corpora crura;[7]
They may noght, I suppose,
curvare genu sine cura;
Qwen oder men knelys,
pia Christo vota ferentes,
Thei stond at here helys,[8]
sua non curvare valentes.[9]
For hortyng of here hosyn,
non inclinare laborant;
I trow, for here long toos,
dum stant ferialiter orant.
Many a man[10] thes let
et turbant ad sacra stando;
Crystes curse they get,
nisi desistant[11] *aliquando.*

---

[1] *timentes*, C.
[2] *Narugh*, A.
[3] *thouȝ thei*, A.
[4] *nova sunt factio gentis*, A.
[5] *contulit compacet ergo*, C.
[6] *rastra*, C.
[7] *laqueantur a corpore crura*, A.
[8] *on here helis*, A.
[9] *volentes*, C,
[10] *Many men*, A.
[11] *nisi Deus instat*, A.

Women lo! with here brestes[1]
procedunt arte profana;[2]
Prechers ne pristes
non possunt hæc pellere vana.
With poyntys ful strong
caligas de more sigillant,
Now shorte and now longe,
ventus velut[3] *ecce vacillant.*
Her[4] knokelys elbowys.
manicæ laqueant lacerate;
In frost and in snow,
ut aves spectant laqueata.
Qwhan frost awakys,
tunc stringunt frigore gentes,
Here chekys than quakys,[5]
sese quasi concutientes.
Qwan men rest takyn,
noctis somno recreati,
Swoch felawys wakyn,
ad damna patrata parati.[6]
Ful oftyn tyme iwys
gelido fervent[7] *in amore,*
Here specialis yf y kys,[8]
distillat nasus in ore.
Of a galaunt the towch,[9]
unguentum stillat amoris.
I wolde ful were here pouge[10]
tanti dulcedine roris!
Lo! this for a gret nede,
sua miscent ora libenter.
Ho so ever take hede,
manet liquor irreverenter.

---

[1] *wantounly brestes*, A. *womonly*, B.
[2] *pro fama*, C.
[3] *ut venter*, A.
[4] *Theyer knokuld*, B. *Now kno kelyd*, A.
[5] *Than ther teth quakis*, A.
[6] These two lines are given further on in A and B.
[7] *frement*, C.
[8] *Ther special whan thei kis*, A.
[9] *Huf a galaunt thee atowche*, A.
[10] *pouche*, A.

" Wyv sa belle,"[1] thei cry,
fragrantiu vina bibentes,
Thei drynke tyl they be dry,
lingua sensuque carentes.
Thei cry, "Fyl the bowles!
" bonus est liquor, hic maneamus;
" For alle crystone sowllys,
" dum durant vasa, bibamus!"
Armys, sydus, and bonus,[2]
horum quidam recitabit;
Yit whan he ys most wode,
tunc blandus sermo donabit.
Paraventure on ware[3]
post sumptum temporis plausus,[4]
A cowntur-tenur at Newgat[5]
cantabit carcere clausus.
Of the chyrche that I drede,[6]
non placet[7] *sibi psalmus;*
Nowt I say for despyte,[8]
Sic me Deus adjuvet almus,
Alas, and welawey!
decus ecclesiam tenebrascit;
Lyȝt wyl falle that y say,[9]
Sanctus nunc Spiritus assit.
Symon, that fals man,
doctor potat ecclesiarum;
Moch sorow he began,
virus diffudit[10] *amarum.*
And that false avys,[11]
satis ecclesiam laqueasti,

---

[1] *Vive la belle,* A.

[2] *blode,* A.

[3] *Peraventure at an houre,* A.

[4] *poscunt hi tempora plausis,* A.

[5] *at Newgat,* omitted in the London MSS.

[6] *write,* A.

[7] *non forte placet,* A.

[8] *Now sey I for this dispite,* A.

[9] *Lyght wol fayle, I dar say,* A.

[10] *vino defendit,* C.

[11] *And than false avarise,* A.

With many other a vys[1]
Christi sponsam violasti.
Here mych more myght I say,[2]
cum ordo vetat seriarum;
Of swche more se he[3] may
in libris ecclesiarum.
The lanterne of lyghtte
non fulget luce serena;
Yt ys not alle aryght,
populus bibit ecce venena.
Ouer kynge and his lond
servet, regat, et teneatur;[4]
Oo God with ys hond
cœlum, terram moderatur.
In age as he growyt,
suu crescat gratia fructu;
Ful welle that he knowe,
quanto dolet[5] *Anglia luctu.*
O rex, si rex es, rege te, vel eris sine re rex,
Nomen habes sine re, nisi te rectequo regas rex.

Explicit autem scriptum. Nunc finem feci, da mihi quod merui.

Distich on the Year 1391.[6]

The ax was sharpe, the stokke was harde,
In the xiiij. yere of kyng Richarde.

---

[1] *evyl vice*, A. *With mony other vice*, B.
[2] *Here myght I more sey*, A. *Here mekyl more myght I sey*, B.
[3] *ze*, A.
[4] *Ca tudatur*, C.
[5] *quantum sit*, C.
[6] From a manuscript in the library of St. John's Coll., Oxford, No. 200.

On the Pestilence.[1]

Ecce dolet Anglia luctibus imbuta,
Gens tremit tristitia sordibus polluta,
Necat pestilentia viros atque bruta,
Cur? *quia flagitia regnant resoluta.*

Heu! jam totus vertitur mundus in malignum,
Inter gentes quæritur ubi cor benignum;
Christus non recolitur mortuus per lignum,
Ergo plebs perimitur in vindictæ signum.

Pax et patientia penitus orbantur;
Amor et justitia domi non morantur;
Errores et vitia gentes amplexantur;
Patrum pro malitia parvuli necantur.

Pastorum pigritia greges disperguntur;
Insontes astutia mercantum falluntur;
Fraus et avaritia sorores junguntur;
Divitum nequitia pauperes plectuntur.

Simonia colitur, Simon Magus vivit;
Æquitas opprimitur, veritas abivit.
Christi grex dispergitur, lupus insanivit;
Pestisque diffunditur, agnos deglutivit.

---

[1] This short poem is printed from a manuscript in the University Library, Cambridge, Ee. vi. 29, fol. 27, r°. The MS. appears to belong to the close of the fourteenth century, and its allusions, which are vague and general, may, and probably do, apply to the great pestilence of 1391, but there is no internal evidence of a direct kind which will enable us to fix its date with certainty, while its form of versification resembles that of an earlier date.

Favor non scientia promovet rectores ;
Intrudit potentia servos ob labores ;
Et regum clementia quosdam per favores
Æs et amicitia invadit provisores.

Fortes Christi milites modo recesserunt ;
Sathanæ satellites templum subverterunt ;
Laceras et debiles oves perdiderunt ;
Cuculi degeneres nisis successerunt.

Patres quondam nobiles pestes fugarunt,
Et in fide stabiles languidos sanarunt ;
Vita venerabiles signis coruscarunt,
Actus per laudabiles Christo militarunt.

Tales erant vestibus asperis vestiti,
Ut moderni mollibus raro sunt potiti ;
Hi præclaris moribus erant insigniti.
Juvenes a sordibus sacris eruditi.

Heu ! nunc mercenarii, nec veri pastores,
Rectores, vicarii mutaverunt mores ;
Ambitu denarii subeunt labores.
Tales operarii merentur mœrores.

Isti pro ciliciis utuntur pellura ;
Farciunt deliciis ventres tota cura ;
Dant post spurcitiis se sine mensura ;
Suffulti divitiis vivunt contra jura.

Dum capella tegitur nobili vestura,
Sponsa Christi capitur nudata tectura ;
Vinea destruitur porcorum usura,
Et vitis evellitur carens jam cultura.

Sacerdotes Domini sunt incontinentes;
Actus suo nomini non sunt respondentes
Sacra dantes homini forent et docentes;
Sui mores ordini non sunt congruentes.

Ista super æthera sanguine scribantur,
Ut patenti litera sæculis legantur;
Ignibus cum vetera peccata purgantur,
Sua ferant onera jam qui dominantur.

En! amor et caritas regnis refrigescunt;
Livor et severitas gentibus ardescunt;
Cleri, plebis veritas et fides tepescunt.
Hinc regni nobilitas et fama quiescunt

Fœminæ fragilitas omni caret laude;
Mercantum subtilitas versatur in fraude;
Et fratrum dolositas jungit caput caudæ.
Homo, si jam veritas te gubernat, gaude.

Explicit.

The Reconciliation of Richard II. with the City of London.

By Richard de Maidstone.[1]

Richardi Maydiston de concordia inter regem Ric. II. et civitatem London.

Tullius in laudem tantam sustollit amicos,
  Quod licet, his demptis, optima nil valeant:
" Stes," ait, "in cœlis, videas ibi quæque beata,
  " Hauriat auris in his utraque dulce melos,
" Quicquid adhuc sensus poterit tibi pascere quinos
  " Nil valet acceptum, si nec amicus adest.
" Si careas socio, cui sata placentia narres,
  " Hæc eadem sonties non placuisse tibi."
Hinc tibi, Ricarde, duplanto jugo mihi juncto,
  (Nomen et omen habes, sic socius meus es,)
Gaudia visa mihi Trenovantum nuper in urbe,
  Actus amicitia, glisco referre modo.
Et licet incultum carmen tibi condere curem,
  Parce precor curæ, parcere debet amor.
M. cape, ter quoque c. deciesque novem, duo junge,
  Hunc numerum anni supputo dando notis.

---

[1] This Latin poem is preserved in a manuscript in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, MS. Bodl. E Musæo, No. 94, fol. 8, v°. The author is said to have been a native of Maidstone, in Kent, and, after being a fellow of Merton College, Oxford, he became a Carmelite friar in the convent of Aylesford, near Maidstone, where he died and was buried in 1396. He took the degree of doctor in theology in the hostle of the Carmelites in Oxford, and seems to have been chiefly known by his theological writings. He was, however, in favour at court, and this poem, which commemorates the king's visit to London to be publicly reconciled with the citizens on the 29th of August, 1393, seems to have been the produce of his zeal as a courtier.

Tunc bis ter Phœbo fuerat soror associata,
Cum bona felici sunt, Nova Troja, tibi.
Mensis ut Augusti ter septima fulsit in orbem
Lux, tibi, Londoniæ, rumor amœnus adest.
Namque tuum regem, sponsum, dominumque tuumque,
Quem tibi sustulerat perfida lingua, capis.
Invidiosa cohors regem tibi vertit in iram,
Desereret thalamum sponsus ut ipse suum.
Sed quia totus amor tuus est, et amantis imago
Formosior Paride, nescit odisse diu.
Addo quod in miseros semper solet hic misereri,
Nec habet ultrices rex pius iste manus.
Quot mala, quot mortes tenero sit passus ab ævo,
Quamque sit inultus, Anglia tota videt.
Quid cupit hic servire Deo, nisi semper et esse
Pacificum, lætum, nilque perire bonum?
Sic fovet ecclesiam statuens statuum moderamen,
Sternere ne liceat quod statuere patres.
Effugat ingratos, cupidos, stolidos, truculentos,
Quæque decent regem hæc rapit ipse sibi.
Talis adolescens toto non restat in orbe,
Qui sciat ut Salomon regna tenere sua.
Hic licet accensus foret in te, Troja, parumper,
Grata modo facies se docet esse piam.
Non poterat mordax detractans lingua tenere,
Quin cuperet thalamum sponsus adire suum.
Qui libertates solitas tibi dempserat omnes,
Nunc redit, et plures reddere promptus eas.

Hic præparat se civitas in occursum regis.

Urbis custodem miles quem rex ibi signat,
Alloquitur cives sic, rutilante die:
" Regis in occursum vestri vos este parati,
" Percipiatque palam quam bene nunc veniat.

" Totius ecclesiæ fiat processio cleri,
" Omnis et ordo suas se ferat ante cruces.
" Nulla sit ars urbis, quæ non distincta seorsum
" Splendidius solito trans vada vadat eques.
" Quicquid in urbe probum fuerit promatur, in ista
" Nam gaudete die, pax tribuetur," ait.
His animata loquelis tota cohors sociatur,
Præparat et cultu se meliore suo.
Ornat et interea se pulchre quæque platea,
Vestibus auratis urbs micat innumeris.
Floris odoriferi specie fragrante platea,
Pendula perque domos purpura nulla deest ;
Aurea, coccinea, bissinaque, tinctaque vestis,
Pinxerat hic cœlum arte juvante novum.
Quos tulit ante dies istos plebs ista labores,
Quas tulit expensas, os reserare nequit.
Quid moror ? ecce dies transit ! properatur ab urbe
Regis in occursum conjugis atque suæ.
Quis numerare queat numerum turbæ numerosæ,
Quæ velut astra poli densius inde fluit ?
Millia viginti juvenes numerantur equestres ;
Qui pedibus pergunt, non capit hos numerus.
Custos præcedit, comitantur eumque quater sex,
Quos aldirmannos urbs habet ut proceres.
Jure senatorio urbs his regitur quasi Roma,
Hisque præest major, quem populus legerit.
His erat ornatus albus color et rubicundus,
Hos partita toga segregat a reliquis.
Clavibus assumptis, urbis gladio quoque, custos
Præcedit proceres, subque sequuntur eum.
Hos sequitur phalerata cohors cujuslibet artis ;
Secta docet sortem quæque tenere suam.
Hic argentarius, hic piscarius, æcus illum
Mercibus hic doditus, venditor atque mori.
Hic apothecarius, pistor, pictor, lathomusque ;
Hic cultellarius, tonsor, et armifaber.

Hic carpentarius, scissor, sartor, ibi sutor ;
  Hic polliparius, fulloque, mango, faber.
Hic sunt artifices, ibi carnifices, ibi tector ;
  Hic lorinarius, pannariusque simul.
Ibi vaginator, hic zonarius, ibi textor ;
  Hic candelarius, cerarius pariter.
Hic pandoxator, ibi streparius, ibi junctor ;
  Est ibi pomilio, sic anigerulus hic.
A super r gratis stat in artibus hic numeratis,
  * * * * * * * * *
Hic cirothecarius, bursistaque, caupo, coquusque :
  Ars patet ex secta singula quæque sua.
Cerneret has turmas quisquis, puto non dubitaret
  Cernere se formas ordinis angelici.
Tam valido solet auxilio, qui martius exstat,
  Prælia suffultus nulla timere pugil.
Quælibet ut proprias est ars sortita phalangas,
  Mille quatuor stadiis omne repletur iter.

Hic occurrunt cives regi.

Psallite nunc, cives, regi nunc psallite vestro,
  En ! rex vester adest, psallite quod sapit hic.
Rege propinquante comites glomerantur heriles,
  Ha mihi ! quam pulchrum cernere credis eos.
Dum niveo resideret equo, se quique retractant,
  Ut pateat populo rex pius ipse suo.
Vernula quam facies fulvis redimita capillis,
  Comptaque sub serto præradiante coma !
Fulget et ex auro vestis sua rubra colore,
  Quæ tenet interius membra venusta nimis.
Iste velut Troilus, vel ut Absolon ipse decorus,
  Captivat sensum respicientis eum.
Non opus est omnem regis describere formam,
  Regibus in cunctis non habet ille parem.

Larga decoris ei si plus natura dedisset,
  Clauderet hunc thalamis invida forte Venus.
Sistit ut in medias super arva replota catervas,
  Nobilibus regni cingitur, ut decuit.
Nec procul est conjunx regina suis comitata,
  Anna sibi nomen, re sit et Anna precor!
Pulchra quidem pulchris stat circumcincta puellis,
  Vincit Amazonibus Troja novella sub his.
Sternitur ex gemmis nitidis sparsim sua vestis,
  Ad caput a planta nil nisi gemma patet
Nulla deest adamas, carbunculus, atque beryllus,
  Qui lapis est pretii, sternitur inde caput.
Quod nitet in fronte nitida, radiatque per aures,
  Verberat obtuitum, ne foret inde satur.

Hic reddit se civitas domino regi.

Aurea rex dum frena trahit, et sistere cogit
  Dextrarium, proceres mox populusque silent.
Accessit propius custos, secumque togati,
  Claves læva manus, dextra tenet gladium.
Ad se converso puncto mucronis ad instar
  Tristis captivi, sic sua verba refert:
" En! rex, cujus ut est nimium metuenda potestas,
  " Sic et amanda nimis, nec reverenda minus.
" En! humiles cives, vestris pedibus provoluti,
  " Reddunt se vobis, et sua cuncta simul.
" Clavibus his gladioque renunciat urbs modo sponte,
  " Vestræ voluntati prompta subesse venit.
" Hoc rogat assidue lachrymis madefacta deintus,
  " Mitis ut in cameram rex velit ire suam.
" Non laceret, non dilaniet pulcherrima regni
  " Mœnia, nam sua sunt, quicquid et exstat in his.
" Non oderit thalamum sponsus quem semper amavit,
  " Nulla subest causa cur minuatur amor."

Sumit ad hæc gladium, claves quoque Londoniarum
  Rex, cito militibus tradit utrosque suis.
" Acceptamus," ait, " tam vos, quam reddere vestrum,
  " Et placet ornatus exhibitus mihi nunc.
" Sed quid in urbe mea geritur modo tendo videre,
  " Si scierit regem gens mea nosse suum."

Hic veniunt cives ad reginam.

Transit et interea custos comitatus eisdem
  Sex quater, et sistunt regia terga retro.
Reginam propius veniunt humili quoque vultu
  Valde precantur eam, spondet et ipsa bonum.
Corde favet, sed valde dolet, quia regis in iram
  Urbs tam clara ruit; "spes tamen exstat," ait.

Hic tendit rex cum tota cohorte versus urbem.

His velut est dictum gestis, properatur ad urbem;
  Ars *artem sequitur*, est *prior ultima nunc*.
Ut valor est artis retinet loca digna valori,
  Gaudet honoro suo quælibet atque gradu.
Nigris, purpureis, albis, fulvis, bene tinctis,
  Viridibus, rubris, puniceisque togis,
Ac bipartitis sunt vestibus atque phalangis
  Artes distinctæ, quod decet artifices.
Illa prius, hæc posterius ars tendit ad urbem,
  Vix exercitui sufficiebat iter;
Turba premit turbam, jacet hic, ruit hic, cadit iste,
* * * * * * * * * *
Musica nulla tacet, cantus, strepitus, neque clangor,
  Altaque concussit æthera dulce melos.
Dumque chori *fratrum* psallunt, *regemque salutant*,
  Incipit amplecti mox venerando cruces.
Basia dat crucibus, imitatur eum sua conjunx,
  Et rogat ut regnum servat uterque Deus.

De pluvia quæ tunc accidit.

Tunc respirare cœpit tristis prius aura,
  Tempestas etenim turbinis ante fuit.
Sic pluebat quod tristis erat tunc sexus utrque,
  Turbari metuens turbine tam valido.
Ast notus ut distat, lenisque favonius astat,
  Aura serena micat, urbs modo nil trepidat.

De venia data cuidam in Southwerk.

Strata foras urbem, qua pulchra suburbia restant,
  Hæc Opus Australe dicitur, est etenim.
Obviat hic regi vir in exilium modo missus,
  Arboreamque crucem fert homicida reus.
Pronus ut ante pedes jacuit prostratus equinos,
  Flens rogitat veniam, rex sibi donat eam.
Sicque pium miseri miseret solitum misereri,
  Gratia quam tribuat, restituatur ei.

Hic fuit regina coronata.

Aurea reginæ super erigitur caput Annæ
  Pulchra corona, parum non valet illa putes.
Mirificum opus hoc lapidum radiosa venustas
  Ditat, et eximiam efficit illa lucem.
Grata fuit facies vario redimita monili,
  Cultus enim patriæ pulchrius ornat eam.

Hic præsentat civitas regi duos dextrarios per custodem.

Pontis ut usque pedem propiat rex, stant ibi cives,
  Dextrariique duo, inclita dona nimis.
Purpura cum bisso tegit hos partita caballos,
  Cæsar honorifice supra sederet eos.

Hos ducit ad regem custos deputatus in urbe,
Urbis et ex parte talia verba refert:
" Rex pie, rex prudens, rex pacifice, dominator,
" Nil nisi pax petitur vestra, rogamus eam.
" En ligios vestros lætos foris, intus ovantes!
" Gaudia magna nimis his tulit ista dies.
" Quod ducitis dignum thalamum jam visere vestrum,
" Quas valet urbs grates, tota referre cupit.
" Sed quia quicquid habet nimis parvum dare regi,
" Hos tamen optat equos vestra manus capiat.
" Dantur in hoc signum, quod se reddunt modo cives
" Corpora, divitias, pergama quæque sua.
" In vestris manibus sit eorum vitaque morsque,
" Et regat ad libitum regia virga suos."
Rex contentus ad hæc, "Et nos," ait, "ista placenter
" Munera suscipimus, iraque nostra cadit.
" Concedimus pacem genti quæ restat in urbe,
" Plebs mea nunc erit hæc, rex et ero sibi nunc"
Hæc ut ait vultu solido satis atque sereno,
Lætificat mœstos vox ea mille viros.

Hic presentant reginæ palefridum.

Ordine consimili conjunx ubi regia pausat
Pergitur, et custos taliter inquit ei:
" O generosaque nobilis imperatoria proles,
" Stipite nata quidem magnifici generis.
" Vos Deus elegit ad sceptra Britannica digne,
" Imperii consors estis et apta fore.
" Flectere regales poterit regina rigores,
" Mitis ut in gentem rex velit esse suam.
" Mollit amore virum mulier, Deus huic dedit illam;
" Tendat ad hoc vester, o pia, dulcis amor.
" Læta cupit faciem plebs hæc modo cernere vestram,
" In qua consistunt et salus et sua spes.

" En ! præsentat equum vobis, licet hoc minus æquo
" Extiterit donum, corde tamen hilari.
" Est nam qui teneros vestios leniter ferat artus,
" Ambulat, et nunquam cespitat in phaleris ;
" Partiti tegitur equus hic ex veste coloris
" Purpurei bissi, sic fuerant reliqui.
" Accipiat domina, modicum licet hoc modo munus,
" Supplicat instanter integra nostra cohors."
Suscipit jam datum grates referendo benignas,
Spondet et auxilium quod valet illa suum.
Voce licet tenui loqueretur, et ut muliebri,
Grata tamen facies urbis amica fuit.

Hic progreditur rex cum tota cohorte versus Chepe.

Taliter his gestis gaudenter itur in urbem,
Turba premit turbam, sic iter arctat eam.
Venit ut ad portam pontis regina, patenter
Sors bona prodigium mox dedit, ecce ! novum.
Namque sequuntur eam currus duo cum dominabus ;
Rexerat hos Phaeton, unus enim cecidit.
Fœmina fœminea sua dum sic fœmina nudat,
Vix poterat risum plebs retinere suum
Casus et iste placet, veniat, rogo, quod mihi signat,
Corruat ut luxus et malus omnis amor.
Pergitur hinc, rutilant, fulgent, splendentque plateæ,
Omnibus in vicis plauditur et canitur.
Spectantur pulchræ dum spectant ista puellæ ;
Nulla fenestra fuit has nisi quæ tenuit.
Virgineas facies qui cerneret urbis in alto,
Quod pecus est imo sperneret ut nihilum.
Quippe satis lento passu transitur in urbe,
Concursu populi præpediente viam.
At ubi perventum medium fuit urbis et usque
Introitum vici (dicitur ille Forum),

Quales texturæ picturarumque figuræ,
  Qualis et ornatus, scribere quis poterit?
Nempe videtur ibi de summis usque deorsum
  Nil nisi divitiæ, vultus et angelici.

Quomodo aquæductus det vinum, et de ornatu ejus.

Stillat aquæductus Bacchum, nec adest ibi Thetis,
  Rubra dat iste liquor pocula mille viris.
Hujus et in tecto steterat cœlicus ordo,
  Qui canit angelicos arte juvante melos.
Deusa velut folia seu flores sic volat aurum,
  Undique virginea discutiente manu.

De turri mirabili in medio Chepe.

Itur abhinc mediam dum rex venit usque plateam,
  Cernit ibi castrum, stat, stupet hinc nimium.
Pendula per funes est fabrica totaque turris,
  Ætheris et medium vendicat illa locum.
Stant et in hac turri juvenis formosaque virgo,
  Hic velut angelus est, hæc coronata fuit.
Cerneret has facies quisquis, puto, non dubitaret
  Nil fore sub cœlo quod sibi plus placeat.
Rex reginaque tunc astant bene discutientes
  Quid velit hæc turris alta, vel hi juvenes.
Descendunt ab ea juvenis simul ipsaque virgo,
  Nulla fuit scala, nec patuere gradus.
Nubibus inclusi veniunt, et in æthere pendunt,
  Quo tamen ingenio nescio, crede mihi.
Iste tenet ciphum, geminas gerit illa coronas,
  Hæc nitidis gemmis, plenus et isto mero.
Hæc rutilante novo fabricata quidem satis auro
  Singula, testatur fulgida materies.

Materiam superavit opus, patet hoc et in artis
Et simul artificis subtilitate nova.
Obtulit ergo suas custodi virgo coronas,
Quas in utraque manu sic eloquendo tenet:

Hic offert custos coronas regi et reginæ.

" Rex," ait, " illustris, reginaque nobilis, ambos
" Custodiat semper vos Deus incolumes!
" Qui dat terreni vobis diademata regni,
" Regna perennia cœlestia donet item.
" Cernite jam plebem vestram quam læta salutat
" Vos, et honorare gliscit, ut ipsa valet.
" Nititur ex studio sensum quoque quod habet omne,
" Pendere nunc vobis intime quod placeat;
" Mittit et hinc, binas vobis referendo coronas,
" Innumeras grates, si capiatis eas.
" Non decet hoc alios donum, rogitat tamen ipsa,
" Sumat ut hoc placite vestra benigna manus."
Contentantur ad hæc tam rex quam regia conjux,
Subridendo parum sumit uterque datum.
Ridet et ad vinum roseum quod ridet in auro,
Quodque propinat eis portitor angelicus.
Spem tulit ex ridente gena tunc plebs, utriusque
Obsequiis animos se quietasse suos.
Invisis gradibus simul angelus ipsaque virgo
Nubibus inclusi mox loca prima petunt.

De ornatu secundi aquæductus ad portam Pauli.

Usque monasterium Pauli cito tunc properatur,
Cujus et ante fores mira patet species.
Trino thronus ibi circumdatus undique giro,
Angelici præfert ordinis effigiem.

Angelicisque choris sic virginei sociantur,
  Psallentes pariter quisque canore suo.
Sicque micat facies juvenum tam in his quam in illis,
  Fiat ut extaticus intime respiciens.
Nam puerilis ætas juvenum sexus utriusque
  Extat ut est major sedibus inferior.
Supra sedebat eos juvenis, quasi sit Deus ipse,
  Lux radiosa sibi solis ad instar inest.
Flammigerum vultum gerit hic, niveas quoque vestes,
  Supra hierarchias cœlicas ille sedet.
Organa pulsat ibi, mentem rapit hæc melodia,
  Vocibus angelicis dum canit ille chorus.
Hinc decor, hinc dulcor oculos recreatur et aures,
  Singula cernentes obstupuere simul.
Quot putas hic musas, quot et instrumenta canora,
  Quam quoque multimodum hic genus organicum!
Fistula, cistula, tibia, timpana, cum monacordo,
  Organa, psalteria, cimbala, cumque lyra.
Zambucâ, citharæ, situlæque, tubæque, viellæ,
  Buccina cum nablis, simphonicisque choris.
Singula scripturo deerit mihi sensus et hora,
  Plurima namque mihi sustulit ipse stupor.

Hic intravit rex monasterium sancti Pauli, equis relictis.

Rex reginaque mox post hæc pedites adierunt
  Sacra monasterii tunc visitare loca.
Occurrunt pariter primas et episcopus urbis,
  Obviat et clerus illius ecclesiæ.
Concomitatur eos in cultu pontificali
  Ad Erkenwaldi sancta sepulchra simul.
Quippe Deo precibus sanctoque datis venerato,
  Concito scandit equum, qui fuit ante pedes.
Est plus adhuc, transitur abhinc, in Lud quoque porta
  Consimilis cultus stat, similisque nitor.

Ad fluvii pontem nimium bene culta refulgent
  Agnina spirituum, hi quoque dulce canunt.
Hi dant incensum, hi psallunt, hi quoque salutant,
  Floribus hi sternunt singula subter eos.

De deserto et Johanne Baptista ad barram Templi.

Ast ubi perventum fuit ad barram cito Templi,
  Silva super portæ tecta locata fuit.
Hæc quasi desertum tenuit genus omne ferarum,
  Mixtum reptilibus, vermibus et variis.
Sunt ibi spineta, sunt dumi, suntque rubeta,
  Fraxinus et corulus, quercus et alta pirus.
Prunus, acer, pepulus, populus quoque, tilia, fagus,
  Ulmus, lentiscus, palma, salix tremulus.
Hic lupus, hic leo, pardus, et ursus, et hic monacornus,
  Hic elephas, castor, simia, tigris, aper.
Hic onager, cervus celer, hic panteraque, dama,
  Hic vulpes fœtens, taxus, ibique lepus.
Currunt, discurrunt, pugnant, mordent, saliuntque,
  Ut solet ad vastum bestia sæva nemus.
Astitit his medius sanctus Baptista Johannes,
  Indicat hic digito, agnus et ecce Dei!
Inspicit attente rex hunc, quia quem notat iste,
  Illius ut meminit mitior inde fuit.
Nam quia devotus colit hunc constanter, eidem
  Præ reliquis sanctis porrigit ipse preces.
Hujus ad intuitum, si quid sibi manserat iræ,
  Extitit exstinctum protinus usque nihil.

Hic datur regi et reginæ duæ tabulæ pretiosæ cum imaginibus.

Angelus a tecto descendens mox satis alto,
  Splendida dona nimis fert in utraque manu.
Sunt etenim tabulæ sacris altaribus aptæ,
  Quas nequit inspiciens immemor esse Dei.

Inde crucifixi Christi stat sculpta figura,
Discipuli flentis, matris et extaticæ.
Sculpitur hic et uterque latro velut in cruce pendens;
Ut Deus est passus, tota patet series.
Quod minus extat in his, quod vilius hoc fuit aurum,
Multimodis gemmis pingitur istud opus.
Non fuerant visæ tabulæ prius orbis in amplo,
Quæ deceant velut hæc tam bene sceptrigeram.
Sumit ab angelicis manibus tabulas modo dictas
Custos, sicque sua publice verba refert.

De verbis custodis ad regem in dando tabulas.

" Salve, pater populi, rex, dux, princeps, modo salve,
" Salvet et omnipotens vos Deus, alma salus!
" Quam fuit hæc præclara dies his civibus, in qua
" Constituit regem vos Deus esse suum!
" Prole patrissante Ricardi, quod fuit ante
" Nomen, adhuc repetit quicquid honoris erat
" Regibus ergo probis patribusque bonis bona proles
" Successura fuit, sors dedit ut decuit.
" Nobilitas generis, virtus proba, formaque pulchra,
" Gratia, prosperitas, ingeniumque sagax.
" *Quæque decent regem persona simul capit una,*
" Una proculdubio non nisi vestra scio.
" Sed super hæc pietas, compassio veraque cordis,
" *Dignificans animum, vos probat esse probum.*
" Spes entenim populi potior fit, et ad pietatem
" Qua datur his venia, regis et ira cadit.
" Significant satis hoc tabulæ quas cernitis istæ,
" Quas regi pia plebs obtulit ecce pio.
" Orat ut inspiciat has rex cum tangitur ira,
" Mortis et ut Christi mox vellet esse memor.
" Parcat et ignaris, veluti rex cœlicus ille
" Hostibus indulgens semper inultus erat.
" Principis est, potuisse suas extendere vires
" In tantum externos quos oderit, populos.

" Rex et apum caret omnis acu, tamen extat eo plus
" Sponte timendus ab his quos ferit ipse nihil.
" Sumat et hinc vestra manus hoc modicum modo
" munus,
" In signum pacis quam rogat hic populus."

Hic tetigit rex tabulas aureas sibi datas.

Extendendo manum rex tunc sacra munera tangens,
" Pax," ait, " huic urbi, civibus atque meis;
" Intuitu Christi, matrisque suæ generosæ,
" Baptistæque Johannis mihi præcipui,
" Necnon sanctorum quorum modo cerno figuras,
" Sponte remitto meæ crimina cuncta plebis.
" Sed veniatis," ait " ad nostra palatia cuncti,
" Plenis enim finis pax quoque fiet ibi."

Hic dantur tabulæ dominæ reginæ, ejusdem figuræ.

Rex transit, regina venit, conformia custos
Munera præsentans, intulit ista sibi:
" Inclita Cæsareo soboles propagata parente,
" Quam decor et forma nobilitant nimium,
" Matris Christiferæ nomen sortita Mariæ,
" Quod titulis Anna gratia sonat idem.
" Non decet hunc titulum vacuum fore, num gerit illum
" Gratia quæ populis nunc valet esse suis.
" Vos ideo meminisse decet, pia dux dominarum,
" Sanguinis et generis, nominis et proprii.
" Grata loqui pro gente sua regina valebit,
" Quod vir non audet, sola potest mulier.
" Hester ut Assueri trepidans stetit ante tribunal,
" Irritat dicta quæ prius ipse tulit.
" Nec dubium quin ob hoc vos omnipotens dedit hujus
" Participem regni, sitis ut Hester ei.
" Propterea petit urbs vestrum prostrata benignum
" Auxilium, in quo plus habet ipsa spei.

" Donat et has vobis tabulas altaribus aptas,
" Ut stent ante Deum, vos tamen ante virum.
" Cernitis has quotiens, totiens meminisse velitis
" Urbis, et efficere rex sit amicus ei."
Illa refert grates nimias pro munere tanto:
" In me, si quid erit, perficietur," ait.

Hic progreditur rex versus Westmonasterium, et cives sequuntur.

Itur abhinc, cunctis equitantibus ordine pulchro,
Westque monasterium, rege jubente, petunt.
Quis fuit ornatus, aulæ quis cultus ibidem,
Scribere difficile, nec reserare leve.
Nam ea textrili fuit arte domus cooperta,
Jam prius insolita, quod stupet intuitus.
Summa tenet summi thronus regis loca scamni,
Aurea tegmina quem splendida sola tegunt.
Sceptriger hoc nitidum scandit rex ecce tribunal,
Circumstant proceres, moxque silere jubent.

Quomodo regina corruit ante regem pro civibus.

Ingreditur regina suis comitata puellis,
Pronaque regales corruit ante pedes.
Erigitur, mandante viro, " Quid," ait, " petis, Anna,
" Exprime, de votis expediere tuis."

Supplicatio reginæ pro eisdem civibus.

" Dulcis," ait, " mi rex, mihi vir, mihi vis, mihi vita,
" Dulcis amor, sine quo vivere fit mihi mors.
" Regibus in cunctis similem quis possidet urbem,
" Quæ velut hæc hodie magnificaret eum?
" Quis cultus! quis honor! qui sumptus! munera quanta
" Sunt impensa modo, rex venerande, tibi!

" Nos quoque mortales, et ut hi velut umbra caduci,
" Simus in his mortis absit ut immemores.
" Quo majorem sumit honorem quisquis, eo plus
" Est humilis et erit, si sapiens fuerit.
" Hinc, mi rex, mi dulcis amor, memor esse velitis,
" Supplico prostrata, quid modo contigerit.
" Tempora post Bruti regumque peracta priorum,
" Quamvis et Arthurus annumeretur eis,
" Non fuerat cuiquam regi datus hic morituro
" Tantus honor quantum contulit ista dies.
" Major enim si facta foret reverentia regi,
" Tangeret injuria publica forte Deum.
" Hinc super hos cives, super urbem sic reverentem
" Tam vos quam vestros, intime condoleo;
" Et rogo constanter per eum quem fertis amorem
" Ad me, condignum si quid amore gero,
" Parcere dignemini plebibus, qui tanta dedere
" Munera *tam prompte nobis ad obsequia.*
" Et placeat veteri nunc urbem reddere juri,
" Ac libertates restituisse suas."

Responsio domini regis ad reginam.

" Sumo placenter," ait tunc rex, "carissima conjux,
" Quæque petita modo, nec nego quod rogitas.
" Consessura mecum scandas dulcissima thronum,
" Namque loquar populo paucula verba meo."
Sedibus ut teneros regina sedens locat artus,
Rege loquente, duces, plebs quoque tota silet.

Hic alloquitur rex cives, et reddit libertates.

" Vos," ait, "o cives, vos regia gens specialis,
" Nostri quos aliis plus refovere patres.
" Vobis in hoc regno nullos fore liberiores
" Constat, et extollit vos favor hic nimium.

" Propter opes nimias, magnos quoque propter honores,
" Degenerasse potest urbs mea forte modo.
" Nunc ubi sunt justæ leges, ubi rectaque jura,
" Quo timor in dominos, quo modo fugit amor?
" Quo bona nunc pietas, inopum protectio grata,
" Quo socialis amor omnis abhinc periit?
" Quippe potest tantæ fieri modo causa ruinæ,
" Quæ generat fastum tam bona prosperitas.
" Quod ego si scirem, sciat urbs hæc, nam bene sciret,
" Urbibus in reliquis non foret ista prior.
" Antiquus tamen ille favor, quem pristina regum
" Approbat auctoritas, non minuetur adhuc.
" Sentit enim vestrum mea mens per signa timorem,
" Vos quoque spero per hoc ad meliora trahi.
" Sumptus enim video vestros, data munera penso,
" Conjugis atque meæ pondero valde preces.
" Vos ideoque cavete deinceps principis iras,
" Contemptu proceres non habetote meos.
" Antiquam servate fidem, nova dogmata semper
" Spernite, quæ veteres non didicere patres.
" Ecclesiam quoque catholicam defendite totam,
" Non habet illa gradum, quin colat ipse Deum.
" Judicibus vestris insit timor omnipotentis,
" Pauperis in causam fraus mala ne veniat.
" Sic et in urbe mea bona pax, contentio nulla,
" Nec conventiculum fœderis insoliti.
" Si nostras etenim rumor penetraverit aures
" Obvius his monitis, urbs luet, haud dubium.
" Sed modo suscipite claves, gladium quoque vestrum,
" Legibus antiquis hanc regitote plebem.
" Antea quod licuit, liceat modo, dum tamen æquum
" Extiterit, solitum non variando modum.
" Præmineat major electus, qui regat urbem,
" Regis et ut solito suppleat ille vices.
" Vos quoque felices dulci jam pace potiti,
" Pergite gaudentes ad loca quisque sua."

Congratulatio civium pro restitutione libertatum, et recessus eorum.

Gaudet ad hæc turba, prostrata ruit, jacet humo,
  Acclamat laudes vocibus altisonis,
" Vivat rex'! vivat semper! vivat! bene vivat!
  " Longa sit in regno sospite vita suo!
" Sint sibi felices anni, mensesque, diesque,
  " Floreat et victis hostibus ipse suis!"
Dumque strepunt abeunt, redeunt, regem benedicunt;
  Exitus est operi terminus iste rei.

On the Truce between England and France, 1394.[1]

By Eustache Deschamps.

Antre Beauraym[2] et le parc de Hedin,
  Ou moys d'Aoust, qu'on soye les fromens,
M'en aloye jouer par un matin;
  Si vi bergiers et bergieres aux champs,
  Qui tenoient là leurs parliers moult grans,

[Translation.]

Between Beaurain and the park of Hédin,—in the month of August, when they reap the wheat,—I went to seek recreation one morning;—and I saw shepherds and shepherdesses in the fields,—who held there great talk,—

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[1] This short "balade" is by the French poet Eustache Deschamps, the friend and admirer of our own poet Chaucer. It is here printed from a manuscript in the Imperial Library in Paris, No. 7219, fol. 113, v°. It is interesting as showing the general feeling in France at this time with regard to the occupation of Calais by the English.

[2] Beaurain, a small town near Hédin in Artois.

Tant que Bochiers dist à Margot la broingne,
  Que l'en aloit au traittié à Bouloigne,
  Et que François et Anglois feront paix.
Elle respont : " *Foy que doy* Magueloigne,
  " Paix n'arez jà s'ilz ne rendent Calays."

Lors vint avant Berthelot du Jardin,
  Qui respondit : " La paix suis desirans ;
" Car je n'ose descouchier le matin,
  " Pour les Anglois qui nous sont destruisans ;
  " Mais dire oy, il a passé dix ans,
" *Qu'à leur dessoulz quierent toudis aloingne*
" Pour mettre sus leur fait et leur besoigne,
  " *Et puis courent le regne à grans eslays* ;
" Maint l'ont veu, et pour ce je tesmoigne,
  " Paix n'arez jà s'ilz ne rendent Calays."

Après parla par grant courroux Robin
  A Berthelot, et lui dist : " Tu te mens,
  " Car les François et les Anglois enfin
  " Veulent la paix, il en est dès or temps ;
  " *Trop à duré la guerre et li contens,*

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till Bochiers said to Margot the stout,—that people were going to the treaty at Boulogne,—and that French and English will make peace.—She replied : "By the faith I owe " the Magdalene,—you will never have peace unless they " restore Calais."

Then came forward Berthelot of the Garden,—who replied : " *Of the peace I am desirous ;—for I dare not rise* " from bed in a morning,—for the English who go about " *destroying us ;—but I have heard say, ten years ago,—that* " underneath they seek always delay—to cover what they " do and want,—and then overrun the kingdom with great rapidity ;—many have seen it, and therefore I bear witness, " —you will never have peace unless they restore Calais."

Next spoke in great rage Robin—to Berthelot, and said to him : "Thou liest,—for the French and the English at " length—will have peace, it is high time for it ;—too long " has lasted the war and contention,—nor do I see any one

" Ne je ne voy nul qui ne la ressoingne."
" Certes tout ce ne vault une escaloingne,"
Ce lui respont Henris li contrefais :
" Encor faulra chascun [prengne] sa broingne ;
" Paix n'arez jà s'ilz ne rendent *Calays.*

" Car l'autre jour oy maistre Martin,
".Qui racontoit le roy est mendre d'ans,
" Et qu'il estoit une loy en Latin
" Qui deffendoit rien vendre des enfans.
" En Guyenne sont deux mille et cinq cens
" Villes, chasteauls, qu'Angleis veulent qu'on doingne,
" Et grant tas d'or, et que le roy esloigne
" De roy en duc l'ommaige qui est fais."
" Qui fera ce ?" respon sote Caroingne ;
" Paix n'arez jà s'ilz ne rendent Calays."

Guichars li bruns, qui fu nez à Seclin,
Dist que cilz faiz est doubteux et pesans ;
Voire, et qu'Englès y pensent mal engin
De retenir ce port, qui est constans.
" Se ce ne fust, bien le fussent rendans ;

" who does not fear it."—" Truly all that is not worth an
" *onion*,"—*replied Henri the deformed* ;—" *every one will*
" still have to take his cuirass ;—you will never have peace
" unless they restore Calais.
" For the other day I heard master Martin,—who related
" that the king is a minor,—and that there was a law in
" Latin—which prohibited the selling of any property of
" children.—In Guienne there are two thousand and five
" hundred—towns and castles, which the English will have
" given to them,—and a great heap of gold, and that the
" king alienate—from king to duke the homage which is
" made."—" Who will do that," replied fool Caroigne ;—
" you will never have peace unless they restore Calais."
Guichard the brown, who was born at Seclin,—said that this fact is doubtful and grave ;—it is true that the English have an ill design in their thoughts—to retain this port, which is constant.—"If this were not the case, they would

" Mais ils pensent barat, guerre, et alloingne
" Faire au derrain. Ne le duc de Bourgoingne
" Et de Berry ne feroient jamais
" Tel paix à eux. Qui voulra si me perdoingne ;
" Paix n'arez jà s'ilz ne rendent Calays."

Envoy.

Princes, là fu Bertrisons, et Hersans,
Et Alizons, qui moult orent de sens ;
Et jugierent, quand li parlers fu fait,
Que telle paix seroit orde et meschans ;
Et concluirent aux bergiers eulx disans :
" Paix n'arez jà s'ilz ne rendent Calays."

" surely restore it ;—but they think only strife, war, and
" delay—to make it last. Nor will the duke of Burgundy—
" or [the duke] of Berri ever make—such a peace with
" them. Who will, let him pardon me ;—you will not have
" peace unless they restore Calais."

Envoy.—Princes, there was Bertrison, and Hersant,—and Alison, who had much sense ;—and judged, when the talk was ended,—that such a peace would be disgraceful, and injurious ;—and concluded with the shepherds by saying to them :—" You will not have peace unless you
" restore Calais."

The Complaint of the Ploughman.[1]

A sterne strife is stirred newe,
In many steedes in a stound,
Of sundry seeds that ben sewe,
It seemeth that some been unsound.
For some be great growne on ground,
Some been soukle, simple, and small;
Whether of hem is falser found,
The falser foule mote him befall.

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[1] This poem seems to have created considerable interest in the sixteenth century, when it was foisted into the black-letter folio editions of Chaucer as one of the Canterbury Tales, under the title of the Plowman's Tale. Speght, in inserting it in his edition, says, "I have seene "it in written hand in John Stowes "librarie in a booke of such 'antiquitie as seemeth to have been "*written neare to Chaucers time.*" Unfortunately no manuscript of it appears now to exist, but internal evidence is in favour of its belonging to the latter part of the reign of Richard II. The writer, in the character of course of the plough man, refers to another work for his opinion of the friars:—

"Of freres I have told before
"In a making of a crede."

There can be no doubt that this refers to the well-known satire entitled *Piers Ploughman's Crede*, and it implies that the present poem was written soon after the publication of that work, and when it was in vogue among the party of reform. The allusions in Piers Ploughman's Crede, especially that to the proceedings against Walter Brut, which took place in 1391, would lead us to fix the date of it to the end of that year, or more probably to the year following, and I have ventured to suppose that this complaint of the ploughman was written as early *as 1393 or 1394. We appear to* have no better text than the printed editions of the sixteenth century, which are of no value in a philological point of view. Todd, in his Illustrations of Gower and Chaucer (Introduc. p. xxxix.), describes an early separate edition, in a black-letter tract, formerly in the possession of Conybeare, the Anglo-Saxon professor at Oxford, the text of which varied considerably from the one now printed; but I have not been able to ascertain what has become of this book. I have therefore here printed it from the black-letter of Speght.

That one side is, that I of tell,
  Popes, cardinals, and prelates,
Parsons, monkes, and freres fell,
  Priours, abbots, of great estates;
Of heaven and hell they keepe the yates,
And Peters successours they been all;
  This is deemed by old dates,
But falshed foule mote it befall.

The other side ben poore and pale,
  And people put out of prease,
And seeme caitives sore a-cale,
  And ever in one without encrease;
  Teleped lollers and londlese;
Who toteth on hem, they ben untall,
  They ben araied all for the peace,
But falshed foule mote it befall.

Many a countrey have I sought,
  To know the falser of these two;
But ever my travaile was for nought,
  All so ferre as I have go:
  But as I wandred in a wro,
In a wood beside a wall,
  Two foules saw I sitten tho
The falser foule mote him befall.

That one did plete on the popes side,
  A griffon of a grimme stature;
A pellicane withouten pride
  To these lollers laied his lure;
  He mused his matter in measure,
To counsaile Christ ever gan he call;
  The griffon showed a sharpe fayre,
But falshed foule mote it befall.

The pellicane began to preach
Both of mercie and of meekenesse;
And saied that Christ so gan us teach,
And meeke and merciable gan blesse,
The evangely beareth witnesse;
A lambe he likeneth Christ over all,
In tokening that he meekest was,
Sith pride was out of heaven fall.

And so should every christened be;
Priestes, Peters successours,
Beth lowliche and of low degree,
And usen none earthly honours;
Neither croune, ne curious covetours,
Ne pillour, ne other proud pall,
Ne nought to cofren up great treasours,
For falshed foule mote it befall.

Priestes should for no cattell plede,
But chasten hem in charité;
Ne to no battaile should men lede,
For inhaunsing of her owne degree;
Nat wilne sittings in high see,
Ne soveraignty in hous ne hall;
All wordly worship defie and flee;
For who willeth highnes, foule shal fall

Alas! who may such saints call,
That wilneth welde earthly honour,
As low as Lucifere such shal fall
In balefull blackesse to builden her boure;
That eggeth the people to errour,
And maketh them to hem thrall;
To Christ I hold such one traitour,
As low as Lucifer such one shall fall

That willeth to be kings peeres,
  And higher than the emperour;
And some that were but poore freres,
  Now wollen waxe a warriour.
  God is not her governour,
That holdeth no man his permagall;
  While covetisse is her counsailour,
All such falshed mote need fall.

That high on horse willeth ride
  In glitterande gold of great array,
Ipainted and portred all in pride,
  No common knight may go so gay;
  Chaunge of clothing every day,
With golden girdles great and small;
  As boistous as is beare at bay;
All such falshed mote need fall.

With pride punisheth they the poore,
  And some they sustaine with sale;
Of holy church make they an hore,
  And filleth her wombe with wine and ale;
  With money fill they many a male,
And chaffren churches when they fall,
  And telleth the people a leaud tale;
Such false faitours foule hem befall.

With chaunge of many manner meates,
  With song and solas sitting long,
And filleth her wombe, and fast treates,
  And from the meat to the gong;
  And after meat with harpe and song;
And each man mote hem lords call;
  And hote spices over among;
Such false faitours foule hem fall

And miters mo than one or two,
  Ipearled as the queenes head;
A staffe of gold, and perrie, lo,
  As heavie as it were made of lead;
  With cloth of gold both new and redde,
With glitterande gold as greene as gall;
  By dome they damne man to dedde;
All such faitours foule hem fall.

And Christs people proudly curse,
  Withe broad boke, and braying bell;
To put pennies in her purse,
  They wol sell both heaven and hell.
  And in her sentence and thou wilt dwell,
They willen gesse in her gay hall,
  And thou the sooth of hem will tell,
In great cursing shalt thou fall.

That is blessed, that they blesse,
  And cursed that they curse woll;
And thus the people they oppresse,
  And have their lordships at full.
  And many be marchaunts of wull,
And to purse pennies woll come thrall;
  The poore people they all to-pull;
Such false faitours foule hem fall.

Lords also mote to hem loute,
  Obeysaunt to her brode blessing.
They riden with her royall route
  On a courser, as it were a king;
  With saddle of gold glittering,
With curious harneis quaintly crallit,
  Stirrops gay of gold mastling;
All such falshed foul befall it.

Christes ministers clepen they beene,
And rulen all in robberie;
But Antichrist they serven clene,
Attired all in tyrannie.
Witnesse of Johns prophecie,
That Antichrist is her admirall;
Tiflelers attired in trechorie;
All such faitous foule hem fall.

Who saith that some of hem may sinne,
He shall be dome to be ded:
Some of hem woll gladly winne,
All ayenst that which God forbed.
All holiest they clepen her head,
That of her rule is regall:
Alas! that ever they eaten bread,
For all such falshed wol foule fall.

Her head loveth all honour,
And to be worshipped in word and dede;
Kings mote to hem kneele and coure,
To the apostles that Christ forbede.
To popes hestes such taketh more hede,
Than to keepe Christs commaundement.
Of gold and silver mote been her wede,
They holdeth him holo omnipotent.

He ordaineth by his ordinaunce
To parish priestes a powere;
To another a greater avaunce,
A greater point to his mistere,
Bot for he is highest in earth here,
To him reserves he many a point;
But to Christ, that hath no pere,
Reserves he neither opin ne joint.

So seemeth he above all,
And Christ above him no thing;
When he sitteth in his stall,
He damneth and saveth as him thinke.
Such pride tofore God stinke;
An angell bad John to him knele,
But onely to God doe his bowing;
Such willers of worship must need evil feele.

They ne clepen Christ but *sanctus Deus*,
And clepen her head *sanctissimus*;
They that such a sect sewis,
I trowe they taken hem amisse;
In earth here they have her blisse;
Her high maister is Beliall;
Christes people from hem wisse,
For all such false will foule fall.

They mowe both binde and lose,
And all is for her holy life;
To save or damne they now chose,
Betweene hem now is great strife.
Many a man is killed with knife,
To wete which of hem have lordship shall;
For such Christ suffred wounds five
For all such falshed will foule fall.

Christ said, *qui gladio percutit*,
With sword surely he shall die;
He bad his priests peace and grith,
And bad hem not drede for to die.
And bad them be both simple and slie,
And carke not for no cattell,
And trusteth on God that sitteth on hie,
For all false shall full foule fall.

These wollen make men to swere
  Ayenst Christes commaundement;
And Christes members all to-tere,
  On rood as he were new yrent.
  Such lawes they maken by common assent,
Each one it throweth as a ball;
  Thus the poore be fully shent,
But ever falshed foule it befall.

They usen no 'simonie,
  But sellen churches and priories;
Ne they usen no envie,
  But cursen all hem contraries,
  And hireth men by daies and yeares,
With strength to hold hem in her stall;
  And culleth all her adversaries;
Therefore falshed foule thou fall.

With purse they purchase personage;
  With purse they paynen hem to plede;
And men of warre they woll wage
  To bring her enemies to the dede;
  And lords lives they woll lede,
And much take, and give but small.
  But he it so get, from it shall shede,
And make such false right foule fall.

They halow no thing but for hire,
  Church, ne font, ne vestement;
And make orders in everie shire,
  But priestes pay for the parchment.
  Of riotours they taken rent,
Therewith they smere the shepes skall;
  For many churches ben oft suspent,
And all such falshed foule it fall.

Some liveth not in lecherie,
  But haunt wenches, widowes, and wives,
And punisheth the poore for putree;
  Them selfe it useth all their lives.
  And but a man to them him shrives,
To heven come he never shall;
  He shall be cursed as be caitives;
To hell they saine that he shall fall.

There was more mercy in Maximien,
  And in Nero, that never was good,
Than is now in some of them,
  When he hath on his furred hood.
  They follow Christ that shed his blood
To heaven, as buckette into the wall.
  Such wretches ben worse than wood,
And all such faitours foule hem fall.

They give her almes to the riche,
  To mainteynours, and men of lawe;
For to lords they woll be liche,
  An harlots sonne not worth an hawe.
  Sothfastnesse all such han slawe;
They kembe her crokettes with christall;
  And drede of God they have doune drawe;
Al such faitours foule hem fall.

They maken parsons for the pennie,
  And canons, and her cardinals;
Unnethes amonges hem all is any,
  That he ne hath glosed the gospell fals.
  For Christ made never no cathedrals,
Ne with him was no cardinall,
  With a redde hatte, as usen minstrals;
But falshed foule mote it befall.

Their tithing, and her offering both,
  They eleneth it by possession;
Thereof nil they none forgo,
  But robben men as raunsome.
  The tithing of *turpe lucrum*
With these massters is urniall;[1]
  Tithing of brybry and larson
Will make falshood full foule to fall.

They taken to ferme her sompnours,
  To harme the people what they may;
To pardoners and false faitours
  Sell her seales, I dare well say;
  And al to holden great araie,
To multiply hem more metall;
  They drede full little domes-day,
When all such falshed shal foule fall.

Such harlottes shul men disclaunder,
  For they shullen make hem gree;
And ben as proude as Alexander,
  And saine to the poore, "Woe be ye!"
  By yere eche priest shal pay his fee,
To encrease his lemmans eall;
  Such heerdes shul wel ivel thee,
And al such false shul foule fall.

And if a man be falsely famed,
  And wol make purgatioun,
Than woll the officers be agramed,
  And assigne him fro toune to toun.
  So need he must pay raunsome,
Though he be clene as is christall;
  And then have an absolution;
  But al such false shull foule fall.

[1] So in Speght; *mynall*, in the earlier edition.

Though he be giltie of the dede,
  And that he may money paie,
Al the while his purse wol blede,
  He may use it fro day to day.
  The bishops officers gone ful gay,
And this game they usen over al;
  The poore to pill is all their pray;
Al such false shul foule fal.

Alas! God ordained never such lawe,
  Ne no such craft of covetise:
He forbad it by his sawe,
  Such governours mowen of God agrise.
  For al his rules is rightwise;
These new points ben papall;
  And all Gods lawe they dispise;
All such faitours shul foule fall.

They saine that Peter had the key
  Of heven and hel, to have and hold.
I trowe Peter tooke no money
  For no sinnes that he sold.
  Such successours ben to bold,
In winning al their wit they wral;
  Her conscience is waxen cold;
And al such faitours foule hem fal.

Peter was never so great a fole
  To leave his key with such a lorell,
Or take such cursed soch a tole,
  He was advised no thing well.
  I trowe they have the key of hell;
Their master is of that place marshall;
  For there they dressen hem to dwel,
And with false Lucifer there to fall.

They been as proud as Lucifarre,
As angry, and as envious;
From good fayth they been full farre,
In covetise they been curious;
To catch cattle as covetous
As hound that for hunger woll yall;
Ungodly and ungracious;
And needly such falshed shall foule fall.

The pope, and he were Peters heire,
Me thinke he erreth in this case,
When chose of bishops is in dispaire
To chosen hem in divers place.
A lord shall write to him for grace,
For his clerke anone pray he shall;
So shall he speed his purchase;
And all such false foule hem fall.

Though he can doo no good,
A lords prayer shall be sped;
Though he be wild of will or wood,
Not understanding what men him red,
A loud boster, and that God forbod,
As good a bishop is my horse Ball;
Such a pope is foule bested,
And at last he woll foule fall.

He maketh bishops for earthly thanke,
And no thing at all for Christs sake;
Such that been full fat and ranke,
To soule-heale none heed they take.
All is well done whatever they make,
They shall answere at ones for all;
For worlds thanke such worch and wake,
And all such false shall foule fall.

Such that cannot say her crede,
With praier shull be made prelates;
Nother can the gospell rede,
Such shull now weld high estates.
The high Gods friendship hem makes;
They toteth on her summe totall;
Such bere the keyes of hell yates;
And such false shal foule fall.

They forsake, for Christs love,
Travaile, hunger, thirst, and cold;
For they ben ordred over all above,
Out of youth till they ben old.
By the dore they goe not into the fold,
To helpe their sheep they nought travall;
Hired men all such I hold,
And all such false foule hem fall.

For Christ our king they woll forsake,
And know him nought for his poverte.
For Christs love they wol wake,
And drinke piement and ale aparte.
Of God they seeme no thing aferd,
As lusty liveth as did Lamual;
And driven her sheepe into desert;
All such faitours shul foule fal.

Christ hath xij. apostles here;
Now say they, there may be but one,
That may not erre in no manere;
Who leveth not this ben lost echone
Peter erred, so did not Jhon;
Why is he cleped the principall?
Christ cleped him Peter, but himselfe the stone;
All false faitours foule hem fall.

Why cursen they the croisery
  Christes christen creatures?
For betweene hem is now envy,
  To be enhanssed in honours.
  And christen livers with her labours,
For they levin on no man mortal,
  Been do to death with dishonours;
And al such false foule hem fal.

What knoweth a tillour at the plow
  The popes name and what he hate?
His crede suffiseth to him inow,
  And knoweth a cardinall by his hatte.
  Thus is the poore unrightly latte,
That knoweth Christ his God royal;
  Such matters be no worth a gnatte;
But such false faitours foule hem fal.

A king shall kneele and kisse his show;
  Christ suffered a sinful to kisse his fete.
Me thinketh he holdeth him high ynow;
  So *Lucifer* did, that high set.
  Such one me thinketh himselfe foryet,
Either to the trouth he was not cal;
  Christ, that suffered wounds wete,
Shal make such falshed foule ful.

They laieth out her large nettes,
  For to take silver and gold;
Fillen coffers, and sackes fettes,
  There as they soules catch shold.
  Her servants be to them unhold,
But they can doublin their rentall,
  To bigge hem castles, and bigge hem hold;
And all such false foule hem fall.

Here endeth the first part of this tale, and hereafter followeth the second.

To accorde with this wordo fall,
No more English can I finde;
Shewe another nowe I shall,
For I have much to say behinde;
How priests han the people pinde,
As curteis Christ hath me kende,
And put this matter in my minde,
To make these manner men amend.

Shortly to shend hem and shew now
How wrongfully they werch and walke;
O high God! nothing they tell, ne how,
But in Gods word tilleth many a balke;
In hernes hold hem and in halke,
And preachen of tithes and offrend,
And untruly of the gospel talke.
For his mercy God it amend.

What is Antichrist to say,
But even Christs adversarie?
Such hath now ben many a day,
To Christs bidding ful contrarie,
That from the truth cleane varry,
Out of the way they ben wend,
And Christs people untruly carry;
God for his pitie amend.

They liven contrary to Christs life,
In high pride against meekenesse;
Against suffraunce they usen strife,
And anger ayenst sobernesse;
Against wisdome wilfulnesse;
To Christs tales little tend;
Against measure outragеousnesse;
But when God wol, it may amend.

Lordly life ayenst lowlinesse,
  And demin al without mercie;
And covetise ayenst largesse,
  Against troweth trecherie;
  And against almesse envie;
Against Christ they comprehend,
  For chastitie they maintaine lecherie;
God for his grace this amend!

Against penaunce they use delights;
  Against suffraunce strong defence;
Ayenst God they usen evil rights;
  Ayenst pitie punishments;
  Open evil ayenst continence;
Her wicked winning they worse dispend;
  Sobernesse they setto into dispense;
But God for his goodnesse it amend!

Why cleimen they wholy his powere,
  And wranglen ayenst al his hests?
His living folow they no thing here,
  But liven worse than witlesse beests.
  Of fish and flesh they loven feests,
As lords they ben brode ykende;
  Of Gods poore they haten gests.
God for his mercy this amend!

With Dives such shal have her dome,
  That saine that they be Christes friendes,
And do no thing as they should done;
  All such been falser than ben fiendes.
  On the people they ley such bendes,
As God is in earth they han offend.
  Succour fro such Christ now send us,
And for his mercy this amend!

A token of Antichrist they be,
  His *careckes* ben now wide iknow.
Received to preach shal no man be,
  Without token of him, I trow.
  Ech christen priest to preachen owe;
From God above they ben send,
  Gods word to al folke for to show,
Sinful man for to amend.

Christ sent the poore for to preach,
  The royall rich he did not so;
Now dare no poore the people teach,
  For Antichrist is over all her foe.
  Among the people he mote go,
He hath bidden all such suspend;
  Some hath he hent, and thinketh yet mo;
But al this God may well amend.

All they that han the world forsake,
  And liven lowly, as God bad,
Into her prison shullen be take,
  Betin and bounden, and forth lad.
  Hereof I rede no man be drad,
Christ said, his should be shend;
  Ech man ought hereof be glad,
For God ful wel it wol amend.

They take on hem royall powere,
  And say they have swerds two,
One curse to hel, one slee men here;
  For at his taking Christ had no mo.
  Yet Peter had one of tho;
But Christ, to Peter smite gan defend,
  And into the sheath bad put it tho;
And all such mischeves God amend.

Christ bad Peter keepe his sheepe,
  And with his sword forbade him smite;
Sword is no toole with sheepe to keepe,
  But to shepheards that sheepe wol bite.
Me thinketh such shepheards ben to wite,
Ayen her sheepe with sword that contend;
  They drive her sheepe with great despite;
But all this God may well amend.

So successours to Peter be they nought,
  Whom Christ made sheefe-pasture.
A sword no shepheard usen ought,
  But he would slea, as a butchoure.
  For who so were Peters successoure,
Should bere his shepe til his backe bend,
  And shaddow hem from every shoure;
And al this God may well amend.

Successours to Peter ben these
  In that, that Peter Christ forsooke,
That had lever the love of God lese,
  Than a shepheard had to lese his hooke.
  He culleth the sheepe as doth the cooke,
Of hem seeken the wool to rend,
  And falsely glose the gospell booke;
God for his mercy them amend!

After Christ had take Peter the kay,
  Christ said, he must die for man;
That Peter to Christ gan withsay,
  Christ bad him go behind Sathan.
  Such counsailours many of these men han,
For worlds wele, God to offend.
  Peters successours they ben for than;
But al such God may wel amend.

For Sathan is to say no more
But he that contrary to Christ is
In this they learne Peters lore,
They sewen him when he did misse.
They follow Peter, forsooth, in this,
In al that Christ would Peter reprehend;
But not in that that longeth to heven blisse.
God for his mercy hem amend.

Some of the apostles they sewen in case
Of ought that I can understond,
Him that betrayed Christ, Judas,
That bare the purse in every lond;
And al that he might set on hond,
He hidde and stale, and mispend;
His rule these traitors han in hond;
Almightte God, hem all amend!

And at the last his Lord gan tray,
Cursedly, through his false covetise;
So would these traine him for money,
And they wiston in what wise.
They be seker of the selfe ensise,
From all soothnesse they ben friend,
And covetise chaungen with queintise.
Almighty God, all such amend!

Were Christ on earth here eftsoone,
These would damne him to die;
All his hestes they han fordone,
And saine his sawes ben heresie;
And ayenst his commaundements they crie,
And damne all his to be brend.
For it liketh not hem such losengerie;
God Almighty hem amend!

Theso han more might in England here,
  Than hath the king and all his lawe:
They han purchased hem such powere,
  To taken hem whom list not knawe;
  And say that heresie is her sawe,
And so to prison wol hem send;
  It was not so by elder dawe;
God for his mercy it amend!

The kings law wol no man deme
  Angerliche without answere;
But if any man theso misqueme,
  He shal be baighteth as a bere;
  And yet wel worse they wol him tere,
And in prison woll him pende,
  In gives, and in other gere;
When God woll, it may amend.

The king taxeth not his men
  But by assent of the comminalté;
But these ech yeare woll raunsome hem
  Maisterfully, more than doth he.
  Her scales by yeare better be
Than is the kings in extend;
  Her officers han greater fee;
But this mischeefe God amend!

For who so woll prove a testament,
  That is not all worth tenne pound,
He shall pay for the parchement
  The third of the money all round;
  Thus the people is raunsound.
They say such part to hem should spend;
  There as they gripen, it goeth to ground;
God for his mercy it amend!

For a simple fornication
  Twenty shillings he shall pay;
And then have an absolution,
  And al the yere usen it forth he may.
  Thus they letten hem go astray,
They recke not though the soule be brend.
  These keepen evill Peters kay;
And all such shepheards God amend!

Wonder is that the parliament,
  And all the lords of this lond,
Hereto taken so little entent,
  To helpe the people out of her hond.
  For they ben harder in their bond,
Worse beat and bitter brend,
  Than to the king is understond.
God him helpe this to amend!

What bishops, what religions,
  Han in this lande as muche lay fee,
Lordshippes and possessions
  More than lordes, it semeth me.
  That maketh hem lese charité;
They mowe not to God attende,
  In earth they have so high degré.
God for his mercie it amende!

The emperour yafe the pope somtime
  So high lordeship him about,
That at last the silly kime
  The proude pope put him out.
  So of this realme is in dout;
But lords beware, and them defende;
  For now these folkes be wonders stout;
The king and lordes now this amende!

Thus endeth the second part of this tale, and hereafter followeth the third.

Moyses lawe forbode it tho,
That priestes should no lordshippes welde;
Christes gospell biddoth also
That they should no lordshippes holde.
No Christes apostles were never so bold,
No such lordshippe to hem enbrace;
But smeren her shepe and kepe her fold;
God amend hem for his grace!

For they ne ben but counterfete,
Man may know hem by her fruite,
Her greatnesse maketh hem God foryete,
And take his mekenesse in dispite.
And they wer pore, and had but lite,
They nold nat demen after the face,
But nourish her shepe, and hem not bite.
God amend hem for his grace!

Grisson. What canst thou preach ayenst chanons
That men clepen seculere?
Peli. They ben curates of many tounes,
On earth they have great powere;
They have great prebendes and dere,
Some two or three, and some mo;
A personage to ben a playing fere,
And yet they serve the king also.

And let to ferme all that fare,
To whom that woll most give therefore;
Some woll spend, and some woll spare,
And some woll lay it up in store.
A cure of soule they care not fore,
So that they mowe much money take,
Whether her soules be wonne or lore,
Her profites they woll not forsake.

They have a gadering procuratour,
That can the poore people enplede,
And robben hem as a ravinour,
And to his lord the money lede;
And catch of quicke and eke of dede,
And richen him, and his lord eke;
And to robbe can give good rede,
Of olde and yonge, of hole and sicke.

Therewith they purchase hem lay fee,
In londe there hem liketh best;
And builde also as brod as a cité,
Both in the east, and eke in the west.
To purchase thus they ben full prest,
But on the poore they woll nought spende,
Ne no good give to Goddes gest,
Ne sende him some that all hath sende.

By her service such woll live,
And trusse that other into treasure;
Though all her parish die unshrive,
They woll not give a rose floure.
Her life should be as a mirrour,
Both to lered and to leude also;
And teache the people her lele labour;
Soche mister men been all misgo.

Some of thiem been hard nigges;
And some of hem been proude and gaie;
Some spende her goodes upon gigges,
And finden hem of great araie.
Alas! what thinke these men to saie,
That thus dispenden Goddes good?
At the dreadfull domesdaie,
Soche wreches shull be worse than wood.

Some her churches never ne sie,
  Ne never o pennie thider ne send;
Though the poore parishens for hunger die,
  O pennie on hem woll they not spend.
  Have they receiving of the rent,
They recke never of the remenaunt.
  Alas! the devill hath cleane hem blent,
Soche one is Sathanas sojournaunt.

And usen horedome and harlottrie,
  Covetise, pompe, and pride,
Slothe, wrath, and eke envie,
  And sewen sinne by everie side.
  Alas! where thinke such tabide?
How woll they accomptes yelde?
  From high God they nowe hem not hide;
Soche willers witte is not worth a nelde.

They ben so rooted in richesses,
  That Christes povert is foryet;
Served with so *many* messes,
  Hem thinketh that manna is no meat.
  All is good that they nowen geat;
They wene to live evermore;
  But when God at dome is seat,
Soch treasour is a feble store.

Unneth mote they matins saie,
  For counting and court-holding;
And yet he jangleth as a jaie,
  And understont him selfe no thing.
  He woll serve both erle and king
For his finding and his fee;
  And hide his tithing and his offring;
This is a feble *charité*.

Other they been proude, or covetous;
Or they been hard, or hungrie;
Or they ben liberall, or lecherous;
Or els medlers with marchandry;
Or mainteiners of men with mastry;
Or stewards, countours, or pleadours,
And serve God in ypocrisie;
Soch priests been Christes false traitours.

They been false, they been vengeable,
And begilen men in Christs name;
They been unstedfast and unstable,
To traie her Lord hem thinketh no shame.
To serve God they been full lame,
Gods theeves, and falsely steale,
And falsely Gods worde defame;
In winning is her worldes weale.

Antichrist these serve all.
I praie thee who may say naie?
With Antichrist soch shull fall,
They followen him in deede and faie;
They serven him in rich arraie,
To serve Christ such falsely fain.
Why, at the dreadfull domes-day
Shull they not folowe him to pain?

That knowen hem selfe that they doen ill,
Ayenst Christes commaundement;
And amend hem never ne will,
But serve Sathan by one assent.
Who saieth sothe he shall be shent,
Or speaketh ayenst her false living;
Who so well liveth shall be brent;
For soche been greater than the king.

Popes, bishops, and cardinals,
  Chanons, parsons, and vicare,
In Goddes service I trowe been fals,
  That sacraments sellen here;
  And been as proude as Lucifere;
Eche man looke whether that I lie.
  Who so speketh ayenst her powere,
It shal be holden heresie.

Loke how many orders take
  Onely of Christ, for his service,
That the worldes goodes forsake.
  Who so taketh orders otherwise,
  I trowe that they shall sore agrise,
For all the glose that they comme.
  All sewen not this assise,
In evill time they thus begonne.

Loke how many among hem all
  Holden not this hie waie;
With Antichrist they shullen fall,
  For they wullen God betraie.
  God amende them that best maie!
For many men they maken shende;
  They woten well the sothe I say,
But the devill hath foule hem blende.

Some on her churches dwell,
  Apparailled poorely, proude of port;
The seven sacraments they doen sell,
  In cattel catching is her comfort.
  Of eche matter they wollen mell,
To doen hem wrong is her disport;
  To afraie the people they been fell,
And hold hem lower than doeth the lord.

For the tithing of a ducke
  Or of an apple, or an aie,
They make man swere upon a boke;
  Thus they foulen Christes faie.
  Soche bearen evill heaven kaie;
They mowen assoile, they mowe shrive
  With mennes wives strongly plaie,
With true tillers sturte and strive

At the wrastling, and at the wake,
  And chiefe chauntours at the nale;
Market-beaters, and medling make,
  Hoppen and houten with heve and hale.
  At faire fresh, and at wine stale;
Dine and drinke, and make debate:
  The seven sacraments set a saile;
How kepe soche the kaies of heaven gate?

Mennes wives they wöllen hold,
  And though that they been right sorye,
To speake they shull not be so bold,
  For sompning to the consistorye;
  And make hem saie mouth I lie,
Though they it sawe with her iye;
  His lemmen holden openly,
No man so hardy to aske why.

He woll have tithing and offring,
  Maugré who so ever it grutch;
And twise on the day he woll sing;
  Goddes priestes nere none soche.
  He mote on hunting with dogge and bich,
And blowen his horne, and crien, hey!
  And sorcerie usen as a witch.
Soche kepen evill Peters key.

Yet they mote have some stocke or stone,
  Gaily painted, and proudly dight,
To maken men leven upon,
  And saie that it is full of might.
  About such men set up great light
Other socho stockes shull stande thereby,
  As darke as it were midnight,
For it maie make no mastrie.

That it loud people see now,
  Thou, Mary, thou worchest wonder things:
About that, that men offren to now,
  Hongen broches, ouches, and rings.
  The priest purchaseth the offerings,
But he will offer to none image;
  Woe is the soule that he for-sings,
That preacheth for socho a pilgrimage.

To men and women that been poore,
  That been Christes awne likenesse,
Men shullen offer at her doore,
  That suffre hunger and distresse;
  And to socho images offer lesse,
That mow not feele thurst ne cold;
  The poore in spirite gan Christ blesse,
Therefore offreth to feble and old.

Bucklers brode, and sweardes long,
  Baudrike, with baselardes kene,
Socho toles about her necke they hong:
  With Antichrist socho priestes been.
  Upon her deedes it is well seen
Whome they serven, whom they honouren;
  Antichristes they been clene,
And Goddes goodes falsely devouren.

Of scarlet and grene gaie gounes,
  That mote bee shape of the newe;
To clippen and kissen they counten in tounes
  The damoseles that to the daunce sewe;
  Cutted clothes to shewe her howe,
With long pikes on her shone.
  Our Goddes gospell is not true,
Either they serven the devill or none.

Now been pristes pokes so wide,
  That men must enlarge the vestiment;
The holy gospell they doen hide,
  For they contrarien in raiment.
  Soche priestes of Lucifer been sent,
Like conquerours they been araied,
  The proude pendaunts at her arsis ipent;
Falsely the trueth they han betraied.

Shrift-silver soche wollen aske,
  And woll men crepe to the crouche;
None of the sacraments save aske
  Without mede shall no man touch.
  On her bishop their warant vouch,
That is lawe of the decré;
  With mede and money thus they mouch;
And this they sain is charité.

In the middes of her masse
  They nill have no man but for hire;
And full shortly let forth passe,
  Such shull men find in each shire,
  That parsonages for profite desire,
To live in liking and in lusts;
  I dare not saine, *sans ose je dire*,
That such been Antichrists priests.

For they yef the bishops why,
  Or they mote been in his service,
And holden forth her harlottry;
  Such prelates been of feeble emprise.
  Of Gods graine such men agrise,
For such matters that taken mede;
  How they excuse hem, and in what wise,
Me thinketh they ought greatly drede.

They saine that it to no man longeth
  To reprove them though they erre;
But falsely Goddes goodes they fongeth,
  And therewith meintein wo and werre.
  Her doedes should be as bright as sterre,
Her living lewd mannes light;
  They saie the pope may not erre,
Nede must that passe mannes might.

Though a priest lye with his lemman all night,
  And tellen his felowe, and he him;
He goth to masse anon right,
  And saieth he singeth out of sinne.
  His birde abideth him at his inne,
And dighteth his diner the meane while.
  He singeth his masse, for he would winne;
And so he weneth God begile.

Hem thinketh long till they be met,
  And that they usen forth all the yere;
Emong the folke whan he is set,
  He holdeth no man halfe his pere.
  Of the bishop he hath powere
To soile men or els they been lore;
  His absolution may them skere,
And wo is the soule that he singeth for.

The griffon began for to threte,
And saied: "Of monkes canst thou ought?"
The pellican said: "They been full grete,
"And in this world much wo hath wrought.
"Saint Benet, that her order brought,
"Ne made hem never on such manere;
"I trowe it came never in his thought,
"That they should use so great powere.

"That a man should a monke lord call,
"No serve on knees, as a king;
"He is as proud as prince in pall,
"In meat, and drinke, and all thing.
"Some wearen mitre and ring,
"With double worsted well ydight,
"With royall meat and rich drinke,
"And rideth on a courser as a knight,

"With hauke and with hounds eke,
"With brooches or ouches on his hood
"Sume say no masse in all a week,
"Of deinties is her most food.
"They have lordships and boudmen;
"This is a royall religion;
"Saint Benet made never none of hem
"To have lordshipe of man ne toun.

"Now they ben queint and curious,
"With fine cloth clad, and served cleane:
"Proud, angrie, and envious;
"Mallice is much that they meane.
"In catching, craftie and covetous,
"Lordly they liven in great liking;
"This living is not religious,
"According to Benet in his living.

" They ben clerkes, her courts they oversee,
" Her poore tenaunce fully they slite ;
" The higher that a man amerced be,
" The gladlier they woll it write.
" This is farre from Christes poverty,
" For all with covetise they endite,
" On the poore they have no pity,
" Ne never hem cherish, but ever hem bite.

" And commonly such been comen
" Of poore people, and of hem begete,
" That this perfection han inomen,
" Her fathers riden not but on her fete,
" And travailen sore for that they eate,
" In povert liveth yong and old ;
" Her fathers suffreth drought and weate,
" Many hungrie meales, thurst, and cold.

" And all this these monkes han forsake,
" For Christes love and Saint Benete ;
" To pride and ease have take ;
" This religion is evill beseate.
" Had they been out of religion,
" They must have hanged at the plowe,
" Threshing and diking fro toune to toune,
" With sorrie meat, and not halfe ynowe.

" Therefore they han this all forsake,
" And taken to riches, pride, and ease ;
" Full few for God woll monkes hem make,
" Little is such order for to praise.
" Saint Benet ordained it not so,
" But bad hem be churchliche,
" In churliche manner live and go,
" Boistous in earth and not lordliche.

" They disclaunder Saint Benet,
" Therefore they have his holy curse.
" Saint Benet with hem never met,
" But if they thought to robbe his purse.
" I can no more hereof tell,
" But they ben like tho before,
" And cleane serve the devill of hell,
" And ben his treasure and his store.

" And all such other counterfaitours,
" Chanons, canons, and such disguised,
" Been Gods enemies and traitours,
" His true religion han foule despised.
" Of freres I have told before,
" In a making of a Crede;
" And yet I could tell worse and more,
" But men would werien it to rede.

" As Gods goodnesse no man tell might,
" Write ne speake, ne thinke in thought,
" So her falshed, and her unright,
" May no man tell that ever God wrought."
The griffon saied: " Thou canst no good,
" Thou came never of no gentle kind;
" Other I trowe thou waxest wood,
" Or els thou hast lost they mind.

" Should holy church have no hedde?
" Who should be her governaile?
" Who should her rule, who should her reddo?
" Who should her forthren, who should availe?
" Ech man shall live by his travaile,
" Who best doeth shall have most mede.
" With strength if men the church assaile,
" With strength men must defend her nede.

" And the pope were purely poore,
" Needie, and nothing ne had,
" He should be driven from doore to doore;
" The wicked of him nolde not be drad.
" Of such an head men would be sad,
" And sinfully liven as hem lust;
" With strength to amend such be made,
" With wepen wolves from sheepe be wust.

" If the pope and prelates would
" So begge and bid, bow, and borrow,
" Holy church should stand full cold,
" Her servaunts sit and soupe sorrow.
" And they were noughtie, foule, and horow,
" To worship God men would wlate,
" Both on even and on morow;
" Such harlottrie men would hate.

" Therefore men of holy church
" Should be honest in all thing,
" Worshipfully Gods workes werch.
" So seemeth it to serve Christ her king
" In honest and in cleane clothing,
" With vessels of gold and clothes rich,
" To God honestly to make offring;
" To his lordship none is liche."

The pellican cast an huge crie,
And saied: "Alas! why saiest thou so?
" Christ is our head that sitteth on hie,
" Heads ne ought we have no mo.
" We ben his members both also,
" And father he taught us to call him als;
" Masters to be called defended he tho;
" All other masters ben wicked and fals.

" That taketh maistric in his name
" Ghostly, and for yearthly good,
" Kings and lords should lordship have,
" And rule the people with mild mood.
" Christ for us that shed his blood,
" Bad his priests no maistership have,
" Ne carke not for cloth ne food,
" From every mischeefe he will hem save.

" Her rich clothing shall be rightwisenesse;
" Her treasure true life shall be;
" Charity shall be her richesse;
" Her lordship shall be unité;
" Hope in God her honesté;
" Her vessel cleane conscience;
" Poore in spirit and humilité
" Shall be holy churches defence."

" What," saied the griffon, "may thee greve,
" That other folkes faren wele?
" What hast thou to doen with her live?
" Thy falshed ech man may fele.
" For thou canst no cattell gete,
" But livest in lond as a lorell,
" With glosing gettest thou thy mete;
" So fareth the devill that wonneth in hell.

" He would that ech man there should dwell,
" For he liveth in cleane envie;
" So with the tales that thou doest tell
" Thou wouldest other people destrie,
" With your glose and your heresie;
" For ye can live no better life,
" But cleane in hypocrisie,
" And bringest thee in woe and strife.

" And therewith have not to doen,
" For ye ne have here no cure;
" Ye serve the devill, neither God ne man,
" And he shall paie you your hire.
" For ye woll fare well at feastes,
" And warme clothed for the cold,
" Therefore ye glose Goddes heestes,
" And begile the people yong and old.

" And all the seaven sacraments
" Ye speake ayenst, as ye were slie,
" Ayenst tithinges, offringes, and tents,
" And on our Lordes bodie falsely lie.
" And all this ye doen to live in ease,
" As who saieth, there been none soche;
" And sain, the pope is not worth a pease,
" To make the people ayen him groche.

" And this commeth in by fendes,
" To bring the christen in distaunce,
" For they would that no man were frendes.
" Leave thy chattring with mischaunce;
" If thou live well, what wilt thou more?
" Let other men live as hem list;
" Spende in good, or keepe in store;
". Other mens conscience never thou nist.

" Ye han no cure to answere fore,
" What meddle ye, that han not to doen?
" Let men live as they han doen yore,
". For thou shalt answere for no man."
The Pellican sayd: " Sir, naie,
" I dispised not the pope;
" No no sacrament, soth to saie,
" But speake in charité and god hope.

" But I dispise her hye pride,
" Her richesse, that should be poore in spirite;
" Her wickednesse is known so wide,
" They serve God [in] false habite;
" And tournen mekenesse into pride,
" And lowlinesse into high degree;
" And Goddes wordes tourne and hide,
" And that am I moved by charité,

" To let men to live so,
" With all my cunning and my might,
" And to warne men of her wo,
" And to tellen hem trouth and right.
" The sacraments be soule-heale,
" If they been used in good use;
" Ayenst that speake I never a deale,
" For then were I no thing wise.

" But they that usen hem in misse manere,
" Or set hem up to any sale,
" I trow they shall abie hem dere,
" This my reason, this is my tale.
" Who so taketh hem unrightfulliche,
" Ayenst the ten commaundements,
" Or by glose wrechedliche
" Selleth any of the sacraments,

" I trow they doe the devill homage,
" In that they weten they doe wrong;
" And thereto I dare well wage,
" They serven Sathan for all her song.
" To tithen and offren is holesome life,
" So it be done in due mannere;
" A man to houselin and to shrive,
" Wedding, and all the other in fere.

" So it be nother sold ne bought,
" Ne take ne give for covetise;
" And it be so taken, it is nought,
" Who solleth hem so may sore agrise.
" On our Lords body I doe not lie,
" I say sooth through true rede,
" His flesh and blood through his misterie
" Is there, in the forme of brede.

" How it is there it needeth not strive,
" Whether it be subget or accident,
" But as Christ was when he was on live,
" So is he there veramont.
" If pope or cardinall live good live,
" As Christ commaunded in his gospell,
" Ayenst that woll I not strive;
" But me thinketh they live not well.

" For if the pope lived as God bedde,
" Pride and highnesse he should despise,
" Richesse, covetise, and crouno on hedde;
" Meekenesse and poverte he should use."
The griffon saied he should abie;
" Thou shall be brent in balefull fire,
" And all thy sect I shall destrie;
" Ye shall be hanged by the swire.

" Ye shullen be hanged and to-draw,
" Who giveth you leave for to preach?
" Or speake against Gods law,
" And the people thus falsely teach?
" Thou shalt be cursed with booke and bell,
" And dissevered from holy church,
" And cleane ydamned into hell,
" Otherwise but ye woll worch."

The pellican saied: "That I ne drede,
" Your cursing is of little value;
" Of God I hope to have my mede,
" For it is falshed that ye sowe.
" For ye been out of charité,
" And wilneth vengeaunce, as did Nero
" To suffren I woll ready be,
" I drede not that thou canst do.

" Christ bad ones suffer for his love;
" And so he taught all his servaunts.
" And but thou amend for his sake above,
" I drede not all thy maintenaunce.
" For if I drede the worlds hate,
" Me thinketh I were little to praise;
" I drede no thing your high estate,
" Ne I drede not your disease.

" Woll ye tourne and leave your pride,
" Your high port, and your richesse?
" Your cursing should not go so wide,
" God bring you into rightwisenesse!
" For I drede not your tiranuie,
" For no thing that ye can done;
" To suffer I am all readie,
" Siker I recke never how soone."

The griffon grinned as he were wood,
And looked lovely as an owle,
And swore by cocks heart blood,
He would him teare every doule.
" Holy church thou disclaundrest foule;
" For thy reasons I woll thee all to-race,
" And make thy flesh to rot and moule,
" Losell, thou shalt have hard grace."

The griffon flew forth on his way;
The pellican did sit and weepe,
And to himselfe he gan say:
" God would that any of Christ shepe
" Had heard, and ytaken keepe
" Of each word that here saied was;
" And would it write and well it keepe;
" God would it were all for his grace!"

Plowman. I answerd, and saied I would,
If for my travaile any man would pay.
Pelli. He saied: " Yes, these that God han sold,
" For they han store of money."
Plowman. I saied: " Tell me and thou may,
" Why tellest thou mens trespace?"
Pellican. He saied: " To amend hem in good fay,
" If God woll give me any grace.

" For Christ himselfe is likened to me,
" That for his people died on rood;
" As faro I, right so fareth he,
" He feedeth his birds with his blood.
" But these doen evill agenst good,
" And ben his foen under friends face;
" I told hem how her living stood;
" God amend hem for his grace!"

Plowman. " What aileth the griffon, tell why
" That he holdeth on the other side?"
Pelli. " For they two been likely,
" And with her kinds roven wide.
" The foule betokeneth pride,
" As Lucifer, that high flew was,
" And sith he did him in evill hide;
" For he agilted Gods grace.

" As bird flieth up in the aire,
" And liveth by birds that been meke,
" So these been flow up into despaire,
" And shenden silly soules eke.
" The soules that been in sinnes seke,
" He culleth hem kneele; therefore, alas!
" For briberie Gods forbode breke;
" God amend it for his grace!

" The hinder part is a lioun,
" A robber and a ravinere,
" That robbeth the people in earth doune,
" And in earth holdeth none his pere;
" So fareth this foule both ferre and nere,
" And with temporell strength the people chase,
" As a lion proud in earth here;
" God amend hem for his grace!"

Pellican. He flew forth with his wings twaine,
All drouping, dased, and dull;
But soone the griffon came againe,
Of his foules the earth was full;
The pellican he had cast to pull,
So great a number never seene there was,
What manner of foules tellen I woll,
If God woll give me of his grace.

With the griffon comen foules fele,
Ravins, rokes, crowes, and pie,
Gray foules, agadred wele,
I gurde above they would hie;
Gledes and buzzards werren hem by,
White moles, and puttockes token her place,
And lapwings, that well conneth lie;
This fellowship han forgard her grace.

Long the pellican was out,
  But at last he commeth againe;
And brought with him the phenix stout.
  The griffon would have flow full faine;
His foules that flewen as thicke as raine,
The phenix tho began hem chace.
  To flie from him it was in vaine,
For he did vengeaunce, and no grace.

He slew hem downe without mercie,
  There astart neither free ne thrall;
On him they cast a rufull crie,
  When the griffon doun was fall.
  He beat hem not, but slew hem all,
Whither he hem drove no man may trace;
  Under the earth me thought they yall,
Alas! they had a feeble grace.

The pellican then asked right,
  For my writing if I have blame,
Who woll for me fight or flight?
  Who shall sheld me from shame?
  He that had a maid to dame,
And the lambe that slaine was
  Shall sheld me from ghostly blame,
For earthly harme is Gods grace.

Therefore I pray every man,
  Of my writing have me excused;
This writing writeth the pellican,
  That thus these people hath despised.
  For I am fresh fully advised,
I nill not maintaine his menace;
  For the devill is often disguised,
To bring a man to evill grace.

Witeth the pellican and not me,
For hereof I will not avow;
In high ne in low, ne in no degree,
But as a fable take it ye mowe.
To holy church I will me bow
Ech man to amend him Christ send space;
And for my writing me allow
He that is almighty for his grace.

On the Corruptions of the Age. 1396-7.[1]

By John Gower.

Carmen super multiplici viliorum pestilentia unde tempore Ricardi secundi partes nostre specialius inficiebantur.

Non excusatur qui verum non fateatur,
Ut sic ponatur modus unde fides recolatur.
Qui magis ornatur sensu sua verba loquatur,
Ne lex frangatur qua Christus sanctificatur.
Hoc res testatur, virtus ita nunc vitiatur,
Quod vix firmatur aliquis quin transgrediatur.
Hinc contristatur mea mens, quæ sæpe gravatur,
Dum contemplatur vitium quod continuatur.
Sed quia speratur quod vera fides aperatur,
Quod Deus hortatur mihi scribere penna paratur.
Ut describatur cur mundus sic variatur,
Ecce malignatur quæ modo causa datur.

Putruerunt et corruptæ sunt cicatrices a facie insipientiæ, sed priusquam mors ex morbo finem

[1] The date of this poem is given by Gower himself. It is here printed from MS. Cotton. Tiber. A. iv. fol. 167, r°. Other copies are found in the MSS. of Gower's Latin poems, but they present no variations of any importance, as far as I have collated them.

repente concludat, sapientiæ medicinam detectis plagis cum omni diligentia sapienter investigare debemus; unde ego, non medicus sed medicinæ procurator, qui tanti periculi gravitatem deplangens intime contristor, quædam vulnera majori corruptione putrida evidenti distinctione, ut inde medicos pro salute interpellam, consequenter declarare propono, anno regni regis Ricardi secundi vicesimo.

Contra dæmonis astutiam in causa Lollardiæ.

Quod patet ad limen instanti tempore crimen
Describam primo, quo pallent alta sub imo.
Nescio quid signat, plebs cœlica jura resignat,
Dum laicus clausas fidei vult solvere causas,
Quæ Deus incepit, et homo servanda recepit.
Jam magis enervant populi quam scripta reservant,
  Unde magis clarum scribere tendo parum.
Lollia messis habens granum perturbat, et ipsum
  Talia qui patitur horrea sæpe gravat.
Semina perfidiæ sacros dispersa per agros
  Ecclesiæ turbant subdola sicque fidem.
Inventor sceleris, sceleratus apostata, primus
  Angelicas turmas polluit ipse prius,
Postque ruit nostros Paradisi sede parentes,
  Mortoque vitales fecerat esse reos.
Callidus hic serpens, nec adhuc desistit in orbe,
  Quin magis in Christi lollia messe serit.
Ecce novam sectam mittit, quæ plebis in aures
  Ad fidei damnum scandala plura canit.
Sic vetus insurgit hæresis, quasi Joviniani,
  Unde moderna fides commaculata dolet.
Usurpando fidem vultum mentitur honestum,
  Cautius ut fraudem palleat inde suam.
Sub grossa lana linum subtile tenetur,
  Simplicitas vultus corda dolosa tegit.

Fermento veteri tulis corrumpit acervum,
Qui nova conspergit, et dubitanda movet.
Dum magis incantat, obtura tu magis aures,
Fortius et cordis ostia claude tui.
Simplicitate tua ne credas omne quod audis,
Quæ docet ambiguus auctor aborta cave.
Nil novitatis habens tua mens fantastica cedat,
Ut pater ante tuus credidit acta cole.
Vera fides Christi non hæsitat, immo fideles
Efficit ut credant cordis amore sui.
Nil valet illa fides ubi res dabit experimentum,
Spes tamen in Christo sola requirit eum.
Recta fides quicquid rectum petit, omne meretur,
Quicquid possibile creditur ipsa potest.
Argumenta fides dat rerum quæ neque sciri
Nec possunt verbo nec ratione capi.
Subde tuam fidei mentem, quia mortis imago
Judicis æterni mystica scire nequit.
Ut solus facere voluit, sic scire volebat
Solus, et hoc nulli participavit opus.
Una quid ad solem scintilla valet, vel ad æquor
Gutta, vel ad cœlum quid cinis esse potest?
Lætitiam luctus, mors vitam, gaudia fletus,
Non norunt, nec quæ sunt deitatis homo.
Non tenebræ solem capiunt, non lumina cæcus,
Infima mens hominis non capit alta Dei.
Nempe sacri flatus arcanum nobile nunquam
Scrutari debes, quod penetrare nequis.
Cum non sit nostrum vel mundi tempora nosse,
Unde creaturas nosse laborat homo?
Nos sentire fidem nostra ratione probatam,
Non foret humanis viribus illud opus.
Humanum non est opus ut transcendat ad astra,
Quod mortalis homo non ratione capit.
Ingenium tantæ transit virtutis in altum,
Transcurrit superos, in deitate manet.

Qui sapienter agit sapiat moderanter in istis,
Postulet ut rectam possit habere fidem.
Committat fidei quod non poterit rationi,
Quod non dat ratio det tibi firma fides.
Quod vocet ecclesia tu tantum credo, nec ultra
Quam tibi scire datur quomodocumque stude.
Sufficit ut credas, est ars ubi nulla sciendi,
Quanta potest Dominus scire nec ullus habet.
Est Deus omnipotens, et qui negat omnipotenti
Credere posse suum, denegat esse Deum.
Sic incarnatum tu debes credere Christum
Virginis ex utero, qui Deus est et homo.
Vis salvus fieri, pete, credo, stude, revereri,
Absque magis quæri lex jubet ista geri.
Has phantasias aliter quo dant hæresias
Damnat Messias, sobrius ergo scias,
Tempore Ricardi super his quo fata tulerunt,
Schismata Lollardi de novitate serunt.
Obstet principiis tribulos, purgareque vadat
Cultor in ecclesiis, ne rosa forte cadat.

Contra mentis sævitiam in causa superbiæ.

Deficit in verbo sensus quo cuncta superbo,
Scribere delicta nequeo quæ sunt mihi dicta.
Radix peccati fuit ille prius scelerati
Ex quo damnati perierunt prævaricati.
Desuper a cœlis dejecit eum Michaelis
Ensis ad inferni tenebras de luce superni.
Nec Paradisus ei præbere locum requiei
Spondet, ubi vere sibi *gaudia posset* habere.
Sic quia deceptus alibi nequit esse receptus,
Mundum deposcit, ut in illo vivere possit.
Sic adhibendo moram venit ille superbus ad horam,
Quem mea mens tristis in partibus asserit istis.
Hunc ubi ponemus hostem quem semper habemus,
Nam magis infecta veniens facit omnia tecta.

Laus ibi non lucet, ubi vana superbia ducet
Regna superborum, docet hoc vestitus eorum.
Cum valet ornatum sibi vanus habere paratum,
Non quasi mortalis sed ut angelus evolat alis.
Militis ad formam modo pauper habet sibi normam,
Vana sit ut vestis, erit inde superbia testis.
Exterius signum cor signat habere malignum,
Cordis et erroro fortuna carebit honore.
Nos igitur talem non consociare sodalem
Expedit, ut tuti reddamur in orbe saluti.
Quod Deus odivit reprobos, David hoc bene scivit,
Ipseque Psalmista scripsit de talibus ista.
Elatas mentes posuit de sedo potentes,
Et sublimavit humiles quos semper amavit;
Vanus non durat, quem vana superbia curat;
Hæc sed eum ducet ubi gratia nulla reducit.
Culpa quidem fontes, latices dabit hæc Acherontis,
Unde bibunt vani mortem quasi quotidiani.
Omne quod est natum stat ab hoc vitio vitiatum,
Quo magis immundum vir vanus habet sibi mundum;
Sed qui mentali de pondere judiciali
Istud libraret, puto quod meliora pararet.
Hoc nam mortale vitium stat sic generale,
Quod mundum fregit, ubi singula regna subegit.
Hæc etenim cædes nostras ut dicitur ædes
Vertit, et insana dat tempora quotidiana.
O Deus æterne, culpæ miserere modernæ,
Facque pias mentes sub lege tua pœnitentes.
Corpus, opes, vires, sapiens, non sic stabilires.
Dumque superbires subita quin sorte perires.
Sunt quæ majores humiles patientia mores
Nutrit, et errores vitii facit esse minores.
Ergo tuam vera mentem moderare statera,
Sit laus, vel labes, pectore pondus habes.

Contra carnis luxuriam in causa concupiscentiæ.

O sexus fragilis, ex quo natura virilis
Carnea procedit, animæque robora legit.
O natura viri carnalis, quæ stabiliri
Non valet ut pura carnalia sint sibi jura.
Fœdera sponsorum quæ sunt sacrata virorum,
Heu! caro dissolvit, nec ibi sua debita solvit.
Tempore præsenti de carne quasi furienti
Turpia sunt plura quæ signant damna futura;
  Hæc desponsatis sunt metuenda satis.
Philosophus quidam, carnis de labe remorsus,
  Plebis in exemplum talia verba refert.
Unam de variis pœnam sortitur adulter,
  Ejus ut amplexus vivus in orbe luat.
Aut membrum perdet, aut carceris antra subibit,
  Aut cadet infamis non reputandus homo.
Aut sibi paupéries infortunata resistet,
  Aut moriens subito transit ab orbe reus.
Et sic luxurios fatuis sua dona refundit,
  Vertit et e contra quicquid ab ante tulit.
Quod prius est dulce, demonstrat finis amarum,
  Quo caro non tantum spiritus immo cadit.
Sic oculus cordis, carnis caligine cæcus,
  Errat, et in damnum decidit ipse suum.
Sic jubar humani sensus fuscatur in umbra
  Carnis, et in carnem mens rationis abit.
Dum carnalis amor animum tenet illaqueatum,
  Sensati ratio fit rationis egens.
Stans hominis ratio calcata per omnia carni
  Servit, et ancillæ vix tenet ipsa locum.
Non locus est in quo maneant consueta libido
  Et ratio pariter, quin magis una vacat.
Bella libido movet, favet et vecordia carnis,
  Et sua dat fœdo colla premenda jugo.

Libera sed ratio mentem de morte remordet,
Carnis in obsequio, statque pudica Deo.
Nil commune gerunt luxus sibi cum ratione,
Ista Deum retinet, illa cadaver habet.
Sic patet ut nihil est quicquid peritura voluptas,
Appetit in carne quæ velut umbra fugit.
Pluribus exemplis tibi luxus erit fugiendus,
Biblia quæ docuit; respice facta David.
Consilio Balaam luxus decepit Hebræos,
Quos caro commaculat, carnea culpa premit.
Discat homo juvenis, celeri pede labitur ætas,
Nuncia dum mortis curva senecta venit.
Ecce senilis hyems tremulo venit horrida passu,
Et rapit a juvene quod reparare nequit.
Vir sapiens igitur sua tempora mente revolvat,
Erigat et currum quam prius inde cadat.
Heu! sed in hoc vitio plebis quasi tota propago
Carnis in obsequio stat vitiata modo.
Ex causa fragili causatur fictilis ætas,
Quo nunc de facili frangitur omnis homo.
Carnis enim vitia sunt sic communiter acta,
Quod de continuis vix pudet usus eis.
Cæcus amor fatuos cæcos sic ducit amantes,
Quod sibi quid deceat non videt ullus amans.
Pendula res amor est, subito collapsa dolore,
Ordine præcipiti miraque facta parat;
Sique tuam velles flammam compescere tutus,
Artem provideas quam prius inde cadas.
Cum vitiis aliis pugna, jubet hæc tibi Paulus.
Carnis et a bello tu fuge solus homo.
Et quia vulnifico fixurus pectora telo
Vibrat amor caute, longius inde fuge.
Vinces si fugias, vinceris sique resistas;
Ne leo vincaris, tu lepus ergo fuge.
Mente tui cordis memorare novissima carnis,
Et speculo mortis respice qualis eris.

Oscula fœtor erunt, amplexus vermis, et omne
  Quod fuerat placidum pœna resolvet opus.
Occupat extrema stultorum gaudia luctus,
  Et risum lachryma plena dolore madet.
Vana salus hominis quam terminat ægra voluptas,
  Tollit et æternum vivere vita brevis.
Crede satis tutum tenet hoc natura statutum,
  Quo caro pollutum reddet ad ima lutum.
Cum fera mors stabit, et terram terra vorabit,
  Tunc homo gustabit quid sibi culpa dabit.
Est ubi munditia carnis sine labe reatus,
  Casta pudicitia gaudet ad omne latus.
Sat nota bina solo quo luxus non dominatur,
  Pax manet absque dolo, longaque vita datur.

Contra mundi fallacium in causa perjurii et avaritiæ.

Sunt duo cognati vitiorum consociati,
Orbem qui lædunt pariter, nec ab orbe recedunt.
Iste fidem rarum perjurat, et alter avaram
Causam custodit; socios tales Deus odit.
Primo perjurum describam, postque futurum.
Est ubi jus rarum scriptura remordet avarum,
  Ex vitio tali fertur origo mali.
Nemo Dei nomen assumere debet inane,
  Falsa nec ut juret os prohibere malo.
Lex vetus hoc statuit, sed proh dolor! ecce modernos
  Munere corruptos jam novus error agit.
Nil nisi dona videt, dum se perjurat avarus;
  Ejus enim sensum census ubique regit.
Sic non liber homo librum sine pondere librat,
  Servit et ad libras quas sua libra trahit.
Sed quia perjurus defraudat jura superni,
  Jurat eum Dominus jure perire suo.
Sic lucrum sitiens laqueos incurrit, et ejus
  Lingua prius mendax præmia mortis habet.

Sic vendens et emens vacuus non transiet, immo
  Munera quæ capiet sulphur et ignis erunt.
Vendere justitiam nihil est nisi vendere Christum,
  Expectat damnum qui facit inde forum.
Testis erit Judas quid erit sibi fine doloris,
  Dum crepuit medius culpa subibat onus.
Pœnituit culpamque semel nisi fecerat illam,
  Quot tulit et lucrum reddidit ipse statim.
Sic nec eo veniam meruit, nec habere salutem,
  Jam valet exemplum tale movere virum.
Vendidit ipse semel justum, nos quotidianum,
  Ob lucri pretium vendimus omne malum.
Ille restauravit sed nos restringimus aurum ;
  Pœnituit, sed nos absque pavore sumus.
Sic et avaritia tanta feritate perurget
  Corda viri, quod ab hoc vix homo liber abit.
Cessat justitia, cessatque fides sociata,
  Fraus, dolus atque suum jam subiere locum.
Plebs sine jure manet, non est qui jura tuetur,
  Non est qui dicat jura tenere decet.
Omnibus in causis ubi gentes commoda quærunt,
  Nunc modus estque fides non habuisse fidem.
Vox levis illa Jacob, Esau manus hispida nuper,
  Quæ foret ista dies signa futura dabant.
Alterius casu stat supplantator, et ejus
  Qui fuerat socius fraude subintrat opes.
Ex damno fratris frater sua commoda quærit ;
  Unus si præsit, invidet alter ei.
Filius ante diem patruos jam spectat in annos,
  Nec videt ex oculis cæca cupido suis.
Nunc amor est solus, nec sentit habere secundum,
  Stans odioque tibi diligit ipse tua.
Quid modo cumque manus mentitur dextra sinistræ
  Dicam, sed caveat qui sapienter agit.
Vivitur en velle, non amplius est via tuta,
  Cuncta licent cupido, dum vacat ipse lucro.

Arma, rapina, dolus, amor ambitiosus habendi,
  Amplius ad proprium velle sequuntur iter.
Lex silet, et nummus loquitur, jus dormit, et aurum
  Pervigil insidiis vincit ubique suis.
Hasta nocet, ferri gladius, sed plus nocet auri,
  Regna terit mundi, nilque resistit ei.
Sed quia mors dubium concludit ad omnia finem,
  Est nihil hic certum præter amare Deum.
Rebus in humanis semper quid deficit, et sic
  Ista nihil plenum fertile vita tenet.
Quod tibi dat proprium, mundus tibi tollit id ipsum,
  Deridensque tuum linquit inane forum.
Quam prius in finem mundi devenerit hujus,
  Nulla potest certo munere vita frui.
Heu! quid opes opibus cumulas, qui propria quæris,
  Cum se nemo queat appropriare sibi?
Hunc igitur mundum quia perdes, quære futurum,
  Est aliter vacuum tempus utrumque tuum.
Mammona transibit, et avara cupido peribit,
  In cineres ibit, mors tua fata bibit.
Pauper ab hac vita, sic princeps, sic heremita,
  Mortuus ad merita transiit omnis ita.
Quicquid homo volvit, mors mundi cuncta revolvit,
Nemoque dissolvit quum morti debita solvit.
  Hæc qui mente capit gaudia raro sapit.
Sed sibi viventi qui consilio sapienti
Providet ingenti merito; placet omnipotenti.
Tempore præsenti quæ sunt mala proxima genti,
Ex oculo flenti Gower canit ista legenti.
Quisque suæ menti qui concipit aure patenti
Mittat, et argenti det munera largus egenti.
  Stat nam mortalis terra repleta malis.

Salomon. Memorare novissima et in æternum non peccabis.

Item. Omnia fac cum consilio, et in æternum non pœnitebis.

Hoc ego bis deno Ricardi regis in anno
Compatiens animo carmen lacrimabile scribo.
Vox sonat in populo, fidei jam deficit ordo,
Unde magis solito cessat laus debita Christo.

Quem peperit virgo genitum de flamine sacro,
Hic Deus est et homo, *perfecta salus manet in quo.*
Ejus ab imperio processit pacis origo,
Quæ dabitur justo patiens qui credit in ipso.
Vir qui vult ideo pacem componere mundo,
Pacificet primo jura tenenda Deo.

ON THE VICES OF THE DIFFERENT ORDERS OF SOCIETY.[1]

By John Gower.

Incipit tractatus de lucis scrutinio, quam ad diu vitiorum tenebræ, proh dolor! suffocarunt, secundum illud in evangelio, Qui ambulat in tenebris nescit quo vadat.

Heu! quia per crebras humus est vitiata tenebras,
Vix iter humanum locus ullus habet sibi planum.
[a]Si Romam pergas, ut ibi tua lumina tergas,
Lumina mira cape, quia Romæ sunt duo papæ.
Et si plus cleri jam debent lumina quæri,
Sub modio tecta latitat lucerna rejecta.
Præsulis officia mundus tegit absque sophia;
Stat sua lux nulla, dum Simonis est ibi bulla.
Est iter hoc vile, qui taliter intrat ovile,
Nec bene discernit lucem, qui lumina spernit.
Sic caput obscurum de membris nil foret purum,
Efficit et secum sic cæcus habet sibi cæcum.

[a] Nota, quod eorum lucerna minime clarescit quos in ecclesia per antipapam avaritia promotos ditescit.

[1] From MS. Cotton. Tiberius A. iv. fol. 171, v°, compared with MS. Harl. No. 6291, fol. 156, 1°. It is found also, with Gower's other Latin poems, in the MS. in All Souls' College, Oxford.

[b]Aut si vis gressus claros, non ordo professus
Hos tibi præstabit, quos cautius umbra fugabit.
Ordine claustrali manifestus in speciali,
Lux ibi pallescit, quam mens magis invida nescit;
Lux et mortalis tenebrescit presbyteralis.
Clara dies transit, nec eis lucerna remansit;
Sunt ibi lucernæ jocus, otia, scorta, tabernæ,
Quorum velamen vitiis fert sæpe juvamen.
Sic perit exemplum lucis, quo turbida templum
Nebula perfudit, quæ lumina quæque recludit.
Sic vice pastorum quos Christus ab ante bonorum
Legerat, ecce chorum statuit jam mundus eorum.
[c]Si lux præsentum scrutetur in orbe regentum,
Horum de guerra pallet sine lumine terra.
Ne pereant leges, jam Roma petit sibi reges,
Noscat ut ille pater quæ sit sibi credula mater.
Schisma modernorum patrum novitate duorum
Reges delerent, si Christi jura viderent.
Lux ita regalis decet ecclesiam specialis,
Qua domus alma Dei maneat sub spe requiei.
Teste paganorum bello furiente deorum,
Raro fides crescit, ubi regia lux tenebrescit.
Hæc tamen audimus, sed et hæc verissima scimus,
Nec capit hæc mentis oculis de luce regentis.
Ulterius quære, cupias si lumen habere;
Lumina namque David sibi cæca magis titulavit.
[d]Si regni proceres aliter pro lumine quæres,
Aspice quod plenum non est ibi tempus amœnum.
Dumque putas stare, palpabis iter quia clare,
Nemo videt quando veniet de turbine grando.
Divitiæ cæcæ fallunt sine lumine sese;

[b] De luce ordinis professi.

[c] Nota, quod si regum lucerna in manu charitatis devotius gestaretur, ecclesia nunc divisa eorum auxilio discretius reformaretur, etiam et incursus paganorum a Christi finibus eorum probitate eminus expelleretur.

[d] De luce procerum.

Quam prius ille cadat vix cernit habens ubi vadat.
Sic via secura procerum non est sine cura ;
Stans honor ex onere sibi convenit acta' videre.
Qui tamen extentum modo vidérit experimentum,
De procerum sphera non surgunt lumina vera.
[e] Si bellatorum lucem scrutabor, eorum
Lucernæ lator tenebrosus adest gladiator.
Sunt ibi doctrina, luxus, jactura, rapina,
Quæ non splendorem quærunt, sed habere cruorem
Et sic armatus lucem præ labe reatus
Non videt, unde status suus errat in orbe gravatus.
[f] Si lex scrutetur, ibi lux non invenietur,
Quin vis aut velle jus concitat esse rebelle.
Non populo lucet judex quem Mammona ducet,
Efficit et secum quo sæpe reflectitur æquum.
Jus sine jure datur si nummus in aure loquatur,
Auri splendore tenebrescit lumen in ore.
Omnis legista vivit quasi lege sub ista,
Quo magis ex glosa loculi fit lex tenebrosa.
[g] Si mercatorum quærantur lumina morum,
Lux non fulgebit ubi fraus cum cive manebit.
Contegit usura subtilis forma figure,
Vultum larvatum quem dives habet similatum.
Si dolus in villa tua poscit habere sigilla,
Vix reddes clarus bona quæ tibi præstat avarus.
Et sic majores fallunt quam sæpe minores ;
Unde dolent turbæ sub murmure plebis in urbe.
Sic inter cives errat sine lumine dives,
Dumque fidem nescit, lux pacis ab urbe recessit.
[h] Si patriam quæro, nec ibi mihi lumina spero ;
Nam via vulgaris tenebris vitiatur amaris.
Plebs ratione carens, hæc est sine moribus arens,
Cujus subjectam vix Christus habet sibi sectam.

[e] De luce militum et aliorum qui bella sequuntur.
[f] De luce legistarum.
[g] De luce mercatorum.
[h] De luce vulgari, quæ patriam conservat.

Sunt aliqui tales quos mundus habet speciales,
Fures, raptores, homicidæ, turbidiores ;
Sunt et conducti quidam pro munere ducti,
Quos facit assisa perjuros luco recisa.
Rustica ruralis non est ibi spes aliqualis,
Quo nimis obscura pallent sine lumine rura.
Sic magis illecebras mundanas quisque tenebras
Nunc petit, et vota non sunt ad lumina mota.
Sic prior est mundus, et si Deus esse secundus
Posset, adhuc talis foret in spe lux aliqualis.
Sed quasi nunc totus Deus est a luce remotus ;
Sic absente duce perit orbis iter sine luce.
[1]Ominis orbatus varii de labe reatus,
Omnis in orbe status modo stat quasi prævaricatus.
Cum tamen errantes alios, sine lege vagantes,
Cæcos deplango, mea propria viscera tango ;
Cæcus ut ignorat quo pergere dumque laborat,
Sic iter explorat mea mens, quæ flebilis orat.
Et quia perpendo quod lucis ad ultima tendo,
Nunc itor attendo quo perfruar in moriendo.
Tu qui formasti lucem, tenebrasque creasti,
Crimina condones, et sic tua lumina dones.
In terram sero tunc quando cubicula quæro,
Confer candelam, potero qua ferre medelam.
Hæc Gower scribit, lucem dum quærere quibit,
Sub spe transibit ubi gaudia lucis adhibit.
Lucis solamen det sibi Christus. Amen.

[1] Hic in fine tenebras deplangens pro luce obtinenda Deum exorat.

On King Richard II.[1]

By John Gower.

Carmen quod Johannes Gower tempore regis Ricardi dum vivit ultimo composuit.

O Deus immense, sub quo dominantur in orbe
Quidam morosi reges, quidam vitiosi,
Disparibus meritis, sic pax, sic motio litis,
Publica regnorum manifestant gesta suorum.
Quicquid delirant reges plectuntur Achivi,
Quo mala respirant ubi mores sunt fugitivi.
Laus et honor regum foret observatio legum,
Ad quas jurati sunt prima sorte vocati,
Ut cœleste bonum puto concilium fore donum,
Quo prius in terris pax contulit oscula guerris.
Concilium dignum regem facit esse benignum;
Est aliter signum quo spergitur omne malignum.
In bonitate pares sumat sibi conciliares
Rex bonus, et cuncta venient sibi prospera juncta.
Qui regit obtentum de concilio sapientum,
Regnum non lædit, sed ab omni labe recedit.
Concilium tortum scelus omne refundit ab ortum
Regis in errorem, regni quo perdit amorem.
Væ! qui prædaris, Ysaias clamat avaris;
Sic verbis claris loquitur tibi qui dominaris.
Rex qui plus aurum populi quam corda thesaurum
Computat, a mente populi cadit ipse repente.
Os ubi vulgare non audet verba sonare,
Stat magis obscura sub murmure mens locutura.

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[1] From MS. Cotton. Tiberius A. iv. fol. 174, r°. It is found also in MS. Harl. 6291, fol. 158, v°, and in the All Souls' College MS.

Quæ stupet in villa citius plebs murmurat illa,
Unde malum crescit, sapiens quo sæpe pavescit.
Est tibi credendum murmur satis esse timendum,
Cum sit commune, tunc se super omnia mune.
Lingua nequit fari mala, cor nec præmeditari,
Quæ parat obliquus sub fraude dolosus amicus.
Mundus erit testis vir talis ut altera pestis
Inficit occulto regnum de crimine multo.
Blandus adulator, et avarus conciliator,
Quamvis non velles, plures facit esse rebelles.
Sæpius ex herbis morbus curatur acerbis ;
Sæpe loquela gravis juvat, et nocet illa suavis.
Qui falsum pingunt sub fraudeque vera refingunt,
Hi sunt qui blando sermone nocent aliquando.
Rex qui conducit tales, sibi scandala ducit,
Nomen et abducit quod nobile raro reducit.
Quod viguit mane sibi vespere transit inane,
Dummodo creduntur quæ verba dolosa loquuntur.
Concilio tali regnum magis in speciali
Undique turbatur, quo regis honor variatur.
Nunc ita sicut heri poterit res ista videri,
Unde magis plangit populus quem læsio tangit.
Sed præmunitus non fallitur, inde peritus,
Quod videt ante manum, fugit omen notabile vanum.
Cum laqueatur avis, cavet altera, sicque suavis
Rex pius in cura semper timet ipse futura.
Rex insensatus nullos putat esse reatus,
Quam prius ante fores casus sibi sint graviores ;
Sed qui præscire vult causas, expedit ire
Plebis et audire voces, per easque redire.
Si sit in errore regis vel in ejus honore,
Hoc de clamore populi præfertur ab ore.
Est qui morosus rex, non erit ambitiosus,
Sed sub eo tutum regni manet omne statutum.
Nomine præclarus nunquam fuit ullus avarus,
Larga manus nomen cum laude meretur et omen.
Nomen regale populi vox dat tibi, quale,
Sit bene sive male, Deus illud habet speciale.

Rex qui tutus eris, si temet noscere quaeris,
Ad vocem plebis aures sapienter habebis.
Culpæ vel laudis ex plebe creatur ut audis
Fama, ferens verba quæ dulcia sunt et acerba.
Fama cito crescit, subito tamen illa vanescit;
Saltem fortuna stabilis quia non manet una.
Principio scire fortunam seu stabilire,
Non est humanum super hoc quid ponere plannm.
Fine sed expertum valet omnis dicere certum
Qualia sunt facta, quia tunc probat exitus acta.
Rex qui laudari cupit et de fine beari,
Sint sua facta bona, recoletur ut inde corona.
Regia præcedant benefactaque crimina cedant,
Vivat ut æterno sic rex cum rege superno.
Absque Deo vana cum sit tibi quotidiana
Pompa, recorderis sine laude Dei morieris.
Rex sibi qui mundum præfert Christumque secundum
Linquit, adhærebit ubi finis laude carebit.
Regis enim vita cum sit sine laude sopita,
Nomen erat quale dabit ultima chronica tale.
Et sic concludo breviter de carmine nudo,
Ordine quo regnant reges sua nomina prægnant.
Quo caput infirmum nihil est de corpore firmum,
Plebs neque firmatur ubi virtus non dominatur.
Rex qui securam laudis vult carpere cnram,
Christum præponat, reges qui laude coronat.
Nam qui præsumit de se, cum plus sibi sumit,
Fine carens laude stat fama retrograda caudæ.
Omni viventi schola pertinet ista regenti,
Displicet hic genti qui non placet omnipotenti.
Gratia succedit meritis ubi culpa recedit,
Qui sic non credit sua rex regalia lædit.
Non ex fatali casu sed judiciali
Pondere regali stat medicina mali.
Plebs ut ovile gregis, mors, vitaque, regula legis
Sub manibus regis sunt ea quanta legis.
Tanta licet pronus pro tempore det sibi thronus,
Sit nisi fine bonus non honor est sed onus.

Rex igitur videat cum curru quomodo vadat,
Et sibi provideat ne rota versa cadat.
Cœlorum regi pateant quæ scripta peregi,
Namque sub legi res nequit ulla tegi.

On King Richard's Ministers.[1]

1399.

Ther is a busch[2] that is forgrowe;
Crop hit welle, and hold hit lowe,
or elles hit wolle be wilde.
The long gras that is so grene,[3]
Hit most be mowe, and raked clene;
forgrowen hit hath the fellde.

The grete baggo,[4] that is so mykille,
Hit schal be kettord, and maked litelle;
the bothom is ny ouȝt.
Hit is so roton on yeh a side,
Ther nul no stych with odur abyde,
to set theron a clout.

Thorw the busch a swan[5] was sclayn;
Of that sclawtur fewe wer fayne;
alas! that hit betydde!
Hit was a eyrer good and able,
To his lord ryȝt profitable;
hit was a gentel bryde.

---

[1] *This curious song is preserved in a MS. formerly in the possession of W. Hamper, Esq., of Deritend House, Birmingham, from which it was printed in the twenty-first volume of the Archæologia.*

[2] *Sir John Bushey.*

[3] *Sir Henry Greene.*

[4] *Sir William Bagot.*

[5] *The duke of Gloucester (Thomas of Woodstock), who was arrested in his castle of Plesey, and carried to Calais, where he was murdered, in 1397.*

The grene gras that was so long,
Hit hath sclayn a stede[1] strong,
that worthy was and wyth.
Wat kyng had that stede on holde,
To juste on hym he myȝt be bold,
als schulde he go to fyth.

A bereward[2] fond a rag;
Of the rag he made a bag;
he dude in gode entent.
Thorwe the bag the bereward is taken;
Alle his beres han hym forsaken;
thus is the berewarde schent.

The swan is ded; his make is woo;
Her eldes[t] bryd[3] his taken her fro,
into an uncod place.
The stedes colt[4] is romon away;
An eron[5] hath taken hym to his praye;
hit is a wondur casse.

The berewardes sone[6] is tendur of age,
He is put to mariage,
askyng wille ȝowe telle.
Ȝut he hopith, thorw myth and grace,
With the beres to make solas,
and led hem at his wille.

---

[1] A horse was the crest of the earl of Arundel, who was beheaded in the 21st Ric. II.

[2] The earl of Warwick banished to Isle of Man.

[3] Humphrey, Gloucester's only son, was, after his father's death, carried to Ireland and imprisoned in the castle of Trim.

[4] Thomas earl of Arundel, son of the earl beheaded in the 21st Ric. II.

[5] Henry duke of Lancaster.

[6] Richard Beauchamp, under nineteen, was at this time married to Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas lord Berkeley.

A eron is up, and toke his flyt;
In the noth contré he is liȝt;
thus here ȝe alle men saye.
The stede colt with hym he brynges;
These buth wonder and y thinges,
to se hem thus to playe.

The gees han mad a parlement,
Toward the eron are they went,
mo then I con telle.
The pecokes, that buth so fayr in syȝt,
To hym ben comen with alle hur myȝt,
they thenke with hym to dwelle.

Upon the busch the eron wolle reste,
Of alle places it liketh hym beste,
to loke aftur his pray.
He wolle falle upon the greue;
There he falleth, hit wille be sene,
they wille not welle away.

The bag is ful of roton corne,
So long ykep, hit is forlorne,
hit wille stonde no stalle.
The pecokes and the ges alleso,
And odor fowles mony on mo,
schuld be fed withalle.

The busch is bare and waxus sere,
Hit may no lengur leves bere;
now stont hit in no styde.
Ywys I con no nodur bote,
But hewe hit downe crop and rote,
and to the toun hit lede.

The long gras that semeth grene,
Hit is roton alle bydene,
hit is non best mete.
Til the roton be dynged ouȝt,
Our lene bestes schul not rouȝt,
hur liflode to gete.

The grete bage is so yloron,
Hit nyl holde neyther melo ne corne;
hong hit up to drye.
Wen hit is drye, then schalt thou se
ȝyf hit wil amended be,
a beger for to bye.

Now God, that mykelle is of myȝt,
Grant us grace to se that syȝt,
ȝyf hit be thy wille;
Our lene bestes to have reste
In place that hem lyketh [beste],
that were in point to spylle.

On the Expected Arrival of the Duke of Lancaster.[1]

O Deus in cœlis disponens cuncta fidelis,
Deprecor exaudi reddentes nos tuo laudi,
Ablue pennatos fallentes perfide natos,
Ut tormentorum noscant recepisse dolorem.

De regno flores nostros tollunt meliores,
Taxas de gente pro defectu moriente.
Hi sunt inflati, pro nummis infatuati,
Quærunt ditari, pro gazis dolapidari.

[1] From the Bodleian Library, MS. Rawlinson, No. 429, fol. 94, r°. It must have been composed in June or July, 1399.

Illustrent vulpes fraude lividi sine laudo,
Plus quærunt aurum quam cœli terræ thesaurum;
Dissimulant verba ponentes mortis acerba;
Hos regni terra mactent et aspera ferra.

Gens male taxatur, provocante furta sequatur;
Consilium tale pareat a sede regali;
Dux, perlustrator constans sis an dominator,
Et fac tractari falsos et decapitari.

Milleni fantur quod plures associantur,
Privatur vita, clamat gens cœlitus ita.
Quondam pejores sunt facti jam meliores,
Tales pomposi de stercore sunt generosi.

Fraus latet illorum propter thesaurum,
Scrope,[1] Bagge,[2] Ver,[3] dumus,[4] tormentorum parat humus.
Damnarunt forti justorum corpora morti,
Sanguis qui quorum vindicta clamat eorum.

Invidia centum revocatur parliamentum,
Ut cunctas digna quæ plurima passa maligna,
Ad nostrum ducem Lancastriæ reddito lucem,
Hujus consortes estote per omnia fortes.

Heu! pereunt jura, nisi sint beneficia plura;
Lux, laus, Henricus Lancastriæ factus amicus,
Scutis et armis nos protegat undique pronos,
Taxa regnante semper post cessit et ante.

Hujus dux causa pateat sibi janua clausa;
Pannis indutus plusquam vivit modo mutus,
Mox suspendatur, si verum lingua loquatur.
Expedit armare nos, a somno vigilare.

[1] Scrope, earl of Wiltshire, lord treasurer.
[2] Sir William Bagot.
[3] Robert de Vere, duke of Ireland.
[4] Sir John Bushey.

Gallica per artes nostras vult perdere partes
Rex, fallunt illa quo fixa penna sigilla,
Scriptum Draconis, verbum spernit Salomonis,
Gallus cantabit causas, caulis latitabit.

Aquila[1] dux austro salvabit nos alabastro,
Illius cœtum præstet Christus fore lætum.

On the Deposition of Richard II.[2]

And as I passid in my preiere
ther prestis were at messe,
in a blessid borugh
that Bristow is named,
in a temple of the Trinité,
the toune even amyddis,
that Christis Chirche is cleped
amonge the comune peple,
sodeynly ther sourdid
seleouthe thingis,
a grett wondir to wyse men,
as it well myȝth,
and dowtes ffor to deme,
ffor dredo comynge after.

---

[1] The name of the eagle is applied in all these poems to Henry duke of Lancaster.

[2] This very curious alliterative poem, which is unfortunately incomplete, has been preserved in a manuscript in the public library of the University of Cambridge (Ll. 4, 14), where it follows a copy of Piers Ploughman, to which it seems to have been intended as a sort of continuation. The scribe appears from a side note not to have partaken in the political sentiments of the author, for which cause perhaps, or because he discovered that it did not form a part of Piers Ploughman, he left off abruptly. It was evidently composed after the time when Richard II. fell into the hands of his enemies, and before the intention of deposing him was publicly made known, that is, probably, in the earlier half of the month of September, 1399.

so sore were the shwis
of bothe two sidis,
of Richard that regned
so riche and so noble,
that wyle he werrid he west
on the wilde Yrisshe,
Henrri was entrid
on the est half,
whom all the londe loved
in lengthe and in brede,
and rosse with him rapely
to riȝtyn his wronge;
ffor he shullde hem serve
of the same after.
Thus tales me troblid,
ffor they trewe where,
and amarride my mynde
rith mochc, and my wittis eke:
ffor it passid my parceit,
and my preifis also,
how so wondirffull werkis
wolde have an ende.
But in sothe whan they sombled,
some dede repente,
as knowyn is in cumpas
of cristen londis,
that rewthe was, if reson
ne had reffourmed
the myssecheff and the mysserule
that men tho in endurid.
I had peté of his passion
that prince was of Walis,
and eke oure crouned kynge,
tille Crist wolle no lenger:
and as a lord to his liage,
thouȝ I lite hade,

alle myn hoole herte was his,
while he in holtho regnid.
And ffor I wost not witterly
what shulde falle,
whedir God wolde ȝeve him
grace sone to amende,
to be oure gioure ayeyn,
or graunte it another,
this made me to muse
many tyme and ofte,
for to written him a writte,
to wissen him better,
and to meuve him of mysserewle,
his mynde to reffresshe,
ffor to preise the prynce
that paradise made,
to ffullefille him with ffeith,
and ffortune above,
and not to gruechen a grott
ayeine Godis sonde,
but mekely to suffre
what so him sente were.
And ȝif him list to loke
a leef other tweyne,
that made is to mende him
of his myssededis,
and to kepe him in *confforte*
in Crist, and nouȝt ellis,
I wolde be gladde that his *gost*
myȝte glade be my wordis,
and grame if it greved him,
be God that me bouȝte.
Ther nys no governour on the grounde
ne sholde gye him the better,
and every cristen kyng
that ony grounde bereth,

so he were lerned on the langage,
my lyff durst I weddo,
ȝif he waite welle the wordis,
and so worche therafter;
ffor alle is tresour of the Trinité,
that turneth men to gode.
And as my body and my beste
oute to be my liegis,
so rithffully be reson
my rede shuld also,
ffor to conceille, and I couȝthe,
my kyng and the lordis;
and therffor I ffordyd,
with alle my ffyve wyttis,
to traveile on this tretis,
to teche men therafter
to be war of wylffulnesse,
lest wondris arise.
And if it happe to ȝoure hondo,
beholde the book onys,
and redeth on him redely
rewis an hundrid,
and if ȝe savere sum delle,
se it ffurth overe;
ffor reson is no repreff,
be the rode of Chester.
And if ȝe ffynde ffables
or ffoly ther amonge,
or ony ffantasie yffeyned
that no ffrute is in,
lete ȝoure conceille corette it,
and clerkis togedyr,
and amende that ys amysse,
and make it more better.
Ffor ȝit it is secrette,
and so it shalle longer,

tylle wyser wittis
han waytid it overe,
that it be lore lawefulle,
and lusty to here.
Ffor witterly my wille is
that it welle liked
3ou and alle 3ouris,
and yonge men leveste,
to benyme hem her noyes,
that neweth hem ofte.
Ffor and they muse theron
to the myddwardis,
they shalle ffele ffawtis
ffoure score and odde,
that youghe weneth alwey
that it be witt evere.
And thou3 that elde opyn it
other while amonge,
and poure on it prevyly,
and preve it well after,
and constrewe ich clause
with the culorum,
it shulde not apeire hem a peere,
a prynce thou3 he were,
ne harme nother hurte
the hyghest of the rewme,
but to holde him in hole,
and helpe alle his ffrendis
And if ony word write be
that wrothe make myghte
my sovereyne, that suget
I shulde to be,
I put me in his power,
and preie him of grace,
to take the entent of my trouthe,
that thou3te non ylle,

ffor to wrath no wyght
be my wylle nevere,
as my soule be saff
ffrom synne at myn ende.
The story is of non estate
that stryven with her lustus,
but tho that ffolwyn her ffleshe
and here ffrelle thouȝtis;
so if my conceylle be clere,
I can saie no more,
but ho be greved in his gost,
governe him better,
and blame not the berne
that the book made,
but the wickyd will,
and the werkis after.
Now, Richard the redeles,
roweth on ȝou self,
that lawelosse leddyn ȝoure lyf
and ȝoure peple bothe;
ffor thoru the wyles and wronge
and wast in ȝoure tyme,
ȝe were lyghtlich ylyste
ffrom that ȝou leef thouȝte,
and ffrom ȝoure willeffulle werkis,
ȝoure wille was chaungid,
and rafte was ȝoure riott,
and rest, ffor ȝoure daiez
weren wikkid thoru ȝoure cursid counceille,
ȝoure karis weren newed,
and coveitise hath crasid
ȝoure croune ffor evere.
Of alegeaunce now lerneth
a lesson other tweyne,
wherby it standith
and stablithe moste,

by dride, or be dyntis,
or domes untrewe,
or by creaunce of coyne
ffor castes of gile;
by pillynge of ȝoure peple
ȝoure prynces to plese,
or that ȝoure wylle were wrouȝte,
thouȝ wisdom it nolde;
or be tallage of ȝoure townnes
without ony werre;
by rewthles routus
that ryffled evere,
by preysing of polaxis
that no peté hadde;
or be dette ffor thi dees,
deme as thu ffyndist;
or be ledinge of lawe
with love welle ytemprid.
Though this be derklich endited
ffor a dulle nolle,
miche nede is it not
to mwse theron;
ffor as mad as I am,
thouȝ I litille kunne,
I cowde it diseryve
in a ffewe wordys.
Ffor legiance without love
litille thinge availith,
but graceles gestis,
gylours of hem self,
that nevere had harnesse,
ne hayle schouris;
but walwed in her willis,
fforweyned in here youthe,
they sawe no manere sitȝh,
saff solas and ese,

and cowde no mysse amende
whan mysscheff was up,
but sorwed ffor her lustus
of lordsch[i]po they hadde,
and nevere ffor her trespass
oo tere wolde they lete.
Ȝe come to ȝoure kyngdom
er ȝe ȝoure self knewe,
crouned with a croune,
that kynge under hevene
miȝte not a better
have bouȝte, as I trowe,
so ffulle was it ffilled
with vertuous stones,
with perlis of prise
to punnysshe the wrongis,
with rubies redo
the riȝth for to deme,
with gemmes and juellis
joyned togedir,
and pees amonge the peple
ffor peyne of thi lawis.
It was ffulle goodeliche ygrave
with gold al abouȝte;
the braunchis above
boren grett charge;
with diamauntis derne
ydountid of alle
that wroute ony wrake
within or withoute;
with lewté and love
yloke to thi peeris,
and sapheris swete
that souȝte alle wrongis,
ypoudride wyth peté
ther it be ouȝte,

and traylid with trouthe,
and trefte al aboute,
ffor ony christen kynge
a croune well ymakyd.
But where this croune bicome,
a clerk were that wuste;
but so as I can,
declare it I thenke,
and nempne no name,
but tho that neft were.
Ffulle prevyly they pluckud
thy power awey,
and reden with realté
3oure rewme thornoute,
and as tyrauntis of tiliers
token what hem liste,
and paide hem on her pannes,
whan her penyes lacked.
Ffor non of 3oure pople
durste pleyne of here wrongis,
ffor drede of 3oure dukys,
and of here double harmes.
Men myȝtten as welle have huntyd
an hare with a tabre,
as aske ony mendis
ffor that thei mysdede,
or of ony of her men,
thouȝ men wulde plete;
ffor alle was ffelawis and ffelawschepe
that ȝe with fferde,
and no soule persone
to punnyshe the wrongis;
and that maddid thi men,
as thei nede muste.
Ffor wo they ne wusto
to whom ffor to pleyne;

ffor as it is said
by elderne dawis,
ther gromes and the goodmen
beth alle eliche grette,
wolle wo beth the wones,
and all that woneth therin.
They ladde ȝou with love,
that ȝoure lawe dradde,
to deme ȝoure dukys myssdedis,
so derne thei were.
Thus was ȝoure croune crasid,
till he was cast newe,
thoru partinge of ȝoure powere
to ȝoure paragals.
Thus lacchide they with laughinge,
and lourid longe after,
but ffirst sawe they it not,
ne youre self nother.
Ffor alle was wisliche ywrouȝte,
as ȝoure witte demed,
and no ffaautis yffounde,
tille ffortune aperid.
But had ȝoure croune be kepte,
that comons it wiste,
ther nadde morder ne mysscheff
be amonge the grette.
Thus ȝoure cautelle to the comoune
hath combred ȝou alle,
that, but if God helpe,
ȝoure hervest is ynne.
Wytteth it not ȝoure counceille,
but wyte[t]h it more ȝoure self,
the ffortune that ffallyn is
to ffeitheles peple,
and wayte welle my wordis,
and wrappe hem togedir,

and construe clergie
the clause in thin herte,
of maters that I thenke
to meve ffor the best,
ffor kyngis and kaysceris
comynge hereafter.
Whane ȝe were sette in ȝoure se,
as a sir aughte,
ther carpinge comynliche
of conceille arisith,
the chevyteyns cheef
that ȝe chesse evere,
weren alle to yonge of ȝeris
to yeme swyche a rewme,
other hobbis ȝe haddon
of Hurlewaynis kynne,
reffusynge the reule
of realles kynde.
And whane ȝoure counceille I knewe,
ȝe come to ate ones,
ffor to leve on her lore,
and be led be hem,
ffor dredo that they had
of demynge therafter,
and ffor caringe of hem self,
cried on ȝou evere,
ffor to hente hele
of her owen greves,
more than ffor wunschepe
that they to ȝou owed,
they made ȝou to leve
that regne ȝe ne myste,
withoute busshinge adoune
of alle ȝoure best ffrendis,
be a ffals colour
her caris to wayve,

and to holde hem in hele,
if it happe myȝte.
Ffor trostith rith treuly,
and in no tale better,
alle that they moved
or mynged in the mater,
was to be sure of hem self,
and siris to ben ycallid;
ffor that was alle her werchinge
in worde and in dede.
But had ȝe do duly,
and as a duke oughte,
the ffrist that ȝou fformed
to that ffals dede,
he shulde have hadde hongynge
on hie on the fforekis,
thouȝ ȝoure brother yborn
had be the same.
Than wolde other boynardis
have ben abasshyd,
to have moved ȝou to ony mals
that myss[e]heff had ben ynne.
But ffor ȝe cleved to knavis,
in this cas I avowe,
that boldid thi bunes
to belde uppon sorowe,
and stirid ȝou stouttely
tille ȝe stombled alle.

Passus secundus.

But moche now me merveilith,
and welle may I in sothe,
of ȝoure large leverey
to leodis abouȝte,
that ȝe so goodliche ȝaf,
but if gile letted,

and hertis yheedyd
and hornyd of kynde,
so ryff as they roune
3oure rewme thorwoute,
that non at 3oure nede
3oure name wolde nempne
in ffersnesse ne in ffolthed,
but ffaste flie awayward
And some stode astonyed
and stared ffor drede,
ffor eye of the egle [1]
that oure helpe brounte;
and also in sothe
the seson was paste,
ffor hertis yheedid
so hy and so noble
to make ony myrthe,
ffor mowtynge that nyghed.
That bawtid 3oure bestis
of here bolde chere;
they severid and sondrid
ffor somere hem ffaylid,
and fflowen into forest
and ffeldis abou3te,
all the hoole herde
that helde so [to]gedir;
but 3et they had hornes
half [a] 3ere after.
Now liste me to lerne,
ho me lere coude,
what kynnes conceylle
that the kyng had,
or moved him most
to merke his liegis,

[1] The eagle represents Henry duke of Lancaster, afterwards king Henry IV.

or serve hem with signes
that swarmed so thikke
thoruoute his lond
in lengthe and in brede,
that he so had hobblid
thoru holtes and tounes,
or ypassid the patthis
ther the prynce dwellyd,
or hertis or hyndis
on hassellis brestis,
or some lordis leveré
that the lawe stried,
he shulde have ymette
mo than ynowe.
Ffor they acombrede the contré,
and many curse servid,
and carped to the comounes
with the kyngys mouthe,
or with the lordis,
ther they beleffe were,
that no renke shulde rise
reson to schewe;
they plucked the plomayle
ffrom the pore skynnes,
and schewed her signes,
ffor men shulde drede
to axe ony mendis
ffor her mysdedis.
Thus leverez overe loked
3oure liegis ichonne;
ffor tho that had hertis
on hic on her brestis
ffor tho more partie,
I may well avowe,
they bare hem the bolder
ffor her gay broches,

and busshid with her brestis,
and baro adoune the povere
lieges that loved ȝou
the lesse ffor her yvelle dedis.
So trouthe to telle,
as touno men said,
ffor on that ȝe merkyd,
ȝe myssed ten schore
of homeliche hertis,
that the harme hente.
Thane was it ffoly,
in ffeith as me thynketh,
to sette silver in signes
that of nouȝt served.
I not what ȝou eylid,
but if it ese were;
ffor ffrist at ȝoure anoyntynge
alle were ȝoure owene,
both hertis and hyndis,
and helde of non other;
no lede of ȝoure lond,
but as a liege aughte,
ty[lle] ȝe of ȝoure dulnesse
deseveraunce made,
thoru ȝoure side signes,
that shente alle the browet,
and cast adoun the crokk
the colys amyd.
Ȝit am I lewde
and litille good shewe,
to coveyte knowliche
of kyngis wittis,
or wilne to witte
how was the mevynge
that ȝou to lykynge
ȝoure liegis to morke,

that loved ȝou fulle lelly
or leverez begynne,
and as redy to ride
or renne at ȝoure heste,
as wyghte myghte wilne
wonnynge uppon erthe,
tylle leverez hem lette;
and lordyns wrongis;
as ȝoure selfe ffonde welle
whane ffortune ȝou ffolwyd.
Ffor whan ȝe list to lene
to ȝoure owen lymmes,
they were so ffeble and ffeynte
ffor ffauȝte of ȝoure lawe,
and so ffeble and wayke
wexe in the hammes,
that they had no myghte
to amende ȝoure greves,
ne to bere byrthen
ȝoure banere to helpe.
But it longith to no liegeman
his lord to anoye,
nother in werk ne in word,
but if his witt ffayle,
" No, redely," quod reson,
" that reule I alowe,
" displese not thi demer
" in dede ne in wordis,
" but if the liste ffor to lede
" thy lyf in dissese.
" But ȝif God have grauntyd
" the grace ffor to knowe
" ony manere mysschoff
" that myȝte be amendyd,
" schewe that to thi sovereyne
" to schelde him ffrom harmes,

" ffor and he be blessid,
" the better the betydyth,
" in tyme ffor to telle him,
" ffor thi trewe herte."
Now, ffor to telle trouthe,
thus than me thynketh,
that no manere meyntenour
shulde merkis bere,
ne have lordis leveré
the lawe to apeire,
neither bragger ne boster,
ffor no bremme wordis;
but he so had kunnynge
and conscience bothe,
to stonde unstombled
and stronge in his wittis,
lele in his levynge,
levyd be his owen,
that no manere medo
shulde make him wryo,
ffor to trien a trouthe
betwynne two sidis,
and lette ffor no lordschep
the lawe to susteyne,
whane the pore pleyned
that put were to wrongis.
And I were of conceille,
by Crist that me bouȝte,
he shuld have a signe,
and sumwhat be ȝere,
ffor to kepe his contré
in quiete and in reste.
This were a good grounde,
so me God helpe!
and a trewe tente
to take and to ȝeve,

and ony lord of this londe
that loverez usith.
But how the gayes han ygon,
God wotte the sothe,
amonge myȝtfulle men,
alle these many ȝeris;
and whedir the grounde of ȝiste
were good other ille,
trouthe hathe determyned
the tente to the ende,
and reson hath rehersid
the resceyte of alle.
ȝit I trowe ȝoure entente
at the ffrist tyme
was, as I wene, ȝif I welle thenke,
in multitude of peple,
that ȝe were the more myȝtier
ffor the many signes
that ȝe and ȝoure servauntis
abouȝte so thikke sowid;
and that they were more tristi
and trewer than other,
to love ȝou ffor the leveré
that legaunce stroied;
or ellis ffor a skylle
that skathed ȝoure self,
that comounes of contré
and costis abouȝte
sholde knowe be hir quentise
that the kyng loved hem,
ffor her privy prynte
passinge another.
ȝif that was ȝoure purpos,
it passith my wittis
to deme discrecioun
of ȝoure welle doynge.

Thus were 3e discey̆ved
thorn 3oure duble hertis,
that nevere weren to truste,
so God save my soule!
But had the good grechonde[1]
be not agreyved,
But cherisched as a cheffeteyne
and cheff of 3oure lese,
3e hadde had hertis ynowe at 3oure wille
to go and to ride.
And also in sorteyne,
the sothe ffor to telle,
I wondir not hyly thou3
heed dere thu ffailid;
ffor litille on 3oure lyf
the list ffor to rewe
on rascdile that rorid
with ribbis so lene,
ffor ffau3te of her ffode
that fflăteris stelen,
and evere with here wylis and wast
ofte they hem anoyed,
that poverte hem prickid
ffulle prevylicho to pleyne,
but where they no wyste
ne ho it woldo amende.
Thus 3e derid hem unduly
with droppis of anger,
and stonyed hem with stormes
that stynted nevere,
but plucked and pulled hem
anon to the skynnes,

[1] The greyhound was the cognizance of the Beauforts. It may perhaps here refer to John Beaufort, marquis of Dorset, who was one of the accusers of the duke of Gloucester.

that the ffresinge ffrost
ffreted to here hertis.
So whanne ȝoure hauntelere dere
whore alle ytakyn,
was non of the rasskayle
aredy ffull growe,
to bere ony bremme heed,
as a best aughte,
so wyntris wedir
hem wesshe with the snowis,
with many derke mystis
that maddid her eyne.
Ffor welle mowe ȝe wyttyn,
and so mowe we alle,
that hardo is the somer
ther sonne schyneth nevere.
ȝe ffostrid and ffodid
a ffewe of the best,
and leyde on hem lordschipe,
a leyne uppon other,
and bereved the raskalle
that rith wolde thei hadde,
and knewe not the caris
ne cursis that walkyd;
but mesure is a meri mene,
thouȝ men much yerne.
Thus be the rotus
ȝoure raskall endurid,
tylle the blessid bredd
brodid his wingis,
to covere hem ffrom colde,
as his kynde wolde.
Rith as the hous hennes
uppon londe hacchen,
and cherichen her chekonys
ffro chele of the wynter,

ryth so the hende egle,
the eyere of hem alle,
hasteth him in hervest
to hovyn his bryddis,
and besieth him besely
to breden hem ffeedrin,
tylle her ffre ffedris
be ffulliche ypynned,
that they have wynge at her wylle
to wonne uppon hille;
ffor venym on the valeye
hadde ffoule with hem ffare,
tylle trouthe the triacle
telde somme her sothes.
Thus baterid this bred
on busshes[1] abouȝte,
and gaderid gomes
on grene[2] ther as they walkyd,
that alle the schroff and schroup[3]
sondrid ffrom other.
He mellid so the metalle
with the hand mólde,
that lost lemes
the levest that they had.
Thus ffoulyd this ffaukyn
on ffyldis abouȝte,
and cauȝte of the kuyttis
a cartfulle at ones,
that rentis and robis
with raboyn evere lauȝte.

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[1] A pun on the name of sir John Bushey.

[2] Sir Henry Green, another of king Richard's creatures.

[3] An allusion, probably, to king Richard's great favourite, William Scrope, earl of Wiltshire, the lord chamberlain.

Zit was not the ffawcon[1]
ffull ffed at his likynge,
ffor it eam him not of kynde
kytes to love.
Than bated he boldeliche,
as a brid wolde,
to plewme on his pray
the pol ffro the nekk;
but the blemyed boynard
that his bagg stalle,
where purraile is pulter,
was pynnyd ffulle ofte,
made the ffawcon to ffloter
and fflusshe ffor anger,
that the boy hadd be bounde
that the bagge kepte.
But sone therafter
in a schorte tyme,
as ffortune ffolwith
ech ffode tille his onde,
this lorelle that hadde
this loby awey
overe ffrithe and fforde,
ffor his ffals dedis,
lyghte on the lordschepe
that to the brid longid,
and was ffelliche ylauzte,
and luggid ffull ylle,
and brouzte to the brydd,
and his blames rehorsid
prevyly at the parlement
amonge alle the peple.
Thus hawkyd this egle,
and hoved above,

[1] The duke of Lancaster.

that, as God wolde,
that governeth alle thingis,
ther nas kyte ne krowe
that karoyne hantid,
that he no with his lynage
ne lovyd ffulle sone.
Ffor wher so they fferde,
be ffryth or be woves,
was non of hem alle
that him hide myȝth,
but cam with him a reclayme
ffro costis abouȝte,
and ffelle with her ffetheris
fflat uppon the orthe,
as madde of her mynde,
and mercy besouȝte;
they myȝte not aschonne
the sorowe they had served,
so lymed loves
were leyde allabouȝte,
and panteris prevyliche
pight uppon the grounde,
with grennes of good heere
that God him self made,
that where so thay walkid
they waltrid downwardis.
And evere hoved the egle
on hie on the skyes,
and kenned clerliche,
as his kynde axith,
alle the prevy poyntis
that the pies wrouȝth.

Passus tertius.

Now leve we this bou brid,
till I restore,

ffor mater that my mynde
is meved in now,
that whi the hie hertis
her hele so mysside,
that pasture axid rith
to here pure wombis;
I wolle schewe as I sawe,
tille I se better,
and if I walke out of the wey,
I wolle me repente.
Now herkeneth, hende men,
how that me thynkyth,
savynge sovereynes
and sages avyse,
that the moste myscheff
uppon molde on
is demed the dede
ydo azeins kynde.
3it clereth this clause
no thinge my wittis,
without more mater,
what it mene wolde.
I mene of the hertis
that hautesse of 3eris,
that pasture prikkyth,
and her prevy age,
whan they han hoblid on the holte
an hundrid of 3eris,
that they ffeblen in ffleisshe,
in ffelle and in bonis;
her kynde is to kevere,
if they cacche my3th,
adders that [h]armen
alle hende bestis,
thoru busschis and bromes
this beste of his kynde

secheth and sercheth
tho schrowed wormes,
that steleth on the stedes
to stynge hem to deth;
and whanne it happeth the herte
to hente the edder,
he puttyth him to peyne,
as his pray asketh,
and ffedith him on the venym,
his ffelle to anewe,
to leve at more lykynge
a longe tyme after.
This is clergie hir kynde,
coltis[1] [nat] to greve,
ne to hurlle with haras,
ne hors[2] well atamed;
ne to stryve with swan,[3]
thouz it sholle werre;
ne to bayten on the bere,[4]
ne bynde him nother,
ne to wilne to woo,
that were hem ny sibbe;
ne to liste ffor to loke
that her alie bledde.
This was azeins kynde,
as clerkis me toldo;
and therffor the hertis
hire hele so myssid,

[1] The colt is intended as an allusion to Thomas Fitz-Alan, son of the earl of Arundel.

[2] Richard Fitz-Alan, earl of Arundel, beheaded in the 21st Richard II. A horse was the cognizance of this family.

[3] The swan was Thomas, duke of Gloucester, murdered at Calais.

[4] The bear was the badge of the Beauchamps, and here represents Thomas de Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, who was banished to the Isle of Man by Richard II.

and myȝte nat passe the poynte
of her prime age.
Now constrew ho so kunne,
I can saie no more,
but ffare I wolle to the ffowle
that I beffore tolde.
Off alle billid breddis
that the bough spareth,
the propirté of partriche
to preise me lustith,
that in the somer seson,
whanne sittinge nyeth,
that ich ffoule with his ffere
ffolwith his kynde,
this brid be a bank
bildith his nest,
and heipeth his heires,
and hetith hem after.
And whane the dame hath ydo
that to the dede longith,
and hopith ffor to hacche
or hervest begynne,
thanne cometh ther a cougioun,
with a grey cote,
as not of his nolle,
as he the nest made,
another proud partriche,
and precyth to the nest,
and provyliche pirith
tille the dame passe,
and sesith on hir sete,
with hir softe plumes,
and hoveth the eyren
that the hue laide,
and with hir corps kevereth hem
tille that they konne,

and ffostrith and flodith,
tille ffedris schewe,
and cotis of kynde
hem kevere alle abouȝte.
But as sone as they styffe,
and that they steppe kumme,
than cometh and crieth
her owen kynde dame,
and they ffolwith the voiȝ,
at the ffrist note,
and leveth the lurker
that hem er ladde,
ffor the schrewe schrapid
to selde ffor her wombis,
that her lendys were lene,
and leved with hunger.
But than the dowe dame
dineth hem swythe,
and ffostrith hem ffor the
tille they ffle kumme.
" What is this to mene, man ? "
maiste thu axe,
" ffor it is derklich endited
" ffor a dulle panne ;
" wherffore I wilne,
" ȝif it thi wille were,
" the partriche propurtés
" by whom that thu menest "
A ! hicke hevyheed !
hard is thi nolle,
to cacche ony kunnynge,
but cautelle bigynne.
Herdist thu not with eeris
how that I er tellde,
how the egle in the est
entrid his owene,

and cried and clepid
after his owen kynde briddis,
that weren anoyed in his nest,
and norished full ille,
and welle ny yworewid
with a wronge leder?
But the nedy nestlingis,
whan they the note herde
of the [h]ende egle,
the heyer of hem alle,
they busked ffro the busches
and breris that hem noyed,
and burnished her beekis,
and bent to him-wardis,
and fflolowid him ffersly
to flighte ffor the wrongis;
they bablid with her billis
how thei bete were,
and tenyd with twiggis,
two and twenty 3eris.
Thus lafte they the leder
that hem wrong laddo,
and tymed no twynte,
but tolled her cornes,
And gaderid the grotus
with gyle, as I trowe.
Than ffolwid they her ffre ffader,
as good ffeith wolde,
that he hem ffede shulde,
and ffostre ffurther,
and bringe hem out of bondage,
that they were brou3th inne.
Thanne sighed the swymmers,
ffor the swan ffailid,
and ffolwid this ffaucoun
thoru ffeldus and tounes,
with many ffaire ffoole,
thou3 they ffeynte were,

and hevy ffor the hirte
that the hors hadde.
Zit they fferkyd hem fforth
as ffaste as they myzte,
to have the egles helpe
of harme that they hadde,
ffor he was heed of hem alle,
and hieste of kynde,
to kepe the croune,
as cronecle tellith.
He blythid the beere,
and his broud braste,
and lete him go at large
to lepe where he wolde.
But tho alle the berlingis
brast out at ones,
as ffayne was the ffoule
that ffligth on the skyes
that bosse was unbounde
and brounte to his owene
They gaderid hem togedir
on a grette rouzte,
to helpe the heeris
that had many wrongis;
they gaglide fforth on the grene,
ffor they greved were,
that her ffrendis were ffalle
thoru ffelouns castis.
They mornyd ffor the morthir
of manffulle knyztis,
that many a styff storme
withstode ffor the communes;
the[y] mouside the marchalle[1]
ffor his myssedede,
that evelle coude his craft,
whan he cloped the stede.

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1 Thomas de Mowbray, earl marshal, afterwards created duke of Norfolk.

And overe as they ffolwide
this ffaucoun abouȝte,
at icho mevinge ffotte,
venyaunce they asked
on alle that assentid
to that synfulle dede.
Arere now to Richard,
and reste here a while,
ffor a prevy poynt
that persith my wittis,
of ffauutis I ffynde
that ffrist dede engendre
cursidnesse and combraunce
amonge the yonge lordis,
and the wikkid werchinge
that walmed in her daies,
and ȝit wolle hereafter,
but wisdome it lette.
That were a lord of lond
that lawe hathe in honde,
that to lyghtliche loveth,
or lowté apere,
the tale of a trifflour
in turmentours wede,
that nevere reed good rewle,
ne resons bookis;
ffor ben they rayed arith
they recchith no ffurther,
but studieth alle in strountynge,
and stireth amys evere;
ffor alle his witte in his wede
ys wrappid ffursothe,
more than in mater to amende
the peple that ben mysled.
Ffor I say ffor my self,
and schewe, as me thynchith,

that he is rialle of his ray,
that light reede him ffolwith,
3it swiche ffresshe ffoodis
beth ffeet into chambris,
and ffor her dignesse endauntid
of dullisshe nollis.
And if thu welle waite
of no wight ellis,
than waite no wayes
how the while turneth,
with gyuleris joyffulle
ffor here gery jaces,
and ffor her wedis so wyde
wise beth yholde;
they casteth hem to creaunce
the courte ffor to plese,
and hopen to be hied
in hast, yif they my3the,
thorn swiche stif stroumbynge
that stroyeth the rewme;
but here wey is alle wronge
ther wisdom is ymed,
But they lepith als lyghly,
at the longe goynge,
out of the domes carle,
as he that throff nevere.
For they kepeth no coyne
that cometh to here hondis,
but chaunchyth it ffor cheynes
that in Chepe hangith,
and settith alle her silver
in seimtis and hornes,
and ffordoth the coyne,
and many other craftis,
and maketh the peple ffor penslac
in pointe ffor to wepe;

and ȝit they beth ytake fforth,
and her tale leved,
and ffor her newe nyseté
nexte to the lordis.
Now be the law of Lydfford,
in londe ne in water,
thilke lewde ladde
ouȝte evylle to thryve,
that hongith on his hippis
more than he wynneth,
and douȝteth no dette,
so dukis hem preise,
but beggith and borwith
of burgeis in tounes
flurris of ffoyne
and other ffolle whare,
and not the better of a bene,
thouȝ they boru evere.
And but if the slevis
slide on the erthe,
thei wolle be wroth as the wynde,
and warie hem that it made;
and ȝif it were elbowis
adown to the helis,
or passinge the knee,
it was not acounted;
and if Pernelle preisid
the plytis bihynde,
the costis were acountid,
paye whan he myȝth.
The leesinge so likyde
ladies and other,
that they joied of the jette,
and gyside hem therunder;
and if Ffelice ffonde
ony ffaute thenne of the makynge,

yt was ysent sone
to shape of the newe.
But now ther is a gyse,
the queyntest of alle,
a wondir coriouse crafte,
yeome now late,
that men clepith kerving
the clothe alle to peeis,
that sevene goode sowers
sixe wekes after
moun not sett the seemes,
ne sewe hem ayeyn.
But ther is a pr[o]ffith in that pride,
that I preise evere.
Ffor thei ffor the pesinge
paieth pens ten dublo
that the clothe costened,
the craft is so dere.
Now if I sothe shalle saie,
and shonne side tales,
ther is as moche good witte
in swyche gomes nollis,
as thu shuldist mete of a myst
ffro morwe tylle even.
Yit blame I no burne
to be as him ouyte,
in comliche clothinge,
as his statt axith;
but to ledyn her lust
alle here lyff daies
in quentise of clothinge,
ffor to queme sir Pride,
and evere more strontynge,
and no store kepe,
and iche day a newe devyse,
it dullith my wittis

that ony lord of a lond
shulde leve swiche thingis,
or clepe to his conceille
swiche manere cotis,
that loveth more her lustis
than the lore of oure Lord.
And if a lord his levere
lyste ffor to ȝeve,
ther may no gome ffor goodnesse
gette therof but lite,
ffor curtesie, ffor comlynesse,
ne ffor his kynde herte;
but rather ffor his rancour
and rennynge overe peple,
ffor braggynge and ffor bostynge,
and beringe uppon oilles.
ffor cursidnes of conscience,
and comynge to the assizes.
This makyth men mysdo
more than ouȝte ellis,
and to stronte and to stare,
and stryve aȝeyn vertu.
So, clergie the cause
comsith in grette,
of alle manere myscheff
that men here usyn.
Ffor wolde they blame the burnes
that brouȝte newe gysis,
and dryve out the dagges,
and alle the Duche cotis;
and sette hem aside,
and scorte of hem telle,
and lete hem pleye in the porche,
and presse non ynnere,
no no proude peniles
with his peynte sleve;

and eke repreve robbers
and riffleris of peple,
fflateris and ffals men
that no ffeith useth,
and alle deabolik doeris
dispise hem iehone;
and coile out the kny3tys
that knowe welle hem self,
that were sad of her sawis,
and suffre welle counde,
and had traveilid in her tyme
and temprid hem self,
and cherliche cherieho hem
as cheff in the halle,
ffor to ordeyne officeris
and alle other thyngis;
men shuld wete in a while
that the world woldo amende,
so vertue woldo fflowe
whan vicis were ebbid.
But now so the mater
that I before moved,
of the gomes so gay
that grace haddo offendid,
and how stille that stoddeffasto
stode amongo this reecheles pople,
that had awilled his wylle
as wisdom him taughte;
ffor he drough him to an herne
at the halle ende,
wello homelich yhelid
in an holsume gyse,
not *overe longe, but ordeyned*
in the olde schappe,
with grette browis yboute,
and a borde eke,

and ywounde in his wedis,
as the wedir axith;
he wondrid in his wittis,
as he welle myȝthe,
that the hie houusinge
herborowe ne myghte
half-delle the houshoulde,
but hales hem helped;
but ffor crafte that he couude
caste thenne or bethenke,
he myȝte not wonne in the wones,
ffor witt that he usid,
but arouutid ffor his ray,
and rebuked ofte,
he had love of the lord,
and of ladies alle,
ffor his good governaunce,
to go or he drank.
Thor was non of the mené,
that they ne merveilid moche,
how he cam to the courte,
and was not yknowe;
but als sone as they wiste
that Witt was his name,
and that the kyng knewe him not,
ne non of his knyȝtis,
he was halowid and yhuntid,
and yhotte trusse,
and his dwellinge ydemed
a bowe drawte ffrom hem,
and ich man ycharchid
to schoppe at his croune,
ȝif he nyhed hem ony nere
than they had him nempned.
The portir with his pikis
tho put him uttere,

and warned him the wickett
while the waeche durid.
" Lete sle him !" quod the sleves
that slode uppon the erthe ;
and alle the bordles burnes
bayed on him overe,
and schorned him for his slaveyn
was of the olde schappe.
Thus Malaperte was myȝtffullo
and maister of hous,
and overe *wandrid Wisdom*
without the ȝatis.
" By him that wrouȝte this world !"
quod Wisdom in wrath,
" but ȝif ȝe wolle sum tyme
" I walke in amonge ȝou,
" I shalle fforbede ȝou burnesse,
" the best on this erthe,
" that is governance of gettingo,
" and grace that him ffollwith ;
" ffor these two trewly
" twynned ȝet nevere."
And so it ffelle on hem, in ffeith,
ffor ffauȝtis that they usid,
that her grace was agoo,
ffor gruechingo chere,
ffor the ,wronge that they wrouȝte
to Wisdom affore.
Ffor tristith als trewly
as tyllinge us helpeth,
that iche rewme undir roff
of the reynebowe
sholde stable and stonde
be these thre degrés :
by governaunce of grete
and of good age ;

by styffnesse and strengthe
of steeris welle y-yokyd,
that beth myȝthffulle men,
of the mydille age;
and be laboreris of lond,
that lyfflode ne ffayle.
Thanne wolde reule,
if reson where amongis us,
that ich leode lokide
what longid to his age,
and nevere ffor to passe more
oo poynt ffurther,
to usurpe the service
that to sages bilongith,
to become conselleris
er they kunne rede,
in schenshepe of soverеynes,
and shame at the last.
Ffor it ffallith as welle
to ffodis of xxiiij. ȝeris,
or yonge men of yistirday
to ȝeve good redis,
as becometh a kow
to hoppe in a cage.
It is not unknowen
to kunnynge leodis,
that rewlers of rewmes
around alle the erthe
were not yffoundid,
at the ffrist tyme,
to leve al at likynge
and lust of the world,
but to laboure on the lawe,
as lowde men on plowes,
and to merke meyntenourz
with maces ichonne,

and to strie stronters
that sterede ȝeine rithis,
and alle the myssedoers
that they myȝte ffynde,
to put hem in preson,
a peere thouȝ he were;
and to rewle as reremys,
and rest on the daies,
and spende of the spicerie
more than it nedid,
bothe wexe and wyn,
in wast alle abouȝte,
with deyntis ydoublid,
and daunsinge to pipis,
in myrthe with moppis,
myrrours of synne.
ȝit fforbede I no burne
to be blithe sum while;
but alle thinge hath tyme,
ffor to tempre glees;
ffor easte alle the countis
that the kyng holdith,
and loke how these lordis
loggen hem self,
and evere shalle thu ffynde,
as ffer as thu walkiste,.
Nota, nota, nota.[2] that[1] wisdom and overwacche
wonneth ffer asundre;
but whanne the governaunce goth ther
with the the hous gie shulde,
and letith lyghte of the lawe,
and lesse of the peple,

[1] *What*, in the MS.
[2] This note is in the margin of the MS., and expresses the sentiment of the scribe.

and herkeneth alle to honour,
and to ese eke,
and that ich wyght with his wittis
waite on him evere,
to do hem reverence aright,
thouȝ the rigge brest,
this warmnesse in welth,
with wy uppon erthe,
myȝte not longe dure,
as doctourz us tellith.
Ffor ho so thus loved
his lyff to the ende,
evere wrappid in welle,
and with no wo•mette,
myȝte saie that he sawe
that scie was nevere,
that hevene were unhonge
out of the hookis,
and were boun at his bidding,
ȝif it be myȝte.
But clerkis kne[w] I non ȝete
that so couude rede
in bokis ybounde,
thouȝ ȝe brouȝte alle,
that ony wy welldith
wonnynge uppon erthe,
ffor in welle and in woo
the werld evere turneth.
ȝit ther is kew-kaw,
thouȝ he come late,
a new thing that noyoth
nedy men and other,

Propter ingratitudinem liber hic revocatur in servitutem, ut in stimulo compunctionis et in lege civili.[1]

[1] This marginal note, by the writer of the manuscript, shows that he was not a partizan of the house of Lancaster, and that he disapproved of the sentiments contained in the poem. The word *servitutem* seems to imply a pun upon *liber*.

whanne realles removeth,
and ridith thoru tounes,
and carieth overe contré
ther communes dwelleth,
to preson the pillourz
that overe the pore renneth;
for that were evene in her weye,
if they welle ride.
But ȝit ther is a ffoule ffauȝte
that I ffyndé ofte,
they prien affter presentis
or pleyntis ben yclepid,
and abateth alle the billis
of the that nouȝth bringith;
and he so gruccho or grone
aȝeins her gretto willes,
may lese her lyff lyghtly,
and no lesse wedelis.
Thus is the lawe lonyd,
thoru myȝhty lordis willys,
that moynetoyne myssdoers
more than other peple;
ffor moynetenaunce many day,
welle more is the reuthe!
hath yhad me men
at mete and at melis
than ony cristen kynge
that ȝe knewe overe.
Ffor as reson and rith
rehersid to me ones,
tho ben men of this molde
that most harme worchen.
Ffor chyders of Chester
where chose many daies
to ben of conceille ffor causis
that in the court hangid,

and pledid pipoudris,
allo manere pleyntis.
They cared ffor no coyffes
that men of court usyn,
but meved many maters
that man never thouȝte,
and ffeyned ffalshed
till they a ffyne had,
and knewe no manere cause,
as comunes tolde;
thei had non other signe
to schewe the lawe
but a prevy pallette
her pannes to kepe,
to hille here lewde heed
in stede of an hone.
They constrewed quarellis
to quenche the peple,
and pletid with pollaxis
and poyntis of swordis;
and at the dome ȝevynge
drowe out the bladis,
and lente men levere
of her longe battis.
They lacked alle vertues
that a juge shulde have;
ffor, er a tale were ytolde,
they wolde trie the harmes,
without ony answere,
but ho his lyf hatid,
and ho so pleyned to the prince
that pees shulde kepe,
of these mystir men,
medlers of wrongis,
he was lygh[t]liche ylauȝte,
and yluggyd of many,

and ymummyd on the mouthe,
and manaced to the deth.
They leid on thi leigis, Richard,
lasshis ynowe,
and dredo nevere a dele
the dome of the lawe.
Ther nas rial of the rewme
that hem durste rebuke,
ne jugo ne justice
that jewis durste hem dome,
ffor oute that thei toke
or trespassid to the peple.
This was a wondir world,
ho so well tokyd,
that gromes overegrewe
so many grette maistris;
ffor this was the rewle in this rewme,
while they here regnyd.
Thouȝ I satte sevene-nyght,
and slepte ffulle seldo,
of many no wrongis
than I write coude;
ffor selde were the serigauntis
souȝte ffor to plete,
or ony prentise of courte
preied of his wittis,
the while the Dogonys domes
weren so endauntid.
Tille oure sire in his see,
above the vij^ne sterris,
sawe the many mysschevys
that these men dede,
and no mendis ynade,
but menteyne it evere,
of him that was hiest
yholde [for] to kepe

his liegis in lawe,
and so her love gette.
He sonte ffor his servantis,
that sembled many,
of baronys and baccheleris,
with many brizth helmes,
with the comunes the contrés
they cam alle at ones,
and, as a duke douzty
in dedis of armes,
in fulle realle aray
he rood uppon hem evere,
tyll Degon and Dobyn,
that mennys doris brastyn,
and were ydubbid of a duke
ffor her while domes,
and awakyd ffor wecchis
and wast that they usid,
and ffor her breme blastis
buffettis henten.
Than gan it to calme
and clere alle abouzte,
that iche man myzte,
ho so mynde hadde,
se be the sonne,
that so brizte schewed,
the mone at the mydday
meve and the sterris,
ffolwinge ffelouns
ffor her ffalse dedis,
devourours of vetaile
that ffouzten er thei paide.

Passus quartus.

Ffor where was evere ony cristen kynge,
that 3e evere knewe,

that helde swiche an household
be the half-delle
as Richard in this rewme,
thorn myserule of other;
that alle his ffynys ffor ffauȝtis,
ne his ffee ffermes,
ne fforffeyturis ffele
that ffelle in his daies;
ne the nownagis
that newed him evere,
as Marche and Moubray,
and many mo other;
ne alle the issues of court
that to the kyng longid;
ne sellynge that sowkid
silver rith ffaste;
ne halle the prophete of the lond
that the prince owed,
whane the countis were caste,
with the custom of wullus,
myȝte not areche,
ne his rent nother,
to paie the pore peple
that his purvyours toke,
withoute preiere at a parliament,
a poundage biside,
and a fifteneth
and a dyme eke,
and withalle the custum of the clothe
that cometh to ffayres;
and ȝet ne had creaunce
icome at the last ende,
with the comunes curse
that cleved on hem evere,
they had be drawe to the devylle
ffor dette that they owed.

And whanne the reot and the reevelle
the rent thus passid,
and no thing ylafte
but the bare baggis,
than ffelle it afforse
to ffille hem ȝeyne,
and ffeyned sum ffolie,
that ffailid hem never,
and cast it be colis,
with her conceille at evene,
to have prevy parlement
for propffitt of hem self;
and lete write writtis
alle in wex closid,
ffor peeris and prelatis,
that thei apere shuld;
and sente side sondis
to schrevys abouȝte,
to chese swiche chevalleris
as the charge wold,
to schewe ffor the schire
in company with the grete.
And whanne it drowe to the day
of the dede doynge,
that sovereynes were semblid,
and the schire knyȝtis,
than as her fforme is,
ffrist they begynne to declare
the cause of her comynge,
and than the kyngis wille.
Comliche a clerk than
comsid the wordis,
and pronouncid the poyntis
aparte to hem alle,
and meved ffor mony
more than ffor out ellis,

in glosinge of grette,
lest greyves arise,
and whanne the tale was tolde
anon to the ende,
amorwe thei must, affore mete,
mete togedir,
the knyȝtis of the comunelté,
and carpe of the maters,
with citiseyns of shiris
ysent ffor the same,
to reherse the articles
and graunte alle her askynge
But ȝit ffor the manere,
to make men blynde,
somme argued ayein rith
then a good while,
and said, "We beth servauntis
" and sallere ffongen,
" and ysente ffro the shiris
" to shewe what hem greveth,
" and to parle ffor her prophete,
" and passe no ffurthere,
" and to graunte of her gold
" to the grett wattis
" by no manere wronge way,
" but if werre were;
" and if we ben ffals
" to the us here ffyndyth,
" evylle be we worthy
" to welden oure hire."
Than satte summe,
as siphre doth in awgrym,
that noteth a place,
and no thing availith;
and some had ysoupid
with Symond overe even,

and schewed ffor the shire,
and here schew lost;
and somme were tituleris,
and to the kyng wente,
and fformed him of foos,
that good ffrendis weren,
that bablid ffor the best
and no blame served,
of kynge ne conceille,
ne of the comunes nother,
ho so toke good kepe
to the culorum;
and somme slombrid and slepte,
and said but a lite;
and somme mafflid with the mouth,
and nyst what they ment;
and somme had hire,
and holde therwith evere,
and wolde no fforther a ffoot,
ffor ffer of her maistris;
and some were so soleyne
and sad of her wittis,
that er they come to the clos
acombred thèy were,
that thei the concluciouu
than constrewe ne couthe,
no burne of the bouche,
of borowe nother ellis,
so blynde and so ballid
and bare was the reson;
and somme were so ffers
at the ffrist come,
that they bente on a bonet,
and bare a topte saile
affor the wynde ffresshely,
to make a good ffare.

Than lay the lordis alee
with laste and with charge,
and bare abouȝte the barge,
and blamed the maister,
that knewe not the kynde cours
that to the crafte longid,
and warned him wisely
of the wedir side.
Thanne the maste in the myddis,
at the monthe ende,
bowid ffor brestynge,
and brouȝte hem to lond;
ffor ne had thei striked a strake,
and sterid hem the better,
and abated a bonet,
or the blast come,
they had be throwe overe the borde,
backewardo ichonne.
And some were acombrid
with the conceille beffore,
and wiste wolle ynow
how it sholde ende,
or some of the semblé
shulde repente.
Some helde with the mo,
how it evere wente;
and somme dede rith so,
and wolld go no ffurther;
some parled as perte,
as provyd wolle after,
and clappid more ffor the coyne
that the kyng owed hem,
thanne ffor comffurte of the comyne
that her cost paied,
and wore behote hansell,
if they helpe wolde,

to be servyd sekirly
of the same silvere;
and some dradde dukis,
and Dowelle fforsoke . . . . .

* * * *

Gower's Tripartite Chronicle.[1]

[a] Ista tripartita sequitur quæ mente perita
Chronica servetur, nam pars quæ prima videtur
Est opus humanum, pars illa secunda profanum
Est opus inferni, pars tertia jure superni
Est opus in Christo; vir qui bene sentit in isto
Scire potest mira, quid amor sit, quid sit et ira;
Est tamen hoc clamor, Omnia vincit amor.

[b] Tolle caput mundi, c. ter sex[2] lustra for illi,
Et decies quinque cum septem post superadde;
Tempus tale nota, quia tunc fuit Anglia mota,
Dum stat commotus Ricardus amore remotus.

[a] Opus humanum est inquirere pacem et prosequi eam; hoc enim fecerunt hi tres proceres de quibus infra fit mentio ubi fides interfuit. Opus inferni est pacem turbare justosque regni interficere; hoc enim Ricardus capitosus dolosa circumventione facere non timuit. Opus in Christo est deponere sùperbos de sede et exaltare humiles; hoc enim Deus fecit, odiosum Ricardum de solio suo projecit, et pium Henricum omni dilectione gratissimum cum gloria sublimari constituit.

[b] Hic in prima parte chronicæ compositor tempora distinguens, causas unde regnum fuit in se divisum postmodum per singula tractabit.

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[1] This interesting political poem is here printed from two manuscripts in the British Museum, MS. Cotton. Tiberius A. iv. fol. 152, r°; MS. Harl. No. 6291, fol. 134, r°; and a well-known MS. of Gower's Latin poems in the library, All Souls' College, Oxford. The variations between the MSS. are inconsiderable, and it has not been thought necessary to carry the collations further than these three manuscripts

[2] *ter et sex*, MS. Cot. and Harl.

Principio regis oritur transgressio legis,
Quo fortuna cadit, et humus retrograda vadit;
Quomodo surrexit populus, quem non bene rexit.
Tempus adhuc plangit super hoc quod chronica tangit;
Libro testante stat chronica scripta per ante;
Est alibi dicta, transit nec ab aure relicta.
Audistis mira vulgaris quæ tulit ira;
Omnibus in villis timuit vir justus ab illis.
[c] Rex induratum cor semper habet, neque fatum
Talo remordebat mala semper quin faciebat.[1]
Stultorum vilo sibi consilium juvenilo
Legerat, et sectam senium dedit esse rejectam;
Consilio juvenum spiraverat ille venenum,
Quo bona prædaret procerum quos mortificaret.
Sic malus ipse malis adhæsit, eisque sodalis
Efficitur, tota regis pietate remota.
Tunc accusare quosdam præsumpsit avare;
Unde catallorum gazas spoliaret eorum.
Tres sunt antiqui proceres, quos regis iniqui
Ira magis novit, et eos occidere vovit.
[d] Et sic qui cati pellem cupit excoriati,
Fingebat causas fallaci pectore clausas,
Cautius ut factum sibi possit habere subactum.
Leges conduxit pro parte suaque reduxit.
Munere corrupti, suadente timoreque rupti,
Legis in errorem regi tribuere favorem.
Hi tunc legistæ, quicquid rex dixerat ipse,
Fœdera componuntque sigilla sub ordine ponunt.
Tum rex lætatur super hoc quod fortificatur,

[c] Qualiter infortunatus rex Ricardus, virgam Dei non metuens, de malo in pejus suam semper malitiam continuavit.

[d] Nota de judicibus illis qui, ut regis errorem præcipue contra illos tres proceres quos occidere vellet justificarent, literas sub eorum sigillis scriptas cironice componuerunt.

[1] *qui facebat*, MS Cotton. *ipsum qui sine cavebat*, MS. All Souls' Col

Quo magis ad plenum diffundat ille venenum.
Tunc aderant tales juvenes qui sunt speciales,
Laudantes regem quia vertit sic sibi legem.
[c] Hoc concernentes aliique dolos metuentes,
Ad defendendum statuunt cito quid sit agendum.
Tunc rex festinat, et ad hoc suajussa propinat,
Ut tres quærantur ubi sunt et ibi capiantur.
Tunc tres, qui justi fuerant et ad arma robusti,
Factum disponunt et ad hoc sua robora ponunt.
Qui fuerant isti proceres in nomine Christi
Expedit ut dicam, referens et eis benedicam.
Si non directe procerum cognomina, recte
Hæc tamen obscura referam latitante figura.
Scribere quo tendo, si mystica verba legendo
Auribus apportant, verum tamen illa reportant.
[f] Sunt olor, ursus, equus; stat eorum quilibet æquus,
Non hi divisi, sed in unum sunt quasi visi.
[g] Penna coronata tribus his fuit associata;
[h] Qui gerit s tandem turmam comitatur eandem.
Nobilis ille quidem probus et juvenis fuit idem,
Sic quasi de cœlis interfuit illo fidelis.
[i] Hac sub fortuna præsens aquilonica luna,
Non fuit ad sortem, sequitur sed mente cohortem.
[j] Qui solém gessit tenebrosus lumina nescit,
In Trojæ metas dum vendicat ipse dietas.
Troja fuit prima, per quam sol tendit ad ima,
Pallet in eclipsi populus, quia non favet ipsi.
Obsistunt turbæ Phœbo ne scandat in urbe,
Dumque suis alis cygnus fuit imperialis.

[c] Qualiter tres proceres prædicti, de regis malitia certius præmuniti, in sui defensionem roborati sunt.

[f] Nota de nominibus trium procerum prædictorum sub figura.

[g] Comes Marescallus.

[h] Strenuissimus comes Derbeiæ.

[i] Comes Northumbriæ, cujus signum fuit luna crescens.

[j] Qualiter rex, cujus signum sol erat, cives Londonienses pro auxilio ab eis contra dictos tres proceres obtinendo requisivit, sed illi regis malitiam perplectentes eidem nullatenus consenserunt.

[k] Fraus tamen obliquas nubes commovit iniquas,
Extera dum rebus tentavit lumina Phœbus.
Cestria surrexit, aper in qua lumina rexit,
Regis vexillum fatuo signaverat illum,
Sed conspiranti Deus obstat et insidianti,
Quo dolus exosos involvit fine dolosos.
Auxilio cygni regis pro parte maligni
Si vis quæratur, contraria vis operatur.
Quærit aper latebras fraudis mortisque tenebras,
Quo regnum pereat regisque superbia fiat.
Cygnus et expresse super his quæ cernit adesse
Providet, et curam regni colit ipse futuram.
Ducit aper gentes, quas concitat arma gerentes
Liber ut his pergat proceresque per omina spergat,
[l] *Cygnus ut hoc scivit, venientibus obvius ivit*
Belliger, et purgat regnum quo vita resurgat.
Cum Venus incepit lucem sors bella recepit;
Stat Thetis a parte, cecidit dum Cestria marte;
Thamisiæ fluctus capiunt de sanguine luctus;
Vicit olor pennis, sit ei quo vita perennis.
Tunc aper Oxoniæ recidit de sede sophiæ,
Cum prope stat villam, maledixerat impius illam.
Non ibi permansit fugiens sed aper vada transit,
Infortunatus fit ibi de fonte renatus.
De vulpis cauda velox aper est ut alauda,
Cauda ruit castra quæ sunt numero velut astra.
Sic quia deliquit, vacuus sua castra reliquit,
Pauper et exposcit foveam qua vivere possit.

[k] Qualiter rex comitem Oxoniæ, qui per aprum designatur, ut ipse contra tres proceres antedictos gentes bellatrices secum duceret, in partes Cestriæ una cum regio vexillo destinavit.

[l] Qualiter quodam die Veneris comes Oxoniæ cum suis sequentibus, *in conspectu ducis Gloverniæ, qui tunc vulpis candam* in lancea gessit, prope villam Oxoniæ in fugam se vertit, et castra, quæ ipse familiæ suæ pro signo gestanda attribuerat, ad terram absque relevamine finaliter projecta sunt. Nam et ipse comes, ut securiori modo vitam servaret, profugus ultra mare navigio transiit.

Sed neque castrorum juvat aprum pompa suorum,
Nec sibi fossa datur, dum profugus inde fugatur.
Hæc ita cum vidit, quod cum fortuna rescidit,
Per mare transivit, alibi quo vivere quivit.
Sic aper in leporem mutatus perdit honorem,
Amplius et certus locus est sibi nullus apertus.
[m] Nil odor incensi tunc profuit Eboracensi,
Sed nec mitra choris, nec opes, nec culmen honoris;
Ad regale latus cum plus sit ad alta levatus,
Corruit a sede, sic transit præsul ab æde.
Curæ mercator primas fuit et spoliator,
Pauper et abscessit, quem prævia culpa repressit.
Sic fugit hic prædo cleri nova villa Macedo,
Quem quia sic vixit pater ecclesiæ maledixit.
[n] Est comes elatus, fallax, cupidus, sceleratus,
Fraudes per mille stat cancellarius ille.
Hic proceres odit, et eorum nomina rodit
Morsibus a tergo, fit tandem profugus ergo.
Sic Deus in cœlis mala de puteo Michaelis
Acriter expurgat, ne plus comes illo resurgat.
[o] Alter et est talis sub regis qui cubat alis,
Mollis confessor, blandus scelerisque professor;[1]
Extitit hic frater qui stat foris intus et ater,
Cujus nigredo fœdat loca regia credo.
Hic fuit obliquus procerum latitans inimicus,
Semper in augendo magis iram quam minuendo.
Hic tamen in fine fugit, et de sorte ruinæ

[m] Qualiter statim post fugam dicti comitis Oxoniæ, Alexander de Neville, tunc Eboracensis archiepiscopus, qui etiam cum rege in suis erroribus particeps erat, tunc metu ductus consimili fuga per mare reus evasit.

[n] Qualiter Michael de la Pole, cómes Suffolciæ, qui tunc regis cancellarius erat, dum se culpabilem sentiit, trans mare etiam navigando ad sui salutem alibi se munivit.

[o] Qualiter etiam episcopus Ciceestriæ, tunc regis confessor, conscius culpæ, extera loca petens propria fugiendo reliquit.

[1] *confessor*, MS. A. S. C.

Quæ mala spondebat aliis prius ipse luebat.
Sunt ita prædicti cordis formidine victi,
De propria vivi terra quod sunt fugitivi.
[p] Tunc tres personæ, qui pleni sunt ratione,
Justitiam quærunt, regem super hoc adierunt.
Rex fuit ad muros Turris, proceresque futuros
Vidit, et ex visu cognovit se sine risu.
Armatis turbis portas intrantibus urbis,
Intrant audaces proceres in pace sequaces;
Turrim ceperunt, ubi regis honore steterunt.
Ejus ut a latere vitium poterint removere,
Est iter inventum statuunt quo parliamentum,
Ut sic purgarent regnique statum repararent.
[q] Terra counata fuerat de lege vocata,
Rex sedet, et tutum fuit os commune locutum.
Dicit enim tales qui regis collaterales
Extiterant, gentes super hoc quod sunt fugientes,
Judicium tale fuit exilium generale;
De terra dempti sic sunt, non ense perempti;
Est ita dilata procerum sententia lata.
[r] Hoc facto quærunt alios qui tunc latuerunt,
Quorum regalis camerarius est capitalis.
Corruit in fata gladii vestis strangulata,
Stat quia non recta magis est culpanda soneeta;
Lachryma regineo dum poscit opem medicinæ,
Obrutus amittit caput et sua funera mittit.

[p] Qualiter tres proceres de querela antedicti Londoniis pariter advenientes, cum rege tunc apud Turrim existente, pro remedio in præmissis obtinendo, servata regis reverentia, colloquium pacificum habuerunt; unde de regis consensu parliamentum infra breve Londoniis tenendum obtinuerunt.

[q] Qualiter in principio parliamenti concordatum est quod absentia tunc illorum qui, ut præmittitur, a regno sponte fugierunt, in perpetuum exilium absque redemptione judicaretur.

[r] Qualiter parliamentum gradatim processit, præcipue contra illos qui regis inqui fautores iniqui fuerunt, quorum Simon de Burlee miles, tunc regis camerarius, in judicio convictus mortis sententia decollatus est.

[s] Ecce senescalli non tantum lucra catalli,
Quæ mala quæsivit, sceleris fortuna sitivit,
Sed magis in mortem decrevit curia sortem,
Dum caput inclinat, gladius sibi jura propinat.
Ille quidem cygnum despexit, aprumque malignum
Semper laudavit, cor regis et infatuavit;
Fallax, versutus, quasi vulpis fraude volutus,
Invidus et paci lingua fuit ille loquaci.
Nomen baronis cecidit, sic pons aquilonis,
Hoc rex erroris posuit sibi nomen honoris.
[t] Major erat villæ, tribulus dictus fuit ille,
Qui proceres pungit regisque dolos magis ungit.
Hunc quasi consortem dilexit rex, quia sortem
Consilii cepit, quo mortem fine recepit.
Furcis pendebat quem primo terra trahebat;
Ictum sic ensis non sentit Londoniensis.
[u] In banco regis qui librat pondera legis,
Jurnque cognovit, aliis plus jura removit,
Cornubiensis erat; si quis sua crimina quærat,
Pejor eo nullus, nec eo fallacior ullus.
Hic scelus instigat procores quos sæpe fatigat,
Unde fatigatus tandem perit hic sceleratus.
Crimine præstante super hoc quod fecerat ante,
Ad furcas tractus fit ibi pendendo subactus.
Pendula sors tristis morientibus accidit istis,
In manibus quorum pendebant jura virorum.
[v] Judicibus reliquis falsisque scienter iniquis,[l]

[s] *Qualiter etiam Johannes Beauchamp miles, tunc regis hospitii* senescallus, quem rex baronem de Briggenorth vocari constituit, amisso capite de curia recessit.

[t] *Qualiter Nicholaus Brembel, qui civis et major Londoniarum* fuerat, ad furcas tractus et ibi suspensus, suam urbis libertatem turpiter amisit.

[u] Qualiter etiam Robertus Tresilian *miles, qui tunc de banco* regis judex capitalis extitit, sub eadem furcarum pœna diem vitæ suæ judicialiter clausit extremum.

[v] Qualiter judices alii, qui originales regis excessus, ut præ-

[l] *amicis*, MS. A. S. C.

Ut patet ante nota, conclamat curia tota ;
Urbs, ager, et villa damnarunt falsa sigilla,
Quæ dederant causam sceleris regi magis ausam.
Non fuit hæc pœna, delictis quæ fore plena
Posset, et hoc certe vox plebis dixit aperte.
Sed nimis ornate pœnam ficta pietate
Pontifices regis moderantur ab ordine legis.
Sic non ense cadunt, sed in exilium mare vadunt ;
Quos inconsultos suscepit Hibernia stultos.
Legiferi tales super omnes sunt specialos,
Regis ad errorem qui plus tribuere favorem.
Sic non sorte pari statuit sors fata parari,
Ut reus incepit sic de mercede recepit ;
Exulat iste status, fuit alter decapitatus.
Hi cum cæduntur ad funera fune trahuntur ;
Dispar erat munus, fuerat tamen exitus unus ;
Quicquid homo volvit tandem mors omnia solvit.
[w] Ut rex purgetur, ut regnum clarificetur,
Restat adhuc quæri poterit quo culpa mederi.
Absque Deo fratres fuerant hoc tempore patres,
Nec sibi confessa per eos est culpa repressa.
In vitiis arent, vitium qui mundificarent ;
Morum more carent, mores qui multiplicarent.
Fraudis in exemplum sic errat ab ordine templum,
Nec cavet ille status solita de sorde reatus.
Sunt ita transgressi fratres ad sacra professi,
Quod personarum Deus extitit ultor earum.
Ad regale latus non est status immaculatus,
Quo plusquam centum removentur abinde clientum ;
Lugent cantores, perdunt quia cantus honores ;
Plangunt scriptores scriptos de fraude rigores.
Transit adulator, sceleratus et insidiator,
Consilii fautor, inventor, et invidus auctor.

fertur, sigillis suis contra proceres roborarunt, ad instantiam prælatorum absque mortis judicio in partes Hiberniæ exules ab Anglia transierunt.

[w] Qualiter diversi fratres, diversarum curiarum tunc confessores, una cum aliis ministris quamplurimis, quasi paleæ inutiles, per loca disperguntur.

[x] Stat manus extenta, nec cessat curia tenta,
Donec purgetur dolus omnis et evacuetur.
Falsi tentarunt justos, sed non superarunt
Nec prece nec dono, Christo mediante patrono.
Tempore quo stabant hi tres regnum solidabant;
Regem firmabant, vitiataque jura fugabant.
Sic emendatum regem faciunt renovatum,
Certius ut credunt, et sic cum laude recedunt.
Concinit omne forum benefactaque laudat eorum;
Talia dicentes sunt undique laude canentes.
[y] In Christi signo sit semper gloria cygno;
Laus et in hoc mundo sit equo, quem signat hirundo,
Ursus et ex ore populi fungatur honore.
Hi tres Anglorum fuerant exempla bonorum;
Regnum supportant alienaque pondera portant.
Reddat eis munus tribus qui est trinus et unus. Amen

Explicit prima pars chronice, et incipit secunda.

Hic in secunda parte chronico declarat qualiter rex, sub umbra ficte concordie pacem dissimulans tres proceres predictos doloso circumvenit, ita quod unum ex istis jugulari, alium decollari, fecit, tertium vero, una cum domino de Cobham, qui regni verus amicus semper extitit, in exilium mancipari tyrannica potestate, proh dolor, destinavit. Insuper et, quod detestabile fuit, idem crudelissimus rex reverendum in Christo patrem Thomam Arundellie, tunc Cantuarie archiepiscopum, de sede sua penitus expulit, ipsumque pro perpetuo in exilium delegari crudelissime constituit.

[x] Qualiter proceres predicti de querela principales, si precibus aut donis flecti possent, sepissime blandiuntur, sed illi tanquam vere justitie executores, usque in sue querele consummationem constanter astiterunt.

[y] Hic in fine compositor gesta dictorum trium procerum laudabiliter commendans, pro eis apud altissimum devotius exorat.

[a] O dolor in monte, sed, proh dolor, ore loquente!
Heuque meæ pennæ, scribam quia facta gehennæ,
Obice, singultu, lachrymis, pallenteque vultu;
Vix mea lingua[1] sonat hæc quæ mihi chronica donat.
Ut prius audistis, hi tres quibus Anglia tristis,
Plus delectatur, magis hos fortuna minatur;
Rex facie bina fallax, latitante ruina,
Omnia fingebatque dolos sub fraude tegebat.
[b] Ad regale latus quasi frater et sociatus
Cygnus erat factus, et eos quos vult facit actus.
Taliter est et equus regis de carmine cæcus,
Quod non discernit ea quæ fallacia cernit.
Est incantatus etiam quasi magnificatus
Ursus, et ignorat finem, qua sorte laborat.
Sed magis ut tuti maneant de lege statuti,
Hi regis quærunt cartas, quas obtinuerunt.
Sic se conformant, sic se cum rege reformant,
Quod vivunt more quasi grex pastoris amore.
Hoc credunt plane, sed transit tempus inane,
Cum se stare putant, subito sua tempora mutant.
[c] Ecce scelus magnum latitans quasi vulpus in agnum;
Sic dolus expectat quos ira tyrannica spectat.
O fraus! o quo dolus! quos rex sub imagine solus,
Dum scelus exhausit, tam longo tempore clausit.
Sed magis ad plenum tunc fuderat ille venenum,
Quo prius inflatus quam sæpe dolet sceleratus;
Turbinis ut ventus, sic irruit æra juventus
In cygnum spretum, dum se putat esse quietum.

[a] In hac secunda parte chronicæ compositor primo ea quæ postsequuntur dolorosa infortunia doloroso corde deplangit.

[b] Qualiter ut hi tres proceres de quibus audistis cum rege, quem dolosum sciebant, pacem securiorem habere possent, cartas concordiæ ab ipso impetratas obtinuerunt.

[c] Qualiter rex, ut ipse sub dissimulatæ pacis concordia proceres decipiat, vulpe fallacior, continua circumventione dolos machinatur.

[1] *penna*, MS. A. S. C.

[d] O quam fortuna stabilis non permanet una!
Exemplum cujus stat in ordine carminis hujus.
Rex agit, et cygnus patitur de corde benignus,
Illeque prostratus non est de rege levatus:
Ad Plescy captus tunc est velut hostia raptus.
Rex jubet arma geri, nec eo voluit misereri.
Cum sponsa nati lugent quasi morte gravati,
Plusque lupo sævit rex dummodo fœmina flevit.
Nil pietas munit, quem tunc manus invida punit,
Rex stetit obliquus, nec erat tunc unus amicus.
O regale genus! princeps quasi pauper egenus
Turpiter attractus jacet et sine juro subactus.
Sunt ibi fautores regis de sorte priores,
Qui cygnum prendunt, ubi captum ducere tendunt.
Sic ducendo ducem perdit sine lumine lucem
Anglia, quia tota tenebroseit luce remota.
Trans mare natavit, regnum qui semper amavit;
Flent centum mille, quia cygnus prætorit ille.
Calisiæ portus petit, unde dolus latet ortus,
Error quem regis genuit putredine legis,
Carcere conclusus subito fuit illo reclusus,
Nescit quo fine sit vitæ sive ruinæ.
Tunc rex elatum sumpsit quasi falco volatum,
Unde suas gentes perdit custode carentes.
[e] Amoto cygno, rex fervens corde maligno

[d] Qualiter rex sui pectoris odium, quod a diu latuit, ad expressam vindictam primo contra ducem Glovernie, qui cygnus dicitur, in oculis omnium fulmine plus subito produxit. Nam et ipse rex in propria persona dictum ducem apud Plescy improvisum manu forti cepit, et eum sic captum Calisias indilate produci, et ibi sub arcta custodia strictius incarcerari, constituit.

[e] Qualiter rex, qui per mille meandros procerum corda exagitans inquietavit Ricardum comitem Arundellie, qui dicitur equus, fraudulenter decepit. Erat enim tunc frater dicti comitis Thomas Cantuarie archiepiscopus, cui rex sub juramento fidem præstitit quod, si dictus comes ad sui regis præsentiam obediens sponte veniret, liber ex tunc absque calumnia ubicumque transire vellet cum firma regis amicitia fiducialiter permaneret; et sic veniens probus comes ab improbo rege decipitur.

Prendere quærit equum, super hocque revolvere secum
Cautius in mente conspirat, fraude latente.
Perjurans Christum comitem sic decipit istum:
Ipse libro tacto jurat, firmanteque pacto
Promisit, certeque fidem donavit aperte,
Dicens quod tutus nulla de fraude volutus
Liber transiret ad eum, si quando veniret.
Hoc juramentum frater comitis manu tentum
Primas fervore regis suscepit ab ore.
Præsul lætus erat, sub tali fœdere sperat,
Et sic cautelis captus fuit illo fidelis.
[f] Ursus ut audivit, non ergo remotus abivit,
Signans se Christo mentem stabilivit in isto.
Non facit excursus patiensque piissimus ursus,
Sed magis attendit mala quæ fortuna rependit.
Londoniis mansit, nec ab urbis cardine transit,
Quo captivatus fuit hic sine labe reatus.
Sic tres personæ, vi sed non jure coronæ,
Carceribus stricti remanent velut umbra relicti.
Celsius in scanno tunc crevit pompa tyranno;
Nulli parcebat, sibi dum fortuna favebat.
Stat scelus extentum statuit quo parliamentum;
Ut sit finalis sic ultio judicialis.
[g] Tunc appellantes fuerant octo dominantes,
Qui tres appellant, ut eos a luce repellant.
O quis pensare posset quin fleret amare,

[f] Qualiter Thomas, alio nomine ursus, tunc comes de Warwyk, a regis satellitibus Londoniæ captus et in carcerem missus immunis culpæ patiens succubuit. Super quo suum parliamentum apud Westmonasterium in proximo pronunciandum rex tyrannus decrevit.

[g] Qualiter *pronunciato parliamento octo tunc appellantes contra* dictos tres proceres ad eorum perditionem promptissimi interfuerunt, et quia rex propter metum populi ducem Gloverniæ coram eo personaliter in parliamento comparere noluit, subtili mendacio finxit eum in lecto mortuum fuisse, quia adhuc superstes in carcere Calisiæ sub clave tenebatur; et sic ducem absentem absque responsione rex pestifer falsissime condemnavit.

Dum scelus explorat, per quod magis Anglia plorat.
Ecce dies mortis aderant, qua pompa cohortis
Regem pomposum statuit magis esse dolosum.
Pro regis parte subtili fingitur arte,
Cygnum tam purum sine responso moriturum.
Cum magis expresse rex novit eum superesse,
Finxit cum lecto transisse sub ordine recto.
Sic non invento cygno nil parliamento
Pro se respondit, quem rex sub clave recondit.
Cum non apparet ut se de lege juvaret,
Hunc condemnarunt subito quem post spoliarunt.
[h] O scelus inferni, poterunt quo flere moderni,
De jugulo cygni quod constituere maligni.
Occulte quærunt quod aperte non patuerunt;
Dumque timent gentes clam sunt sua facta gerentes.
Assunt tortores de nocteque fervidiores,
Cygnum prostratum jugulant quasi martyrizatum.
Calisiis actum sceleris fuit hoc malefactum,
Regis præcepto, jugulo qui gaudet adepto.
Sic nece devictum, sic corpus ab hoste relictum,
Clam de conclavi susceperat Anglia navi;
Per mare regreditur corpus, nec adhuc sepelitur,
Namque sepulturam defendit rex sibi puram.
Desuper a latere patris loca justa tenere
Dummodo quæsivit, vix bassa sepulchra subivit.
Oque nefas tale, quod nec jus imperiale,
Sed neque lex Christi, proceri sic contulit isti;
Ejus enim vita periit sine jure sopita,
Et mors ejus ita negat esse sepulchra petita.
Heu! quis jam vivit unquam qui talia scivit,

[h] Qualiter rex, cum ipso ducem prænotatum cautelose sicut audistis condemnari spiraverat, posten infra tempus quosdam tortores sibi quasi ab inferno confœderatos Calisias, ubi dux adhuc vivus incarceratus est, transmisit, qui illuc advenientes ad regis præceptum de jugulo pre manibus excogitato, ducem improvisum clanculo de nocte sub pondere lecti plumalis mortaliter depressum absque pietate subito suffocarunt.

Sic regis natum per regem mortificatum?
Heu! quia regalis stirps Anglica tam specialis
Regis præcepto periit sine crimine cœpto.
Heu! quia tortorum quidam de sorte malorum
Sic ducis electi plumarum de pondere lecti
Corpus quassatum jugulantque necant jugulatum;
Quod nimis ingratum dolet Anglia tota relatum.
Det Deus hoc fatum, sic adhuc quod corpus humatum
Spiritus atque statum teneat sine fine beatum.
[1] Est recitandus equus, cygnus quia præterit æquus,
Non hos morte pari voluit sors æquiparari.
Rex sedet, et cuncti fautores tunc sibi juncti
Sunt ibi præsentes, ad equum mala plura loquentes.
Isteque solus eratque Deum solummodo sperat,
Quo pius et fortis permansit ad ultima mortis.
Rex prius accusat, et equus scelus omne recusat,
Prætendens regisque sigilla sub ordine legis
Cartam monstravit, qua tutior esse putavit;
Non fuit absque nota prius est concordia nota.
Sed rex cautelis comitis responsa fidelis
Cautius extinxitque dolos sub fraude refinxit.
Tunc conspirati, cum regeque magnificati,
Regis prædicta firmarunt omnia dicta.
Heu! nimis ingrata tunc est sententia lata,
Horrida, mortalis, quia pœna fuit capitalis.
Per loca, per vicos, ductus respexit amicos,

[1] Qualiter comes Arundelliæ, ab impio rege in parliamento accusatus, ad ea quæ sibi objiciuntur intrepidus respondit; et primo singula quæ per ipsum fiebant secundum suæ intentionis propositum ad regis honorem facta fuisse claro sermone justificavit; secundo enim regis cartas super hoc pacem et concordiam specialiter testificantes in auribus omnium manifestius pronunciavit; sed ille, coram quo nullum jus procedit, rex impius comitis responsa non acceptans, ex propria malitia ipsum, mortali sententia damnatum, in impetu furoris apud montem Turpis Londoniarum decollari fecit, ubi fratres Augustinenses corpus cum capite secum ad eorum ecclesiam cum psalmis deferentes in loco congruo devote sepelierunt.

Qui magis occulta dederant suspiria multa.
Undique tunc flebant qui talia fata videbant,
Cum prece devota facientes plurima vota.
Sunt et fallaces alii pro rege sequaces
Qui veniunt equites, neque justi sed neque mites;
Illi pœnam talem proclamant tunc capitalem,
Ad loca signataque jubent procedere fata.
Tunc comes ad Christum sermonem dixerat istum:
" Omnia tu nosti; moriar, quia sic placet hosti;
" Hostibus exactus pereo, sine jure subactus;
" Immunis pergo, miserere mihi precor ergo."
Expansis palmisque sonantibus undique psalmis,
Sic patitur tandem, pœnamque subintrat eandem.
Quin caput amittit sibi gratia nulla remittit,
Millia quo centum maledicunt parliamentum.
Corpus ad ima cadit, dum salvus ad æthera vadit
Spiritus in cœlis, ubi vivit amore fidelis.
Augustinenses fratres tunc Londonienses
Hunc magis extolluntque caput, cum corpore tollunt.
Vix tamen audebant hoc ponere quo cupiebant;
Sed magis occultum condunt pro rege sepultum.[1]
Det Deus hoc sciri, poterit quod adhuc sepeliri,
Ejus et hæredes proprias habeant sibi sedes.
  j Jam refrenato violenter equoque gravato,
Ursum quærebant, quem tunc agitare volebant;
Pestiferique canes aderant tunc regis inanes,
Undique latrando pacem nec habent aliquando.
Ad latus omne terunt, sed ad hoc quod plus potuerunt
Non magis attendit, quin rex sua retia tendit.

j Qualiter comes de Warwyk ex regis collusione circumventus, in parliamento se culpabilem recognovit, sperans per hoc certissimam regis veniam, ut sibi promittebatur, infallibiliter promeruisse. Sed rex omni fallacie intendens, qui per talem recognitionem alios de querela convicisse putavit, dicto comiti mala pro bonis retribuens, ipsum pro mercede exhæredatum, in partes longinquas, ut ibi in carcere servaretur, exulem pro perpetuo mancipavit.

[1] *sepulchrum*, MS. A. S. C.

O quam subtilis oritur tunc fraus juvenilis,
Per quam tunc fraudem nequit ursus carpere laudem.
Hoc rex testatur, ursus quod si fatcatur
Quod reus existat, nec ad illa relata resistat,
Rex sibi præstabit veniàm, qua curia stabit,
Et sic transibit sine morteque liber abibit;
Sicque recognoscat aliter sibi juraque poscat,
Incidet in mortem, trahat hanc quam vult sibi sortem.
Qui cum rege pares fuerant tunc consiliares,
Ursum tentarunt, ejus quoque velle probarunt.
Hic vitam portat, alius mortemque reportat;
Hic consolatur, alius quandoque minatur.
Quisque dolor fingit, quibus ursi pectora stringit,
Quo minus agnoscit quid regi dicere possit.
Sicque fatigatus tandem de labe reatus
Se fore convictum reddit; fuit hoc maledictum.
Tali sermone concrescunt jura coronæ;
Rex tres devicit unus quia talia dicit.
Ad regis vota fuit ursi dictio tota,
Omneque respondit verbum quod rex sibi spondet.
Sed cum sic vero regi putat ipse placere,
Regis et ad nutum speralat se fore tutum,
Tunc magis amisit, quæ rex sibi fœdera misit.
Nam quod promisit rex pactum denique risit,
Et sic delusus fuit ursus ab ore reclusus;
Unde pium verbum gustu magis extat acerbum.
Heu! quam res tristis! heu! quam fuit error in istis,
Quando suum pactum rex non produxit in dictum!
Fingit et ignorat quo rex tunc fraude colorat,
De quibus extentum finis docet experimentum.
Ursus poscebat, quod rex non perficiebat,
Nec pudet hoc gestum fraudis quod erat manifestum.
Ursum contemptum, nulla pietate redemptum,
Exilio demptum statuit rex esse peremptum.
Insula tunc hominis longinquaque plena ruinis,
Carcere concludit ursum, quem pœna retrudit.
Quod sic lædebat regi non sufficiebat,
Sed capit ex toto terras hærede remoto;

Nec sibi dimissam solam fovet hic comitissam,
Sed magis amovit inopem quam curia novit.
Sic rex delevit quem tota provincia flevit,
Ne plures lædat morions prius ipse recedat.
Restat adhuc dira mons Æthna latente sub ira
Regis, dumque faces magis obtinet inde voraces.
Quem rex iratus quamvis sine labe reatus
Tangit in ardore, subito perit ille dolore.
Cum plus morosus sit homo, magis est vitiosus,
Regi qui sævit pestis quo possima crevit.
[k] Unus erat dignus, patiens, pius, atque benignus,
Providus et justus, morum virtute robustus,
Non erat obliquus regni sed verus amicus;
Hunc rex odivit, in quo bona talia scivit.
Ut dicunt mille, dominus Cobham fuit ille,
Chronica quos læsit, quibus ille fidelis adhæsit;
Christo sed vere voluit quia fine placere,
Transtulit ad sedem se Carthusiensis ad ædem.
Sic cepit Christus, voluit quem tollere fiscus;
Quem Christus duxit, fiscus sine jure reduxit.
Rex scelus accusat, Cobham scelus omne recusat,
Justificans factum, sic res processit in actum.
Quæ sapit hæc loquitur, nec in hoc vecors reperitur;
Immo quod est certum regi manifestat apertum.
Sic, quia veridicus tribus est constanter amicus,
Rex condemnavit Cobham, sed non maculavit.
Sic non convictus, gladii non sentiit ictus,
Exilii lora subiit tamen exteriora.
Hinc rogo quod purus redeat cum laude futurus,
Ut sic felici reditu lætentur amici.

[k] Qualiter rex, omnes quoscunque lædere posset quærens, tandem innocentem dominum de Cobham, qui per prius sæculo renuntians in domo Carthusiensi tunc moram traxit, etiam in judicium parliamenti produxit. Sed ille, nullo minarum terrore aut blandimentorum exhortatione locum tyranno præbens, in omnibus suis responsionibus fidelissimus inveniebatur; unde rex, quasi confusus, ejus constantiam abhorrens, ipsum pro verecundia absque mortis sententia in exilium longius ab Anglia destinavit.

[l]Heu! mea penna madet lachrymis, dum scribere suadet
Infortunata sceleris quibus horreo fata.
Non satis est regem mundi deflectere legem,
Ut pereant gentes sub eo sine lege manentes,
Sed magis in Christum sævit, quapropter ad istum
Casum deflendum non est mihi credo tacendum.
Anglorun primas, supremo culmine primas
Qui tenuit sedes melius dum sperat in edes,
Hunc rex compellit, et eum de sede repellit,
Dum Simon Romæ supplantat fœdera Thomæ.
Hic Thomas natus comitis fuit intitulatus,
Clericus aptatus, doctor de jure creatus,
Legibus ornatus, facundus, morigeratus,
Cum Christo gratus, in plebeque magnificatus.
O quam prælatus! tam purus et immaculatus!
Ad regale latus tandem fuit illaqueatus.
Tramite subtili latitans plus vulpe senili,
Rex studet in fine Thomam prostrare ruinæ.
[m]De tribus audistis, cum rex scelus intulit istis,
Præsul ut adjutor fuit his quodammodo tutor,
Non contra legem, sed ab ira flectere regem
Nomine pastoris tentaverat omnibus horis;
Semper erat talis, restat dum spes aliqualis,
Si contra mortem poterat salvasse cohortem.
Rex tulit hoc triste, quia cancellarius iste

[l] Qualiter rex, qui nec Deum timet nec hominem veretur, contra reverendissimum in Christo patrem Thomam Arundelliæ, tunc Cantuariæ archiepiscopum, dum inter eos major putabatur dilectio, *occasiones discordiæ importabiles ductus avaritia fingere non erubuit*. Unde idem Thomas, de archiepiscopo in non archiepiscopum subito mutatus, omnia bona sua tam temporalia quam spiritualia dolosa regis circumventione penitus amisit; expulsusque insuper absque ullo mundi relevamine, solum Deum reclamans exul et pauper ab Anglia recessit.

[m] Hic declarat aliqualiter figmenta causarum per quas pontifex supradictus a parliamento tunc absens *contra omnem justitiam*, ut audistis, exilii sententiam ab improviso quasi nescius incurrebat.

Tempore quo stabat, hos tres constanter amabat;
Sic procurator pius extitit et mediator.
Cartas quod regis habuerunt munere legis,
Pontificis more summi, pro regis amore.
Sic pacem mittit mortis gladiumque remittit;
Hæc ita fecisset, pactum si rex tenuisset,.
Sed quæ juravit hodie cras verba negavit.
Cernite pro quali culpa magis in speciali
Pontifice tali sine causa materiali
Rex fuit iratus, sed et altera causa reatus
Est plus secreta, tunc Romæ quando moneta
Simonis ex parte papam concludit in arte.
Ecce per has causas, sub regis pectore clausas,
Hoc scelus objecit Thomæ, qui nil malefecit.
Regis fautores super hoc tamen anteriores,
Fraudibus obtentum concludunt parliamentum.
Sic de finali rex pondere judiciali
Exilio domit Thomam, nec amore redemit.
Sic pater absque pare, quem rex spoliavit avare,
Partes ignotas tunc quærit habere remotas.
Tunc pius antistes casus pro tempore tristes
Sustinet, et curam sperat revocare futuram.
Christus eum ducat, salvetque, saluto reducat,
Sic ut uterque status sit ei cum laude beatus.
"O dolor! hoc anno quo crevit pompa tyranno!
Qui forus ut dicit, voluit quos vincere, vicit.
Dum scelus hoc restat, super omnes tres manifestat,
De quibus in gente stat vox variata repente.
Quidam constricti, quidam de munere victi,
Ad mala ducuntur, quia multi multa loquuntur.
Tunc olor, ursus, equus, non unus dicitur æquus;
Heri laudati fuerant, nunc vituperati.
Fama fugit prima, quia sors descendit ad ima,

" Hic narrat qualiter vix unus aut de morte aut de exilio præcipue trium procerum supradictorum aliquod verbum lamentabile in aperto proferre tunc audebat; sed potius scandalum quam laudem præ timore regis ad invicem confabulati sunt.

Sorteque cessante, cessat laus omnis ab ante.
Vertitur obliquus amor, est ibi nullus amicus,
Quo tres prædicti pereunt velut umbra relicti.
Tunc consanguinitas aufert de sanguine vitas,
Denegat et sexus procerum dissolvere nexus;
Nil genus obstabat, ratio nec eos reparabat;
Sic transformata fuit illa dies scelerata,
Stirps extirpatur, flos arboris evacuatur,
Quo maneat nomen, hæres non percipit omen;
Ut pater intravit, ita solus ab orbe migravit.
Sic vice jam versa spergens fuit unio spersa,
Heri rectores, hodie magis inferiores,
Et sic derisi fuerant quodammodo visi.
Portas clauserunt, ubi claves non habuerunt;
Nec tamen exclusus fuerat tunc regis abusus.
Non se convertit in pejus qui malo vertit,
Dum mala quæruntur in eo pejora sequuntur.
Tres interfecit proceres, dum pessima fecit,
Quo nimis elatum sumpsit sua pompa volatum.
Tunc delusores, quos curia turbidiores
Novit, ridebant super his quæ gesta videbant.
Frivola componunt tribus et tria scandala ponunt;
Tale fuit dictum, nec adhuc stat ab ore relictum.
" °Non olor in pennis, nec equus stat crine perennis;
" Jam depennatus olor est, equus excoriatus;
" Ursus non mordet, quem stricta catena remordet."
Sic fatuæ turbæ vox conclamabat in urbe.
Omnia quæ dici poterant dicunt inimici,
Pluraque fingentes mendacia sunt parientes.
Grene, Scrop, Bussy, cordis sine lumine fusci,
Omne nefas quærunt quo lædere plus potuerunt.
Rex fuit instructus per eos, et ad omnia ductus
Quæ mala post gessit, quibus Anglia tota pavescit.
Intra se flebat populus, qui damna videbat,
Cum non audebat vocem proferre, tacebat.

° Canticum quod composuere maligni in derisu procerum tyrannice interfectorum.

pO dux immense! tu Gallica regna sub ense
Militis ex more bellasti regis honore.
O comes! inquo mari pro rege tuo superari
Classem fecisti Francorum, quos domuisti.
Heu! rex, qui tales fraudasti collaterales,
Sit tibi de fine vindex fortuna ruinæ,
Principio rerum placido quam sæpe dierum
Finis adest tristis; ideo speculemur in istis;
Estque fides rara modo, quam mens nescit avara.
Dum favet os fraudis, ne credas omne quod audis.
Fingere fingenti schola nuper erat sapienti;
Talis at hesterna fuit, est schola nunc hodierna.
Fallitur incertum, sed quando videbis apertum
Finem cum cauda, tunc demum tempora lauda,
Anno bis dena primo de sanguine pleno,
Septembris mense, feritas dominatur in ense.
Tristis ut audivi carmen scribendo subivi;
Plangite vos vivi, quia planctus sunt residivi.
Doctoris verba sunt hæc quæ miror acerba;
Dum melius fecisse putes, latet anguis in herba,
Quicquid homo fatur, quicquid facit aut meditatur,
Stat fortuna rei semper in ore Dei.

Explicit secunda pars chronicæ, et incipit tertia.

Hic in tertia parte chronicæ finaliter scribit' qualiter rex antedictus, utroque Dei et hominum jure postposito, strenuissimum principem dominum Henricum, tunc Derbeiæ comitem, patre suo duce Lancastriæ adhuc vivente, per decennium capitoso in exilium delegavit. Postea vero, patre defuncto filioque in partibus Franciæ tunc existente, idem rex omnis malitiæ plenus, quasi per infinitas doli circumventiones,

p Hic circa finem probitates ducis Gloverniæ necnon comitis Arundelliæ magis in speciali commemorans, eorum gesta laudabiliter commendat. Consulat insuper quod, per ea quæ præterita sunt, præsentes utinam discreto pectore sibi contra futura providere nullatenus omittant.

tam in ipsius absentis personam quam in ejus hæreditatem occasiones malitiose fulminari decrevit. Sed qui verum a falso discernit Summus Judex, tantas malitiæ abominationes impune non ferens, dictum dominum Henricum, tunc post obitum patris sui ducem Lancastriæ, in Angliam sua divina providentia, invito rege, remeare fecit; ob cujus adventum universi regni fideles tam proceres quam communes, Deum *quasi ex uno ore callaudantes, pestiferum Ricardum* suis ex demeritis regno renuncianteni penitus a gradu suo deposuerunt, gratissimumque ducem dominum Henricum prænotatum in solium regiæ majestatis regnaturum coronantes cum gaudio sublimarunt, tertiodecimo die mensis Octobris anno Domini millesimo tricentesimo nonagesimo nono.

[a] Tristia post læta, post tristia sæpe quieta,
Si bene pensemus, satis hæc manifesta videmus.
Regnum confractum, regis feritate subactum
Nuper deflevi, lachrymas sed abinde quievit;
Regnum purgatum probitate ducis renovatum
Amodo ridebo, nec ab ejus laude tacebo.
O res laudanda! O res sine fine notanda!
Ad laudem Christi, qui nos de carcere tristi
R. tunc custodis, quasi sit regnantis Herodis,
Gratius eduxit et ad inclyta regna reduxit.
[b] Novit enim mundus, Ricardus quando secundus
Justos delevit proceres, quos Anglia flevit;
Ipse superbire sic spirat et altius ire,
Quod dedignatur proprium regnumque minatur;
Amplius ex more solito latitante furore
Sævit, et oppressit populum cui parcere nescit.
Sicut humum fodit evertens talpaque rodit,

[a] Hic in tertia parte chronicæ compositor in principio finem præmeditans sub spe gloriæ futuræ lætatur.

[b] Qualiter ad modum talpæ, quæ semper terram effodiens eam continue subvertit, rex Ricardus, ut suum regnum tyrannice disperdat, assiduis imaginationibus ad populi destructionem omnes suas cautelas indesinenter conjectat.

Unde caret requie, sic alter nocte dieque
Ut magis evertat regnum quod demere certat;
Sic scelus apponit, et ad hoc sua robora ponit,
Ut princeps baratri furiens regit acta theatri,
Pondera præbebat populum quibus ipse premebat.
Utpote salsarum furiosa Charybdis aquarum
Gurgite fervoris bibit, evomit omnibus horis;
Sic sibi collectum facinus sub pectore tectum
Rex vomit in gentem, væ! væ! sine lege manentem.
[c] Per prius obtentum semper sibi parliamentum
Per loca conservat, in quo mala quæque reservat.
Est ubi persona regis residente corona
Corpore præsenti stat ibi vis parliamenti;
Sic, ubicunque sedet præsentia regia, lædet,
Quod nullus scivit sceleris quæ facta subivit.
Hoc factum regis fuit abominatio legis,
Quo fremuit certe populus, sed nullus aperte;
Sic tamen ut staret et tempora continuaret,
Rex sibi papales bullas habuit speciales.
Si quis in extento prius aut post parliamento
Quid contradicit, in eum sententia vicit.
Ad scelus implendum tunc rex habet omne timendum,
Excepto Christo, qui non fuit auctor in isto;
Quicquid enim dicit clerus, populus maledicit,
Invocat et Christi vindictam pectore tristi.
Inde sed oblitus rex pestifer hos sibi ritus,
Quos prius elegit, maledicto fine peregit,
Consensu, tactu, visuque ferocior actu.
In regnum sævit, qui post sua crimina flevit.
Quæ non audivit auris nec cor mala scivit,
Tristia conjectat, populum quo perdere spectat.
[d] Chartæ scribuntur et in omni parte leguntur,

[c] Nota qualiter rex subtili fraude concessum sibi obtinuit, quod ubicunque sedere vellet cum certis personis sibi assignatis per prius inceptum continuare posset parliamentum.

[d] Nota de primis chartis, quas scriptas ex regis compulsione tam clerus quam populus formidans sigillavit, tali enim subtillitate rex varias regni sui patrias spoliando destruxit.

Hasque sigillari jubet omnibus et venerari.
Perficit hoc clerus, si debeo dicere verus,
Nescio, sed gentes sua sunt exempla sequentes ;
Nescia plebs legis, dum sperat præmia regis,
Ut dicebatur, ad regia jussa paratur.
Urbs, ager, et villa chartis posuere sigilla,
Quo magis ad plenum conspergitur omne venenum.
Fallitur ex illo quisquis cum firma sigillo
Culpa recordetur, qua proditor omnis habetur.
Cum sic quisque status sit in his chartis vitiatus,
Ut veniam portet sibi solvere quicquid oportet,
Tunc exactores baratro magis avidiores
Absolvunt gentes, pacem quasi sint redimentes.
Hæc sed cautela nihil est nisi ficta medela,
Nam magis insanus stat morbus quotidianus ;
Rex populum pressit, et abinde quiescere nescit,
Semper turbatur, semper sua regna minatur.
[e] Post primas chartas alias statuit magis arctas,
Sed de scriptura patuit non una figura ;
Has etiam villis jubet affirmare sigillis.
Qualis *finis* erit *quisquis* sub murmure quærit ?
Et sic velata facie plebs illaqueata,
Quod facit ignorat, ita dum fortuna laborat.
[f] Accidit interea dum terra fuit Pharisæa,
Est nova lis mota, quam noverat Anglia tota.
Nobilis Henricus, omnis probitatis amicus,
Hic tunc florebat super omnes plusque valebat ;
Ut rosa flos florum, melior fuit ille bonorum
Custos Anglorum, per quem lux fulsit eorum ;
Exemplar morumque probatior ille proborum,
Ad loca bellorum leo contorit arma luporum.
Ejus cognomen venerabile percipit omen,

[e] Nota de secundis chartis quæ *blanche chartres* vulgariter nuncupantur.

[f] Qualiter rex Ricardus, omnis malitiæ plenus, strenuissimum dominum Henricum tunc Derbeiæ comitem, ducisque Lancastriæ filium et hæredem, sola ex invidia ut ipsum perderet in exilium projecit.

Quod nunquam victum rutilat Lancastria dictum.
Hunc patre vivente de sorte superveniente
Rex delegavit, et eum sine labe fugavit;
Rex etenim novit ad eum quod patria vovit,
Unde timens sortem dolet ejus habere cohortem.
Invidus hanc causam gestat sub pectore clausam,
Donec disperdat justum sine jureque perdat.
Hic tamen ex more solito pro regis honore
Semper promptus erat, aliter quo præmia sperat,
Sic nihil offendit, quo rex sibi damna rependit.
Sed quia cunctorum rex oderat acta proborum,
Singula non scripsi quæ dux bona contulit ipsi.
Si meritum detur, tunc dux mala nulla meretur.
Exilium tortum gremio de regis abortum
Hoc pro finali mercede datur speciali.

§ Purus ad omne latus sic exulat immaculatus,
Et quem decepit rex Anglus, Francia cepit.
Stans ibi præclarus regno fuit undique carus,
Quo sibi concrevit requies, sed non requievit.
Dum genus exquirit, in quo sibi jura requirit,
Quem Deus absolvit patri mors omnia solvit;
Sic patre defuncto, de consilio sibi juncto
Est tunc quærendum melius sibi quid sit agendum.
Et sic consultus velut hæres miles adultus,
Quæ sua cognoscit post patrem propria poscit.
Hos per rumores adeunt ambassiatores,
Regem quærentes legem super hocque petentes.
Sed qui cuncta vorat, non audit quod pius[1] orat,
Exhæredatum sed eum jubet esse fugatum.
Et sic nec regem justum justam neque legem
Dux probus invenit, dum vox sibi nuntia venit.
Tunc confiscatus rapitur sine jure ducatus,
Quo se confortat dux commoda nulla reportat.

§ Qualiter nobilis Henricus antedictus in partes Franciæ, ut ibi tempore exilii moraretur, animo constanti viriliter se transtulit.

[1] *pius*, MS. A. S. O.

Pulli corvorum pascit quos mater eorum,
Non ita proclamant, quin plus sibi castra reclamant
Regis fautores terrasque ducatus honores.
Rex bona dispergit, qui non sine crimine pergit,
Distribuens sortes, ditescat ut inde cohortes.
Quod sic decrevit rex fama perambula crevit,
Per mundum totum scelus hoc erit amodo notum.
[h] O quam plura sinit Deus! et, cum tempora finit,
Omnia tunc certe quæ sunt demonstrat aperte.
Dux inspiratus tandem, quasi sit renovatus,
Singula compensat perfecto cordeque pensat.
Tortorem regem tortam crevisseque legem
Cernit, et errores in utroque statu graviores.
Signans se Christo quæsivit opem super isto,
Qui bene dum sperat jubet ut sua propria quærat.
Ex subito more, salvo sibi semper honore,
Partes subtiles Francorum dux quasi milos [1]
Cum paucis transit, nec ibi tardando remansit.
Calisias ivit, ubi propria regna petivit
Cum modica classe, sic magnanimum renenasse
Constat, et in navi dux ducitur indo sua vi.
Primas Anglorum, tunc exul fraude malorum,
Thomas devote stat ibi, comitante nepote.
Hos dux regalis, veluti gallina sub alis,
Secum votiva salvos duxit comitiva.
[i] Dux, comes, antistes, pariter solamina tristes
Quærunt sperantes, ubi venti sunt agitantes.

[h] Nota qualiter post obitum patris sui ducis Lancastriæ, nobilissimus filius suus comes antedictus, tunc de jure dux, ut ipse hæreditatem suam vendicaret, de partibus Franciæ proviso sapienter itinere Calisias adiit, ubi cum domino Thoma Cantuariæ archiepiscopo, necnon Thoma filio et hærede Ricardi comitis Arundelliæ, ut præfertur defuncti, ut in Angliam transfretaret, Christo se commendans navem ascendit.

[i] Qualiter nobilis Henricus, tunc dux Lancastriæ, per mare navigando portum quærens tandem prope Grymmesby, Christo mediante, littora pacifica sortitus est.

[1] *viles*, MS. A. S. O.

Vela petunt portum, quem sors prope contulit ortum ;
Ut dux concepit, aquilonica litera cepit.
Tunc magis audaci vultu, cum plebe sequaci,
Exultans dicit, quod in hoc quasi prælia vicit.
Ex animo forti dederat bona corda cohorti,
Quod bene sperarent, quicquid sibi fata pararent.
Sic congaudentes sub speque nihil metuentes,
Quo melius quærunt, naves simul applicuerunt.
Dux prius egressus disponit humo sibi gressus,
Primitus exoratque Deum genuflexus adorat
Votis sincere mentis, quod possit habere
Victoris palmas, extendit ad æthera palmas ;
Utque scelus guerre superet, dedit oscula terræ,
Pluraque devota dux fecit ibi pia vota.
De prece surrexit, surgendoque se cruce texit,
Et tunc quam lætas incepit adire dietas.
[j] Patria cum sciret quod salvus dux reveniret,
Totus ei mundus occurrit ubique jocundus.
[k] Tunc rex Ricardus lepus est, et non leopardus,
Quem timor astrinxit, alibi sua robora finxit ;
Hic ducis adventum præscivit ab ore scientum,
Quo celer exivit, et Hibernica regna petivit.
Sæpe silens plangit, quem tunc vecordia tangit,
Ex quo singultus plures rex cepit adultus.
Sic redit absente dux noster rege timente,
Nec quid præsumit, sua propria dumque resumit.
[l] Dux probus audaci vultu cum plebe sequaci
Regnum scrutatur, si proditor inveniatur.
Sic tres exosos magis omnibus, ambitiosos,
Regni tortores invenerat ipse priores ;

[j] Qualiter ad servitium nobilis ducis quasi universa terra gratanter se obtulit.

[k] Qualiter rex Ricardus, tempore quo nobilis dux Henricus applicuit, in partibus Hibernie inutiles dies ad sui confusionem infortunate consumpsit.

[l] Qualiter apud Bristolliam capti et decapitati fuerunt tres precipue *regis* fautores, qui in *mortis articulo dicti regis* conditiones multipliciter accusarunt.

Ense repercussi pereunt Scrop, Greneque, Bussy,
Hi quasi regales fuerant cum rege sodales.
Scrope comes et miles, ejus Bristollia viles
Actus declarat, quo mors sua fata pararat;
Greneque sorte pari statuit dux decapitari;
Bussy convictus similes quoque sustinet ictus.
Unanimes mente pariter mors una repente
Hos tres prostravit, gladius quos fine voravit.
Sicut et egerunt aliis, sic hi ceciderunt;
Quo dux laudatur regnumque per omne jocatur.
Sunt tamen Henrici quamplures tunc inimici,
Tales qui quærunt obsistere, nec potuerunt;
Sæpius effantur, et cum post terga minantur;
Sed non audebant, faciem cum respiciebant.
[m] Tempore sic stanto stat rex ubi stabat ab ante,
Donec commota tremit ejus concio tota.
Sic magis ignari sceleris fiunt quasi rari,
Omnes sorte pari dubitant qua parte juvari.
Tunc fortuna rotam divertit abinde remotam,
Cæcaque permansit, dum rex super æquora transit.
Quos laqueos fecit, in eos sua culpa rejecit,
Qui laqueatus erit, patriæ dum littora quærit.
Hoc non obstante, vento tamen exagitante,
Portum fatalem sors reddit ei specialem;
Inque suas claves cepit fera Wallia naves,
Quas cito dissolvit, regis cum facta revolvit.
Rex mittens sortes mandavit habere cohortes,
Sed nihil invenit, ubi gratia nulla revenit.
Hoc ita cumque vident, quidam sub murmure rident,
Et quidam flentes fuerant de corde dolentes.
Prospera quæ nescit tunc regia pompa recessit,
Quisque viam vertit subito, nec ad arma revertit.
Tunc rex, ut dicit, sua fata dolens maledicit,
Nec timet hinc Christum, mundum nec abhorruit istum.
Non est contritus, nec vult dimittere ritus,

[m] Qualiter Ricardus rex, de partibus Hiberniæ rediens, Walliæ littora cepit.

Ut prius erravit, sic semper continuavit.
Sic furit ipse malis semper sine lege feralis,
Principio qualis steterat stat fineque talis.
Cautus ut invadit agnos quos lædere vadit,
Vulpes in occulto, sic rex a tempore multo,
Pectore subtili juvenis sub fraude senili,
Omne scelus poscit regnum quo perdere possit.
Tunc super omne tamen conspirat habere levamen,
Unde ducis sortem fallat fugiatque cohortem.
Hinc perscrutatur dolus, et fraus continuatur,
Si quid prodesse poterit cogente necesse.
Est ibi vis nulla, velut os perit absque medulla,
Rex qui posse caret pro tunc sine viribus aret.
Per loca, per castra fugit, et si tunc super astra
Scandere scivisset, transcendere tunc voluisset.
Sic tumor elatus, nuper tam magnificatus,
Est timor effectus, latitans quasi talpa rejectus.
Quem non preservat Christus se non homo servat;
Et, quamvis tarde, de te loquor ista, Ricarde.

" Pervigil a somnis quod dicitur audiat omnis,
Et quod dicetur regnis exemplificetur.
Est rota fortunæ quodammodo regula lunæ,
Quæ prius albescit de noctequo post tenebrescit;
Sic de quo scripsi Ricardo contigit ipsi.
Dum stetit ad plenum, steterat sibi tempus amœnum;
Sed cum decrescit, lucem tunc nebula nescit;
Cum se pervertit, sua sphæra retrograda vertit.
Nil sibi de bellis, quia stat sibi terra rebellis,
Nec mare succurrit, fugiens quia nauta recurrit.
Spes sibi collata non est, sed et undique fata
Ipsum torquebant, et ad ima repente ruebant.
Non ita secreta loca sunt neque castra quieta,
Quæ nunc[1] secura fuerant pro sorte futura.

" Qualiter rex Ricardus cum suis fautoribus nobili duci Henrico eisdem in Wallia occurrenti se reddiderunt.

[1] *tunc*, MS. Cotton.

Finis adest, actus capitur, rex fitque subactus,
Et reliqui tales, sibi sunt qui collaterales,
Caute ducuntur capti, qui fata sequuntur;
Sic rex prœventus ducis est virtute retentus.
[o] Augusti mensis dedit hoc, quo Londoniensis
Urbs congaudebatque ducem cum laude canebat.
Sicut arena maris occursus adest popularis,
Tanti victoris benedicens gesta vigoris.
In Turrim transit R., sub custode remansit;
Sic caput Anglorum minimus jacet ipse minorum.
[p] Ut sit opus planum nihil et deponere vanum,
Apponendo manum dux purgat ad horrea granum;
Justos laudavit, injustos vituperavit,
Hos confirmavit, hos deprimit, hos relevavit.
Regni primatem, crudelem per feritatem
Quem rex explantat, dux ex pietate replantat;
Humfredum natum patre defuncto spoliatum,
Quem rex transduxit, hunc dux probitate reduxit.
Nil tibi desperes, Arundelliæ profugus hæres;
Prospera namque ducis fatis tua fata reducis.
Warwici comitem, cujus sine crimine litem
Dux pius agnovit, salvum de carcere movit;
Cobham sorte pari dux fecit et hunc revocari,
Exilio demptus justus redit ille, redemptus
Nec prece nec dono, Christo mediante patrono.
Tanta tulit gratis primordia dux bonitatis;
Ut bona tam grata super hoc sint continuata,
Christus adhuc mentem ducis efficit esse manentem.
[q] Londoniis festo Michaelis tunc manifesto,

[o] Qualiter nobilis Henricus una cum rege Ricardo et aliis Londoniam veniunt, ubi dictus rex in Turrim positus per aliquod tempus sub custodia remansit.

[p] Qualiter nobilis dux Henricus proceres quoscumque, per regem *Ricardum in exilium delegatos*, ad propria mitissime revocavit.

[q] Qualiter assignatum fuit parliamentum tenendum apud Westmonasterium ad festum sancti Michaelis tunc proximi, et interim Humfredus, filius et hæres ducis Glovernie, una cum matre sua corporis infirmitate mortui sunt.

Sunt ut ibi tuta sunt parliamenta statuta;
Quilibet attendit quæ sors sibi fata rependit,
Semper et in gente fit murmur rege regente.
Interea transit moriens, nec in orbe remansit,
Humfredus dictus, redit illo Deo benedictus;
Defuncto nato, cito post de fine beato
Mater transivit, nati dum funera scivit.
Primo decessit cygnus, dolor unde repressit
Matrem cum pullo, sibi mors nec pareit in ullo.
Est apud antiquos dictum, defunctus amicos
Vix habet a tergo, caveat sibi quilibet ergo;
Quisque suum pectus tangat vivens homo rectus,
Nec sic gaudebit, quia singula vana videbit.
Scribere jam restat, quæ mundus adhuc manifestat,
Ut sit opus tale cunctis speculum generale.
[r] Tunc prius incepta sunt parliamenta recepta,
De quibus abstractus Ricardi desinit actus.
Ecce dies Martis nec adest præsentia partis,
Nec sedet in sede, quem culpa repellit ab æde.
Denegat in stanno loca tunc fortuna tyranno,
A visu gentis quem terruit actio mentis;
R. non comparet, alibi sed dummodo staret
Causas assignat quibus II. sua sceptra resignat.
Substituit aliquos proceres tunc juris amicos,
Ad quos confessus proprio fuit ore repressus.
His circumspectis, aliisque sub ordine lectis,
R. qui deliquit, hunc curia tota reliquit:
Hunc deponebant plenum quem labe sciebant,
Nec quis eum purgat, iterum ne forte resurgat.
Tunc decus Anglorum, sed et optimus ille bonorum,
H. fuit electus regno, magis est quia rectus.

[r] Qualiter primo die parliamenti rex Ricardus personaliter non comparuit, sed alibi existens titulo coronæ suæ sub forma magis authentica penitus renunciavit; super quo nobilis Henricus, universo populo in ejus laudem conclamante ut rex efficiatur, electus est.

Sola dies tentum tulit istud parliamentum,
Nec magis expressit pro tunc, sed abindo recessit.
II. tamen extenti nova tempora parliamenti
Proxima decrevit, quo *regni gloria crevit.*
Quando coronatus foret et de fine levatus,
Tunc processus erit super hoc quod curia querit;
Interea gentes vivunt sub spe recolentes,
Quod novus errores rex conteret anteriores
[s] Sexta dies stabat Octobris, quando parabat
Rex novus optata sua parliamenta novata;
Curia verbalis fuit et non judicialis,
Ad tempus restat nihil et dependere prestat;
Dicitur expletum quod nil valet esse quietum,
Donec persona regis sit oporta corona;
Sicque coronari, quem Christus vult venerari,
Corditer exultat plebs omnis et inde resultat.
[t] Qui res disponit, et eisdem tempora ponit,
Illo diem fixit Henricum quo benedixit;
Prædestinavit Deus illum quem titulavit,
Ut rex regnaret sua regnaque justificaret.
Quem Deus elegit, regali laude peregit,
Unde coronatur in honoreque magnificatur.
Tempore felici poterunt solemnia dici,
Quæ tam sacratis horis patuere beatis;
Edwardi *festa confessoris* manifesta
Henrici festum regis testatur honestum.
Plebs canit in menteque resultat in ore loquente,
Quisque colit Christum, quia regem suscitat istum.
Vix homo pensare poterit seu dinumerare,
Quæ tunc fulserunt, solemnia quanta fuerunt
Omnis terra Deum laudatque canit jubilæum,
Henricum justumque piumque ferumque robustum.

[s] Qualiter parliamentum continuatum fuit usque post coronationem.

[t] *Qualiter in die solemni nobilis* Henricus, in solium regiæ majestatis sublimatus, cum omni gaudio coronatur.

[v] Unde coronatur trino de jure probatur:
Regnum conquestatque per hoc sibi jus manifestat;
Regno succedit hæres, nec abinde recedit;
Insuper eligitur a plebeque sic stabilitur;
Ut sit compactum, juris nil defuit actum;
Singula respondent Henrici juraque spondent.
[w] Fama volans crevit, quæ climata cuncta replevit,
Quo laus vexilli super omnes præfuit illi.
Sic regnat magnus reprobis leo, mitibus agnus,
Hostes antiquos qui terret et auget amicos.
Luna diem donat, qua regem terra coronat,
Marsque sequens terræ dat parliamenta referre
Rex sedet et cuncti proceres residentsibi juncti,
Stant et presentes communes plus sapientes;
Tempus erat tale communeque judiciale,
Quod bono provisum nihil est a jure rescisum.
Est quia protectus lætatur sic homo rectus,
Et metuunt reliqui sua damna dolenter iniqui.
[x] Sed quia plus dignum prius est recitare benignum,
Quo sunt majora scribens recitabo priora;
Henrici natus Henricus, honore beatus,
Est confirmatus hæres princepsque vocatus.
Sic pars abscisa, summo de judice visa,
Arboris est uncta veteri stipitique rejuncta
Istud fatatum fuit a sanctisque relatum;
Quod tunc complevit Deus, ex quo terra quievit,
Hoc facto læta stupet Anglia laude repleta,
Cordeque lætatur, quia stirps de stirpe levatur.
[y] Tunc de consensu regis, procerum quoque sensu,

[v] Nota, qualiter jura coronæ solemnissimo jam regi nostro Henrico quarto tribus modis accrescunt, primo successione, secundo electione, tertio conquestu sine sanguinis effusione.

[w] Qualiter parliamentum adhuc fuit continuatum.

[x] Qualiter Henricus, regis tunc Henrici primogenitus, statumque nomen principis de consensu omnium gloriose adeptus est.

[y] Qualiter ea quæ nuper in paliamento tempore Ricardi per ducem Gloverniæ et socios suos gesta fuerunt, præsens parliamentum confirmavit; et ea quæ Ricardus in ultimo suo paliamento constituit, præsens etiam parliamentum penitus cassavit.

Plebe reclamante, stant parliamenta per ante;
Sic procedebant super his, quæ gesta videbant
Ad commune bonum, recolentes gesta baronum.
Quæ prius ursus, equus, et olor, qui dicitur cequus,
Nuper fecerunt, firmissima constituerunt;
Et quæ pomposa perversaque fraude dolosa
Ricardus fecit, hæc curia tota rejecit.
Et tunc tractatum fuit illud opus sceleratum,
Quo dudum cygnus periit sine labe[1] benignus.
Justitiæ vero vindictam clamat habere
Omnis ob hoc funus populus, quasi vir foret unus;
Sic communis amor popularis et undique clamor
Extitit acceptus a regeque lege receptus.
Infortunatus Ricardus, plus sceleratus,
Omnibus ingratus, fuit undique tunc maculatus;
Sic quasi damnatus abiit præ labe reatus,
Quo stetit elatus sub carcere magnificatus.
Ejus fautores, qui sunt de sorte priores,
Tunc accusati sunt ad responsa vocati.
Hi responsales submittunt se speciales
Judicio regis, per quem silet ultio legis.
Regia nam pietas sic temperat undique metas,
Quod nil mortale datur illis judiciale.
Est tamen ablatum, quod eis fuit ante beatum
Vocibus Anglorum, venerabile nomen eorum;
Corpora stant tuta, cecidit sed fama minuta.
Dux redit in comitem, quatit et sic curia litem;
Labitur exosus Bagot, quem rex pietosus
Erigit, et mite prolongat tempora vitæ.
Sic pius Henricus, inimico non inimicus,
Gratius ut debet, pro damno commoda præbet.
Ipse pium frænum laxat, quia tempus amœnum

[a] Qualiter Ricardo suis ex demeritis judicialiter condemnato, cæteri qui cum eo accusati erant tantummodo ex mera regis pietate quieti permanserunt.

[1] *pure*, MS. A. B. C.

Appetit, et Christo placuisse putavit in isto.
Non tamen in gente placet hoc, sed in ore loquente
Publica vox dicit, leges quod Mammona vicit.
Justitiam quæri plebs vult, rex vult misereri;
Et sic fortuna pro tempore non fuit una;
Rex excusatur, nam dicunt quod variatur
Consilio tali quo res latet in speciali.
[a] Quatuor auctores sceleris, Juda nequiores,
Ore dabunt laudes, tacito sub cordeque fraudes;
Holand, Kent, Sarum, Spenser, quasi fellis amarum,
Fœdera strinxerunt, quibus II. seducere quærunt;
Vivere quos fecit pius H., nec eis malefecit.
Hi mala conjectant in eum, quem perdere spectant.
H. etenim pacem dedit illis, hinc minacem
Ejus spirantes mortem sunt arma parantes.
Sic nimis ingrati mala retribuunt bonitati.
In caput illorum tamen est vindicta malorum;
Nam qui cunctorum cognoscit corda virorum,
Delegit occulta, quibus accidit ultio multa.
Cum magis instabant subitoque nocere putabant,
Ex improviso pereunt discrimine viso.
Per loca diversa fuit horum concio spersa,
Quos Deus extinxit, nec in hoc miracula finxit.
De populo patriæ nato comitante Mariæ
Quatuor elati perierunt decapitati
Ecce Dei munus! populus, quasi vir foret unus,
Surgit ad omne latus, sit ut II. ita fortificatus.
[b] Quod satis est carum, concives Londoniarum
Nobilis Henrici steterant constanter amici.
Rex jubet et prompti fuerant armis cito compti,

[a] Qualiter, finito parliamento, infra breve post quidam impii, instigante diabolo, ut ipsi pium regem Henricum cum sua progenie a terra delerent, proditorie conspirantes insurrexerunt, quos ira Dei præveniens in villa de Cicestre per manus vulgi interfectos miraculose destruxit.

[b] Qualiter regis nati in custodia tunc majoris Londoniarum pro securitate secundum tempus fidelissime servabantur.

Ejus ob in sortem magnam tribuere cohortem.
Urbs fuit adjutrix, quæ regis tunc quasi nutrix
Natos servavit, et eos quasi mater amavit;
Regis enim camera fuit urbs hoc tempore vera,
In qua confisus multum fuit ille gavisus.
Sic pius in Christo pietatem sentit in isto,
Quo præservatur et regnum clarificatur.
Anglicus a somnis quasi surgens vir canit omnis,
R. cadit, II regnat, quo regnum gaudia pregnat.
[a] *Tempore quo facta sunt hæc, Ricardus ad acta*
Non foris exivit; qui quando pericula scivit,
Quod sors falsorum destructa fuit sociorum,
Fortunam sprevit et eorum funera flevit.
Tunc bene videbat quod ei fraus nulla valebat,
Quo contristatus doluit quasi morte gravatus
Ecce dolor talis suus est, quod spes aliqualis
Amodo viventem nequiit convertere flentem.
Qui tamen astabant custodes sæpe juvabant,
Ne desperaret, dum tristia continuaret.
Sed neque verborum solamina cepit eorum,
Dum lachrymas spersit, sibimet nec amore pepercit.
Sic se consumit, quod vix si prandia sumit,
Aut si sponte bibit vinum, quo vivere quibit.
Semper enim plorat, semper de sorte laborat,
Qua cadit, et tales meminit[1] periisse sodales.
Solam deposcit mortem, ne vivere possit
Amplius, est et *ita moriens* sua pompa sopita.
Anglia gaudebat, quia quem plebs plus metuebat
Christus delevit, quo libera terra quievit.
Sed probus Henricus, pietatis semper amicus,
Ad Christi cultum corpus dedit esse sepultum
Sollemni more, quamvis sine laudis honore.

[a] Qualiter Ricardus, cum ipse nova de morte illorum qui apud *Circestre, ut prædictum est, interierant* audisset, seipsum omni cibo renunciantem præ doloris angustia morientem extinxit.

[1] *memorat*, MS. A. S. C.

Langolo testatur, quod ibi Ricardus humatur;
Ipso loco tali magis omnibus in speciali
Corpus donavit, quod mundus habere 'negavit.
Sic bona proque malis H. mitis et imperialis
Reddit ei mite, qui clauserat ultima vitæ.
Mortuus R transit, vivens probus H.que remansit,
Quem Deus extollit, et ab R sua prospera tollit.
[d] O quam pensando mores variosque notando,
Si bene scrutetur, R ab H. distare videtur!
Clarus sermone, tenebrosus et intus agone,
R pacem fingit, dum mortis fœdera stringit
Duplex cautelis fuit R, pius H.que fidelis;
R pestem mittit, mortem pius H.que remittit;
R servitutem statuit, pius H.que salutem;
R plebem taxat, taxas pius H.que relaxat.
R. proceres odit et eorum prædia rodit;
H. fovet hæredesque suas restaurat in ædes.
R. regnum vastat vindex et in omnibus æstat,
Mulcet terrorem pius H.que reducit amorem.
O Deus, Henrico, quem diligo, quem benedico,
Da regnum tutum nulla gravitate volutum.
Vitæ presentis pariter vitæque sequentis
Da sibi quodcumque felicius est ad utrumque.
[e] Chronica Ricardi, qui sceptra tulit leopardi,
Ut patet, est dicta populo sed non benedicta
Ut speculum mundi, quo lux nequit ulla refundi,
Sic vacuus transit, sibi nil nisi culpa remansit,
Unde superbus erat, modo si præconia quærat,
Ejus honor sordet, laus culpat, gloria mordet.

[d] Nota hic, secundum commune dictum de pietate serenissimi regis Henrici, necnon de impietate qua crudelissimus Ricardus regnum dum potuit tyrannice vexavit.

[e] Hic in fine chronicam regis Ricardi secundum sua demerita breviter determinat.[f]

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[f] *Hic in exemplum aliorum Ricardi demerita commemorans finaliter recapitulat.* MS. A. S. C.

"Hoc concernentes caveant qui sunt sapientes,
Nam male viventes Deus odit in orbe regentes.
Est' qui peccator non esse potest dominator,
Ricardo teste, finis probat hoc manifesto.
Post sua demerita periit sua pompa sopita,
Qualis erat vita, chronica stabit ita.

Explicit chronica præsentibusque futuris vigili corde regibus commemorandu.

Memorial Verses on the Reigns of Edward III. and Richard II.[1]

[a] Tertius Edwardus vivo genitore coronam
Suscipit, et merito dignus in orbe coli.
Quartus et annus erat quo Baillol jura Johannis
Scottorum regis filio deveniunt
Edwardo, proceres qui congregat undique regni
In regnum pergant et sibi subveniant.
Armantur plures, et classica magna parantur;
Intrant Scottorum limina maxto foro.

[a] Edwardus de Wyndesore, filius Edwardi secundi, vivente patre suo, coronatur in regem Angliæ, dum xvj. esset annorum, vir strenuus valde et illustris. Hujus anno quarto Edwardus de Balliolo, filius et hæres domini Johannis de Balliolo regis Scotorum, cupiens regnum jure hereditario debitum recuperare, barones et nobiles ad bella fortes secum per maritima in Scotiam conduxit. Quibus advenientibus obviam habuerunt Scottorum exercitum in tribus aciebus, ubi apud Gledmore atrociter pugnatum fuit, et mons fuit interfectorum altitudinis scilicet Scottorum xx. pedum. Deinde rex Scotiæ transiit usque Scone, ubi coronatus fuit, et magnates ei fidelitatem juraverunt, quam modico tempore observabant, nam ipsum cito post a regno fugaverunt.

[1] From MS. Harl. No. 1808, fol. 41, v°. These form the latter portion, and the only valuable part, of a series of memorial verses on English history, and are in part at least the recollections of a contemporary, who seems to have had a certain political bias.

Obsistunt Scotti, Gledmor pugnatur utrinque,
  Edwardus Baillol victor eos superat.
Hic terram Scoticam peragrans virtute potenti
  Debita magnatum jura recepit ibi.
Ad villam Sconæ cepit diadema coronæ,
  Juratur sibi pax, nec tenet illa diu.
Insurgunt Scotti, regem regnoque fugarunt,
  Pervenit ut nudus concito Karliolum.

[b] ¶ Anglorum regi Scottus rex nuncia misit,
  Promittens terras ut sibi subveniat,
Et regnum de se Scottorum jure tenere;
  Rex ut subveniat protinus arma parat.
Berwicum tendunt ambo reges, ubi bellum
  Fit Halidon, moritur Scottus ubique manens.
Millia centena subeunt discrimina mortis
  Scottorum populi, redditur urbsque dolens.
Adque Novum Castrum devenit rex homo regis;
  Pro regno Scotus præstitit inde fidem.

Hanaldi comitis natam rex ipse Philippam
  Pro consorte capit, nobilis illa fuit;
Edwardum de qua genuit, qui posten princeps
  Wallorum fuerat, inclitus orbis apex.

¶ Deinde petit Flandros, et posten Cæsaris arva,
  Bavarros etenim consiliando sibi.
[c] Armis juncta suis Francorum miscuit arma,
  Indo redit, Gallos opprimit, arva vorat.

[b] Edwardus rex Scotiæ misit nuncios suos ad regem Angliæ, promittens se omnes terras suas citra mare Scoticanum eidem daturum, et prò regno ejusdem homagium et fidelitatem facturum, ut sibi pro eodem recuperando auxilium præstare dignaretur. Unde rex Angliæ cum exercitu pugnavit apud Halidonhille, ubi x. millia Scottorum corruerunt, et villa redditur regi.

[c] Junguntur arma Franciæ armis Anglorum.

[d] Et boreas partes ad Tornacum simul audet,
Festo Baptistæ per mare cœpit iter.
Fit conflictus ibi cum Francis, sunt data letho
Viginti quinque millia mersa mari.
Et simul occisi Montlhermei, sic Latymerque,
Willelmus Botiler, fata tulere necis.

[e] ¶ Juxta Wallericum dantur morti duo mille,
Secanico facto ponte notante necem.

[f] ¶ Bellum de Cresey magnum peragunt duo reges;
Philippus fugiit, fit timor atque cædes.
Majoricæque Bohem reges moriuntur ibidem,
Lothaiæque comes, Senonis atque præsul.
David Scottorum rex captus erat quo Dunolmi,
Maxima summa notat, quaque redemptus erat.
[g] In bello Payters capitur sub principe nostro
Gloria Francorum, subditur hinc et obit.

[h] ¶ Victus bastardus fugit bello Nazareo,
Principe sub nostro restituente Petrum.
Et regis nato, de Gaunt dictoque Johanni
Lancastri nata traditur uxor ovans.

[i] ¶ Edwardus princeps patre vivente tumulatur,
Unde gemunt arma Marsque ducesque simul.

[d] De bello super mare anno Domini millesimo ccc.xl.

[e] Discomfitura Francorum ad pontem Secanæ juxta sanctum Walericum.

[f] Bellum de Cresey fuit anno M°ccc°xlvj., ubi victus est rex Franciæ. Et eodem anno bellum Dunelmiæ. Et eodem anno rex Edwardus obsedit Calesium, quam ante annum completum obtinuit.

[g] Bellum de Payters, ubi Johannes rex Francorum captus est, anno Domini M°ccclvj^to.

[h] Bellum Hispaniæ apud Nazers, ubi devictus est bastardus, anno gratiæ M°cccl.xj.

[i] Edwardus princeps tumulatur.

[j] ¶ Condolet Edwardus de nati morte benigni,
Proh dolor! et moritur præterеundo, dies.
Septem septuagin., ter c., junctis sibi mille,
Sub Junii mense permeat in requiem.

[k] Turbida succedunt juvenalis tempora regis,
Nomine Ricardi, cui diadema datur.
Quatuor hic procores comitum succinxit honore,
Plurima contulit his prædia grata nimis.

¶ Berwicus capitur Scottorum fraude, sed illos
Expellit Percy, sed necat ense foros.
[l] ¶ Francia vastatur patruo regis peragrante
Terras, cum prædis itur ad Armoricam.

[j] Obiit rex Edwardus anno M°cccl\x\vij°.

[k] Anno gratiæ M°cccl\x\vij°, \vj° die Julii, apud Westmonasterium, coronatio Ricardi de Burdegalia, filii Edwardi principis Walliæ, cum xj. esset annorum, ubi in die coronationis suæ creavit quatuor comites, scilicet Thomam Wodstoke, avunculum suum, in comitem Bukingham, Thomam Moubray in comitem Notyngham, Guichardum de Engolisme in comitem de Huntyngdone, et Henricum Percy in comitem Northumbriæ. Proscribitur hoc anno domina Alicia Perreres per proceres in parliamento. Insula Vecta capta fuit et redempta pro M[l] marcis, sub custodia Hugonis Tuella militis. Anno M°ccc^mo^lxxviij°, et regis Ricardi secundo, capitur castrum Berwici et per octo dies tentum recuperatur industria comitis Northumbriæ, et Scoti ibidem occisi sunt. Hoc anno villa de Cherburghe acquiritur pro certa summa solvendum regi Navarriæ.

[l] Anno Domini M°ccclij^xx, et regis Ricardi tertio, Thomas Wodstok, comes de Bukingham, cum Hugone de Calverley, Roberto Knolles, Thoma Percy, Willelmo Wyndesore, et aliis, destinatus in auxilium ducis Britanniæ, dum recto cursu propter galeas in Britanniam navigare non poterat, trajectus est Calesiam, a quo loco suam incipiens equitationem, per gyrum Franciæ nullo resistente equitavit in Britanniam, salvis hominibus et jumentis. Anno Domini M°cclxxij°., et regis Ricardi quarto, mense Junii, facta est insurrectio communium contra regem et dominos; in quo tumultu occisi sunt a communibus magister Simon Sudbury, Cantuariensis archiepiscopus et regni cancellarius, Robertus Halos, thesaurarius, et dominus Johannes Cavendissh, capitalis justiciarius, prior sancti

¶ Assumpsit Wyclyf multas hæreses violando
Catholicamque fidem, dogmata falsa serens.
¶ Vulgaris populus in regem sub duce Jak Straw
Consurgitque necat, et loca plura cremat.
Quo mox depresso, reliqui pacem violantes
Suspensi pereunt, et fugiendo ruunt.

[m] Applicat Anna cito terræ, regina futura,
Regis adusque thorum nupta remansit ovans.
[n] ¶ Norwici præsul cruce signatus, vice papæ,
Flandrenses contra protulit arma nova
Appropiat villam Dunkirk, quo schismaticorum
Millia bisque novem corruerant mutuo.
¶ Dux Lancastrensis Scoticanas destruit oras,
Prædam distribuit, deinde domum rediit.
[o] Scoti Berwicum capiunt per proditionem,
Et damnatur ob hoc inclitus ille comes

Edmundi de Bury, et alii, diversis in locis. Quæ insurrectio cito fuit compressa, et turbatores pacis per totam Angliam requisiti tractu et suspendio vitam finierunt.

[m] Eodem anno mense Decembris applicuit Anna, soror Wenceslai regis Bohemiæ, in terram istam, regina futura, ob quam causam parliamentum quod tunc fuerat inchoatum dissolvitur et differtur usque post regales nuptias et natale Domini quod instabat, post cujus festum, xiiij° die Febr. desponsatur regina.

[n] Anno gratiæ M°cccxcij^xx^iij°, et regis Ricardi vj^to, dominus Henricus Spencer, episcopus Norwici, cruce signatur contra Gallicos et Flandrenses schismaticos, accepta prius inaudita potestate a papa Urbano, unde circa medium Maii profectus est in Flandriam, ubi cepit villas de Gravelinq et Dunkirk, et conflixit cum schismatibus, et occidit ex eis xvij. milia. Anno Domini M°cccliij^xx^iij^to, et regis Ricardi vij°, Johannes dux Lancastriæ, cum Thoma fratre suo comite de Bokyngham, profectus est in Scotiam, et cum multa præda et sine pugna reversus est.

[o] Anno Domini M°ccc^mo lxx^x iiij^to, Johannes dux Lancastriæ cum exercitu transit in Scotiam, assistente sibi Thoma fratre suo comite Bukingham, ubi Scoti tunc prudenter agentes subtraxerunt se ad nemora fugientes, bellum nolentes inferre, ubi nostri plurimis de exercitu amissis et captis, sine fructu victoriæ in patriam redierunt. Anno eodem in parliamento apud Westmonasterium tento Henricus Percy, comes Northumbriæ, publice damnatus est

Northumbræ, sed ei villam sub conditione
Restituunt, marcis mille bis inde datis.
¶ Innumeris populis rex nobilis induit arma,
In Boream tendit ense vorante Scotos;
Et sine congressu partes proprias remeavit,
Arrepta præda, Scotica regna dolent.
¶ Patruus Edmundus regis fit dux Eboraci,
Sic alterque Thomas Claudiocestra petit.
Ver comes Oxoniæ Dublinensis marchio fertur,
Australes Michael Pool comes it populos.
¶ Transit in Hispanos dux Lancastri, simul atque
Gens numerosa nimis, Anglicus atque Brito.
Jure vocante ducem, quia fit Constantia causa,
Papalis veniam contulit inde favor.
¶ Conspirant mutuo proceres, nam pars sibi regem
Attrahit ad votum, pars levat ultra tamen.

pro amissione castri de Berewik, quod quidam de suis ipso ignorante Scotis prodiderat. Regis autem indulgentia honori atque bonis est restitutus, et se transtulit versus Berwicum, obsedit castrum, sed pactione duorum millium marcarum Scotis solvendarum, illud de eorum manibus recuperavit.

[p] Anno gratiæ M°ccclxxxv^to, et anno regis Ricardi secundi octavo, Galli duce Johanne de Vienna venerunt in Scotiam, ut juncti Scotis regnum Angliæ facilius infestarent. Habebat rex Franciæ apud Selusam regalem exercitum paratum ad ingrediendum Angliam, dum nostri in Scotiam bello contra Gallicos tenerentur. Quamobrem rex Angliæ cum ccc. milibus hominum et equorum Scotiam est ingressus, sed hostibus fugientibus vel non apparentibus, est reversus patria conveniata. Eodem anno Robertus Ver comes Oxoniæ fit marchio Dubliniæ, Thomas Wodstoke comes Bokyngham fit dux Gloucestriæ, et frater suus Edmundus dux Eboraci, qui prius fuit comes Cantabrigiæ, et Michael Pole fit comes Suffolchiæ. Anno gratiæ millesimo ccclxxxvj^to, Johannes dux Lancastriæ in regnum Hispaniæ jure uxoris sui Constantiæ debitum proficiscitur, filiæ senioris Petri quondam regis Hispaniæ.

[q] Anno Domini millesimo ccclxxxvij., et regis Ricardi decimo, Robertus de Veer, tunc dux Hiberniæ, cui rex tantum præbuit favorem ut pre aliis sibi carissimus haberetur, in tantum extollitur ut indignantibus inde duce Glovernie, comitibusque Arundeliæ,

Judicio procerum quidam capiuntur ad horum,
Quidam suspensi, decapitantur item.
r ¶ Henricum Percy notat Otterburn foro captum,
Occubuit Douglas, nocte ferente necem.
s ¶ Transit Hibernenses rex partes, ut sibi reges
Subjectos faciat et sua colla premat.
t ¶ Rex natam sponsat Francorum connubiali
Fœdere complacitam, deinde coronat eam.

Warwici, Derby, et Notingham, cum aliis, regeque semper eosdem dominos destruere proponente, qui cum dominis congredi præparans, apud Ratheotebrigge fugiit. a facie eorum devictus. Ob hoc fugierunt Michael Pole comes Southfolchiæ, Alexander archiepiscopus Eboracensis, Robertus Tresilian, et alii. Symon Burle suspenditur, et quidam justiciarii damnantur.

r Anno Domini M°cccclxxxviij°, et regis Ricardi secundi xj°, Scoti, quietis nescii, intrantes Angliam improvisis provincialibus, agebant cædes et rapinas, multos captivantes, et villas conflagrantes, duce eorum comite Douglas. Quibus occurrit dominus Henricus Percy junior, cum fratre suo Radulpho Percy, contigitque Henricum Percy in primo congressu dictum comitem occidere, sed mox idem Henricus cum fratre suo capitur a Georgio comite Dunbarre, occisis ex Anglicis ibidem multis noctanter. Sed Scoti non audentes expectare adventum aliorum procerum fugerunt. Eodem anno in parliamento creatus est Johannes Holande, frater regis ex parte matris, in comitem Huntyngdone.

s Anno gratiæ M°cccclxxxxiiij°, rex Angliæ Ricardus, circa festum nativitatis beatæ Mariæ, cum duce Glovernie et comitibus Marchiæ, Notyngham, et Rutlande, ac exercitu magno, in Hiberniam transfretavit, ubi perterriti reguli terræ se regi submiserunt, videlicet Power cum filio suo, Odelle Onelon cum filio suo, Abron Makmorthe cum presbytero Powerensi, Dymyl Dangwithe Dendymysin, et Archay.

t Anno gratiæ M°cccclxxxxvj°, et regis Ricardi xix°, in quodam loco ultra Calesiam convenerunt reges Angliæ et Franciæ ad colloquium, ubi tentoria magnifice sunt erecta, et ibidem maritagia erant firmata, comendataque est Isabella filia regis Franciæ dominabus Anglorum, quæ eam conduxerunt usque Calesiam, cum xij. curribus dominabus et mulieribus onustis, ubi rex Angliæ dictam Isabellam duxit in uxorem, pusiolam non octennem. Cito post rediit rex cum regina in Angliam pro solemnitate coronationis suæ.

[u] ¶ Rex nomen sumpsit Cestrensis principis, atque
Parliamento novos concreat hinc dominos.
Ast Glovernensemque ducem jussit jugulare,
Atque duces binos trusit in exilium,
Unum pro semper, alium sed tempore certo;
Extorsit populum, nam sua cuique rapit.
[v] ¶ Rex cartas albas per totum denique regnum,
Adque sigillandas mittit ubique viris.

[u] Anno regis Ricardi xxj. incipiente, rex assumpsit sibi nomen principis Cestriæ, ob amorem populi Cestriæ, in parliamento, ubi novi domini creantur, scilicet Henricus comes Derby in ducem Herefordiæ, comes Marescallus in ducem Norfolk, comes Rutland in ducem Albemarliæ, comes Cantiæ in ducem Surriæ, comes Huntyngdone in ducem Excestriæ, comitissa Northfolchiæ in ducissam Northfolchiæ, comes Somerset in marchionem de Somerset, dominus Despenser in comitem Gloucestriæ, Radulphum dominum de Neville in comitem Westmerlandiæ, dominum Willelmum Scrope, camerarium regis, in comitem Wiltesshire, dominum Thomam Percy, senescallum domus regiæ in comitem Wigorniæ; et tunc addidit rex armis suis arma sancti Edwardi confessoris et regis. Anno gratiæ M°ccclxxxxviij°, et regis Ricardi xxj., tenuit rex natale solemniter apud Lichefelde, quo peracto transiit Salopiam, ubi parliamentum interruptum reincipitur, interempto prius et suffocato ignominiose Thoma duce Gloucestriæ apud Calys. In quo quidem parliamento dux Herefordiæ appellavit Thomam ducem Norfolchiæ de proditione, unde uterque ad duellum se properavit coram rege apud Coventree; quo per regem cassato, perpetuo exilio dux Norfolchiæ damnatus est, ducemque Herefordiæ ad decennium relegavit. Rex iste populum vexabat graviter, pecunias exturquens, equos et quadrigas exigens, nil resolvens.

[v] Parum ante obierat Johannes dux Lancastriæ, scilicet in crastino purificationis beatæ Mariæ, cujus corpus ipso rege interessente solemniter sepultum est London. in ecclesia sancti Pauli. Ex cujus morte rex sumens occasionem malignandi contra filium suum et heredem, Henricum ducem Herefordiæ, quem relegaverat prius per decennium, exulare decrevit in perpetuum, ut si manus injiceret suis amplis possessionibus, et ea sibimet appropriare vel inter sibi adhærentes distribuere. Extorsit autem a populo xvij. comitatuum Angliæ grandiores summas, imponens eis quod contra eum equitaturam fecerant cum duce Gloucestriæ, quare paratus

w ¶ Rex ad Hibernica regna ferocia vi properavit,
Appulit interea dux sua jura potens.
Rex reguit regnum, dux rex fit, sicque coronam
Suscipit, et regnum sceptra tenendo regit.

erat super eos equitare tanquam super publicos hostes suos. Ad cartas etiam albas suos ligeos universaliter apponere sigilla sua compulit, ut quotiens grassari vellet in plebem facultatem haberet licet illicitam opprimendi quamcunque personam.

w Circa finem Pentecostes, rex Ricardus cum Cestrensibus et ducibus Albemarliæ et Excestriæ aliisque dominis, una cum filiis ducum Gloucestriæ et Herefordiæ, transivit in Hiberniam, captisque secum regni thesauris, coronis quinque, reliquiis, et jocalibus regni Angliæ, ubi Hibernienses terruit, prostravit, et afflixit. Dum sic rex ageret in Hibernia, dux Herefordiæ, ut per mortem patris sui recuperaret hæreditatem suam in Anglia, acceptis spiritibus, cum Thoma Arundelle nuper archiepiscopo Cantuariæ, filio similiter comitis Arundellïæ et hærede, Thoma Erpyngham, et Johanne Northburye, juxta Ravenesere applicuit in Angliam. Et advocatis sibi auxiliariis partis Borealis, videlicet Henrico Percy comitè Northumbriæ, Henrico filio suo, Radulpho de Neville comite Westmerlandiæ, qui sororem ejusdem ducis desponsaverat, aliisque innumeris, terram versus partes Australes festinavit, et Bristolliam pervenit, ubi, castro reddito duci, regis consiliarii, scilicet Willelmus Scrope comes Wilteshire, Bagot, Bussy, Grene, et Russel, capti sunt, et ut falsi proditores regni decapitati sunt, et ut hostes publici proclamati. Interea appluit rex Ricardus apud Milforde pugnare proponens, sed meticulosus non audens congredi cum duce, commisit domino Thomæ Percy, senescallo suo, familiam suam, et ipse cum paucis fugit ad castrum de Flynt, postea aliquando ad Anglesey am, Conewy, Beaumarys, et Holte. Tandem desiderante rege colloquium habere cum duce, mediantibus infernunciis, apud castrum de Flynt ambo interloquuntur, deinde simul usque Cestriam pervenire, deinde Londonias usque ad Turrim, ubi, summonito parliamento, rex noscens se indignum, resignavit regnum cum corona, et meritis exigentibus depositus est. Unde procerum et communi assensu, dux, clamans regnum, coronatur die translationis sancti Edwardi, et inungitur. Rex autèm Ricardus per decretum communitatis perpetuo carceri traditur, et in castro Pontefracti ultimas efflavit auras.

END OF VOL. I.

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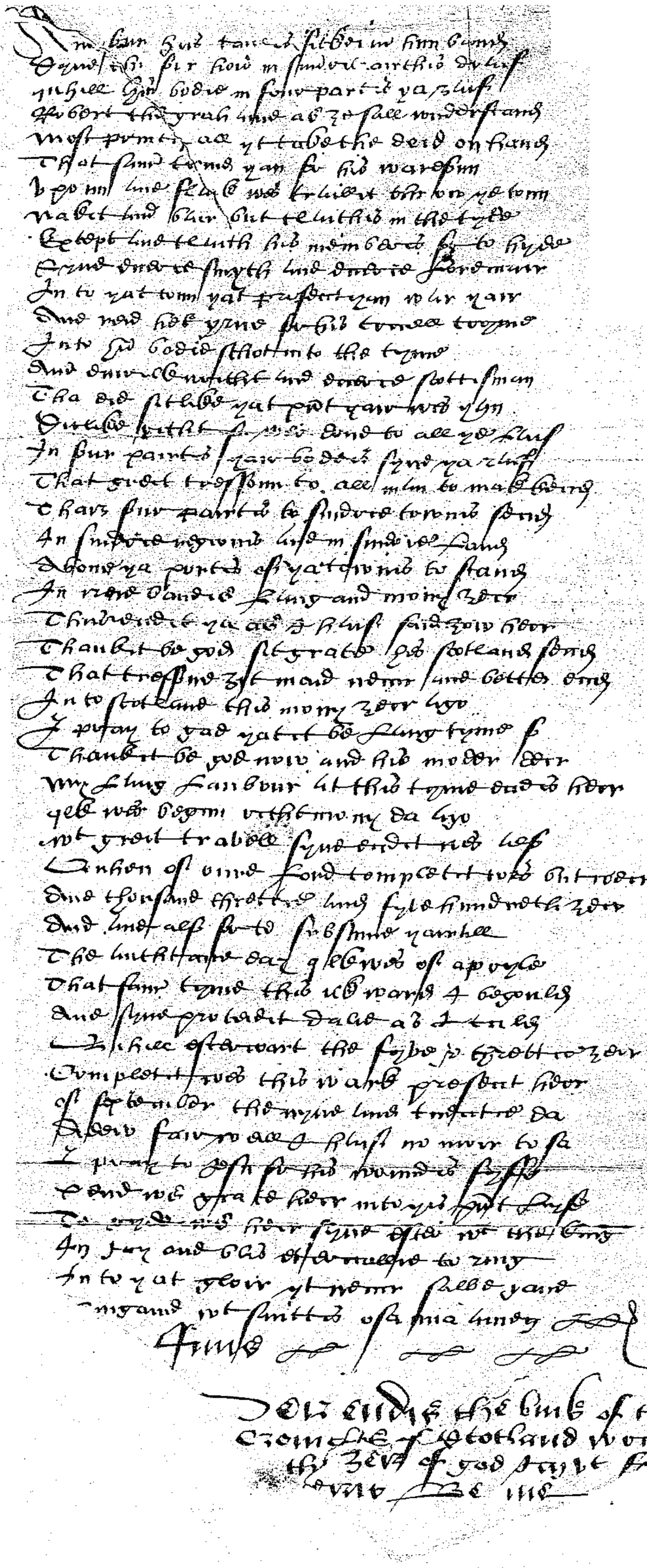
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INTRODUCTION.

INTRODUCTION.

John Gower.

JOHN GOWER was the principal political poet of the reign of Richard II. His writings of this class are nearly all in Latin verse, and ostentatiously designed for the most educated classes of society, and he was no advocate of the popular cause, but was evidently guided by his personal partialities to the nobles who led the opposition to the court; yet the changes in his political views were coincident with those which agitated society during Richard's reign. In its earlier period he had written in praise of the young monarch, and sought court favour; but, as we have seen in our former volume, he subsequently took part warmly with the opposition, and attached himself to the party of Henry of Lancaster, and the last of his Latin poems written before the accession of that prince to the throne are bitterly hostile to the person and government of king Richard. The present volume opens with the latest known of these Latin poems, and probably the latest which ever came from his pen. They were professedly written to glorify the new monarch, by commemorating the ruin which had threatened the kingdom under his predecessor, the patriotism and courage Henry had displayed in saving it, and his just title to the crown. We have, however, another poem by the same author, addressed also to Henry IV., but written in English. In this

Complimentary Verses on King Henry IV

Address of John Gower to Henry IV

Gower begins by pointing out the manifest interposition of God, in promoting that prince to the sovereignty of his country, and he urges this circumstance, whereby the people had been no less evidently saved from tyranny and oppression, as one of the strongest proofs of his right to the crown, and at the same time as a substantial ground for the hope that the new government would be prosperous and beneficial to the country. England was still at war with France, but this had been carried on without honour to our country, and Gower expresses the strong feeling of the people in general, in his earnest desire for the establishment of peace. He recommends the king to petition heaven for wisdom in ruling his own people, rather than for the faculty of conquering others. Solomon, who had his choice, chose the former, and his reign was one of peace and glory. Alexander chose the other alternative, and was enabled to carry his conquering arms over the whole world; but, says our poet, the world was then all heathen, and full of sin and confusion, but now, under Christ's faith, everybody is bound to eschew war and to seek peace. The advantages of peace are contrasted in some rather vigorous lines with the injustice and tyranny of war; and the poet advises the king against taking to his councils any partizans of the latter. Christ, he says, came into the world to establish peace, so that war is contrary to our faith; and yet, at this time war prevailed throughout Christendom, and even in Christ's church itself, which was then disputed between two rival popes. Where there was disease in the head, the body must needs suffer; and under these circumstances it behoved the Christian kings to promote peace among themselves for two causes; first, for the protection of the church against internal division; and, secondly,

to defend Christendom against the infidels, who at this time were making dangerous attacks upon it. These blessings were to be hoped from the known character of Henry of Lancaster.

The only manuscript of this poem with which I am acquainted is contained in a volume in the library of the duke of Sutherland at Trentham in Staffordshire, which was made well known by Wharton as containing Gower's French sonnets[1] There appears sufficient reason for believing this manuscript to have been presented to king Henry, after his accession, by the poet, who seems to have been rather vain of his French verses, and the two pieces here printed were probably written on the occasion. They are accompanied by a shorter piece, in Latin elegiacs, here given at the end of the English poem, in which Gower states, that at this time, which was the first year of Henry's reign, he was struck with blindness; and he complains of old age (*torva senectus*), and announces his resolution to write no more, but to leave literature to a younger generation. In fact, there are reasons for supposing that he must now have been considerably advanced in years—perhaps not far short of eighty; he died in 1408.

Gower, though, as a layman, conscious of many abuses in the ecclesiastical state, and wishful for their reform, was still a staunch catholic, and no favourer of what he considered as innovations in religion, and he urged the king above all other things to give the whole support of the secular government to the church. Henry's father, John of Gaunt, had been notoriously a favourer of the Wycliffites; and Henry himself, previous to his accession to the throne, had not been considered a very zealous son of the church;

[1] These were printed by the late duke of Sutherland, when earl Gower, as a contribution to the Roxburghe Club.

so that, at the opening of his reign, the religious reformers took courage, imagined that they were at least sure of toleration, and employed themselves with extraordinary activity in spreading their doctrines. But, to their great disappointment, they soon found their mistake. Henry is accused of having deliberately purchased the support of the Romish clergy in his designs upon the crown by at least a verbal engagement to suppress the sect of the Lollards, and all other heretics; and, be this as it may, the clergy began immediately to display an active spirit of persecution which rendered it not improbable, and the commencement of his reign was marked by a statute against the religious reformers of a severity then unexampled. By the Act of the 2nd Hen. IV., chapter 14 (A.D. 1400), heretics were ordered to be punished by burning at the stake, and this cruel law was immediately carried into effect in the case of William Sautrey, a parish priest convicted of heretical opinions. These proceedings naturally carried consternation among the Wycliffites, but, as is usually the case, persecution on the one hand only increased and embittered the zeal of the persecuted, while some acts of severity on the part of the crown against a few Romish ecclesiastics who had engaged in treasonable conspiracies encouraged them still to hope for a change in their favour. Under these circumstances the Wycliffites slackened nothing in their activity, but they united more warmly with those who were struggling for social and political liberty; and the popular dislike to the Romish priesthood, and especially to the four orders of friars with whom people came into closer communication, was greatly increased. The watchword of this party was still the same which had been raised with so much vigour in the poem of Piers Ploughman, and which demanded the emancipation of the oppressed peasant. But the name of Piers Ploughman had been

New Act against the Lollards.

exchanged for that of Jack Upland, which was exactly equivalent, as it signified simply Jack the countryman, or Jack of the country, in contradistinction from the town. About the date just mentioned there appeared a poem under this title in alliterative verse, intended evidently to be circulated among the populace, in which the popular character, Jack Upland, is introduced propounding the various heads of the complaints of the Wycliffites against the Romish church in a series of questions addressed to the friars, who were the most active agents against the professors of the new opinions. This poem appears to have given great alarm, or offence, to the friars, one of whom, whose real name, it is intimated, was John of Walsingham, but who wrote under the assumed and more popular name of Daw Topias, put forth a reply to these questions, compiled in exactly the same style, but sprinkled here and there with rather violent abuse of Wycliffe and the Lollards. A Wycliffite took up the cudgels immediately, and retorted in a similar style, and this last writer alludes to an event as then recent which seems to fix the date of all these pieces to the year 1401. Of the first of these no manuscript appears now to be known, but a copy had been found in the sixteenth century by Stow, and was inserted, without any reason, in the folio black-letter edition of the works of Chaucer. The other two, which may be considered among the most remarkable of the popular records of the history of the religious movement during this period, are preserved in a contemporary manuscript in the Bodleian Library, in which the friar's poem occupies the page of the vellum, and the reply of the Lollard is written in a smaller hand in the margins above and below. It was the common practice to write the alliterative poetry as prose, with a slight stroke of the pen to mark the divisions of the lines. Such is the case with the manuscript in the Bodleian Library,

Jack Upland.

Popular controversial writings.

where the divisions of the lines are very distinctly marked. But the copyist of the first poem for the edition of Chaucer, who evidently understood the English of his original imperfectly, and was not at all acquainted with the principles of the old alliterative verse, had really mistaken it for prose, and not only copied it for such, but substituted for the obsolete words with which this class of poetry abounded others which were then better known, and often paraphased the language in the belief that he was making it better understood. Thus in some parts all traces of its metrical character is lost, and we may judge in many cases how much it is corrupted by comparison with the quotations from it in the strictures of "Daw Topias." At the same time it must also be remarked that with the beginning of the fifteenth century the alliterative verse began already to be written very loosely, and, the rhythm being preserved, the alliteration was often left imperfect, or entirely neglected.

JACK UPLAND.

To begin with Jack Upland, the popular satirist commences with stigmatizing the church of Rome as Antichrist and his disciples, and complains that the worst of these "diverse sects" were those last brought in, the different orders of friars, who neither showed obedience to the prelates of the church nor allegiance to the crown, but sought only to indulge their own selfishness, while they pretended to have the power of selling heaven and earth to whom they liked. After taunting the friars with their great pretensions to knowledge, he proceeds to put certain questions to them, requiring that the answers should be grounded "in "reason and holy writ." His first question is a very simple one—if there be so many different religious orders on earth, one must be supposed to be better than another, or there need have been no more than one; and if these orders are not better than the order

which Christ himself founded, namely the Gospel, why should they choose any one of them in preference to it? Moreover, for which should a friar be more severely punished, for breaking the rules of his order or for breaking God's commandments? He asks further, why should a friar be considered an apostate for leaving one order for the purpose of joining another, where they were all considered to belong to Christ's church? In a number of consecutive questions, the friars are accused of placing their religion in their habit, and of furnishing themselves with clothes of rich materials for no other cause but vain-glory; of placing undue importance in vain things, such as particular colours of cloth and particular places; of obtaining dispensations from duties which were uneasy to them; and of pretending to embrace with their profession a life of mortification—to be as dead men; whereas they were the most active beggars alive, and, instead of graves, which were appropriate to dead men, they affected to live in mansions which exceeded in extent and splendour the palaces of the greatest nobles. As proofs of the selfish motives of the orders of friars, it is stated that fixed districts were farmed out to certain limitors, or begging friars, as the name intimates, and that they were not allowed to trespass within each others' limits; that they were exempted from the visitations of the bishops; that they sold for money, and never gave in charity, letters of brotherhood, by which people were entitled after death to a share in their merits; and that they induced people to give them large sums of money for their prayers, on the assurance that these would bring them out of purgatory or hell, while they were ignorant where they should go themselves. Jack Upland asks, with some reason, why, if they had this power, they should not employ it out of love for their fellow men as well as for gain. They are accused also of

Pretensions and motives of the friars.

"*stealing*" men's children in order to bring them up in their order, a charge which is proved to be true *by a collective force of contemporary evidence*. They sought only to perform the two sacraments, shrift and burial, which brought in most money; and only, therefore, to those who could pay, rejecting the poor. "According to your own doctrine," says the reformer, "holiness consists in poverty, and why, therefore, do "you refuse to receive for burial those who are "poor?" The friars, we are told, disapproved of preaching, and condemned the secular priests who practised it; *they sold God's mass for a penny, and* therefore set that sum either on "God's body," which was worse than the crime of Judas, who sold it for thirty pence, or sold their labour, which was bribery and covetousness, or sold the service of the church, which was simony; they entered in their table books the names of those who purchased their pardons, as if God was not likely to remember them; and they justified their system of mendicity by the example of the Saviour, who, they pretended, *had gained his* living on earth by begging. In some further questions these particular charges are dilated upon; the reformer complains that the multiplication of friars and other ecclesiastics was an unnecessary and unjust burthen upon the people, and alleges that when Christ had but twelve apostles and a few disciples his work was done much better than since the number of workmen had been so greatly increased. *Just as a man works better with four fingers and a thumb to his hand, than he would if the number were doubled; so the superfluity of workmen in the church only* encumbered it and made it inefficient. These unworthy workmen locked up the bible from those who were able and willing to read and preach it, and persecuted as heretics those who sought to make its doctrines public. The reformer again repeats the charges that

Their simony.

the friars only sought riches and self-indulgence; that one of them who brought home most money to his house received full absolution for whatever error he might have committed in obtaining it; that they neglected the poor, and chiefly sought out rich men, who could afford to pay them well for their religious consolations; and that these consolations were of such a kind that they encouraged lords and ladies to sin worse than before, instead of amending their lives; and he then again puts some home questions to the friar as to the superiority of one religious order over another. If the friar replied that his own order was the best, he assumed that the other orders were inferior to it; whereas each friar of one of the other orders would give him the lie and say that his own order was best; yet one only could be the best, and therefore three must be false, while there was no means of knowing which was the true one. And this contradiction between the orders was so great that a friar who left his own order to enter another was looked upon as an apostate. Also these orders and rules were assumed not only to be superior to one another, but to be superior also to that rule which had been given by Christ, otherwise why did they not follow Christ's order in preference to all others? Thus it was assumed that St. Francis or St. Dominic was superior in power and knowledge to God himself, an evident blasphemy. "Canst thou, "friar, point out any default in Christ's rule of the "Gospel, with which he gave all men the certain "power to be saved, if they kept it to their ending? "If thou sayest it was too hard, thou accusest Christ "of untruth; for he said of his rule, 'My yoke is "'soft and my burthen light.' If thou sayest that "Christ's rule was too light, that cannot be alleged "as a fault, for it only made it the easier to keep. "If thou findest no fault in Christ's rule of the

Their contradictions and presumptuousness.

" Gospel, since Christ himself said it is light and
" easy, what need was there for the founders of
" orders of frians to add other rules to it, and so
" make a harder religion to save friars than the re-
" ligion of Christ's apostles by which his disciples
" obtained salvation?"

Reply of Friar Daw Topias, and Jack Upland's Rejoinder.

These questions of Jack Upland are put simply, and in a form to be easily understood by minds not accustomed to abstruse reasoning. His opponent, Daw Topias the friar, shows far less temper, and an inclination to browbeat rather than to convince or persuade. He begins by lamenting the degraded state of society which rendered it necessary to reply to such questions, and he reproaches the Lollards in rather abusive language, alleging that Jack Upland's questions were ignorant and foolish, and proclaiming his readiness to answer them, although himself only a "lewd" or uneducated friar. It was, in fact, an attempt on the part of the Romish clergy to encounter the reformers in their own popular field. Daw Topias denies that the friars were other than liege subjects to the king; and asserts that they professed obedience to the bishops, though not in the same degree as the secular priests, inasmuch as holy church had given them exemption. Jack Upland, who repays the friar with language as rude as his own, replies that their non-

Disloyalty and laziness of the friars.

allegiance to the crown—meaning thereby disobedience to the laws of the realm—was notorious; for when a friar lay under the charge of any crime or vice, his prior took him out of the hands of justice, without the king's authority, and thus, however guilty, he escaped punishment. "Oft," says he, "ye seduce men's wives,
" and are put in the stocks, but your captains, or
" superiors, lay claim to you and ask no leave of
" kings." In reply to the charge of laziness brought against the friars, Daw alleges that each class of society had its particular province, and that, as in a

man's body, the hands were made to work for the support of the head and the feet and the eyes, so the common people were made by God to labour for holy church and the aristocracy. To this it is answered, that St. Paul and the apostles gained their living by the labour of their hands, and that yet at the same time they performed the duties of the ministry much better than the clergy of modern times, and hated above all things such "bold begging" as was practised by the friars. "You accuse us," says the popular advocate of the old religious system, "of being con-
" founders of prelates and lords . . . but give
" us any examples of prelates or lords thus confounded
" But since that wicked worm named Wycliffe began
" to sow the seed of schism in the earth, sorrow
" and ruin have made their appearance everywhere, Attacks upon Wycliffe
" and are bringing disgrace equally upon lordship and
" prelacy." On the question of selling the sacraments by simony, the friar endeavours cunningly to throw this charge upon the parish priests, alleging that the only sacrament the friars had to dispense was the absolution of sins; and in retaliation for the charge of interfering unduly in families, he accuses the Wycliffites of seeking to make converts of women, with an evident intimation of something further, which is not declared openly. We know how many women embraced the opinions of the Wycliffites, and suffered martyrdom for maintaining them. In reply, the advocate of the reformation repeats the charge of incontinence against the friars, and offers to forfeit a hundred pounds if the friars can fix a similar charge on any member of the sect of Lollards. Daw justifies the splendour of the ecclesiastical buildings by the example of Solomon's temple, and passes on to a long string of more abuse of the reformers, who, he says, were the plagues sent upon earth by the "blastes" of the seven angels in the Revelations. "The third Splendid buildings of the friars.

" angel sent down a star from heaven, fiercely burn-
" ing as a brând, it was called wormwood; this truly
" was Wycliffe your master; he shone brightly in
" appearance at his beginning, but by his false
" doctrines afterwards he created much trouble, and
" by his rash presumption fell from the church . . .
" The heretics Maximinus and Manichæus never
" caused more mischief." This attack on Wycliffe roused the indignation of the reformer, who replies:

Wycliffe defended

" I wonder, Daw, thou darest thus to lie on so great
" a clerk, who was known well in his time by rich
" and poor as a vertuous man, but thou, as blind as
" Bayard, barkest at the moon, like an old miller's
" dog when he begins to doat. But I know well
" that thy barking, however loud thou liest, will not
" diminish this saint, who lived and taught so truth-
" fully." After several pages of general abuse, the apologist of the friars returns to the questions of the reformer. He justifies the number and diversity of the religious orders by alleging the various orders of angels in heaven, and he proceeds to give an explanation of the former, which was certainly not calculated to satisfy one of the reformers. His own order, he says, was that of Christ, who taught obedience, chastity, and poverty. "Nay," is the reply,

Vices of the friars.

" there is hardly an individual in thy order who can
" boast of possessing these three virtues, in regard
" to which ye rather follow Antichrist than our
" Lord Jesus. As to chastity of body, ye break it
" continually; and ye have no chastity of soul, for
" ye forsake Christ your spouse, and are become
" apostates from his church. In respect to true
" poverty, ye are the most covetous men in the
" world, for what with simony, and with begging,
" and with selling absolutions, you plunder both
" great and small." Daw alleges further, that Christ ordained two manners of life, the one con-

templative, the other active, to the former of which the monks belonged, while the latter was represented by the friars. He represents their begging as the collecting of alms, and refuses to tell what they themselves gave to the poor, on the plea that charity should be exercised in secret. He defends the richness of the cloth worn by the friars, and explains the different parts of the costume symbolically, retaliating upon his opponent by sneering at the Lollards for affecting to dress in plain grey, which, he pretends, was intended to imply simplicity, while the wearers were ravenous wolves in Christ's fold. Others of the peculiar observances of the friars are explained in much the same manner, or defended in general terms, mixed with a large amount of abusive language addressed to the Lollards; to which his opponent replies with not much more temper, and utters a prophecy, not unlike that which has been so often remarked in the older poem of Piers Ploughman; "and yet," he says, "the time shall come when *Josiah* "shall reign, and make an end of such fiends, and "restore *Christ's* rule."[1]

Prophecy of the downfall of the friars and monastic orders

The friars were celebrated for the splendour of their conventual buildings, and this circumstance furnished a never-failing ground of attack to the reformers. It is one to which both the advocate and the opponent recur; and the former finds a rather singular reply to the charge of lavishing money on these great

[1] The passage in Piers Ploughman is as follows:-

"Ac ther shal come a kyng,
"and confesse yow religiouses,
"and bete yow as the Bible
"telleth
"for brekynge of youre rule;
"*and amende monyals*,
"monkes and chanons,
"and puten to his penaunce
"ad pristinum statum ire.

. . . .

"And thanne shal the abbot of
"Abyngdone,
"and al his issue for evere,
"have a knok of a kyng,
"*and incurable the wounde.*"

Piers Ploughman, p. 293

edifices instead of expending it in charity to the poor. "Jack," he says, "is not a man better than "a rude beast? Yet you"—of course, addressing him in his assumed character of the uplandman or ploughman—"make a shed for your sheep, and a "stable for your horse; and meanwhile there is "many a man who has no roof over him, but the "open air only is his house, and the beasts stand "covered. Why dost thou not house the poor man as "well as thy beasts?" The reformer finds a ready answer to this "monkey's argument," as he calls it, by which, he says, it might be proved that "he that "drinks a quart of wine, must needs drink a gallon. "But I grudge no reasonable house; and, though you "speak scornfully of it, I have a sheep-house, for "which I have better warrant in God's law than you "have for your Cain's castle. I thank God, I built "it with honestly gotten goods; but you built yours "with the produce of begging, contention, and rob-"bery." It is curious enough that the friar here—for there can be no doubt that it was the *bonâ fide* composition of one of the order who chose to encounter the popular preacher on his own ground—not only uses arguments which are in general very easily demolished, but he loses few occasions of displaying a feeling of spiteful hostility, which is known from other sources to have existed, towards other orders of the Romish clergy. In an earlier part of his writing, when accused of selling the sacraments, he attempts to throw this charge upon the parish priests; and now, in reply to the charge of farming out the country in districts to the limitors, he asserts that this was not done by the regular friars, but suggests that it was probably done by the pardoners, and the friars of some less regular orders. The clergy claimed a general exemption from secular taxes, and, when reproached with the example of Christ, who caused his disciples "

The splendid buildings defended.

Hostility of the friars to the parish priests.

to pay the tribute to the emperor, our Daw T pretends that the Saviour did not do this as a duty, but merely as a matter of policy, that it might not be made a charge against him in his trial before Pilate. At length we come to the grand charge of kidnapping the children of people of property in order to bring them up in their order, with a view, of course, to future profit. The existence of this practice is notorious, for it was a subject of complaint not only with the Lollards, but with the commons assembled in parliament, who proposed an act forbidding the reception into the orders of friars of any men under twenty-one years of age; but the king, ruled by his fear of the clergy, gave only a partial assent; and it was enacted that in future no boy under the age of fourteen should be received into an order. Daw Topias, therefore, does not attempt to deny the fact, but he justifies it in rather a singular manner by the example of Christ. "Thou accusest us," he says, "of felony, for stealing "children to draw them to our sects. I hold it no "theft to draw people towards God, unless you call "Christ a thief, who did the same, saying to the rich "man (Matt. xix. 21): 'Go and sell thy goods, and "'give them to the poor, if thou wilt be perfect; "'and afterwards follow me, and be my disciple.' "And, in the same gospel, see what he saith also "(Luke xiv. 26): 'Whoso forsaketh not his father and "'his mother, his son and his daughter, his sister "'and his brother, his land and his tenements, and "'himself also, he is not worthy to be my follower.' "And again he said to his twelve chosen (John xv. "16): 'Behold, from the world I have chosen you all, "'that ye go and bear fruit, and your fruit may "'remain.' And thus to plunder the world, and spoil "it of its subjects, it is no robbery, but theft "approved by Christ." In regard to the keeping of prisons by the clergy, Daw Topias argues that they

Kidnapping of children.

Defended by the friars.

have the same right to have prisons as the secular authorities. For, he says, if we take the Gospel literally, neither emperor nor king would have the right to imprison or put to death, but only to reprimand offenders, and then set them at liberty; whereby murderers, robbers, and all kinds of malefactors would go unpunished. The pope, the archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishops in general had, he says, their prisons, with the king's permission; and it would be a bold thing to pretend that this was contrary to God's law. But his opponent replies that the two cases were very different, that the sentences and punishments of the bishops were arbitrary and unjust, and generally directed against the innocent; whereas the king caused the law to be executed by judges who were bound to administer justice with impartiality, "as he did now "lately, when he hanged you traitors." Some friars had been hanged for treason in the course of the year 1401.

Right of the clergy to keep prisons and hold courts.

The remainder of this very curious poem is chiefly occupied with a defence of the various means by which the friars obtained money, and of the use they made of it. Daw Topias justifies the style of preaching of the friars, and the character of their sermons, which had become a subject of ridicule to the reformers, by urging that the means are justified by the end; and that if the people were taught the right faith, it mattered not how they were instructed in it. On the other hand, he accuses the Wycliffites of having conspired to destroy Christ's church and turn it to idolatry; and adds that he considers it more "wholesome" to pursue a heretic to prison, or to the fire, than even to consecrate a church. In answer to the charge of selling the sacraments, he pretends that the friars administered them freely, and that they also received freely the offerings of those who partook in them, and argues that there was no more simony

in being paid in this way, than in the payment of a certain annual salary to a parish priest for his exercise of the ministry. To which Jack Upland replies sneeringly, comparing the friars to tapsters, or innkeepers, who, instead of beer, "tap" out and serve their absolutions from Rome, and their preachings, prayers, and burials, to the deluded people. The begging of the friars is justified as a literal imitation of the example of Christ, who did not disdain to obtain his sustenance in this manner, and by the favour shown by the Saviour to mendicants; and here the popular advocate of Romanism, believing that his display of learning might betray his assumption of the character of a "lewd" friar, pretends that he had learnt to speak Latin when he was once a maniple, or servant employed in collecting the provisions, at Merton Hall, in Oxford. Another practice which had been ridiculed, that of writing in their books the names of those who give them money, or in other words making lists of benefactors, is justified on the ground that such lists were not made to remind God of those who had done good actions, but to assist their own memory as to those for whom they were bound to pray, inasmuch as, according to the opinion of the clergy, such special prayer was most conducive to the salvation of the souls of those for whom they prayed, a position which of course the reformers in a great measure denied. The practice of going about preaching in couples, when the apostles only went singly, is again explained symbolically, as Daw pretends that they went partly to bear one another company, "but more for the mystery contained in the "number"—for the law was written on *two* tables, and there were *two* cherubim in the temple, and *two* in the tabernacle. Jack replies that they did not adhere strictly to the symbol in this case, but that they sometimes went three together, one of the two

Replies to other charges.

being of the other sex; for the immorality of the friars is constantly insisted upon.

In regard to the complaints of the increase in the number of friars, who were made "against God's "will," and the comparison with the hand and its fingers, Topias alleges that it would apply equally, and even in a greater degree, to the priests, who are again sneered at and represented as being more numerous and more burdensome to the people than the friars. Moreover, he proceeds to argue: "You say "that God made all things in measure, weight, and "number, and you cannot deny that every friar is "something, and yet you assert that friars are made "against God's will; thus you pretend that God hath "made something which he would not make, so that "his sovereign goodness is contrarious to himself." Jack Upland replies to this notable argument: "Though "God made all things in measure and weight, it does "not follow that he made you, for ye are out of "measure, and so the devil and Cain and Judas are "your fathers." The apologist of the friars remarks, with more reason, in regard to the hand, that nature had determined the number of its fingers, and if that number were passed, it was looked upon as a monstrosity; but that God or holy church had fixed no definite number of priests or friars. The question relating to Christ's presence in the sacrament is brought forward last, and becomes the ground for a good deal of personal reproach, with which both the poem itself and the reply to it close.

On the Execution of Archbishop Scrope.

The resentment of the Wycliffite party, no doubt, told against the house of Lancaster in the turbulent reign of Henry VI., and raised a strong prejudice against the memory of Henry IV. in the minds of the older protestant historians, while the latter monarch gained but a partial advantage by his yielding policy towards the church, for the clergy

took an active part in nearly all the treasonable conspiracies of his reign. The plot for murdering the king, at the beginning of his reign, was arranged in the lodgings of the abbot of Westminster, where the conspirators held their secret meetings. In the spring of 1401 several priests and friars were, as we have seen before, executed as traitors, some, as was presented, having likewise plotted to murder the king. In the year following the friars appear to have been especially active in spreading abroad the report that king Richard was still alive, and that he was preparing to make an effort for the recovery of his kingdom, and some of them suffered the penalties of treason. They encouraged the same reports two years later, on the occasion of Serle's rebellion, and some of the higher clergy had been compromised in the great insurrection of the Percies. Among these stood conspicuous the archbishop of York, Richard Scrope, or Le Scrope, who still claimed the title of primate of England In 1405, this prelate, in conjunction with Thomas de Mowbray, earl marshal, the son of one of Richard the Second's great favourites, but at this time little more than a boy, placed himself at the head of a considerable armed force, and raised the standard of rebellion at Shipton-on-the-Moor. The insurrection was soon suppressed, and the archbishop and his youthful ally fell into the hands of the king, his friends said, through the treachery of the earl of Westmoreland, and they were immediately tried, condemned, and executed for high treason, being the first instance in this country of the execution of a prelate of the church by the sentence of a lay court. These proceedings, *as it is well known, provoked a* feeling of great indignation among the clergy, and the Latin ballad on the occasion, here printed, is evidently a clerical composition. It expresses the grief which must be felt by the church in general on so great an

Hostility of the clergy to the government.

ovent, and points out the circumstance that the execution of archbishop Richard occurred on the same day as the martyrdom of archbishop St. William, who died, as the Romish church which canonised him pretended, by poison, on the 8th of June 1154. This Latin ballad complains of the haste and unfairness of archbishop Scrope's trial, without any regard to his rank as a peer, or to his quality as a dignitary of the church who claimed exemption from lay jurisdiction; and tells how the sentence was passed in his own episcopal palace at Bishopsthorpe, and how he was led to the place of execution (between that place and York) on a mare (which was regarded as disgraceful), without a saddle, and with a halter instead of a bridle. The archbishop there encouraged the young earl to submit courageously to his fate, and then bowed himself to the sword. The virtues of the martyred primate are dwelt upon with great earnestness, and his sanctity is insisted upon. The writer then laments the other victims who perished on account of this rising, and tells how his palace was plundered, how his body was buried without the decencies becoming his station, and no attention was paid to the poor, to his creditors, or to his household. Even the common people of York were punished with him, and were subjected to unbearable exactions. Not only did York, he says, suffer, but the kingdom was deprived of its noblest chiefs, and the army was denuded of its choicest warriors; and the ballad concludes with the expression of regret for the good old times which were passed. The clergy, indeed, pretended that archbishop Scrope was a holy martyr, encouraged the belief that miracles were performed at his tomb, which became a place of pilgrimage to the disaffected, and went so far as to declare that it was in punishment for his enormous sin in putting to death the archbishop of York, that Henry was struck with a loath-

some disease, said to be the leprosy, which shortened his days.

We find no more political poems of this reign, unless we reckon under that head Occleve's Poem, *De Regimine Principum*, of which an edition has been recently printed by the Roxburghe Club; but the death of Henry IV. is commemorated in a curious little Latin poem by a now rather well-known writer of that period. Two works by Thomas de Elmham have been published recently, but neither of the editors appears to have been aware of the existence of the poem on the death of Henry IV., which is printed in the present volume. Elmham was in the first place a Benedictine monk of Canterbury, and subsequently entered the Cluniac order, and became prior of Lenton, in the county of Nottingham. He evidently held some position at court under Henry IV., and the poem here printed seems to have been composed no long time after the death of that monarch; but the object of the writer is not very evident. In the prefatory verses, which the rubric seems to intimate were written after Elmham became prior of Lenton, it is addressed to Henry V., who is exhorted to attend to the domestic happiness of his kingdom, as well as to the prosecution of his foreign wars. Elmham warns the king (not unprophetically) of the fleeting and uncertain character of human life, and urges him to consult the welfare of his own soul by correcting errors in his government, which are not very clearly intimated. He tells him that he would weep if he knew the true feelings of his subjects, to all whom his coming home was a subject of sorrow, while his departure from his country was looked upon with joy. In explanation of this he intimates that when the king was at home in his kingdom a host of overbearing warriors and chiefs, and their greedy followers, committed all sorts of violence and oppression, from which his subjects were released when he carried

POEM OF THOMAS DE ELMHAM.

the oppressors away to the wars. In time of war, he says, the priest and the monk, the merchant and the cultivator of the land, received protection, and why should they not be protected in time of peace. Elmham reminds him of the fate of king Richard, and of the shortness of his father's reign, whose example, however, he recommends him to follow. These introductory lines are followed by a series of supposed exhortations addressed by king Henry IV. to his eldest son on his personal conduct, and on the government of the kingdom, which is called in the rubric a "letter," composed by the king when dying. This, differing in this respect from the introductory lines, is a curious specimen of the pedantic and obscure style of writing in which Thomas de Elmham indulged. In the conclusion the king is made to give his blessing to prince Henry, and to his three other sons, Thomas (duke of Clarence), John (duke of Bedford), and Humphrey (duke of Gloucester). The dying king is then introduced offering his thanks to heaven for the favours which he had received thence during his life. This is followed by a brief account of his death, which occured, we are told, on St. Cuthbert's day (the 20th of March), in the year 1412, meaning, according to our present calculation, 1413. But this account is particularly interesting, as containing the only contemporary notice of a story, probably legendary in great part, which made much noise in after times, chiefly from the way in which it has been used by Shakespeare. It seems probable that Henry IV. entertained at some period of his reign a notion of entering into a crusade against the Turks—the language of Gower, in the poems printed in the present volume, would lead us to suppose that such designs had been talked of. According to the ordinary story, some one endued with the spirit of prophecy had told him that he would die in Jerusalem; and when suddenly struck with his last

Story of the Bethlehem Chamber.

illness in Westminster Abbey, and carried thence into what was called the Jerusalem Chamber, on being told the name of the apartment, he recognized the fulfilment of the prophecy, and prepared for death. But as told by Elmham, the story is more simple and less wonderful. He informs us that a false prophecy had been current during his life that he would take the cross, and win the Holy Land; and that by an unforeseen occurrence he unwittingly gained admission to the Holy Land by being carried when dying into the Bethlehem (not the Jerusalem) Chamber in Westminster. In the latter part of this poem Elmham has given his own name, as well as those of the king and queen, in acrostics. Its exact aim is not very clear, but it shows that the domestic policy of Henry V. was not altogether popular.

Poems on the Wars of Henry V.

We have no other poems on the domestic affairs of England under the reign of Henry V., but Henry's foreign wars appear to have been celebrated in a considerable number of contemporary poems and ballads. The short and simple song which carried the tidings of the victory of Azincourt through the towns and villages of England is preserved with the music to which it was chanted in a manuscript of the Pepysian Library in Cambridge, from which it was printed in bishop Percy's "Reliques," and, I believe, in a still more interesting form among the manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, in the same University. The expedition into France, which was crowned by this great victory, is related in a very detailed manner in a much longer poem in the balled form, which also was evidently intended to be sung or chanted about the country, and which, preserved in a manuscript in the Harleian Collection in the library of the British Museum, was printed not very correctly by Sir Harris Nicolas, in his "History of the Battle of Agincourt." Another poem of some length, written by one who

was present at the events he relates, gives a circumstantial and most interesting account of the siege of Rouen in 1418–19. There is no early complete copy of it known, but the first and larger part of it is found in an imperfect manuscript in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, and was published very inaccurately by Professor Conybeare, in the twenty-first volume of the *Archæologia of the Society of Antiquaries*. It was subsequently discovered that the author of one of the continuations of the *English Brut Chronicle* had used this poem as the material for his account of the siege of Rouen, and, after going on for some time paraphrasing it, had at last copied the text verbatim, thus preserving the whole of the latter part of the poem which was wanting in the Oxford manuscript. This supplementary text was edited from two manuscripts in the British Museum by Sir Frederic Madden in a subsequent volume of the Archæologia. A complete copy of the whole has since been met with in a manuscript in Balliol College, Oxford, containing a collection of pieces, chiefly in verse, made at the close of the fifteenth century by a citizen of London named Hill, which is, of course, of too late a date to be of much value as a text. The manner in which the latter part of this poem was preserved is of particular interest, as showing how much the narratives of events given by our old chroniclers were founded upon the ballads of the time, and upon other such popular materials.

On the Battle of Azincourt.

Another very curious example will be found in a shorter ballad or song on the battle of Azincourt, printed from a manuscript in the British Museum, in the present volume. The compiler of a contemporary, or nearly contemporary, chronicle of London has taken his account of the battle of Azincourt entirely from this ballad, turning the first part of it into prose, in which, however, the lines and rhymes of the original may still be traced, but transcribing the latter part of

it without any alteration. It is a plain straightforward account of the battle, without any poetical embellishment. A Latin epigram on this same battle completes the number of our poems and songs of the French wars of King Henry V. They are followed in the present volume by another Latin epigram, in two parts, in the first of which the Frenchman reproaches the Englishman with the injuries he had inflicted on France, to which, in the second part, the Englishman replies. Even these short epigrams throw light on the feelings by which the contending parties were actuated.

Epigram on the Battel of Azincourt. The Frenchman to the Englishman.

The next short piece included in the present collection, consisting of a few lines of Latin verse composed by a Lollard, and a parody upon them by a churchman in reply, are curious only as illustrating the bitterness of the hostile feeling between the Romanists and the church reformers. Each charges the other with crimes which were to be sufficiently punished only by the sword or the faggot. It has been said that the clergy encouraged Henry in his warlike plans, in order that his attention might be taken away from the religious persecution they were carrying on against a numerous portion of his subjects, which they supposed might have received a check from his sentiments of patriotism, or from the interference of the lay aristocracy; and the support he received from the clergy led him to pursue in regard to the church the policy which had been adopted by his father. He was not, however, destined to enjoy long the military glory which he had gained. In the December of the year 1419 was concluded the treaty of Troyes, by which the crown of France was confirmed to the king of England; and it was ratified in the spring of the year following by the English parliament. Henry V. died on the 31st of August 1422. A few Latin verses, here printed from a

On the Lollards.

Treaty of Troyes.

On the Death of Henry V.

manuscript in the Bodleian Library, were probably written immediately after Henry's death, and seem to picture the feelings of the moment when the great warrior king had died so suddenly and so prematurely, and left his kingdom and his conquests to an infant less than a year old. The writer begins by boasting of the glory of the treaty of Troyes, and declaiming on the great qualities of the departed monarch. By his death, he says, the English were filled with sorrow and their enemies with joy, for the smiles of fortune in war, it was feared, would desert the former and pass over to the latter. The apprehension is intimated that Henry's queen, Catherine of France, would be guided by her partiality for her native land, and the young king, as he grew up, might be educated by her in French sentiments. Gloomy anticipations are the subject of a few concluding lines in prose, but expressed more mysteriously even than in the verse. These lines convey no distinct evidence of their dates, but the closing paragraphs seem to intimate that they were written before the death of the queen's father, Charles VI.

This latter event took place in the month of October, 1422, upon which the young king of England, Henry VI, became, by the terms of the treaty of Troyes, king of France, and he was proclaimed accordingly. But a counter-demonstration was made at the same time by the friends of the dauphin, who had been disinherited by the treaty, but who was, nevertheless, proclaimed king in Auvergne, where he had sought a refuge, and crowned subsequently at Poitiers as Charles VII. These rival claims are the subject of an epigram printed here from a manuscript in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, in which the claim of the French heir and the answer of the English heir are duly set forth, but which otherwise has no great importance. This question of inheritance continued to be

Epigram on the Assumption of the Arms of France.

debated, the more so as the English affairs in France, neglected by the home government, began to decline. A Frenchman named Laurence Calot, who was clerk of the council to the regent Bedford, had been employed by that prince to draw up in French verse a genealogical statement showing the superiority of the claims of the king of England over those of the dauphin, considering it as merely a question of legitimacy, in order that the nature of these claims might be made familiar to all who were capable of understanding the French language. It appears, however, to have been considered necessary that this justification of the English claims should be made known to the English also; and in the year 1426, while the duke of Bedford was absent in England, occupied in pacifying the troubles already displaying themselves in the English court, the earl of Warwick, who had been left in Paris as his lieutenant, employed the well-known poet, John Lydgate, monk of Bury, who was then in the French capital, to translate Calot's composition into English verse. Warwick had just then returned from a successful expedition into Maine against the duke of Brittany. Lydgate states in his prologue that the object of this composition was to "set troubled hearts "at rest," and put a stop to the talk of "many "folks," who disputed or threw doubts upon the legitimacy of king Henry's claims. Henry VI. was then, he tells us, nearly five years of age. In the text of the poem itself we are reminded of the great troubles which had been caused by the disputed claims to the French crown, that is, of course, by the resistance to the claims of the king of England, in punishment for which the English seem to have thought that God had visited France with all its domestic misery; and of the murder of the duke of Burgundy, Jean-sans-Peur, at Montereau, by the duke of Orleans, now Charles VII., but of whom the English still

John Lydgate. On the English Title to the Crown of France.

only spoke by his old title. The latter, he says, had by this treacherous and sanguinary deed rendered himself incapable of "succeeding to any dignity of "knightly honour," and much more, therefore, "to "reign in any land," and he in consequence had abandoned his claims by his own oath and under his own seal. In consideration of all this, and to put an end to the troubles of France, God had provided a young heir to the crown of France in the person of Henry VI. of England, whose right could not be disputed. He then proceeds to declare how Henry, as eighth in direct descent from St. Louis, was the nearest heir to the French throne, and how his right was allowed and confirmed by the treaty of Troyes. In conclusion, Lydgate specifies in an affected style of learning, then fashionable among poets, the day on which he concluded this "translation," which was the 28th of July 1426; and he adds a roundel in praise of the infant prince.

To King Henry VI. on his Coronation.

Somewhat more than three years after this, on the 6th of November 1429, Henry, who was then only nine years of age, was crowned in England, and a poem on his coronation, the style of which seems to show that it also was composed by Lydgate, urges again the claim of the young king to the inheritance of the two crowns, as being the direct descendant on one side of St. Edward, and on the other of St. Louis.

On the Coronation of Henry VI.

A second poem, on the same occasion, gives a more particular account of the ceremony, the solemnity and splendour of which seem to have produced a great impression on contemporaries, and they are described at length by the London chronicler Fabian. Our rhymester tells us of the display of mitred bishops and abbots who attended at the coronation, among whom were two archbishops and a cardinal (Beaufort). After the coronation the king and his great courtiers went in procession to the hall of Westminster, preceded by

three dukes carrying the three swords, that of mercy, that of estate, and that of empire. The King was led by two bishops and six earls; his "pall" was borne by the Cinque Ports, and the earl of Warwick carried his train. Then followed in order the barons of the land, the judges, the knights of shires, and the city of London. At the feast which followed, the young king sat at the head table, having cardinal Beaufort on his right hand and the chancellor (Kemp, bishop of London,) on his left. The archbishop of Rheims sat at the same table; while, on the right side, the earl of Huntingdon knelt, holding the sceptre; and, on the left, the earl of Stafford, holding the sword of state. The earls of Norfolk and Salisbury were on horseback, the first as lord marshal, the other as constable in the place of the duke of Bedford. The Cinque Ports occupied a table on the right hand; another table was occupied by the prelates of the church, bishops and abbots; and at a table on the other side sat the representatives of the city of London. "Many other lords" occupied different tables. When the king and his lords were thus seated, the hereditary champion, Philip Dymmok, rode into the hall in complete armour, and publicly challenged all who had anything to say against the right of Henry VI. to the two crowns.

Henry crowned in Paris. His return to London.

Henry was again crowned in Paris on the 17th of December 1430, and on the 21st of February 1432, on his return to England, he made his ceremonious entry into the city of London, an event commemorated in a poem by Lydgate, which has been printed in the collection of Lydgate's Minor Poems, edited by Mr. Halliwell for the Percy Society. Lydgate tells us how, after a succession of gloomy mist and rain, the weather suddenly became bright and smiling for the reception of the young king. The lord mayor, clad in red velvet, the sheriffs and aldermen in scarlet furred clothes, all well horsed, went forth to meet the king

at Blackheath. They were followed by the citizens in their liveries, and by the foreign merchants in the following order :—Genoese, Florentines, Venetians, and Easterlings. The king was conducted in great state to London Bridge, where the pageantry began. A giant with a drawn sword stood at the entrance to the bridge, and other devices followed. Similar pageants were erected at different points in the line of the royal procession, which are rather minutely described. At St. Paul's the king dismounted from his horse, and was received by the archbishop, a number of bishops, and the clergy of the church ; and he was thence accompanied, as before, by the mayor and citizens to Westminster, where he was received into the minster by the abbot and his monks. Lydgate addresses his description of the splendid pageantry exhibited on this occasion to the lord mayor of London and the citizens.

Defection of the duke of Burgundy.

The next event which produced a strong political excitement was the defection of the duke of Burgundy from the English alliance. After the failure of Philippe-le-Bon in his attempts to effect a peace between England and France in 1435, and the death of the duke of Bedford, that prince allowed himself to be persuaded by the French party, and, after extorting very considerable concessions from Charles VII., he abandoned his alliance with England, and became reconciled with the king of France. The news of this event were received in England with such furious indignation, that the populace of London rose and plundered the foreign merchants who came from his dominions. At the beginning of March 1436 the duke of Burgundy declared war against England, and made no secret of his intention to wrest from the crown of this country its old conquest of Calais, which he laid claim to as belonging to his own county of Artois, and which he seems to have looked upon as

an easy enterprise, encouraged, no doubt, by a mistaken estimate of the weakness and discouragement of the English at this moment. His subjects, and the men of Ghent especially, embarked in this enterprise with great zeal, and the siege of Calais began on the 19th of July 1436. The result is well known; the Flemings abandoned the siege early in August, and the duke of Gloucester, who arrived with reinforcements from England, invaded the dominions of the duke of Burgundy almost without resistance, burnt several towns, and returned to Calais laden with plunder. Siege of Calais.

We gather from the allusions in contemporary historians that these events caused not only great indignation, but great exultation in England, and that they were the subject of many popular songs and ballads, most of which, unfortunately, have perished. One of these, copied into a contemporary manuscript in the Sloane collection in the British Museum, but left imperfect by the transcriber, is a song on duke Philippe, composed, perhaps, if we may judge from the first lines, after the siege of Calais and the invasion of his dominions by the duke of Gloucester, when he was unable to take the field against the English. Duke Philippe is accused of falsehood, of being a public disturber of the peace, and of cowardice, and is challenged to come into the field and fight in defence of his character. The writer of the song reminds him of the kindness which he had experienced from Henry V., and of the assistance which in his own distress he had received from the English; of the murder of his father at Montereau; how he had sworn allegiance under Henry V. to the crown of England; and how, through the duke of Bedford, he had renewed his fealty on the coronation of Henry VI. at Paris. On the Duke of Burgundy.

Another short but curious piece, in Latin verse, alludes to some communication between the duke of Burgundy and the king of Scotland, which appears to Philippe of Burgundy and James of Scotland.

have provoked considerable indignation in England, but which is not noticed in our histories. It also has probably some reference to the siege of Calais, as Philip is introduced boasting to James of his irresistible power in reducing fortresses. It is little more than a string of reproaches, directed especially against the duke of Burgundy.

A chronicler of England, preserved in a manuscript in the archiepiscopal library at Lambeth, speaking of the satirical ballads composed by the English on the failure of the duke of Burgundy's attempt upon Calais, has inserted one in his narrative as a sample. It was copied from the manuscript, and communicated to the Society of Antiquaries by Mr. Benjamin Williams, and is printed in the thirty-third volume of the Archæologia. The writer begins by jeering the Flemings on their expectation of conquering Calais,

Satire on the Flemings.

and he reminds them of their great exploits on "the "first day," when the earl of Mortaign, with a party of the garrison of Calais, carried away their plunder openly in view of the town of Gravelines, although the townsmen sallied out upon them as fierce as "lions of "Cotswold," which was in England a burlesque name for sheep. After ridiculing their dress and arms, he tells how the men of Gravelines fell upon the English with much fury; but how they left three hundred of their men dead, and the rest were glad to gain a refuge within their own walls, while the English continued their way without further interference. The Flemings are reminded how they came before Calais with a hundred and fifty thousand men, when the garrison of Calais were so much afraid of them that they left their gates open; and how they brought ships filled with stones to block up their harbour, which the English broke up and carried off at low water. They are reminded of Goby, the water-bailiff's dog, which "skirmished" with theffi

twice at sea, and many times on the sands. The men of Bruges are reminded how they came out one afternoon to give battle on the plain of St. Pierre, and how many of them were carried into Calais, "tied fast by the fist." The men of Gaunt, are reminded how their bulwark was captured, and how they fled from the siege, leaving their ordnance behind them. The Picards fared no better, and behaved just as disgracefully as the others. A song on the siege of Calais, printed in the present volume from a manuscript in the British Museum, is written in much the same tone, but is considerably longer. After a commencement, much in the style of the old English metrical romances of chivalry, as though intended to usher in some notable exploits, we are told how the duke of Burgundy, in his great pride, had made a great assemblage of his power and chivalry from Flanders, Brabant, Burgundy, Picardy, Hainault, and Holland, to the number of more than a hundred thousand men, to make war upon Calais. Their great preparations for the siege are described in the same mock-heroic style; and we are told that, among other things, they had brought nine thousand cocks to crow in the night, and eight thousand cressets to give them light. In Calais, meanwhile, the earl of Mortaign, Sir John Ratcliff, lieutenant of the town, and the baron of Dudley, who commanded the castle, made valiantly their preparations for defence, and did everything to encourage the defenders. The Lord Camois had the charge of Boulogne-gate, and Sir John Aston and Sir Geoffrey "Warbulton" of Milk-gate, but the gates themselves were kept continually open, as an act of defiance to the besiegers. Nevertheless, the soldiers, burgesses, and merchants of Calais posted themselves on the ramparts and in every position in which they could do good service in fighting; and even the women assisted by carrying

On the Siege of Calais.

stones and other missiles to the men on the ramparts, and preparing boiling cauldrons, in case of assault, "all hot to give drink" to the assailants. The duke threatened the south-west corner of the town, and shot, "many a great stone" into the place, but without doing much damage; and the French and Flemings were finally obliged to retreat to their camp, closely pursued. The exploits of an Irishman in this pursuit are especially commemorated, as furnishing "a sportful sight;" and the courage of the water-bailiff's dog appears to have furnished matter of especial exultation; he is here said to have played "heigh-go-bye" in every skirmish, and to have spared neither man nor horse. One Thursday the earl of Mortaign fought the Flemings at St. Pierre, in the plain, drove them to their tents, and brought into Calais many prisoners. Next day came the duke's navy, with the "bulged ships," to block up the harbour, but this stratagem failed, and his "castle" was soon afterwards taken and destroyed. Next day, after this mishap, the duke fled with the men of Ghent, and was followed by those of Bruges and Ypres. "Little knows the fool," says the songster in conclusion, "who might choose, what harm it were to "the crown of England good Calais to lose."

THE LIBEL OF ENGLISH POLICY.

The danger of Calais, indeed, seems to have created as much alarm in England as the defeat of the besiegers gave joy, and not only the chance of losing it, but the great importance of England's maritime policy, began more and more to occupy people's minds. It was in the middle of the political agitation of this period, apparently soon after the defeat of the Flemings before Calais, that a writer, whose name is unknown, but who was evidently very intimately acquainted with the commercial affairs of the time, published the remarkable poem entitled "The Libel of "English Policy." The author was a friend of one of

the great warriors and statesmen of the day, Walter baron Hungerford, to whom he showed his book, and whose warm approval of it he received before it was published; and he seems also to have enjoyed the favour of cardinal Beaufort, and to have been intimate with the other great lords of the court. He quotes, as his authorities for facts he states, on one occasion the earl of Ormond, on another, "a good "squier in time of parliament," who in one of the manuscripts is called Hampton, and at another a merchant named Master Richard Barnet. The grand political principle of this writer is that England's power lay on the sea more than on the land, and that she might make her commercial and maritime influence so great as to be able to impose peace on the nations of western Europe. He considers the importance of Calais as an English possession to consist in giving to England the undisputed command of the straits. When, in the year 1416, the emperor Sigismund visited England, to endeavour to effect a peace between Henry V. and the king of France, he had been especially struck with the importance of Calais in this point of view, and advised the king to value the two cities, Calais and Dover, as the two eyes of his maritime power. Taking this anecdote as his text, the author shows how, as the straits of Dover were at that time the only passage for the commerce of western Europe, of which Flanders was the chief mart, England, having the power to forbid the passage and put a stop to the commerce, could compel the countries whose wealth arose from that commerce to keep the peace with her in their own interests. This had been the policy of Edward III. and of Henry V., but now, under Henry VI., it had been neglected, and the English began to be despised by foreign nations. The English coin called the noble, he says, first issued by Edward III., was significant of this

policy, because it bore on one side the king and a sword, and on the other a ship, intimating especially maritime power; but now, he says, the courage and influence of the English on the sea had fallen so low, that the Bretons, Flemings, and others, punning upon the word, said that the English ought to take the ship from their noble and put a pusillanimous sheep in its place. With this introduction, he proceeds to examine, in a most curious and interesting manner, the commercial *relations of England with the continental* states.

Commerce of Spain and Flanders;

The principal exports of Spain at this time were figs, raisins, the wine called bastard, liquorice, oil of Seville, grain, Castile soap, wax, iron, a coarse cloth called wadmotte, the skins or leather of goats and kids, saffron, and quicksilver. These were shipped to the port of Sluys, for the great commercial mart of Bruges, and in return the Spanish merchants carried home the fine cloths manufactured in the Low Countries. Here, then, we are told were two ways in which the influence of England might be exerted on Flanders and Spain. In the first place, if she shut up the passage of the straits, the trade between the two countries would be stopped entirely. In the second place, although the English weavers had not yet learnt the art of making fine cloths themselves, *yet the English wools were so much superior to those* of every other country, that the Flemings could not make fine cloths without them; and if England stopped the exportation of her wools, the manufacturers of Flanders would be utterly ruined. Flanders, therefore, could not permanently be at war with England without the entire ruin of her population, and that would ruin equally the commerce of Spain, so that peace with England would be absolutely necessary to both.

It is true that wool was also one of the great articles of Spanish produce, but not only were the Spaniards

obliged to carry their wool to Flanders to be made into cloth, but it was in itself of so poor a quality, that it was good for little unless mixed with English wool. The Flemings could not live without this foreign trade, of which their country was a sort of central and general mart; for the agricultural produce of Flanders in a year was not sufficient to keep its population alive one month. The commercial intercourse between England and Portugal was very intimate and friendly. The chief exports of Portugal were wine of different kinds, oil, wax, grain, figs, raisins, honey, cordewain (or shoe-leather), dates, salt, and hides. They, however, like the others, were not to be allowed to pass through the straits freely in time of war; for the duke of Burgundy seems to have been considered as the arbiter of the wars in western Europe at this time; and it is assumed that, by stopping all commerce with Flanders in time of war, either by foes or friends, England would compel that prince to be her ally. The commerce of Britany also was of some importance, consisting chiefly in salt, wines a fine linen cloth known by the name of oreste-cloth, and canvas, but it was carried on principally through Flanders, and might, therefore, be easily stopped if England were master of the sea. But the Breton navigators, and especially those of St. Malo were notorious at this time for their piracies, and had little claim upon English sympathies, for they had not only plundered our merchant shipping at sea, but they landed unawares on our coasts, and burnt and plundered the coast towns with impunity. Former kings had taken energetic measures against such insults, and an anecdote is told of the maritime policy of Edward III., in whose time the piratical propensities of the Bretons were equally notorious. Edward and the duke of Brittany were at war, but a peace having at last been concluded, the English merchants

of Portugal;

of Britany.

repaired to Britany, expecting the due protection given to the ships of friendly states, but, to their dismay, they were attacked by the Breton navy, and taken and plundered as in time of war. King Edward, we are told, loved his merchants, and he expostulated with the duke of Britany, who, in reply, alleged somewhat deceitfully that the people of Mont St. Michel and St. Malo were disobedient subjects, and that he could neither restrain them nor be answerable for them. Edward said no more, but enabled the three towns of Dartmouth, Plymouth, and Fowey to fortify themselves, and to send their sailors to make war upon the Breton rovers. They not only defeated these at sea, but they landed in Britany, and committed such ravages that the duke was now obliged to complain, and, as he received an answer similar to that which he had before given, he found himself placed under the necessity of acting with honesty, and he undertook to put a stop in future to the depredations of all his subjects. In proof of the care of Edward III. for the interests of his English merchants, we are told that he passed a statute for the Lombards, compelling them to discharge the merchandise they brought, and charge that which they were to take, within forty days. The importance of this regulation is alluded to afterwards.

Edward III. and the Breton pirates.

Commerce of Scotland;

The exports of the Scots were chiefly fells, or skins, hides, and wool-fleeces, which were carried to Flanders, and the Scottish merchants carried home mercery, haberdashery, cart-wheels, and barrows. The chief marts of the Scots in Flanders were Bello and Popering, which had been recently burnt in the invasion by the duke of Gloucester. Scotland would herself be greatly distressed if England, master of the sea, held a check upon her navigation. From the Germans of Prussia and the Easterlings the Flemings derived their beer, which was one of their great articles of con-

of the Germans and Easterlings;

sumption. The author of this poem takes the occasion of making some rather coarse satirical remarks on the drunken habits of the Flemings, on their cowardly conduct before Calais, and on the punishment they received from the duke of Gloucester. The articles of commerce brought from Germany to the marts of Flanders were very numerous, and comprised, among other things, beer and bacon, a preparation of iron known by the name of osmond, copper, steel, bow-staves, wax, poltry-ware, or skins of wild animals, grey (badgers' fur), pitch, tar, boards, flax, thread of Cologne, fustian, canvas, card-board, buckram, silver plate, and wedges of silver and other metal. The German merchants carried back woollen cloth, and they ventured to the "Bay" in search of salt, so that they too would be affected either by our stopping this branch of commerce at sea, or by our cutting off the supply of fine wool to Flanders. The Italian merchants followed rather a different course of traffic. The Genoese, for instance, came to England with great carracks, laden with cloths of gold, silks, black pepper, woad, and woad-ashes, wool, oil, cotton, rock-alum, and "gold of "Genoa." They took from England the English wools, but instead of carrying them home, they conveyed them to the markets of Flanders, and carried on a second traffic there. The Venetians and Florentines brought to England what our writer calls "things of compla- "cence," meaning mere articles of luxury, under which head are included spicery and grocers' ware, with sweet wines, apes and marmosets (or monkeys), and what he calls "nifles and trifles," things which "blere the eye," and are of no substantial use or profit to the buyers. These merchants also brought in their galleys the foreign drugs which were used in medicinal receipts, which our author thinks might easily be dispensed with, as he suspects that our good English medicinal plants were more efficacious remedies.

of the Genoese;

of the Venetians and Florentines.

Indeed, he was evidently of opinion that the commerce with Italy was rather injurious than otherwise, for, in exchange for wares which were of no substantial use, they carried away some of our most valuable commodities, such as cloth, wool, and tin, which we might keep with more advantage at home. Moreover, there was so great a balance in their favour, through our foolish love for these luxuries, that they carried away our money as well as our merchandise. He complains, too, that these Italian merchants followed a system of trading which was as dishonest as it was injurious to our interests. For instance, they obtained the wool and other materials in England on credit, going to Cotswold and other districts where they were produced to buy them up at first hand, and then carried them to Flanders, where they sold them for ready money at a loss of as much as five per cent. on their purchase. This money they lent out on heavy usury, and thus realized a considerable profit out of the money before the term at which they were obliged to pay their debts in England. Practices like these, we are assured, were commonly resorted to, and were very injurious to honest English trade, to remedy which it was desirable that the old law should be resorted to, and that they should be compelled to discharge their merchandize and complete their transactions within forty days. Our author intimates that *by thus allowing so much of our commerce to be* carried on in foreign bottoms, we had allowed our navy to decline until we were no longer in a condition to repel foreign invasion. In illustration of this part of his subject, he tells us how Denmark, by neglecting her merchants and merchant navy, had fallen entirely from her former prosperity; and he introduces incidentally a few words in praise of the great London merchant, then not very long dead, Richard Whittington, "thrice lord mayor of London." Our writer

complains further, that the indulgence given in England to foreign merchants was not reciprocated to English merchants in other countries. Thus Englishmen, trading to Brabant, were compelled to dispose of their merchandise in fourteen days, and to take within the same space of fourteen days their return cargo, on pain of forfeiting all they had. Nevertheless, it was commonly reported that the English merchants were the great supports of the marts of Brabant, which were frequented by most nations, and that if the English absented themselves the trade would be "full "feeble."

Commerce of Brabant, Zeland, and Hainault.

The merchandise derived from Brabant consisted chiefly of madder and woad for dyers, garlic, onions, and salt fish; while the Dutch procured through Brabant from Calais our skins and wools. This commerce of Brabant was carried on, from Hainault, Burgundy, France, and other parts, by land-carriage, and not by sea; yet, though we had thus not the same means of interrupting it, our merchants were the great support of it, and could always exert a serious influence over it. As an example of the remissness of England in exerting the influence which thus naturally belonged to her, he speaks of the ravages committed on our commerce at that time by the arch-pirate Hankin Lyons, who was suffered to rob on the sea with impunity. The Lombards, he assures us, were themselves a sufficient injury to this land, without any others, and he complains that they obtained impunity by means of gifts and presents bestowed on those in power. It is intimated, somewhat obscurely, that the Lombards promoted secretly the depredations of the sea-rovers, and that people in power connived at them from interested motives.

Ireland, and the necessity of conquering it.

Ireland was rich in products of various kinds, and among the articles of commerce derived thence the author enumerates hides and fish, especially salmon,

hake, and herrings, Irish linen and woollen cloths, a rough cloth called falding, the furs of martens, the hides of deer and other animals of the chase, skins of the otter, squirrel, Irish hare, sheep, lambs, and foxes, as well as of kids and rabbits in great plenty. With such numerous and valuable articles of merchandise, the author argues that there must be a community of interests between Ireland and England, and that the Irish ought to assist us in keeping the command of the sea, which they were bound to do, seeing that the king of England was by inheritance from his forefathers lord of Ireland. He speaks of the great *havens and goodly bays of the sister island, such as* that of Waterford, and many others, than which English merchants said that there were none better in the world for ships to ride in or for protection against enemies; of the great fertility of the soil; and, further, of *its richness in gold and silver ore*, which the "wild Irish" were unable to turn to account. A jeweller of London, who had brought gold ore from Ireland, had informed him that, when refined, he had obtained from it pure gold of the most excellent quality. He urges, therefore, that the English government should take care that Ireland were not lost by its negligence, for it was a "buttress and port" to support England, as Wales was another. "God for-"bid," he adds, "but they were all as brothers, and "faithful in one allegiance to the king." He expresses, however, great fears that our power in Ireland *was in imminent danger, and declares that it could* not be lost without the ruin of England. At the same time he announces his intention of composing a separate book on Ireland and the English policy with regard to that country, which he either never wrote, or it is unfortunately lost. Our possessions in Ireland, he continues, were then so ineffectually defended, that the wild Irish had recently gained upon us as

much as two or three English shires, so that the English ground was but as a small corner compared with the rest. If this were lost, Wales must go too, and then both would become our enemies and form alliances with Scotland, Spain, and other countries, against us. The earl of Ormond had assured him that the expenses of one year in the wars in France, if properly employed, were sufficient to reduce the whole of Ireland to obedience within twelve months, and that the money would soon be repaid by the commercial advantages which would be derived from it. Wales also required to be watched with the utmost vigilance, if we would not leave it to be a cause of weeping to our children's children. Men who knew the people were in continual apprehension of their rebellion. Wales.

The mariners of Scarborough had long been in the habit of visiting the "coasts cold" of the north, and had monopolized a trade in stockfish with Iceland, of which island this seem to have been the only export; but within twelve years before this treatise was written, that is, about the year 1424, the merchants of Bristol had found their way thither, "by nedle and by stone," or, in other words, by the guidance of the mariner's compass, and had shared in this trade, and so many ships had visited Iceland during the season in which the author compiled his book that they could not obtain cargoes sufficient to clear their expenses. Commerce with Iceland.

Having thus described the products and commercial position of the different countries with which England was in relation, the author of the Libel of English Policy returns to the question of keeping possession of the passage of the straits. He dwells at some length on the importance of securing Calais, quoting the same lines which conclude the song we have printed on the siege of that town, which seem to have been then proverbial. He fears that the ears of men Importance of Calais.

then in power were not sufficiently open to warning, and laments over the losses of Harfleur and Rouen. In further proof of the care with which our wisest kings had provided for retaining the superiority over other nations on the sea, the story of king Edgar and his fleet is given from the old chronicles, and the writer quotes the examples of Edward III. and Henry V. King Edward, who won Calais, was able by the strength of his fleet to belcaguer it on all sides, by sea as well as by land; whereas the duke of Burgundy, in his late siege, had been obliged to leave it open to the sea, through the insufficiency of his naval force. As to Henry V., he says, what was the object of all the great ships he caused to be built at Southampton, so much larger than any of the ships of the merchant navy, such as the "Trinity," the "Grace," the "Holy Ghost," and others which are now lost? What was the king's intention with these but to make himself master of the sea? When Harfleur was attempted in his time, and the enemy brought a great fleet to attack it by sea, this fleet was destroyed by the English navy under the duke of Bedford. These reflections lead the writer into a warm eulogy of the greatness of character of the late king, Henry V. Had he lived, his great ships would not have been built in vain, but England would at this time have been undisputed mistress of the sea, instead of lamenting over the successive losses of his conquests. In conclusion, the lords of the king's council are urged to unite together in devising measures for the establishment of our supremacy on the sea, not only on account of the importance of that supremacy in a commercial point of view, but because it would prove the surest means of establishing an honourable and permanent peace with other countries. Such, in a brief abstract, is the poem entitled the "Libel of English Policy," published at a very interesting period in

our national annals, and remarkable both for the sort of information it gives us, and for the political views entertained by its author.

At the moment when this poem was published, the personal dissensions were showing themselves at the English court, which afterwards took a more definite form, and inundated the kingdom with blood. The quarrel between the duke of Gloucester and cardinal Beaufort had compelled the duke of Bedford to quit his government in France at a very critical moment, in order to return to England to pacify their feuds. Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, the fourth son of Henry IV., and now, since the death of the duke of Bedford, heir-apparent to the crown, was a great favourite of the people, and was called popularly the "good duke Humphrey." He had been appointed, under the regency of the duke of Bedford, protector of England during the king's minority. He had greatly embarrassed our foreign relations by an impolitic marriage with Jacqueline, countess of Holland, who was already married to the duke of Brabant, but, when the countess's second marriage was declared void by the pope, duke Humphrey married a lady who had already lived with him as his mistress, Eleanor, daughter of Reginald lord Cobham, to whom he appears to have been much attached. The timely relief of Calais in 1436, and the subsequent invasion of the territory of the duke of Burgundy, had increased the "good duke's" popularity, to the great disappointment of the party opposed to him, who looked forward eagerly to an opportunity of revenging themselves. Their vengeance was first wreaked upon his duchess, Eleanor, his marriage with whom had been a cause of considerable scandal. Duke Humphrey was a patron of literature, and especially of science; he was the founder of what was afterwards the Bodleian Library; and he maintained an intimate intercourse

Humphrey duke of Gloucester

with learned men. Among those whom he thus patronised was a clerk or ecclesiastic named Roger Bolingbroke, a man very learned in astronomy, or, as it was then called, astrology, and other sciences, who was permanently established in the duke's household as his chaplain. The ill-feeling between Gloucester and cardinal Beaufort had never really ceased, and it broke out with violence, in 1410, in a quarrel relating to the delivery of the duke of Orleans from his long imprisonment, in which Humphrey was obliged to yield.

Pretended conspiracy to bewitch the king.

Soon after this an accusation was brought against his duchess of having employed witchcraft to compass the young king's death, and she and Roger Bolingbroke were placed under arrest. Three other persons were thrown into prison at the same time, as accomplices in the conspiracy, a priest and canon of Westminster, another priest, named John Hum, and a person named Margery Jourdain, better known as the witch of Eye. The duchess was examined before a council of the English prelates, in St. Stephen's chapel in Westminster, on the charge of having had an image in wax made by these necromancers, as they were all judged to be, by which the king's death was to be effected. Dame Eleanor was an ambitious woman, and she, perhaps, superstitiously consulted some of these supposed magicians, to know how long the king would live, and whether she were destined to become queen of England; but the evidence against her seems to have been of a very unsubstantial character. Yet both she and her reputed accomplices were found guilty; and, while most of them were publicly executed, the duchess of Gloucester was condemned to a humiliating penance, and to imprisonment for life in the Isle of Man. The duchess Eleanor does not appear to have shared the popularity of her husband, yet her misfortunes can hardly have failed to excite some degree of public sympathy. The only monument of it with

which we are acquainted is the ballad printed in the present volume, which, though preserved in a manuscript perhaps written nearly half a century later, has all the appearance of a contemporary composition. The duchess is introduced lamenting over her fall, and ascribing it to her pride and vain-glory. She regrets her high estate, and the reverence she had once commanded, tells how she was carried before the council at Westminster, where the king himself was present to hear her case; and, though according to the law she had incurred sentence of death, and "some men sought to "have it executed," he took pity on her, and prevented it. She was then examined before the two cardinals (Beaufort and Kempe), five bishops, and others of the spirituality, who, on her confession, enjoined her penance, in accordance with which she went barefoot through the principal streets of London. She takes her leave, sorrowfully of London, of Greenwich (where the duke had a noble palace), and of other fair places "on Thames' side;" and of 'all her worldly wealth—her robes of damask and cloths of gold, and other rich dresses, her minstrels and music, and "all joy "and lustiness." The duke of Gloucester is said to have borne this injury with patience, but his enemies were not pacified, and there were other persecutions in store for him.

Lament of the Duchess of Gloucester.

There had been frequent rumours of negotiations for peace, and some vain attempts had been made to treat, for all became wearied by these long and costly wars, but the peace party was not altogether the popular one. The people, however they complained of the burdens of the war, felt too much the humiliation of the recent reverses to give up the hope of recovering the brilliant conquests of Henry V.; while the men who now directed the measures of the court, conscious of inability, and perhaps of neglect, dreaded the continuation of disasters, the effect of which was

Negotiations for peace.

to make them every day personally more unpopular. Two poems by Lydgate, here printed, seem to have been intended to promote the feeling in favour of peace thus desired by the ministers. The first consists chiefly of a general eulogy of peace, and concludes in wishing for a speedy peace between England and France. The second is equally indefinite in its language, though it contains more general allusions to the condition of the country; it appears to have been written at the time of the truce with France in 1444, and it contains something like an intimation of distrust at the treaty then in agitation. The year following saw the conclusion of this treaty, and the marriage of the young king with Margaret of Anjou, whose favouritism and spirit of political intrigue hastened the crisis which the disputes and jealousies of the feudal aristocracy of England were already preparing. One of its first results was the death of the duke of Gloucester, while attending the parliament at Bury St. Edmund's, in 1446, under circumstances which justify a strong suspicion that he was murdered, and the popular party did not hesitate in laying the crime to the charge of the queen and her favourite Suffolk. Gloucester's old rival and opponent, cardinal Beaufort, followed him to the grave in 1447. The great chiefs who had continued to labour with some success in keeping together the remains of the English power in France were now nearly all dead or unemployed, and disasters followed one another in rapid succession in that country, and increased the exasperation of the popular party at home. Normandy was invaded, and Rouen, Caen, and the other places held by English garrisons in that duchy, fell into the hands of the French. Amid the agitation caused in England by these events, songs and poetry, as a means of promoting the general discontent and spreading the spirit of resistance to the government which was then

On the Prospect of Peace.

On the Truce of 1444.

beginning to manifest itself, were used more largely, and assumed a bolder character. A few of these have been accidentally preserved, and afford extremely interesting illustrations of the history of the turbulent reign of Henry VI., though they are full of minute allusions which it would require very extensive research, and would, perhaps, now be hardly possible, to explain.

There is, among the charters in the Cottonian Library in the British Museum, a roll of vellum, marked ii. 23, which has belonged to a partizan of the popular cause at the time of the proceedings against the duke of Suffolk and Cade's rebellion, that is, in the years 1450 and 1451. This individual, whoever he was, has copied into his roll a great variety of political matter, such as a copy of the articles against the duke of Suffolk, the written demands of the commons of Kent assembled under Jack Cade, lists of persons involved in some of the events of the time, the duke of York's declaration to the king, one or two rather long metrical prophecies, and interspersed with the others a few political songs, which are printed in the present volume. The earliest of these, which may be as old as the year 1449, is a sort of lament over the state of our foreign affairs. The writer tells with regret how the old warriors who had established our continental power were dead, and how the work they had raised was falling to pieces; how the king was led by courtiers who cared not for the interests of their country; and how the duke of York, who was now becoming the popular hero, had been obliged to retire into Ireland to consult his own safety. In these political troubles it was customary to speak of the leaders by their signs or badges, which were as well known as their names or titles, and which had the advantage of being more comprehensive, as they were worn by their followers, who were thus recognized at a glance. The song of

On the Popular Discontent at the Disasters in France.

which I am speaking has a peculiar interest from the circumstance that, while the badges only are given in the text, an interlinear gloss in the manuscript has placed over them the name of the individual to whom each belongs. The next of these songs is a chant of joy on the committal of the duke of Suffolk, here designated as the fox, and as Jack Napes, the popular name for a monkey. Suffolk is accused of having "tied Talbot our dog," meaning, I presume, that he had designedly left him without the means of carrying on the war effectually. He is further charged with the murder of the duke of Gloucester; and it is recommended that his enemy, the earl of Salisbury, should be his confessor, and that he should be forthwith hanged at Tyburn. Some rather obscure lines at the end contain another allusion to the retreat of the duke of York to Ireland.

On the Arrest of the Duke of Suffolk.

On Bishop Boothe.

The third of the songs from the Cottonian Roll is directed against the unpopular prelate, bishop Boothe, who had been promoted entirely by court favour during the time that Suffolk was the favourite. William Boothe had been originally a jurist, but he subsequently embraced the clerical profession, and in 1447 obtained the bishopric of Coventry and Litchfield. The first Norman bishop of Litchfield had removed the see to Chester, and hence, although his successor carried it back (or, at least, took it to Coventry, from whence it was half restored to Litchfield), it continued long to be popularly called the bishopric of Chester. In these popular songs Boothe is always called bishop of Chester, and he is spoken of by that title in documents of a more serious character.[1] In this song

[1] As in the following list of unpopular persons "endited" at Rochester, which is given in the same Cottonian Roll, ii. 23, from which these songs are taken :—

"These ben the namys that were enditede at Rowchestre afore the cardynalle of Yorke, bysshoppe of Canturbury, and the duke of Bokyngham, etc., in the feste of the

Boothe is accused of having obtained his bishopric by simony; and the writer of it seems also to charge him with ignorance, for he tells him to leave "prac-" tising on the privity of prince's power," to follow the plough, or to become a carter. The bishop is charged with usury, as well as simony, and of paying little attention to his clerical duties. The covetousness of men in power, he says, was the ruin of ancient Rome, and such was likely to be the case in England also. The bishop is spoken of in this song as an old man, suffering from palsy, and as nevertheless sacrificing his duties to his personal interest, in "praying for

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Assumpcioun of oure lady and (?) festo Laurencii, anno r. r. Henrici xxix°:

Johan Suttone de Duddeleye in com. Stafforde, alias dictus Johan Suttone miles de Londone, 2.
Johan Trevyliane, nuper de Londone, armiger, 2.
Johan Say, nuper de Londone, armiger, 2.
Alicia de la Poole, nuper uxor Willelmi Poole ducis Suffolciæ, nuper de Newelme in comitatu Oxon., 2.
Johannes Polsforde, nuper de London., armiger, 2.
Thomas Kent, de London., gentyllmane, alias dictus T. K. clericus consilii domini regis, 2.
Johan Penycole, nuper de London., armiger.
Thomas Hoo, de Hastynge in comitatu Sussex., miles, of, 2.
Reginaldus abbas Sancti Petri Gloucestriæ, of, 2.
Jacobus Ffynys, dominus de Say, j.
T. Stanley, miles, of, j.
Edmundus Hongurforde, of, j.
Willelmus Minors, armiger, j.
Edmundus Hampdene, miles, j.
John Halle, armiger, j.
Thomas Danielle, armiger, j.
Thomas Thorppe, gentilman, j.
Johan Blakeney, gentilmane, j.
Dominus Johannes Fforstkow, of, j. miles.
Johannes Gargrave, j.
Walter Liarde, episcopus Norwic., j.
Ricardus Wodvile, dominus de Ryvers, j.
Robertus Manselde, armiger, j.
Maister Johan Somers, j.
Edwardus Grymstone, armiger, j
Willelmus Booth, episcopus Cestriæ, j.
Johannes Stanley, armiger, j.
Palmere.
Tressame.
Faumpage.
Gryswolde.
2. Hamptone essquiere, rest.
2. Hargrave in the Towre.".

" the party that all the world cried out on." The voice of the oppressed, we are told, complained of the prince, " and of the priest eke," and he warns them of approaching vengeance. As an example of how little was gained by the givers of false judgments, he reminds him of the case of Trevilian. After some further reflections on the evil-doing and treasonable designs of the bishop's "sect," or party, and an appeal to God to guide the king better than he had been guided, and to rescue him from the influence of men like the earl of Suffolk, " and from all his foes," the writer of the song calls upon Boothe to bridle himself and not be too bold, and above all things to " cast away covet- " ousness." In 1453 Boothe was further promoted to the archbishopric of York, and he died in 1464.

A Warning to King Henry.

The next of these popular compositions is addressed to the lords of the court, and contains a warning for the king himself. The courtiers who ruled the king are called upon to restore the grants they had obtained from him, for they had reduced him to such poverty that he was obliged to " beg from door " to door" through his tax-gatherers. The lord treasurer Say and Daniel are exhorted to set the first example of this good work. Untruth, oppression, and evil-doing prevailed throughout the land much more than the king knew; but vengeance was at hand. The " traitors" believed that they were too cunning to be caught, and that their opponents had not the power to punish them; but, says the writer, " we " swear by him that harrowed hell that they shall " remain no longer in their heresy and false belief." So poor a king and such rich nobles were never seen before; while the commons could support their burdens no longer, in spite of the resolution of the lord Say to tread them under foot. The earl of Suffolk had sold Normandy, and now sought to make the king take upon himself the blame of his treason. It

was evident that Suffolk was taking advantage of the king's innocence, and, unless the commons of England came to the assistance of their liege lord, that nobleman would usurp the crown. The king would do well to let these traitors no longer go loose, for they were all sworn to hold fast together. The writer concludes with a condemnation of the conduct of the late chancellor Wainflete, bishop of Winchester, and a strong assertion of the truth of what he states concerning the wrongs of the people. This is followed by a short but more direct attack on the duke of Suffolk; and those who support him are warned that, if they did not abandon him and seek popular favour, punishment would overtake them within three months.

VERSES AGAINST THE DUKE OF SUFFOLK.

The spirited ballad which follows, taken from another manuscript in the British Museum, has for its subject the death of the favourite, the duke of Suffolk. It commemorates the accident by which, in the pleasant month of May, Jack Napes, as the favourite is here termed, who had gone to sea to be a mariner, was arrested by death on the way; and how Nicholas, which was the name of the ship which stopped him, and was possibly taken by the writer for the name of a person (unless it were the name of the ship's commander), volunteered to be his confessor. The principal ecclesiastics and laymen are introduced taking different parts in the exequies of the deceased favourite. Among the ecclesiastics thus introduced are two who appear to have been especially unpopular, the bishops of Coventry and Litchfield (already mentioned) and of Norwich. It is worthy of remark that the latter is here called Walter Liard, instead of Walter Hart, which is the name by which he is known in all our lists of bishops. Nevertheless he is also undoubtedly named Liarde in the list of persons indicted at Rochester, given in the note on page lvii. of

ON THE DEATH OF THE DUKE OF SUFFOLK.

this Introduction. In some lists of the bishop of Norwich he is called Hart or Le Hart.

In the present volume these songs are followed by a few short poems, more general in their satire, most of which appear to have been written just before the civil wars between the rival houses of York and Lancaster. They are found scattered through contemporary manuscripts in different collections. The first of these complains in general terms of the absence of wisdom and truth from the state, and the prevalence of falsehood and guile. So completely was the just order of things overthrown, that, the writer says, it might be well said, that the blind man was guided by him who could not see, or, in the language of the time, "the "bysom ledys the blynde," and this proverb is made the burden of the song. The writer complains, among many other griefs, that poor men were raised to be peers of the land, and that maintainers, or men who supported their dependants in doing wrong, and men ignorant of the laws, were made the dispensers of justice; that robbers and men who only looked to their private gain were established in the place of righteousness; that in the consistory courts the officials and deans sold their judgments for money; that friars, contrary to nature, were made confessors to the chief ladies of the land; that the prelates made a traffic of holy church, selling their pardons and absolutions; that the holiness which prevailed among them "came out of hell," and that the commons loved not the great. Sin thus reigned supreme, and it was to be feared that evils would fall upon the land such as those which had been brought by sin upon France and Flanders. The next of these pieces is similar to the other in purpose and tone. It professes to show "how mischance (or misfortune) reigns "in England;" and in the same way ascribes it to the sins of all ranks and of all classes of society.

On the Corruptions of the Times.

All this time the persecution of the Lollards continued, though we hear perhaps less of them in consequence of the preoccupation of men's minds with the political crisis. The first piece here given is curious as being a ballad against the religious reformers, and belongs probably to the earlier part of the reign of Henry VI., or perhaps to that of Henry V. The writer pretends that, till lately, he did not know what "Lollards" were, but now that he did know it, he *was astonished that anybody should be so unwise* as to incur the risk of being burnt by meddling with questions which they did not understand. Above all things, he says, it was contrary to nature for a knight, whose business it was to defend castles for his king, to "babble" about the Bible day and night. It is hardly necessary to say that the allusion is to Sir John Oldcastle, the martyr, whose name was long a sort of watchword among the persecuted Wycliffites. The allusion becomes more pointed as we go on. It is not worth the wages, he continues, to remain with such a captain, who is but an "old castle," all in ruin, and who secretly laboured to raise tumults against the king and his clergy. After representing the Lollards as wolves who had introduced themselves treacherously among the sheep, he proceeds again with his punning sarcasm. The castle, he pretends, the walls of which were overthrown, was not fit for a king's residence, especially when the captain had fled, and forsaken bow and spear, in order to "creep from "knighthood into clergy." "For I trow," he adds, "there is no knight alive who would have done so "open a shame, for it is no gentleman's game to "study or dispute in that craft." The writer calls for the execution of the law upon men who, he intimates, only sought riot and robbery under pretence of religious reform; and he blames their contempt for images, their want of reverence for the saints who

AGAINST THE LOLLARDS.

had been canonized by the church, adding an allusion to some recent occurrence in Kent, where the Wycliffites had beheaded the image of St. James. In some rather obscure Latin rhyming verses, preserved in a contemporary manuscript belonging to the library of Merton College, Oxford, the king is called upon to protect the clergy against the attacks of the laity, and the people are blamed for their ingratitude towards their sovereign. A short metrical prophecy follows, which is more obscure in its English than the Latin verses which precede. We are informed that certain disastrous occurrences are to take place, and among them a battle on the banks of the Humber, "when "Rome shall be removed into England, and every "priest shall have the pope's power in hand." Another short poem, from a manuscript in Trinity College, Cambridge, is written in alternate lines of English and Latin, and presents a very violent attack upon the friars. They are accused of leading people to hell, and of being themselves possessed by the seven mortal sins. They were, according to this account, false and deceitful, and extremely immoral, so that it was dangerous for a man who had wife or daughters to let them enter his house. No lord could afford to build such a house as these men, who pretended to live by begging, erected for themselves, so that you might imagine them to be coiners, and therefore traitors to the king. Another short English poem of the same age, after exclaiming against the extravagant apparel of the courtiers and "proud gallants," again attacks the church and the "pope-holy" priests, whose conduct was the reverse of their preaching, who obtained advancement by simony, and who were as proud and extravagant in dress as the courtiers. They are admonished to keep within their monasteries, instead of wandering about; and not to reprove other people till they set a better example themselves. If

To the King.

A Political Prophecy.

Against the Friars.

On the Corruption of Public Manners.

they did their duty as they ought, they might restore peace to the land. Two or three shorter scraps in English verse may be classed under the head of epigrams. One makes love complain of being exiled by envy, and ascribes it to the long beards which people wore hanging down to the breast. Another states that England had been ruined by extravagance in dress, great oaths, bribery, flatterers, and false deeds. A third describes England as in a state of universal contention, and says that the land contained much people of light consciences; many knights, who had little power; many laws, with little justice; many acts of parliament, and few of them properly kept; little charity, but much flattery; many a penniless gallant; great show of living, upon small wages; and many gentlemen, but few pages or servants. A few lines in Latin, on the same subject, follow.

EPIGRAMS ON THE PUBLIC EXTRAVAGANCE.

ON THE TIMES.

When we return again to the poems on political events, we meet with an almost solitary example of a ballad, the subject and tone of which are of a more cheering character. The first battle of St. Alban's had been fought, and had added family feuds to the political divisions, and everything announced the approach of a sanguinary civil war. But suddenly an outward pacification was effected, and it was arranged that the great lords of the rival factions should mutually forgive each other, and that there should be a public reconciliation. This took place on the 25th of March 1458, when the king and queen and the reconciled chiefs walked in procession to St. Paul's to celebrate so joyful an event. The ballad here printed was written to celebrate this reconciliation. "Charity," it was believed (as we here learn), had at length driven wrath out of the land, and had paved the way for wealth and prosperity. The foreign enemies, who had rejoiced at our divisions, were now "quaking"

ON THE PROCESSION TO ST. PAUL'S.

with fear at the report that peace at home had succeeded division. Sorrow had fled with shame into France, "as a felon that hath forsworne this land," and love had driven out "malicious governance." The great lords had laid aside their feuds, so that England might now enjoy concord and unity. The king and queen, and the great lords, went in friendly procession to St. Paul's on Lady-day, and showed to one another "lovely countenance," which France and Brittany would have cause to rue. It was the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of Winchester who had brought about this "love-day." The ballad ends with an eulogy of the city of London The contending factions had now become those of York and Lancaster.

The songs from the Dublin manuscript.

A manuscript preserved in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, of a few years' later date than the Cottonian roll, has, like it, a few very interesting political songs, which, with one from another MS. in the same library, were published by Sir Frederic Madden in the twenty-ninth volume of the Archæologia of the Society of Antiquaries. They commence with the date of the public reconciliation just described. The first in date is the single song from the last-mentioned manuscript, where it is stated to have been written in the year 1458, and is the work of a Lancastrian partisan. Henry VI. is represented under *the form of a ship, with the young prince Edward for* a mast. The ship's light was a blazing cressett, representing the duke of Exeter, and its strong stern *was the duke of Somerset. The sail-yard was the* earl of Pembroke, the stay the duke of Buckingham; and the shrouds consisted of the lords Devonshire, Grey, Beauchamp of Powik, and Scales. The earl of Northumberland, with Ros, Clifford, and Egremont, formed the sail; the earl of Shrewsbury was the top-mast; and the ship had three good anchors, the lords Beaumont, Welles, and Rivers. St. George is appealed

to for protection for this stately ship. The other Dublin manuscript has belonged, most certainly, to a Yorkist, and it was evidently written during the years 1460 and 1461. The earliest of the songs contained in it, written about the month of May in the former year, gives a list of the Yorkist leaders, and enumerates their qualities. Another commemorates the battle of Northampton, fought on the 10th of July 1460, and appears to have been composed between that time and the month of September. The Yorkists were now again the victorious party, but intrigue was soon active against them, and another of those poems in the Dublin manuscript, composed in the month of December, is a warning to them to be on their guard. A song, printed in the same volume of the Archæologia, from a manuscript in the archiepiscopal library at Lambeth, celebrates the entry of Edward IV. into London, at the beginning of March 1461. The last of the songs in the Dublin manuscript commemorates Edward's decisive victory at Towton.

Epitaph for Richard Duke of York.

To return to the poems printed in the present volume, the death of Richard duke of York, the hero of the earlier period of the wars of the roses, is here commemorated, and his titles and qualities and great actions enumerated, in an epitaph in French verse, stated to have been composed by "Chester the herald."

On the Civil Wars.

A Latin poem, composed by a rather well known monk of St. Alban's, John de Wethamstede (called sometimes in Latin *Johannes Frumentarius* or *de Loco Frumenti*), soon after the battle of Towton, in not very elegant Latin, gives an account of the previous civil wars as far, chiefly, as they concerned the town and abbey of St. Alban's, and the object of the writer seems to have been to protest against the predatory propensities of the northern troops who formed the army of Margaret of Anjou. He gives his name at the end under the affected concealment of puns, and informs us that when

it was written he was an aged man, and that he was both deaf and blind. His poem begins with an account of the first battle of St. Alban's, in which the Lancastrians were defeated, and their chiefs, the earl of Northumberland and the duke of Somerset, slain. The Lancastrians, the writer tells us, fled like children from the rod and many of them sought refuge in the abbey, and, in their terror, concealed themselves under the stalls of the church, or in any other hiding-places they could find. After the battle the victorious troops of the duke of York fell to plundering the town, and the monk who wrote these verses looks upon it as a miraculous intervention of his patron saint that the king, instead of flying to the abbey, sought refuge in a house in the middle of the town, and thus the abbey escaped plunder. A brief account of the battle of Wakefield, in which the duke of York was slain, follows, and we have then a description of the second battle of St. Alban's, in which the abbey was less fortunate. The monk speaks indignantly, and no doubt feelingly, of the barbarous conduct and rapacity of the northern troops, and narrates with evident joy the arrival and triumph of Edward, and the sanguinary punishment which he inflicted on the northern plunderers on Towton field. The poem concludes with a statement of Edward's claims to the English crown, and a comparison between him and the feeble monarch to whom he had succeeded.

A Political Retrospect.

A poem, in English, written at the commencement of the reign of Edward IV., gives a sort of retrospect of the history of the Lancastrian dynasty, composed in a strongly Yorkist point of view. The author praises highly the prosperous reign of Richard II., and speaks of the base usurpation of Henry of Lancaster, who had dethroned "this righteous king, God's true knight," and thrown him into prison. "The blessed confessor," archbishop Scrope, took his death "full patiently" in

that quarrel. The "said Henry," for his tyranny and usurpation, was struck with leprosy, of which he died. The glory of his son, Henry V., was still too recent, and his name too popular, to allow of his being spoken of with disrespect; and, although he "reigned unright-"fully," he had held up the honour of England. But no language was too strong to describe the bad qualities of his ill-fated son, and more especially of his consort queen Margaret, whose reign had been one of continuous misrule. In speaking of the sanguinary struggle which had paved the way of the house of York to the throne, and which had proved so fatal to the English nobility, the writer of this poem compares England to a garden which had been many years overgrown with weeds, and which required to be "mown down plain" before the "pleasant sweet "herbs" could have a chance of growing. He quotes Edward's victories, and his constant good fortune, as an acknowledgment from heaven of his worthiness and right, and praises highly the earl of Warwick, "the "load-star of knighthood, born of a stock that ever "shall be true."

On the Recovery of the Throne by Edward IV.

Edward's fortune, however, was destined to change once, and Warwick's trueness to be put to a trial in which it failed. The next poem in the present volume, a longer English poem than the preceding, commemorates Edward's return from exile in 1471 to recover his crown.

After at least warm praise of king Edward, the writer tells how, when he landed in Holderness, the people were unwilling to join him, and showed him unkindness. He, however, made his way to York in spite of his enemies, and when the people of that city had a sight of his person, "their malice was "quenched," and they joined him. He proceeded thence to Pontefract, to the great chagrin of the marquis Montague, who durst not meet him. At Coventry

Edward was in want of meat, drink, and lodging for his army, yet he prepared to give battle to the earl of Warwick. He was here reconciled with his brother the duke of Clarence, but he remained long without being able to bring Warwick to fight, until "want of lodging and victual" obliged him to change his quarters, and he proceeded to London. At Daventry, a miracle—"an image which was closed "brake open suddenly"—was manifested in the abbey as a token of victory. The citizens of London received him with great joy, and he there took prisoners "a king and a clerk." He went by water from London to Westminster, where he resumed the crown and sceptre, and offered his devotions at the shrine of St. Edward. The meeting between Edward and his queen and children was very tender, but he was soon called away to meet his enemies in the field. The night before the battle of Barnet witnessed another miraculous sign in Edward's favour, for a bright star was seen to shine over his head. The battle is described at some length, after which the king returned to London, where his presence was very desirable. The bastard Falconberg had collected a multitude of fighting men, with whom he plundered the country round, and attempted to force his way into the capital, but he was successfully resisted by the citizens at London Bridge, the outer gate of which was burnt by the assailants. In another assault they applied gunpowder, as well as fire, and destroyed all the buildings up to the drawbridge, but they could get no further. They also attacked Aldgate, and burnt fair houses there, but the earl of Essex and the aldermen, with the citizens, went out at Bishopsgate, and, falling upon them, put them to flight. The earl of Rivers, too, happening to be in London, did great service, and, placing himself at the head of the citizens, attacked the Kentish men, and defeated and pursued them with great slaughter.

After this defeat the Kentish men dispersed, while king Edward came to London with his forces. The duke of Gloucester, "that noble prince,"—"grace him "followeth,' fortune, and good speed,"—with the earl of Pembroke, and the lord chamberlain and others, rode in the king's advanced guard of eight thousand men, and was joyfully received by the citizens King Edward knighted eight aldermen on the field of battle. The king, accompanied by the duke of Clarence, followed with a smaller division of his army, and was received and welcomed by at least twenty thousand men They rode through the city to St. Paul's, to offer up thanks for their success. The ballad ends with some lines in praise of Elizabeth, Edward's queen. It is rather curious that the author of this poem, who was evidently a contemporary, and probably a Londoner, should make the bastard Falconberg's attack upon London follow immediately after the battle of Barnet.

On England's Commercial Policy.

The last poem in the present collection is somewhat similar in subject to the Libel of English Policy, from which the first lines are taken, but it is much shorter Like that poem, its theme is the supremacy which England ought to secure by her navy and commerce. There was no man, the writer says, of whatever degree, who had not absolute need of three things, meat, drink, and clothes. England, he said, possessed all these three articles in abundance, and of one there was a great superfluity, but the people neglected to make the most of this advantage. Other countries produced meat and drink for their inhabitants, but it was clear that they depended upon England for clothing, for merchants from them all came here to purchase either the raw material or the cloth that was made of it. The writer here gives a list of the countries which then traded with England, adding that there were doubtless many others with the names of which he was not

acquainted, for he conjectured that all the nations under heaven, whether Christian or heathen, had need of our English commodities. He recommends that none but wool of the worst quality should be exported; because, as the coarse cloth could only be sold at a low price, while the various processes of making the cloth were nearly as expensive as in the fine cloth, so the profit of this coarse cloth to the makers was very small. The next point to which this writer calls attention makes us acquainted with rather a curious fact. A custom had, he says, been recently introduced among merchants and cloth-makers, which was very unjust and oppressive to the poor workmen, whom they compelled to take half of their wages in merchandise. This plan further enabled the employers to cheat those they employed, by giving them merchandise at a nominal value, which was double its true worth, so that it was an indirect manner of considerably diminishing their wages. Thus, "the poor had the labour, and the rich the gain." The writer demands an ordinance, or act of parliament, to compel the employers to pay the wages of their workmen in money. This system of paying wages in goods seems to have prevailed very extensively, and is represented as not only creating much misery among the poor, but as being in many cases a disadvantage to the employers themselves, and generally to the country, as it prevented the development of the national industry. This, the writer tells us, was especially the case in the mines, and he proposes a rather singular remedy. He asks for the establishment of a mint near the mines, and an ordinance that all the silver brought up should, as soon as it was refined, be coined on the spot, and that the men should receive their pay in this newly-coined money before any of it was carried away. If this were the case, he says, people would be glad to work, and the number of workmen

would be increased tenfold, and necessarily the more workmen were employed in the mines the greater quantity of silver would be derived from them; thus the king himself, and through him the whole kingdom, would be enriched. In the same way, by making all the fine wools into cloth at home, and paying the workmen fairly, money would be brought into the country, and a great source of national wealth transferred from our enemies to ourselves The suggestions contained in this poem furnish a very interesting illustration of the social condition of the English workman and of the state of English manufactures in the fifteenth century

This is the last poem of a political character with which I am acquainted which comes within the limits of the present collection It is hardly necessary to state that the texts in the present volume have been edited, from the original manuscripts, on the same principles which were observed in the former It may perhaps, however, be right to state that the plan adopted in the first volume was to collect together all the songs and short poems of a political or historical character, belonging to the period, which have been preserved, whether they had been previously printed or not; but as it has been since decided that poems which have previously been printed in works generally known and easy of access, such as the Archæologia, should not be re-edited here, that plan has, to a certain degree, been abandoned in the second volume, and such only have been re-edited as have previously appeared in books less likely to be generally known. I have thought it well at the same time, to prevent any inquirers who may be using this book from overlooking poems which have been printed elsewhere, to notice in the present Introduction all those which have been omitted

The Glossary of English words given at the end of

the volume has no further pretensions than to assist the reader in understanding the texts. The English poems belong to periods scattered over a century and a half; and they are just of that popular class which present the varying peculiarities of the language, and which contain a great number of words of a popular or trivial character, which perhaps only occur once in the writings with which we are acquainted, and to the exact meaning of which we have hardly any clue. It would be almost impossible, under such circumstances, to attempt anything like a systematic philological dictionary of the English language, as exhibited in these various examples; and I have contented myself with giving an index of the obsolete words or less intelligible forms, and explaining as many of them as I can.

POLITICAL POEMS.

VOL II

COMPLIMENTARY VERSES ON KING HENRY IV.[1]

By John Gower

Sequitur carmen unde magnificus vir noster Henricus prenobilis apud Deum et homines cum omni benedictione glorificetur

Rex colit Deus et Dominus, qui tempora solus
  Condidit, et solus condita cuncta regit,
Qui rerum causas ex se produxit, et unum
  In se principium rebus inesse dedit ;
Qui dedit ut stabili motu consisteret orbis,
  Fixus in æternum mobilitate sua ,
Quique potens verbi produxit adesse creata,
  Quique suo nutibus lege ligavit ea ;
Ipse caput regum, reges quo rectificantur,
  Teque tuum regnum, rex pie, quæso regat
Grata superveniens te misit gratia nobis,
  O sine labe salus, nulla par ante fuit.
Sic tua adventus nova gaudia sponte reduxit,
  Quo prius in læta lacrymæ major erat
Nox tua militiem pavidos relevavit ab imo,
  Quos prius oppressit ponderis omne malum.
Ex probitate tua, quo mors latitabat in umbra
Vita resurrexit claraque regna regit.

[1] From MS. Cotton. Tiberius A. iv. fol. 166, 1°. It is found in most of the manuscripts of Gower's Latin poems; and has here been collated with a copy in the MS of Gower's poems in possession of the duke of Sutherland, now preserved at Trentham.

Sic tua vera sortem mediante Deo renovatam
  Sanat et emendat, quo prius aegra fuit.
O pie rex, Christum per se laudamus, et ipsum
  Qui tibi nos tribuit terra reviva colit.
Sancta sit illa dies, qua tu tibi regna petisti,
  Sanctus et ille Deus qui tibi regna dedit.
Qui tibi prima tulit, confirmet regna futura,
  Quo poteris magno magnus honore frui.
Sit tibi progenies ita multiplicata per aevum,
  Quod genus inde pium repleat omne solum.
Quicquid in orbe boni fuerit tibi summus ab alto
  Donet, ut in terris rex in honore regas.
Omne quod est turpe vacuum discedat, et omne
  Est quod honorificum det Deus esse tuum.
Consilium nullum, pie rex, te tangat iniquum,
  In quibus occultum scit Deus esse dolum.
Absit avaritia, ne tangat regia corda,
  Nec queat in terra proditor esse tua.
Sic tua processus habeant fortuna perennes,
  Quo recolant laudes saecula cuncta tuas.
Nuper ut Augusti fuerant praeconia Romae,
  Concinat in gestis Anglia laeta tuis.
O tibi, rex, aevo detur fortissimo nostro
  Semper honorata sceptra tenere manu.
Stes ita magnanimus quod ubi tua regna gubernas,
  Terreat has partes hostica nulla manus.
Augeat imperium tibi Christus et augeat annos,
  Protegat et nostras aucta corona foves
Sit tibi pax finis, domito domineris in orbe,
  Cunctaque sint humeris inferiora tuis.
Sic honor et virtus, lux, gloria, pax quo, potestas,
  Regno tuum regnum magnificare queant.
Cordis amore boni, pie rex, mea vota paravi,
  Corpore cum nequii servio mente tibi.
Ergo tua laudique tuo genuflexus honori
  Verba loco doni pauper habenda tuli
Est tamen ista mei, pie rex, sententia voti,
  Vivo tui regni sint tibi regna noli.

H. aquilæ pullus quo numquam gratior ullus,
Hostes confregitque tyrannica colla subegit.
H. aquilo cepit olenum quo regna recepit,
Sic veteri juncta stipiti nova stirps redit uncta.

Epistola brevis unde virtutes regice morales ad sanum regimen ampliori memoria dirigantur.

O recolende bone, pio rex Henrice, patrone,
Ad bona dispone quos eripis a Pharaone.
Noxia depone quibus est humus hæc in agone
Regni personæ quo vivant sub ratione.
Pacem compone, vires moderare coronæ,
Legibus impone frænum sine conditione,
Firmaque sermone jura tenere mone.
Rex confirmatus licet undique magnificatus,
Sub Christo gratus, vivas tamen immaculatus
Est tibi prælatus, comes et baro, villa, senatus,
Miles et armatus, sub lege sua moderatus.
Dirige quosque status, manens quo pacificatus,
Invidus, elatus, nec avarus erit sociatus.
Sic eris ornatus, purus ad omne latus.
Hæc ut amans quibit Gower, pie rex, tibi scribit;
Quo pietas ibit, ibi gratia nulla peribit,
Qui bene describit, semet mala nulla subibit,
Sed pius exibitque Dei pietate redibit.
Sic qui transibit, opus et pietatis adibit,
Hunc Deus ascribit, quod ab hoste perire nequibit;
Et sic finibit, quia pia vota bibit.
Quanto regalis honor est tibi plus generalis,
Tanto moralis virtus tibi sit specialis.
Sit tibi carnalis in mundo regula qualis
Est tibi mentalis in Christo spiritualis.
Si fuerit talis, tua chronica perpetualis
Tunc erit æqualis perfectaque materialis.
Rex immortalis te regat absque malis.

Nota de justitia.

Nota de regimine.

Nota de pietate.

Nota de contemplatione.

Address of John Gower to Henry IV.[1]

Electus Christi, pie rex Henrice, fuisti,
Qui bene venisti cum propria regna petisti;
Tu mala vicistique bonis bona restituisti,
Et populo tristi nova gaudia contribuisti.
Est mihi spes lata quod adhuc per te renovata
Succedent fata veteri prolitate beata.
Est tibi nam grata gratia sponte data

O worthi noble kyng Henry the ferthe,
In whom the glade fortune is befalle
The poeple to governe uppon erthe,
God hath the chose in comfort of ous alle,
The worschipe of this lond, which was dom falle,
Now stant upriht thurgh grace of thi goodnesse,
Which every man is holde for to blesse.

The high God, of his justice allone,
The right which longeth to thi regalie
Declared hath to stonde in thi persone;
And more than God may no man justifie.
Thi title is knowe uppon thin ancestrie,
The londes folk hath ek thy riht affermed;
So stant thi regne, of God and man confermed.

Ther is no man mai seie in other wise
That God him self ne hath the riht declared,
Whereof the lond is born to thi servise,
Which for defaute of help hath longe cared;
But now ther is no mannes herte spared,
To love and serve, and wirche thi plesance,
And al is this thurgh Godes pourveiance.

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[1] This poem was inserted in the old black-letter editions in folio of the collected works of Chaucer. It is here printed from a contemporary manuscript in the possession of his grace the duke of Sutherland.

In alle thing which is of God begonne,
'Thor folwith grace, if it be wele governed;
Thus tellen thei whiche olde bookes conne,
Whereof, my lord, y wot wel thou art lerned.
Axe of thi God, so schalt thou noght be werned
Of no reqwest, which is resonable;
Ffor God unto the goode is favorable.

King Salomon, which hadde at his axinge
Of God what thing him was levest to crave,
He ches wisdom unto the governynge
Of Goddis folk, the whiche he wolde save,
And as he ches it fel him for to have;
Ffor thurgh his wit, whil that his regne laste,
He gat him pes and reste unto the laste.

Bot Alisaundre, as telleth his histoire,
Unto the God besoghte in other weie,
Of all the world to winne the victoire
So that undir his swerd it might obeie;
In werre he hadde al that he wolde preie,
The myghti God behight him that beheste,
The world he wan, and had it of conqweste.

Bot thogh it fel at thilke time so,
That Alisaundre his axinge hath achieved,
This sinful world was al paiene tho,
Was non which hath the hihe God believed,
No wonder was thogh thilke world was grieved,
Thogh a tiraunt his pourpos mihte winne;
Al was vengaunce and infortune of sinne.

Bot now the foith of Crist is come aplace
Among the princes in this erthe hiere,
It sit hem wel to do pité and grace;
Bot 3it it mot be tempred in manere;
Ffor as thei finden cause in the matiere,
Uppon the point, what afterward betide,
The lawe of riht shal noght be leid aside.

So mni a kyng of werre tho viago
Ordeigne and take, as he therto is holde,
To cleime and axe his rightful heritage
In alle places whor it is withholde;
Bot other wise if God him silve wolde
Afforme love and pes betwen the kynges,
Pes is the beste above alle erthely thinges.

Good is teschue werre, and natheles
A kyng may make werre uppon his right;
Ffor of bataille the final ende is pes.
Thus stant the lawe, that a worthi knyght
Uppon his trouthe may go to the fight;
Bot if so were that he myghte chese,
Betre is the pees, of which may no man lese

To store peace oghte every man alyve,
Ffirst for to sette his liege lord in reste,
And ek these othre men that thei no stryve,
Ffor so this world mai stonden ate beste.
What kyng that wolde be the worthieste,
The more he myghte oure dedly werre cesse,
The more he schulde his worthinesse encresse.

Pes is the chief of al the worldes welthe,
And to the heven it ledeth ek the weie;
Pes is of soule and lif the mannes helthe
Of pestilence, and doth the werre aweie.
My liege lord, tak hiede of that y seie,
If werre may be lefte, tak pes on honde,
Which may not be withoute Goddis sonde.

With pes stant every creature in reste;
Withoute pes ther may no lif be glad;
Above alle othre good pes is the beste;
Pes hath him self when werre is al bestad;
The pes is sauf, the werre is ever adrad;
Pes is of al charitie the keie,
Which hath the lif and soule for to weie.

My liege lord, if that the list to seche
  The sothe ensamples that the werre hath wroght,
Thou schalt wiel hiere of wise mennes speche,
  That dedly werre turneth into noght
  Ffor if these olde bokes be wel soght,
Ther myght thou se what thing the werre hath do,
Both of conqueste and conquerour also.

For vein honour, or for the worldes good,
  Thei that whilom the stronge werres made,
Wher be thei now, bethenk wel in thi mod;
  The day is gone, the nygth is derk and fade,
  Her crualté, which mad hem thanne glade,
Thei sorwen now, and zit have noght the more;
The blod is schad, which no man mai restore.

The werre is modir of the wronges alle;
  It sleth the prest in holi chirche at masse,
Fforlith the maide, and here flour tofalle;
  The werre maketh the grete citee lasse,
  And dothe the lawe his reules overpasse.
There is no thing wherof meschef mai growe,
Which is noght caused of the werre, I trowe.

The werre bringth in poverte at hise hieles,
  Wherof the comon peeple is sore grieved;
The werre hath set his cart on thilke whieles,
  Wher that fortune mai noght be believed.
  Ffor whan men wene best to have achieved,
Fulle ofte it is al newe to beginne;
The werre hath no thing siker, thogh he winne.

Forthi, my worthi prince, in Crists halve
  As for a part, whos feith thou hast to guide,
Leie to this olde sor a newe salve,
  And do the werre awei, what so betide;
  Pourchace pes, and sette it be thi side,
And suffre noght thi peeple be devoured;
So schal thi name ever after stonde honoured.

If eny man be now, or ever was,
  Azein the pes thi preyé counseillour,
Lete God been of thi counseil in this cas,
  And putte awei the cruel werreiour.
  Ffor God, which is of man the creatour,
He wolde noght men slowe his creature,
Withoute cause of dedly forfeture.

Whor nedeth most, behoveth most to loke;
  Mi lord, how so thi werres ben withoute
Of time passed, who than hiede toke,
  Good were at hom to so riht wel aboute,
  Ffor evermor the werste is for to doute;
Bot if thou myghtest parfit pes atteigne,
Ther schulde be no cause for to pleigne.

Aboute a kyng good counseil is to preise,
  Above alle othre thinges most vailable;
Bot zit a kyng withinne him self schal peise,
  And so the thinges that ben resonable;
  And theruppon he schal his wittes stable,
Among the men to sette pes in evene,
Ffor love of him which is the kyng of hevene.

Ha! wel is him that schedde never blod,
  Bot if it were in cause of rihtwisnesse.
Ffor if a kyng the peril undirstod,
  What is to slo the people, thanne y gesse
  The dedly werres and the hevynesse,
Whorof the pes distourbid is ful ofte,
Schulde at som time cesse and wexe softe.

O kyng, fulfilled of grace and of kuyghthode,
  Remembre uppon this point for Cristes sake;
If pes be profred unto thi manhode,
  Thin honour sauf, let it noght be forsake.
  Though thou the werres daust wel undirtake,
Affir reson zit tompre thi corage,
For lich to pes ther is non avantage.

My worthi lord, thenke wel how so befalle
Of thilke lore, as holi bokes sein,
Crist is the hoved, and we ben membres alle,
As wel the subjit as the sovereign;
So sit it wel, that charité be plein,
Which unto God him selve most accordeth,
So as the lore of Cristes word recordeth.

In tholde lawe, er Crist him self was bore,
Among the ten comandementz y rede
How that manslaghtre schulde be forbore;
Such was the wille that time of the Godhede;
But aftirwards, whanne Crist tok his manhede,
Pes was the ferste thing he let do crie
Azein the worldes rancour and envie.

And er Crist wente out of this erthe hiere,
And stigh to hevene, he made his testament,
Wher he bequath to his disciples there
And 3af his pes, whiche is the foundament
Of charité, withouten whos assent
The worldes pes may never wel be tried,
No love kept, no lawe justefied.

The Jewes with the paiens hadden werre,
Bot thei among hem self stode evere in pes;
Whi schulde thanne oure pes stonde out of herre,
Which Crist hath chose unto his oghne eneres?
For Crist is more than was Moises,
And Crist hath set the parfit of the lawe,
The which scholde in no wise be withdrawe.

To 3ive ous pes was cause whi Crist dide,
Withoute pes may no thing stonde availed;
Bot now a man mai sen on everi side,
How Cristes feith is every dai assailed,
With the paiens destruied, and so batailed
That for defalte of help and of defence,
Unethe hath Crist his dewe reverence.

The righte feith to kepe of holy chirche,
  The firste point is named of knyghthode;
And everi man is holde for to wirche
  Uppon the point which stant to his manhode.
  Bot now, helas! the fame is sprad so broode,
That everi man this thing compleigneth,
And zit ther is no man which help ordeigneth.

The worldes cause is waited over al,
  Ther ben the werres redi to the fulle,
Bot Cristes oghne cause in special,
  Ther ben the swerdes and the spores dulle;
  And with the sentence of the popes bulle,
As for to do the folk paien obeie,
The chirche is turned al another weie.

It is to wonder above any mannys wit,
  Withoute werre how Cristes feith was wonne;
And we that ben uppon this erthe zit,
  No kepe it noght as it was first begonne.
  To every creature undir the sonne
Crist bad him self, how that we selmldon preche,
And to the folk his evangile teche.

More light it is to kepe than to make;
  Bot that we founden made tofore the hond
We kepe noght, bot lete it lightly slake.
  The pes of Crist hath al tobroke his bond;
  We reste our selve, and soffrin every lond
To slon ech other, as thing undefendid;
So stant the werre, and pes is noght amendid.

Bot thogh the hoved of holy chirche above
  No do not al his hole businesse
Among the men to sette pes and love,
  These kynges oughten of here rightwissnesse
  Here oghne cause among hem self redresse;
Thogh Peters schip as now hath lost his stiere,
It lith in hem that bigge for to stiere.

If holy cherche after the duelé
Of Cristes word ne be noght al avysed
To make pes, acord, and unité
Among the kinges that ben now devised,
Zit natheles the lawe stant assised
Of mannys wit to be so resonable,
Withoute that to stonde hem selve stable.

Of holy chirche we ben children alle,
And every child is holden for to lowe
Unto the modir, how that ever it falle,
Or elles he not reson desalowe.
And for that cause a knyght schal first avowe
The right of holi chirche to defende,
That no man schal the previlege offende.

Thus were it [good] to setten al in evene,
The worldes princes and the prelatz bothe,
Ffor love of him which is the king of hevene;
And if men scholde algate wexe wrothe,
The Sarazins, whiche unto Crist be lothe,
Let men ben armed azein hem to fighte,
So mai the knight his dede of armes righte.

Uppon thre pointz stant Cristes pes oppressed;
Ffirst holy chirche is in her silf divided,
Which oughte of reson first to be redressed,
Bot zit so highe a cause is noght decided.
And thus whan humble pacience is prided,
The remenaunt, which that thei schulden reule,
No wonder is though it stonde out of reule.

Of that the heved is sick, the limes aken;
These regnes that to Cristes pes belongen,
Ffor worldes good these dedly werres maken,
Which heliples as in balancé hongen.
The heved above hem hath noght undirfongen
To sette pes, bot every man sleeth other,
And in this wise hath charité no brother.

The two defaltes bringen in the thridde,
Of miscreantz, that sen how we debate,
Betwene the two thei fallen in amidde,
Whor now al dai thei finde an open gate.
Lo, thus the dedly were stant algate;
Bot evere y hope of king Henries grace,
That he it is which schal the pes embrace.

My worthi noble prince and kyng enoignt,
Whom God hath of his grace so preserved,
Beholde and se the world uppon this point,
As for thi part, that Cristes pes be served;
So schal thin highe mede be reserved
To him which al schal qwiten ate laste,
Ffor this life hiere nai no while laste.

See Alisandre, Ector, and Julius,
See Machabeu, David, and Josué,
See Charlemeine, Godefroi, Arthus,
Ffulfild of werre and of mortalité,
Here fame abit, bot al is vanité;
Ffor deth, which hath the werres under fote,
Hath made an end of which ther is no bote.

So nai a man the sothe wite and knowe,
That pes is good for every man to have;
The fortune of the werre is evere unknowe,
Bot wher pes is, ther hen the marches save.
That now is [up], to morwe is under grave,
The mighti God hath alle grace in honde,
Without him pes nai noght longe stonde.

Off the tonetz to winne or lese a chase,
May no lif wite er that the bal be ronne;
Al stant in God, what thing man schal pourchace,
Thende is in hint er that it be begonne.
Men sein the wolle, whanne it is wel sponne,
Doth that the cloth is strong and profitable,
And elles it nai never be durable.

The worldes chaunces uppon aventure
Ben evere sett, bot thilke chaunce of pes
Is so behoveli to the creature,
That it above alle othre is piereles;
Bot it mai noght begete natheles
Among the men to lasten eny while,
Bot wher the herte is plein withoute guile

The pes is as it were a sacrement
Tofore the God, and schal with wordes pleine,
Withouten eny double entendement
Be treted, for the trouthe can noght feine;
Bot if the men withinne hem self be veine,
The substance of the pes may noght be trewe,
Bot every dai it chaungeth uppon newe.

Bot who that is of charité perfit,
He voideth alle sleightes ferr aweie,
And sett his word upon the same plit,
Wher that his herte hath found a siker weie;
And thus whan conscience is trewly weie,
And that the pes be handlid with the wise,
It schal abide, and stonde in alle wise.

Thapostle seith, ther mai no lif be good
Which is noght grounded uppon charité,
Ffor charité no schedde nevere blod;
So hath the werre as ther no proprité.
Ffor thilke vertu which is seid pité
With charité so forforth is acqweinted,
That in here may no fals semblant be peinted.

Cassodre, whos writinge is auctorized,
Seith, wher that pité regneth ther is grace,
Thurgh which the pes hath al his welthe assised,
So that of werre he dredeth no manace.
Wher pité dwelleth in the same place
Ther mai no dedly cruelté sojorne,
Wherof that merci schulde his wei torne.

To so what pité forth with merey doth,
The cronique is at Rome in thilke empire
Of Constantin, which is a tale soth;
When him was levere his oghne doth desire
Than do the ȝonge children to martire,
Of cruelté he lafte the querele,
Pité he wroghte, and pité was his hele.

For thilke mannes pité which he dede,
God was pitous, and mad him hol at al;
Silvestre cam, and in the same stede
ȝaf him baptisme first in special,
Which dide awai the sinne orginal,
And al his lepre it hath so purified
That his pité for ever is magnified.

Pité was cause whi this emperour
Was hol in bodi and in soule bothe;
And Rome also was set in thilke honour
Of Cristes feith, so that the lione of lothe,
Which haddon be with Crist tofore wrothe,
Restoined were unto Cristes lore;
Thus schal pité be preised evermore.

My worthi liege lord, Henri be name,
Which Engeland hast to governe and righte,
Men oghten wel thi pité to proclame,
Which openliche in al the worldes sighte
Is showed, with the help of God almighte
To ȝive ous pes, which longe hath be dolented;
Wherof thi pris schal nevere ben abated.

My lord, in whom hath ever ȝit be founde
Pité, withouten spot of violence,
Kep thilke pes alwei withinne bounde
Which God hath planted in thi conscience;
So schal the cronique of thi pacience
Among the seintz be take into memoire,
To the leenge of perdurable gloire.

And to thin erthli pris, so as y can,
Which everi man is holde to commende,
I, Gower, which am al thi liege man,
This lettre unto thin excellence y sende,
As y which evere unto my lives ende
Wol praie for the stat of thi persone,
In worschipe of thi sceptre and of thi throne.

Noght only to my king of pes y write,
Bot to these othre princes cristene alle,
That ech of hem his oghne herte endite,
And sese the werre er mor meschiefe falle.
Sette ek the rightful pope uppon his stalle,
Kep charité, and draugh pité to honde,
Maintene lawe, and so the pes schal stonde.

Explicit carmen de pacis commendatione, quod ad laudem et memoriam serenissimi principis domini regis Henrici quarti suus humilis orator Johannes Gower composuit.

Henrici quarti primus regni fuit annus
Quo mihi defecit visus ad acta mea.
Omnia tempus habent, finem natura ministrat,
Quem virtute sua frangere nemo potest.
Ultra posse nihil quamvis mihi velle remansit,
Amplius ut scribam non mihi posse manet.
Dum potui scripsi, sed nunc, quia torva senectus
Turbavit sensus, scripta relinquo scholis.
Scribat qui veniet post me discretior alter,
Amodo namque manus et mea penna silent.
Hoc tamen in fine verborum quaeso meorum,
Prospera quod statuat regna futura Deus.

Explicit.

Jacke Upland.[1]

1401.

I, Jacke Upland, make my mone to very God,
and to all true in Christ,
that Antichrist and his disciples,
by colour of holines,
walking and deceiving Christs church
by many false figures,

[1] This violent attack on the *friars by one of the Wycliffite party* has been preserved by being inserted in the early printed black-*letter folios of the works of Chaucer*, from whence it is here printed. The old editor was quite ignorant of the *fact that it was composed in alliterative verse*, and either he, or some one from whom he had it, has altered it so much, *with the view apparently* of removing the obscurity which seems to a certain degree inseparable *from this class of old English* poetry, by using common words for obsolete ones, and adding words and phrases to explain the meaning, that much of the alliteration and rhythm is lost. I give it verbatim *from this printed text, except that* I have arranged it in lines as nearly as I can make them from a knowledge of the rhythm of this class of versification. A comparison with the alliterative poem which follows will enable us to restore a good deal of it to its original form. The poem alluded to is a reply by a friar to the attacks of Jack Upland, and this latter is accompanied by a rejoinder which contains an allusion which enables *us to fix the date of all three.* The writer throws in the teeth of his opponent a recent act of justice of *Henry IV*, who had hanged certain traitorous friars:—

" And the kyng by his Juges two
" execute his lawe,
" As he did now late,
" When he hanged 3on traytours."

There can be no doubt that this refers to the event thus recorded in *Capgrave's Chronicle*, p. 278: " About the fest of Pentecost that " same 3ere [May, 1401], certeyn " men whech had conspired the " kyngis deth, &c. . . . a prest . . . " was take at Ware . . . . The " prest for his labour was hang and " drawe. So was a chanon priour " of Lawne, whech mite a lyved " but for his tunge. So were cer- " teyn religious men, and specialy " of the menouris order, endited of " treason and hanged." It is most probable that all these poems were composed during the year 1401; the last in date of them must have been written very soon after the event just mentioned.

where through (by Antichrist and his) many vertues
been transposed to vices.
But the felliest folke
that ever Antichrist found,
been last brought into the church,
and in a woonder wise;
for they been of diverse sects of Antichrist,
sown of diverse countries and kindreds.
And all men knowne well that
they bee not obedient to bishops,
ne leege men to kings;
neither they tillen ne sowen,
weeden ne reapen,
wood, corn, ne grasse,
neither nothing that man should helpe,
but onely themselves,
their lives to susteine.
And these men han all manner power
of God, as they seyn,
in heaven and in yearth,
to sell heaven and hell
to whom that them liketh;
and these wretches woet never
where to been themselves.
And therefore, freer, if thine order and rules
been grounded on Goddis law,
tell thou mee, Jacke Upland,
that I aske of thee,
and if thou be or thinkest to be on Christes side,
keepe thy paciens.
Saint Paule teacheth that all our deedes
should be do in charitie,
and els it is nought worth,
but displeasing to God,
and harme to oure soules.
And for that freers challenge
to be greatest clerkes of the church,

and next following Christ in living,
men should for charitie
ask them some questions,
and pray them to ground their answeres
in reason and holy writ;
for else their answer would nought be woorth,
be it flourished never so faire,
and, as me thinke, men might skilfully
aske thus of a freer.

1. Freer, how many orders bee in earth?
and which is the perfectest order?
of what order art thou?
who made thine order?
what is thy rule?
is there any perfecter rule
than Christ himself made?
If Christs rule be most perfect,
why rulest thou thee not thereafter?
Without more, why shal a freer
be more punished,
if he break the rule
that his patron made,
than if he break the hests
that God himself made.

2. Approveth Christ any more religions
than one that saint James speaketh of?
If hee approveth no more,
why hast thou left his rule,
and takest another?
Why is a freer apostata,
that loveth his order,
and taketh another sect,
sith there is but one religion of Christ?

3. Why be ye wedded faster to your habits
than a man is to his wife?
For a man may leave his wife for a year or two,
as many men done;

and if you leave your habite a quarter of a yeare,
ye should be holden apostatnes.
4. Maketh your habit you
men of religion or no?
If it doe, then ever as it weareth,
your religion weareth;
and after that your habit is better,
your religion is better;
and when yee have liggen it beside,
then lig ye your religion beside you,
and been apostataes.
Why buy ye you so precious clothes,
sith no man seeketh such,
but for vaine glorie,
as saint Gregorie sayth?
What betokeneth your great hood,
your scaplerie,
your knotted girdle,
and your wide cope?
5. Why use ye all one colour
more than other christian men doe?
What betokeneth that ye been clothed
all in one manner clothing?
If yee say it betokeneth
love and charitie,
certes then ye be oft hypocrites,
when any of you hateth another,
and in that that ye wol be said holy
by your clothing.
Why may not a freer weare clothing
of another sect of freers,
sith holinesse stondeth not
in the cloths?
6. Why hold ye silence in one house
more than another,
sith men ought over all to speake the good
and leave the evill?

Why eat you flesh in one house
more than in another,
if your rule and your order be perfect,
and the patron that made it?
7. Why get ye your dispensations
to have it more easie?
Certes either it seemeth
that yee be unperfect,
or he that made it so hard,
that ye may not hold it.
And siker, if ye hold not
the rule of your patrons,
ye be not then her freers,
and so ye lie upon your selves.
8. Why make you as dede men,
when yee be professed,
and yet ye be not dede,
but more quicke beggars than you were before?
And it seemeth evil a dede man
to go about and beg.
9. Why will ye not suffer
your novises hear
your councels in your chapter house,
ere that they have ben professed,
if your councels been true
and after Gods law?
10. Why make yee so costly houses
to dwell in, sith Christ did not so,
and dede men should have but graves,
as falleth it to dede men?
And yet ye have more courts
than many lords of England;
for ye now wenden throgh the realme,
and ech night will lig
in your own courts,
and so mow but right few lords doe.
11. Why *heire you to ferme*

your limitors,
giving therefore each yeare
a certain rent,
and will not suffer one
in anothers limitation,
right as yee were your selves
lords of countries?
Why be ye not under your bishops visitations,
and leege men to our king?
Why aske ye no letters of bretherheads
of other mens praiers,
as ye desire that other men
should aske letters of you?
If your letters be good,
why grant ye them not generally
to all maner of men,
for the more charitie?

12. Mowe ye make any man
more perfect brether for your prayers,
than God hath by our beleeve,
by our baptisme and his owne grant?
If ye mow, certes,
then ye be above God.
Why make ye men beleeve
that your golden trentall sung of you,
to take therefore ten shillings,
or at least five shillings
will bring soules out of hell,
or out of purgatorie?
If this be sooth, certes,
yee might bring all soules out of paine;
and that wol ye nought,
and then ye be out of charitie.

13. Why make ye men beleeve
that he that is buried
in your habit
shal never come in hel,

and ye weet not of your selfe
whether yee shall to hell or no?
And if this were sooth,
ye should sell your high houses
to make many habites
for to save many mens soules.

14. Why steal ye mens children
for to make hem of your seet,
sith that theft is against Gods hests,
and sith your seet is not perfect?
Yee know not whether the rule that yee bind him to
be best for him or worst.

15. Why undernome yee not your brethren
for their trespasse after the law of the gospell,
sith that undernoming
is the best that may be?
But ye put them in prison oft,
when they do after Gods law;
and by saint Augustines rule,
if any doe amisse,
and would not amend him,
ye should put him from you.

16. Why coveit ye shrift and burying
of other mens parishens,
and none other sacrament
that falleth to christian folke?
Why busie ye not to heare
to shrift of poore folke,
as well as of rich,
lordes and ladies,
sith they now have more plentie
of shrift-fathers than poore folke now?
Why say ye not the gospel
in houses of bedred men,
as ye do in rich mens,
that nowe goo to church and heare the gospell?
Why covet you not to burie

poor folk among you,
sith that they been most holy,
as ye saine that ye ben for your povertie?
17. Why will ye not be at her diriges,
as ye have ben at rich mens,
sith God praiseth him more
than he doth other men?
What is thy prayer worth,
sith thou wilt take therefore?
For all chapmen yee need to bee most wise
for dread of simonie.
What cause hast thou that thou wilt not preach the gospel,
as God saith that thou sholdst,
sith it is the best lore,
and also our beleeve?
Why be ye evill apaid
that secular priestes
should preach the gospell,
sith God himselfe hath bodden hem?
18. Why hate ye the gospell to be preached,
sith ye be so much hold therto?
For ye win more by yeare
with *In principio,*
than with all the rules
that ever your patrones made.
And in this minstrels
ben better than ye;
for they contrarien not
to the mirths that they maken,
but yee contrarien the gospell,
both in word and deed.
19. Freer, when thou receivest a penie
for to say a masse,
whether sellest thou Gods bodie for that penie,
or thy praier, or els thy travell?
If thou saiest thou wolt not travell
for to say the masse but for the penie,

that certes if this be sooth,
then thou lovest too litle meed for thy soule;
and if thou sellest Gods bodie, other thy prayer,
then it is very simonie,
and art become a chapman worse than Judas,
that sold it for thirtie pence.

20. Why writest thou hir names in thy tables
that yeveth thee mony,
sith God knoweth al thing?
For it semeth by thy writing
that God would not reward him,
but thou writest in thy tables,
God would els forgotten it.
Why bearest thou God in hand,
and slanderest him,
that he begged for his meat,
sith he was lord over all?
For then had he beene unwise,
to have begged and have no need thereto.
Freer, after what lawe
rulest thou thee?
Where findest thou in Gods lawe
that thou shouldest thus beg?

21. What manner men
needeth for to beg?
For whom oweth
such men to beg?
Why beggest thou
so for thy brotheren?
If thou saiest, for they have need,
then thou doest it for the more perfection,
or els for the least,
or els for the meane.
If it be the most perfection of all,
then should all thy brethren do so,
and then no man needed
to beg but for him self,

for so should no man beg
but he needed.
And if it be the least perfection,
why lovest thou then other men
more than thyselfe?
For so thou art not well in charitie,
since thou shouldest seek the more perfection,
after thy power living
thy self most after God;
and thus leaving that imperfection,
thou shouldest not so beg for them.
And if it is a good mean,
thus to beg as thou doest,
then should no man do so,
but they been in this good meane;
and yet such a mean granted to you may never
be grounded on Gods law,
for then both lerid and leaud
that ben in meane degree of this world,
should go about
and beg as ye do.
And if all should do so,
certes well nigh all the world
should go about
and beg as ye done,
and so should there be ten beggers
against one yever.
Why procurest thou men
to yeve the their almes,
and saiest it is so needful,
and thou wilt not thy selfe
win thee that meed.

22. Why wilt thou not beg
for poore bedred men
that bin poorer
than any of your sect,
that liggen and mow not go about

to help him selfes?
Sith we be all brethren in God,
and that brotherhed passeth
any other that ye
or any man could make.
And where most need were,
there were most perfection;
either els yee hold them
not your pure brethren,
but worse, but then ye be
unperfect in your begging.
Why make ye so many
maisters among you,
sith it is against the teaching
of Christ and his apostles?

23. Whose ben all your rich courts that yee han,
and all your rich jewels,
sith ye seyen that ye han nought
ne in proper ne in common?
If ye saine they ben the popes,
why gather yee then of poore men and lords
so much out of the kings hand
to make your pope rich,
And sith ye sain that it is great perfection
to have nought in proper ne in common,
why bee ye so fast about to make
the pope, that is your father, rich,
and put on him imperfection?
Sithen ye saine
that your goods been all his,
and he should by reason
be the most perfect man,
it seemeth openlich
that ye been cursed children
so to slander your father
and make him imperfect.
And if yee saine that the goods be yours,

then do ye ayenst your rule.
And if it be not ayenst your rule,
then might ye have
both plough and cart,
and labour as other good men done,
and not so to beg by losengery,
and idle, as ye done.
If yee say that it is more perfection to beg,
than to travell or to worch with your hand,
why preach ye not openly,
and teach all men to do so,
sith it is the best and most perfect life
to the help of their soules,
as ye make children to beg,
that might have bin rich heirs?
Why make ye not
your feasts to poore men,
and yeveth him yefts,
as yee done to the rich,
sith poore men han
more need than the rich?
What betokeneth that ye goe
tweine and tweine togither?
If ye be out of charitie,
ye accord not in soule.
Why beg ye and take salaries therto
more than other priests,
sith hee that most taketh,
most charge hath?

24. Why hold ye not saint Francis
rule and his testament,
sith Francis saith that God showed him
this living and this rule?
and certes, if it were Gods will,
the pope might not fordo it,
or els Francis was a lier,
that saied in this wise.

And but this testament that he made
accord with Gods will,
or els erred, he is a lier,
that were out of charitie;
and as the law saith, he is accursed
that letteth the rightful last wil of a dead man.
And this testament is the last will
of Francis that is a dead man;
it seemeth therefore
that all his freers been cursed.

25. *Why will ye not touch no coined money*
with the crosse ne with the kings head,
as ye done other jewels
both of gold and silver?
Certes if ye despise the crosse,
or the kings head,
then ye be worthy to be despised
of God and the king;
and sith ye will receive money
in your hearts, and not with your hands,
it seemeth that ye hold more holinesse
in your hands than in your hearts,
and then be false to God.

26. Why have ye exempt you from our kings lawes,
and visiting of our bishops,
more than other christen men
that liven in this realme,
If ye be not guiltie of traitorie to our realme,
or trespassers to your bishops?
But ye will have the kings lawes
for the trespasse doe to you,
and ye wil have power of other bishops
more than other priests,
and also have leave to prison your brethren,
as lords in your courts,
more than other folks han
that ben the kings leege men.

27. Why shal some sect of you freers
pay ech a yere a certaine
to her generall provinciall or minister,
or els to her sovereines,
but if he steal a certaine number
of children, as some men saine?
And certes, if this ben sooth,
then yee bee constreined upon certein pain
to do theft, against Gods commaundement,
Non furtum facies.

28. Why be ye so hardie to grant by letters
of fraternitie to men and women,
that they shall have part and merite
of all your good deedes?
And ye weten never whether God bee apayed
with your deeds, because of your sinne.
Also yee witten never whether that man or woman
be in state to bee saved or damned,
then shall he have no merit in heaven
for his owne deeds ne for none other mans.
And all were it so that he should have
part of your good deeds,
yet should hee have no more that God would give
him
after that he were worthie;
and so much shall each man have of God's yeft,
without your limitation.
But if ye will say that ye been Gods fellowes,
and that he may nought doe
without your assent,
then be ye blasphemers to God.

29. What betokeneth
that yee have ordeined,
that when such one as ye have made
your brother or sister,
and hath a letter of your seale,
that letter mought bee brought in your holye chapter,

and there be rad,
or els yee will not pray for him.
And but ye willen pray especially
for all other that were not made
your brethren or sistren,
then were ye not in right charitie,
for that ought to be common,
and semely in ghostly things.
30. Freer, what charitie is this,
to overcharge the people by mightie begging,
under colour of preaching,
or praying, or masses singing?
Sith holy write biddeth not thus,
but even the contrarie;
for all such ghostly deedes should be done frely,
as God yeveth them freely.
31. Freer, what charitie is this,
to beguile children
or they common to discretion,
and bind hem to your orders,
that ben not grounded in Gods law,
agains hir friends will?
Sithen by this follie been many apostates,
both in will and deed,
and many beene apostates in hir will
during all her life,
that would gladly be discharged,
if they wist how;
and so many ben apostates,
that shoulden in other states have been true men.
32. *Freer, what charitie is this,*
to make so many freers
in every country,
to the charge of the people?
Sith persons and vicars alone,
ye, secular priests alone,
ye, monkes and canons alone,

with bishops above them,
were ynough to the church
to doo the priests office.
And to addo more than ynough,
is a foule errour,
and great charge to the people,
and this openly against Gods will,
that ordained all thyngs
to be done in weight, number, and measure.
And Christ himselfe was apaied
with twelve apostles and a fewe disciples,
to preach and doo priests office
to all the whole world;
then was it better doo than is nowe at this time,
by a thousand dele.
And right so as foure fingers
with a thombe in a mans hand
helpeth a man to worch,
and double number of fingers in one hand
should let him more;
and so the more number that there were
passing the measure of Gods ordinaunce,
the more were a man letted to worch;
right so, as it seemeth,
it is of these new orders
that ben added to the church,
without ground of holy write and Gods ordinance.

33. Freer, what charity is this,
to the people to lie,
and say that ye follow Christ in povertie
more than other men done?
And yet in curious and costly housing,
and fine and precious clothing,
and delicious and liking feeding,
and in treasure and jewels,
and rich ornaments,
freers passen lords
and other rich worldly men,

and soonest they should bring
her cause about,
be it never so costly,
though Gods law be put abacke.
34. Freer, what charitie is this,
to gather up the books of holy write,
and put hem in tresorie,
and so emprison them
from secular priestes and curats,
and by this cautell
let hem to preach the gospell
freely to the people
without worldly meed,
and also to defame
good priests of heresie,
and lien on hem openly,
for to let hem to show Gods law
by the holy gospell
to the Christian people.
35. Freer, what charitie is this,
to faine so much holines
in your bodily clothing,
that ye clepe your habit,
that many blind fools desiren to die therein
more than in another?
And also that a freer that loveth his habit,
late founden of men,
may not be assoiled
till he take it againe,
but is apostata, as ye saine,
and cursed of God and man both?
The freer beleeveth truth and patience,
chastitie, meeknesse, and sobrietie,
yet for the more part of his life
he may soon be assoiled of his prior;
and if he bring home to his house
much good by the yeare,
bee it never so falsely

begged and pilled
of the poore and needie people
in countries about,
he shall be hold a noble freer;
o Lord, whether this be charitie!
36. Freer, what charity is this,
to preaso upon a rich man,
and to intice him to be buried among you
from his parish church,
and to such rich men give letters of fraternitie,
confirmed by your generall seale,
and therby to bear him in hand,
that he shal have part of all your masses,
mattens, preachings,
fastings, wakings,
and all other good deeds
done by your brethren of your order,
both whilest he liveth,
and after that he is dead;
and yet ye witten never whether your deeds
be acceptable to God,
no whether that man
that hath that letter
be able by good living
to receive any part of your deeds.
And yet a poore man,
that ye wite well or supposen in certen
to have no good of,
ye ne given to such letters,
though he be a better man to God
than such a rich man.
Nevertheless this poore man
doth not retch therof;
for as men supposen,
such letters, and many other
that freers behoten to men,
be full false deceits of freers,

out of all reason,
and Gods law,
and Christian mens faith.
37. Freer, what charitie is this,
to be confessors of lords and ladies,
and to other mightie men,
and not amend hem in hir living?
but rather, as it seemeth,
to be the bolder
to pill hir poore tenants,
and to live in lechery;
and there to dwell in your office of confessor
for winning of worldlie goods,
and to be hold great
by colour of such ghostly offices?
This seemeth rather pride of freers,
than charitie of God.
38. Freer, what charitie is this,
to fain that who so liveth after your order,
liveth most perfectlie,
and next followeth the state of apostles
in povertie and penance;
and yet the wisest and greatest clerkes of you
wend or send or procure to the court of Rome,
to be made cardinals or bishops
of the popes chaplens,
and to be assoiled of the vow of povertie
and obedience to your ministers;
in the which, as ye sain, standeth most perfection
and *merit of your orders*;
and thus ye faren as Pharisees
that sain one and do mother to the contrarie,

Why name ye more
the patron of your order
in your *Confiteor*,
when ye begin masse,
than other saints,

apostles, or martyrs,
that holy church hold[eth]
more glorious than hem,
and clepe hem your patrons
and your avowries?
Freer, whether was saint Francis
in making of his rule that he set thine order in,
a foole and a liar,
or else wise and true?
If ye sain that he was not a foole, but wise,
ne a liar, but true,
why shew ye contrarie by your doing,
when by your suggestion to the pope
ye said that your rule that Francis made
was so hard,
that ye mow not live to hold it,
without declaration and dispensation of the pope?
And so by your deed,
ne let your patron a foole,
that made a rule so hard
that no man may well keepe;
and eke your deed prooveth him a liar,
where he saith in his rule,
that he tooke and learned it
of the Holy Ghost;
for how might ye for shame pray the pope
undo that the Holy Ghost bit,
as when ye prayed him to dispense
with the hardnesse of your order?
Freer, which of the foure orders
of friers is best,
to a man that knoweth not
which is the best,
but would faine enter into
the best, and none other?
If thou saiest that thine is the best,
then saiest thou that none of the other

is as good as thine;
and in this ech freer in the three other orders
wooll say that thou liest,
for in the self same maner ech other freer
wooll say that his order is best.
And thus to ech of the foure orders
bin the other three contrary in this point,
in the which if any say sooth,
that is one alone,
for there may but one
be the best of foure.
So followeth it that if ech of these orders
answered to this question as thou doest,
three were false, and but one true,
and yet no man should wite who that were.
And thus it seemeth that the most part
of freers bin or should be
liars in this point,
and they should answere thereto.
If you say that another order of the freers
is better than thine, or as good,
why tooke ye not rather thereto as to the better,
when thou mightst have chose at the begining?
And eke why shouldst thou be an apostata,
to leave thine order and take thee to that is better,
and so why goest thou not
from thine order into that?
Freer, is there any perfecter
rule of religion
than Christ Gods sonne gave
in his gospell to his brethren?
or than that religion that saint James
in his epistle maketh mention of?
If you say yes, then puttest thou on Christ,
that is the wisedome of God the Father,
unkunning, unpower,
and evill will;

for then he could not make his rule,
so good as an other did his,
and so he had be unkunning;
that he might not so make
his rule so good
as another man might,
and so were he unmightie, and not God;
as he would not make his rule
so perfect as another did his,
and so he had bin evill willed,
namely to himselfe.
For if he might and could,
and would have made a rule perfect,
without defau'lt, and did not,
he was not Gods Sonne almighty.
For if any other rule
be perfecter than Christes,
then must Christes rule
lacke of that perfection,
by as much as the other
weren more perfecter;
and so were default, and Christ had failed
in making of his rule;
but to put any default or failing in God
is blasphemie.
If thou say that Christes rule,
and that religion
which saint James maketh mention of,
is perfectest,
why holdest thou not
thilke rule without more?
And why clepest thou the rather
of saint Francis or saint Dominiks rule,
or religion or order,
than of Christes rule or Christes order?
Freer, canst thou any default assigne
in Christes rule of the gospell,

with the which he taught all men
sikerly to be saved,
if they kept it to her onding?
If thou say it was too hard,
then saiest thou Christ lied;
for he said of his rule,
" My yoke is soft and my burden light."
If thou say Christes rule
was too light;
that may be assigned for no default,
for the better it may be kept.
If thou saist that there is no default
in Christes rule of the gospell,
sith Christ himself saith
it is light and easie,
what need was it to patrons of freers
to adde more thereto,
and so to make an harder religion to save freers
than was the religion of Christes apostles,
and his disciples holden,
and were saved by?
But if they wouldon that her freers
saten above the apostles
in heaven for the harder religion
that they keepen here,
so would they sitten in heaven above Christ himselfe,
for their more and streict observations,
then so should they be better
than Christ himself, with mischance.
Go now foorth, and fraine your clerks,
and ground ye you in Gods law,
and gif Jacke an answer;
and when ye han assoiled me
that I have said sadly,
in truth I shall soile thee
of thine orders,
and save thee to heaven.

If freers kun not, or mow not,
excuse hem of these questions asked of hem,
it seemeth that they be horrible giltie
against God and her even christian;
for which gilts and defaults
it were worthy that the order,
that they cal their order,
were fordone.
And it is woonder that men susteine hem,
or suffer hir live in such maner.
For holie write biddeth
that thou do well to the meeke,
and give not to the wicked,
but forbed to give hem bread,
least they be made thereby
mightier through you.

The Reply of Friar Daw Topias, with Jack Upland's Rejoinder.[1]

1401.

Ho shal graunten to myn eye
a strong streme of teres,
to wailen and to wepyn

An answere to this tretis,
that a frere hath forgid;
he callith hym self Daw Topias,

---

[1] These two alliterative poems, a reply to and a defence of the preceding, are preserved in a contemporary MS. in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, MS. Digby, No. 41, fol. 2, 1°. The allusion which fixes their date has already been pointed out in the note at the beginning of the satire of Jack Upland.

thè sorwynge of synne?
for charité is chasid
and flemed out of londe,
and every state stakerth
unstable in him silfe.
Now apperid the prophecie
that seint Joon seide,
to joyne therto Johel
in his soth sawis;
the moone is al blodi
and dymme on to lokyn,
that signefieth lordship
forslokend in synne;
the sterres ben on erthe throwun
and fallen to the erthe,
and so is the comounté
trouli oppressid;
the sunne is eclipsid·
with al his twelve pointes,
by errours and heresie,
that rengnith in the chirche.

---

ares[oneth] Jak Uplondo.
He groundith hym upon seven thynges,
as his ordre askith,
lesynges with losengery,
cursynges and false glose,
chidyng with blasfemie
or chyterying as chowȝes.
Thow seist thi name is Dawe,
it may rith wel be so;
ffor thou hast condiciounes
of a tame[1] chowȝe.
He chiterith and he bribith
alle that he may gete;

---

[1] I have ventured to read the word thus, but it is nearly effaced in the MS. and cannot be read with certainty.

Now is oure bilove laft
and Lollardi growith;
envie is enhaunsid
and aproched to preestes,
that shulden enforme her flok
and ground in Goddes lawe,
to love her God sovereynli,
and sithen her brothir.
Bot not for thanne now is tauȝt
hindring of states,
and pursuynge of poverte,
that Crist hath approved.
Now is that seed of cisme
sowen in the chirche;
the whete fadith with the floure,
oure fode is for to feche.
Ffoxes frettid in fere
waston the cornes,
and Cristes vine is vanishid
to the verray rote.
Now Achor spoilith Jerico,
and lyveth of the thefte;
and so lyven this Lollardis

---

this he doth in dede
asseye of hem that knowith.
Jak Dawe, thou blaberist blasfemies,
and reson hast thou non;
thou leggist oft Goddis lawe,
bot to a false entente;
ȝee, falselier than the fende,
whan he saide to Crist,
Quia angelis suis mandavit de te.
Daw, thou fablest of foxes,
and appliest hem to a puple,
of whom nother thou knowyst kunnyng,
ne her conversacion.
Bot iche man that witte hath,

in her fals fablis.
Daban and Abiron
and Chorees children,
with newe sonceres ensonceu
the auters of synne
Baal preestes bon boldo
sacrifice to make,
and mortel maladi
crepith in as a cankor;
and thus is Jak Uplond
fodid with folie,
and thourȝ formyng of his formere
thus freyneth a frere.
On woundor wise, seith Jak,
freres, ȝo bon growun;
sowen in ȝoure sectes
of Anticristis hondes;
unboxom to bishopis,
not lege *men* to kynges;
wedo corn no gras
wil ȝe not howen,
no lyven with Jakke in labour,
but al to ȝour ese.

---

and happe of discrecion,
may knowe thee and thin ordre,
as Crist saith, bi the werkes.
Take propirté of twey foxes,
and werkes of twyo freres,
and than thou fyndest hem meche acorde,
bot freres bon the worse;
if thou saist this is not so,
bot groundid without skil,
loke how Sampson bonde the foxes
two and two togedir,
til that thai destried
the corne allo about hem,
and this was, as a doctour saith,
the figur of freres.

Jak, thi formur is a folo,
that thus thee hath yfoumed,
to make so lewid an argument
ayens so many freres,
that better knowen liȝtles
her doctours and her bible,
than he can rede his troper
bi a long torche.
But, Jak, thouȝ thi questions
semen to thee wyse,
ȝit liȝtly a lewid man
mayo leyen hem a water;
ffor summe ben lewid, summe ben shrewid
summe falsli supposid;
and therfore shal no maister,
ne no man of scole,
be vexid with thy maters,
but a lewid frere
that men callen frere Daw Topias,
as lewid as a loke,
to medelin with thi malice
as longe as thou wolt.
¶ That we ben not lege men,
Jak, lowde thou lyest;
ffor longer than we lyven so,
abide we not in londe,
the sotil witt of wyse men
shuldo temte us wel soone,
and flome us from felowshipe,

¶ Dawe, thou saist proudely I lie,
for I telle the trouthe;
ffor that [thei] ben not lege men
men knowlechen wise;
ffor whan ȝe ben trespassoures
in theft or other vices,

and done us of dawe.
We obeien to bishopes,
as boxomnesse askith,
although not so fer forth
as seculer preestes;
ffor holy chirche hath us hent
and happid with grace,
to were us from wederes
of wynteres stormes,
wede corn ne gras
have we not to hewen,
ne with Jakke Uplond
ferme the dikes;
¶ although Poul in his pistele
laborers preise,
displesith him not the preestes
that syngen her masses.
For right as in thi bodi, Jake
ben ordeyned thin hondis,
ffor thin heed and for thi feet
and for thin eyen to wirken,

3our priour may at wille
feeche 3ou home to hym,
without kynges commission,
Jak, bot gret a3en reson.
Ffor oft 3e leden awaye mennes wifes,
and ben sette in stokkes.
Bot 3our captaynes chalengen 3ow,
and askon not love of kynges.

¶ Me merveilith of thi lewdnes, Dawe,
or of wilful lesynges;
ffor Poule labored with his hondes,
and other postilles also;
3ee, oure gentil Jhesu,
as it is openly knowe.
And thes were the best prestes

rizt so the comoun peple
God hath disposid,
to laboren for holi chirche
and lordshipis also.
A! for-writhen serpent,
thi wyles ben aspied,
with a thousand wrynkels
thou vexed many soules;
thi malice is so michel,
thou maist not for-hele,
but thi venym with vehemens
thou spittist al at ones.
Thou seist we ben confounders
of prelates and of lordes;
but, Jakke, bi my lewté,
lowde thou lyest;
ffor telle me, bi oure counseile
what lord hath ben confoundid?
or what prelat of ony pepil
put in ony peril?
But sith that wickide worme,
Wiclyf be his name,
began to sowe the seed
of cisme in the erthe,
sorowe and shendship
hath awaked wyde,
in lordship and prelacie
hath growe the lasse grace.
Jak, thou seist with symonye
the sevon sacramentes we sellen,

---

that ever rose on grounde;
and the best messes song,
not lettyng hem her labour.
But suche bolde boggyng hatid thai
in worde and werke.

and preien for no men
but ȝif thei willen paien.
God wote, Jakke, thou sparist
here the sothe,
and, or we departen us asoundre,
it shal wel be shewid.
But oon is the sacrament
that we han to dispensen
off penaunce to the peple
whan nede askith.
I trowe it be thi parochе preest,
Jacke, that thou meenest,
that nyl not hosel his parischens
til the peny be paied,
¶ no assoilen hem of her synne
withouten schrift silver.
Jakke, of thi foli
thou feynest fife orores,
and ȝit ben ther but foure
foundid in the lawe,
falsly as thou seist
and soone shal be distroied.
Jakke, thi lewid propheeie
I preise not at a peese.
Somme fantasie of Fiton

¶ Dawe, thou spokist proudely,
apechyng oure prestes;
bot of oon thyng am I certen,
thai ben lasse evel than ȝe.
Ffor alle if thai synne oft,
as it is wel knowen,
ȝit the grounde that thai have
is playnly Cristis religion.
And thowȝ thai strayе oft therfro,
ȝit mowe thai com to grace.
Bot ȝe han left that grounde,

hath marrid thi mynde ;
thou prophete of Baal,
thi God is aslepe ;
the goodnesse of the grost
may not lizten upon thee.
Whi presumyst thou so proudli
to prophecie these thingis ?
and wost no more what thou blaberest
than Balames asse.
Thou mayntenist in thi mater
that matrimony thus we marre ;
but this arowe shal turne azen
to him that it sent,
ffor thou and thi secte,
sothli ȝe schenden,
in as moche as ȝe may,
the sacramentis seven,
and reles of symne
and grauntyng of grâce,
and Cristis bitter passioun
ȝe setto not at an hawe.
Who marrith more matrimonie,
ȝe or the freris,

---

and ȝour patron bothe.
ffor as the prophetes of Achab
wer multiplied in many,
and by oon holy prophet
were thai alle destried,
so the chirche is cropun now
to multitude of cursid men,
whiche of saddo bilevo
most nede be destried.
Bot I prayse nother prestes no thee,
for ȝour assent in symonye.

¶ with wrenchis and wiles
wynnen mennes wyves,
and maken hem scolers
of the newe scole,
and reden hem her forme
in the lowe chaier?
To maken hem profit in 3our lawe
thei redo 3our rounde rollis,
and callen hem forth her lessouns
with, "Sister, me nedith."
Jak, thou seist that we bilden
the castels of Cayn.
It is Goodis hous, oold schrewe,
that we ben aboute,
to mayntenen his servauntis
to singe and to reden,
and bidden for the peple,
as we ben beholden.
Clerkis sein that Salomon
made a solempne temple,

¶ Daw, I have askid questiones
of thee and of thi freres;
bot that I lied oones ou3t
knewe I me not gilty,
for Goddis lawe forbedith this
in many place, I wene.
And thow3 I be Jak Uplonde,
3it dredo I Goddis lawe.
Bot I suppose thi secte tristith
so meche in her habites,
that thai kun lye of custom,
as Peter propheeith of hem,
Fuerunt pseudo-prophetæ in populis, magistri mendaces, etc.
Bot to lie thus playnly and openly on men,

¶ and 3it was it bot figure
of oure newe chirche,
that ech holi hous that Crist
him silf in dwellith.
Jak, thou seist, ful serpentli,
and sowdiours us thou callist,
sette for oure sutilté
in Antieristis vaunwarde.
Crist in the gospel
rehersith a rewle,
how ech man shal be knowun
oonli bi his werkes;

3e count it not synne,
as 3our wordes showen;
3our freres ben taken alle day
with wymmen and wifes,
bot of 3our privey sodomye
spake I not 3ette.
Bot lat see, Dawe, if thou,
or any lyer of thin ordre,
can preve this on oon of hem
that clepest my secte,
and siccrly shalle thou have
of me an hundrith pounde.

¶ Daw, thou leggist Salomon
for 3our hie houses;
bot olde holy doctoures
ben a3en thee here,
and specialy Jerom,
that saith in the lawe,
who wil allege the temple
for glorie of oun chirche,
forsake he to be cristen, Jak,
and be he newe a Jewe.

and if we were founden
on Anticristis side,
oure werkes shulden shewen,
Jakke, ful soone.
The werkes of Antcrist
pursuen oure bileve,
so do the disciplis
of 3our sori secte,
shending the sacramentes,
salve to oure soris.
Who tytheth bot 3e
the auet and the monte,
sterching 3our faces,
to be holden holi,
blaunchid graves
ful of dede bones,
wanderynge weder-cokkes,
with every wynd waginge;
the spiritis of the devel
maleyn 3oure tokenys,
thourz quenching of torches in 3ou tayl-ende

---

12 q. 2ª *Gloria episcopi.*

Ffor sith the pore lorde, he saith,
halowed his pore chirche,
take 3e Cristes crosse, he saith,
and counte we delices elaye.
Daw, blaberere and blynde leder,
thowg thou bigile symple hertes
with thi gildyn glose,
and with thi costly houses,
thou bigilest not Jak
with 3our thevisshe logges.

Unde in evangelio, vos autem feeistis eam speluncam latronum.

¶ 3e resseyve 3our wisdom;
3oure preching is perilouse,
it poiseneth sone,
as honyed venym
it crepit in swot.
Jak, in the Apocalypse
ful pertli 3e be peintid,
whan the seven angels
blowun there seven trompis,
to warne Anticristis meyné
of our Lordes comyng,
with her sterne stormes
astonye al the erthe,
reve men of her rest,
and ferli hem afefe.
The first angel with his blast
he noieth ful sore,
hayl and fier he myngit with blood
he sendith to the erthe,
by the tokenyng that 3our preching, Jak,
makith obstinat hertis.
3our daliaunce inducit
ire and envie.
Who ben more Farisois
than hinderers of soulis,

¶ Topias, thou writist me
to be a lowed man;
bot lowed men prechen not,
as thou canst saye,
bot if the list to lye.
Bot I wot thou saist thus,
by vertuouse prestes;
bot thai ben ful bisie
to edifie the chirche,

the which in her interpretacion
divisioun ben callid;
and 3our teching in an hour
wil broke mo love-daies,
than 3e mowe brynge togidere
vij. 3ere after.
The secounde aungel wit his blast
smytith with drede,
and an huge hill is sent adoun
into the salt water;
the thridde party of creaturis
ben bitter therof,
ffor Sathanas by 3our sawes
is sent into soulis,
that ben ful unsavory,
and saltid by synne.
The bitternesse of 3our liabityng
brewith many bales.
The thridde angel sent doun
a sterre from heven,
brenli brennyngo as a bround,
wermodo it was callid;
wermodo, Jak, moost verreli
was Wiclif, 3our maister,
withinne in his begynnyngo
litht lemed he by cunnyngo,

---

that the multitude of 3ou
han allemost destried.
Ffor the gospel saith,
Surgent multi pseudo-prophetæ.
Bot of hem ben fewe,
and gretly dispisido;
and of 3ou ful many,
and over tho mo tho werse.

¶ but aftir with wrong wrytyng
he wrouȝte mykil care,
and presumyngo perilously
foul fel fro the chirche,
missaveryngo of the sacrament,
infectyng many other.
Thus brenneth he ȝit as a brondo,
consumyng many soulis,
that in her hard obstinacy
growen schides of helle.
Maximine ne Manichè nevere
wrouȝten more wrake.
Therfore from wele is he went,
and woo mote him wryngo.
The iiij^{e} aungel with his blast
smytith riȝt smerte;
the iij. party of the sonne
with dymmenes is dirked,
off the moone and of the sterres,
and of the day also;
and the egle in the eyre
thries *ve!* wescheth.

¶ Me mervelith, Daw, thou darst thus lie
on suche a gret clerke,
and in hys tyme knowen wel
a vertuouse man,
of riche and pore
that hym tho knowe.
But thou, as blynde Bayarde,
berkest at the mone,
as an olde mylne dog
when he bygynnith to dote.
Bot wel I wot thi baffyng,
lye thou never so lowde,
may not menuse this seint,
that lyved and tauȝt so truly,
Quia dignus est operari misericordiam.

The sonne is holy chirche,
and lordship the moone,
the sterres ben the comuns,
as I seid bifore,
¶ and alle these ben alured
to 3oure sory seete;
and summe of ech of these estates
ben privyly apoisond.
Therfore thries *va!*
is manassid upon 3ou,
ffor three manere of symnes
that comunly 3e usen;
va for envye, *va* for ipocrisie,
and *va* for 3our leccherie.
Whan the first angel blew,
ther was a pit opend,
ther rose smotheryng smoke,
and breso therinne,
alle thei weren lich horses
araied into batailo,
thei stongen as scorpioun,
and hadden mannis face,
tothed as a lioun,
with haburjouns of iron.
This pitte is the depnes,
Jak, of 3our malice;
the smorthering smoke
is 3our dymme doctrine,
that flieth out from the flawmes

¶ I drede me, Dawe, the sentence,
of whiche the prophet spekith,
shal falle hevy on thin Iiede,
and many of thi brether.
Væ vobis qui dicitis bonum malum et malum bonum.
Ffor alle trwe sentence,

of the develis malice,
that troublith and blindith
the izen of mannis resoun.
The breses ben not ellis
but *Anticristis menye*,
with short legges bifore
and longe bihindo;
the which pretenden first
mekenesse of herte,
and aftir rysyng to arrogaunce,
disdeynynge al other.
That ȝe ben lyke scorpions,
signefieth not ellis,
but that ȝe flateren aforn,
and venym casten bihinde.
ȝe ben also lich horses
redy into bateil,
by woodnesse and foolhardinesse
for heresie to dien.
ȝe ben tothed as lyoun
by stynkyng detraccion.
ȝour haburjons that ȝe han upon,
ben cauteles and sleiȝtes.
ech intrikid in other,
to snarre symple soules;
but that thei ben of iron,
obstinacio is shewid,
ffor the which with Farao
in helle ȝe wil be dampned.

---

that we taken here,
thou turnest into falsenes,
that woo shal the bitide;
ffor to our secte that is Christis
we drawen bot fewe puple;
ffor thou and other pseudo

In the sizt of aungels blast
foure aungels there were lousid,
the whiche were redyo bothe day and nyzte
men for to noien,
to sleen the fortho part of men
with fiyr, smoke, and brymstone.
Ffoure angels singneficn
foure general synnes,
sett up bi sir Adam, Jakke,
among zour maistris,
cedicioums, supersticions,
the glotouns, and the proude,
Poerte preamblis to presso
aforne Anticristis comyng,
to sleen the thridde party of men
with ther deedly dartis
off envie, pride,
and leschry stynkynge.
Ffor sum ben perfit, sum ben yvel,
sum ben unstable;
the perfit wole not ben hirt,
the yvel ben al redy,
but thei that ben unstable
resseyven the strokes,
and thei ben clepid the thridde part
of hem that ben dede.
The seventhe angel blew his trumpe,
and noise in heven was made,

---

han marrid hem in the way,
that bot if God of his grace
sendo his hondo of help,
the chirche that shuld folowe Crist,
is lykly to sinke.
Qui mihi ministrat me sequatur. Attendite a fermento Phariseorum, quod est hypocrisis.

that the kyngdom of this world
shulde falle to Cristis hondis;
betokenyng that thouȝ Antierist,
with his myȝti meyné,
shulde for a short tyme
by tirantrie intrusyve,
ȝit shal God gader his flok togider,
and rengne without eende.
Jak, thus to dubby with scripture,
me thinkith grete folie;
ffor as lewid am I as thou,
God wote the sothe,
I know not an a
from the wynd-mylne,
¶ ne a b from a bole foot,
I trowe, ne thi silf nother;
and ȝit for al my lewidhed,
I can wel undirstonde
that this prevy processe
perteneth to ȝour seete,
and we as giltles therof,
as ȝe of Cristis blessyng.
It ar ȝe that stonden bifore,
in Antieristis vauwarde,
and in the myddil and in the rerewarde,
ful bigly enbatâilid.

¶ *Homo apostata, vir inutilis, graditur ore perverso.*

Dawe, thou hast liȝt conscience,
thus fynaly to deme;
ffor here thou dammest men to helle
without any condicion.
Who have love of scripture
to deme after mennes werkes,
but for to deme as thou dost,
is to robbe God of his power;

Tho devel is ȝour duke,
and pride berith the baner;
wraththe is ȝoure gunner,
envie is ȝour archer,
ȝour coveitise castith for,
ȝour leccherie brennith,
glotony giderith stickes therto,
and slouthe myneth the wallis,
malice is ȝour men of armes,
and trecherie is ȝour aspie.
Thus semith that ȝe more than we
be Anticristis frendis.
Jak, of perfite pacience holilich
holy chirche thou me pecchist,
to kep it if I will sitte
on Cristis owne side;
but, good Jak, herdist thou evere
how *judicare* cam into credo?
no more skil thou canst of pacions, Jak,
so God me spede,
ffor thi schroude herte and he
ben as afere asundir
as Lucifer is from hoven,
and Gabriel from helle,
tho which, as many man suposis,
shal nevere mete togidor.

---

ffor the apostil saith,
Noli ante tempus judicare, quoadusque veniat Dominus.
Litil wondir thowȝ lordis myssetyme,
that han suche confusours.
Quia si cæcus cæcum ducat, ambo in foveam cadunt.
Thou saist thou knowist no lettre here,
as if thou wer noo clerke.
To take a clerke as it shuld be,

On old Englis it is said,
unkissid is unknowun,
and many men spekon of Robyn Hood,
and shotte novere in his bowe.
Now, Jak, to thi questions,
nedes me moste answer,
althouȝ thei wanton sentence
and good thrift bothe.
Which is the moost perfit ordre,
Jakke, thou askist,
and how many ordres
ther ben in erthe.
Off what ordre art thou, frere,
and who made thin ordre?
iff thou wolt have the hiȝest ordre,
seke it in heven,
in the blessid Trinité
that fourmed us alle,
where flowith the Sunne from the Fadir,
the Holigost from hem bothe;
noon grettor in degré,
no more perfite than other,
but the ordre that there is,
is in her proceding;
and if we comen lower,
there findo we holy angels,

---

after his undirstondyng,
than sayst thou here more trwly
than in any other place.
Clark is als meche to mene,
as of the sort of God,
and so thou previst thi self non suche,
if thou loke riȝt,
but a liere apostata,
with alle his other parles.

stablid in iij. ierarchies,
dividid in ordres nyne.
Seraphin he is the soverayncst,
in charité he brennith;
and of al ordris in erthe
y holde preesthood the hizest,
that han the principal partis of men,
and kingis han the bodies;
and this is the popes decré
in comoun lawe.
¶ But peraunter, Jak, thou menest
of religious ordre,
of templeres, hospitalers,
chanouns, monkes, and freres,
Jak, in this mater,
loke seint Thomas bokes,
and thei shal thee techen

¶ Daw, dirt, thou clatcrist mechc of ordcris
of aungeles in hoven,
bot lykkyn not thes to thin ordre,
ne thin ordre to hem;
ffor thai ben ordenid of God,
there withouten symnes;
and thin is ordened of man,
with many rotyn rites;
and so as the prestes of Bel
stale undir the awter,
to bigile the kyng,
to thefly eache here lyflode,
so 3e forge 3our falshed
undir ydil yprocrisie,
to bigile the puple,
bothe pore and riche;
as the prestes faynod that Bel
ete the kynges sacrifise,
so 3our wikkid wynnyng
3e sayo wirchipith God.

and onfourme at the fulle.
How many ordris ther ben
can I not telle,
but if y cowde calkyn
al manere kyndes,
ffor to loken how many kyndes
oure Lord hath yfourmed.
But evermore betwene two and two, Jak,
thou shalt fynden ordre.
Off what ordre I am,
and who made myn ordre,
Jakke, fast thou fraynest,
and fayn woldist wite.
¶ I am of Cristis ordre, Jak,
and Crist made myn ordre,
ensaumple in the gospel,
in many sondry place,
ffor who tauȝte obedience,
chastili, and poverte?
Hopist thou not it was Crist,
and fulfillid in him silf,
in which ech religion
perfitli is groundid,
reversynge the soorie synnes

¶ ȝit, Daw, in this mater,
thou broylist up many lesynges,
ffor grounde of thin ordre
not groundid in the gospel;
ffor see thes thre vertues
whiche thou here rehersist,
ffaylen in thin ordre
wolny in every persone.
Ffor in obedience and chastité,
and poverte also,
ȝe folowen more Antierist

notid of the postle,
lust of fleich and lust of ize,
and pride in oure lyvynge.
On this three, Jak, by my owté,
is groundid al 3our colege.
Iff I breke myn ordre,
I breke Goddis lawe,
and if I be punishid for that oon,
I am ponishid for that other.
Bot the contrarie of this, Jak,
thou falsly afermest.
If ony religioun be more parfit,
than techith seint Jame, Jacke boy,
either more appreved of God,
fayne thou woldist witen.
Iff I seie thee, thou askist
where it is foundid;
and if y nayt seie not that thou seist,
thus thou procedist.
Thou seist that I contrarie
Cristis owne rewles,
bidinge 3ove to be pore
in peyne of dampnacion,
and we piken from the pore and riche

---

than Jhesu Crist our Lorde,
3e ben more obedient
to 3oure owne reules,
than to the reules of Crist
groundid in lawes.
And as to chastité of body,
3e breken it ful oft;
bot chastité of soule,
forsakyng Crist our spouse,
ffor 3e ben apostatas,
gon bak fro holi chirche.

al that wo may geten.
Jak, thou shewist sikirli,
what scole thou hast ben inne,
of sutiltee of arguyng
me thinkith thi brayn ful thinne.
Go grees a shoep undir the taile,
that semeth the beter
than with sotil sillogismes
to parbrake thi witt.
Jack, in James pistles
al religioun is groundid,
ffor there is maad mencion
of two perfit lyves,
that actif and contemplatif
comounli ben callid,
ffulli figurid by Marie
and Martha hir sister,
by Peter and bi Joon,
by Rachel and by Lya.
Thes lyves ben groundid in charité
by diverse degrees,
by men of professioums
makyng sundri religiouns,
and evident ensaumple
moun techen us the waye.

Initium omnis peccati apostare a Deo.
As to verrei poverte,
who that wil riȝt loke,
ȝe ben the most covetouse
of alle men in erthe,
ffor with symonye and begrye;
and sellyng of shrift,
ȝe pillen bothe gret and smal,
and prise hem of bilove
Avaritia, quod est idolorum servitia.

¶ Ffor sum fleen from the world,
and closen hem silf in wallis,
and steken hem in stones,
and litil wole thei spèken,
to fleen sich occasioums
as foly wole fynden;
and these we clepen ancres
in the comoun speche.
Also *in contemplacion*
there ben many other
that drawen hem to disert,
and drye myche peyne;
by eerbis, rootes, and fruyte lyven,
for her Goddis love;
and this manere of folk
men callen heremytes.
The thridde degree there is,
not for to be dispisid,
off sich as ben gaderid
in coventis togidere;
off the which men spekith
David in his psalmis,
sith he seith how merie it is
to dwelle togidere;

¶ Dawe, thou ratelist many thyngis,
bot groundo hast thou non;
ffor where groundist thou in Goddis lawe
to close men in stones,
bot if it were wode men,
or gilowres of the puple?
Sith alle that is not groundid
smacchith grete synne;
bot if ȝe taken as ȝe usen
arsewordo this gospel,

the which for worldly combraunce
kepen in cloistris,
on hert and oon soule
havyng with the apostlis;
and this clepe we monasticale,
that kendly is knowun.
Mo, Jak, in contemplacion
ther be diverse degrees;
and after that charité growith in hem,
the more is her mede.
Off actif lyf y shulde thee tellen,
yf that y hadde tyme,
and shewen how mèn by charité ben holden
to helpe her bretheren;
somme with paynymes for to fizte,
oure feith to defende;
somme for to make purvyaunce
for seke and for pore;
somme for to preche to the pupl3
aftir her syhne askith;
and somme in bothe lyves
laboren full soore,
liche unto the angels
in Jacobus ladder.

Non potest civitas abscondi super montem posita;
ellis, *neque accendunt lucernam et ponunt eam sub modio.*
Or wher fyndist thou, Dawkyn,
that men shulden kille her brother?
Sith Crist, our aller duke,
brou3t us verrei pees,
bot if there be of the ranes
that ran fro Antieristis nose,
Pacem relinquo vobis, pacem meam do vobis.

¶ See now, Jak, thi silf,
how these bothe lyves
opinli ben expressid
in the epistle of James:
cleen religioun it is, he seith,
to visite the widewis,
the fadirles and the modirles,
to actif lyf expressid,
and undefoulid us to kepen
from al worldly werkes.
Byhold of contemplacioun
opinli he spekith;
so this may be resonably
the conclusioun of my tale,
that no religion more is
than techith sent Jame.
Jak, thou seist we piken
from the pore and from the riche,
and not 3even a3enward,
thou3 that thei ben nedy;
that almes is pykyng,
y fynde it in thi boke,
and I herde it nevere afore
in no maner scripture.
But if alwey pikers, Jak,
thou wolt us maken,
ther we piken but seely pans,
thi secte pikith poundis.

¶ Touchyng this pagyn, Dawe,
thi lesynges ben ful rif;
ffor her thou spekist of twey lyves,
and 3e don nother wel,
ffor Martha groundid hir labour
fully in Goddis lawe,
so may. not 3e 3our beggyng,
no 3our castelles nouther,

What we ȝeven to the pore,
it nedith not thee to tolle;
ffor almes-dede shul be hid,
and sweten in thi hondis.
Whi, bi mannes mariage,
ȝe ben weddid to ȝour abitis
wele harder than worldly men
ben weddit to her wyves,
which thei mowe leeve and lete go
as longe as him list.
Jak, for siche manere scole
ȝe cacchen Cristis curse,
so freli to mayntenen
Manichés errours,
to make men breke her matrimonye,
and leeve her wyves,
and whanne the good man is oute,
playe hey god rode.
Jak, to oure abite
be we not weddid
more than eny preest is
weddid to his coroun,
that is over growun with heer,
and he preest nevere the lesse;
or ellis shulde every barbour
make newe preestes.
Riȝt so oure clothis maken us
not men of religion,

But of contemplacion
ȝe usen not bot as foxes;
so in this ȝe loven Crist
Martha and Marie both.
As touchyng ȝiftes to pore men,
ȝe pike that thai shulde have,
bothe of godes and faithe of soule,
I, Jak, can see non other.

but oonli oure profession
hyndith us to the stake;
and so apostasie
mowen we maken in oure soule,
liche men of religion
abidinge in oure abitis.
If Sathanas were transfigurid
into his former fairnesse,
trowist thou he were ouȝt ellis
but a dampnid aungel?
and so not for the levynge of oure clothis
we be not punishid,
but bicause it bitokeneth
forsakyng of oure reule;
and, Jacke, no more than thi sadil
makith thin hors a mere,
no more makith oure abitis
monkes ne freris.
Jak, of oure presciouse clothis
fast thou carpist,
the which ben so fyne
that noman worith better.
Every man may perseyve apertli,
Jakke, that thou liest.
Were we no sendal ne satyn,
ne goldun clothis,
and these passon in presciousitee
many foold ouris.

Panis egentium vita pauperis est; qui defraudat eum, homo sanguinis est.

We can not make mariage, Dawe,
ne pursue no divorse;
we wynne not meche money with thes,
as thi secte doth ful oft.
Quod Deus conjunxit, homo non separet.

But if my cloth be over prescious,
Jakke, blame the werer;
ffor myn ordre hath ordeyned
al in good mesure.
Thou axist me, Jacke, of my grete hood,
what that it meneth,
my scapelarie and my wide cope,
and the knottide girdil.
¶ What meenith thi tipet, Jakke,
as longe as a stremer,
that hangith longe bihinde,
and kepith thee not hoot?
an hool cloith of scarlet
may not make a gowne;
the pokes of purchace
hangen to the erthe,
and the cloith of oo man
myȝte hele half a doseyne.
Why is thi gowne, Jakke,
widder than thi cote,
and thi cloke al above
as round as a belle,

¶ I praise not, Dawe, the *stremere*
that thou herof spekest;
bot of suche wide clothing,
tateris and tagges,
it hirtith myn hert hevyly,
I wil that thou it wite.
Bot ȝour ypocrites habit,
to whiche ȝe ben harde weddid,
doth more harm than thes,
bi thes two skilles;
oon for the coloure,
that signifieth sadnes,
whan ȝe ben most unstedfast
of any folk in erthe;
another for ȝour difformed shap,

sith taille myȝte serve
to kepe thee from coold?
Jak, answere thou to that oon,
and I shal to that other.
My greto coope that is so wiid,
signefieth charité,
that largeli longith to be sprad
to sibbe and to frende,
figurid in the faire cloith
of Salomons table,
and bi wedding garnement
that Crist hadde at his feeste.
My greet hood behynde,
shapun as a sheeld,
suffraunce in adversitee
sothely it scheweth,
herbi to reseyve repreef
for oure Goddis sake;
or ellis bisynesse of oure foith
it may wel bitokene,
whiche that ȝe Lollardes
constreyne ȝou to distroie.

---

that signifieth ȝour holines;
so if it be soth
that ȝe therof saye,
it wold with litil help
make an ape a seint.
The tipet is a comyn reule,
if it be not superfluo,
and so it doth gode
to bynde a mannes hede;
bot ȝour misse shapon sholde
bihynde at ȝour shulderes,
blowith ȝour ypocrisie,
and blyndith many foles.
Genimina viperarum, quis demonstravit vobis fugere
a ventura ira.

The scapelaric also
that keveroth the schuldris,
it bitokeneth boxumnesse
dowe unto oure prelatis,
and boxomly bere burthuns
that they wole leyen upon us.
Off the knottide girdel
knowe I no mysterie;
therfore what it meeneth
axe frere menours.
But, Jacke, amonge oure chateryng,
3it wolde I wite,
whi that the Lollardis
weren moost greye clothis;
I trowe to shewe the colour
that signefieth symplenesse,
and withinne, seith Crist,
3e ben ravenous wolves.
¶ Whi, seist thou, holde we more seilence
in oon hous than another,
sith over al a man is holden
for to seie the goode?
To thi lewide question
Salomon thus answerith,
Est tacens sciens tempus apti temporis, et homo sapiens tacet usque ad tempus; tempus tacendi, tempus loquendi; et iterum, Sicut urbs patens et absque murorum ambitu, ita qui in loquendo non potest cohibere spiritum suum.

¶ 3it, Dawe, me thynkith thou usist
thi customale condicion,
thou hast so lerned to lye,
thou kanst not love werk,
bot 3it I am gladde
thou groundist the on the gospel.

Thus perfit scilens
by scripture is approved.
Jakke, if thou undirstonde no Latyn,
go to thi paroche prest,
and undir 3ou bothe, with Goddis grace,
marren 3e wolen ful yvele.
Whi also ete we no fleish
in every hous iliche,
but chesen therto an hous,
and leeven another?
Jak, if every hous were honest
to ete fleish inne,
than were it honest
to ete in a gonge.
Whi is not thi table sett
in thi cow-stalle?
and whi etist thou not in thi shipun
as wele as in thin halle?
But al is good ynow3 for thee,
where that evere thou sittist.
Whi with not thi cow make
myry weder in thi dish?
But, Jacke, in this mater
appose thou the monkes;

Diabolus est audax, et pater ejus.
The secte that thou seggist of,
I wot, is Jhesu Cristis,
tellen litil by clothing,
bot now oon now other;
thou3 thou accuse the menours
have I not to do,
bot wel I wot 3e ben alle drawen
in oo maner draggee.
Lewde Dawe, whi laist thou forthe
so many blunt resones?
ffor Salomon spekith not of silence

for thei kepen this serimonie
more streiter than freris.
Moreover thou movest,
Jak, another mater;
if oure patrouns be perfit,
and oure reule also,
whi renne we to Rome,
to be assoilid of the oth
that we han maad,
and be popis freris?
Jak, summe rennen to Rome,
but mo ther ben at hoom,
and dewli done her dever
aftir that thei han chosen;
and that the Lollardis
forthinken ful soore.
ȝe wolden that there where oon lesse,
ȝe ȝave nevere tale,
that ȝe myȝten have ȝour reyke
and prechen what ȝou list,
and with ȝour privy pestilence
enpoisoun the peple.
Jak, that Judas was a shrewe,
what was Crist the worse?
and so that summe ben exempt,

---

propirde to an house,
bot of silence in iche place
in tyme and in reson.
Bot the cursid ypocrisie
of clyng of ȝour fleshe,
shuld iche man despise
for ȝour retun rewle,
and so thes similitudes,
with thes solucionos,
ben not worthe
the devellis dirt, Dawe.

and rennen to 3our ritis,
and summe bi apostasie
ben Sathanas servauntis,
whi shulde owre patrouns
be ever the lasse perfit?
¶ "Ffurther more whi make 3e 3ou
" as men dede?
" sith in beggingo 3e ben as gtiie
" as ben ony other,
" and unsemeli it is
" to see deed men begge."
Jak, me thinkith thou lernedist nevere
of Poulis pistlis,
whiche in a fewe shorte wordes
answerith to thi sentence,
Quasi morientes et ecce vivimus; glossa, quasi morientes, i. de vitio in vitium secundum opinionem aliquorum, et ecce vivimus in bonis operibus in rei veritate.
So thou3 we ben deed to the world,
after thin opynyon,
3it is oure soule in the bodi
and grace in the soule.
" Whi," seist thou, " suffie 3e not 3our children

¶ Daw, thi wordes ben many,
and ever medled with venym;
flor a3enes gode men
strecche *Jus malice*,
ne non of thilk Cristis seete
that myn ellist,
bot a3enes heritikes,
bostores and liores,
whiche han chosen hem a rould
with blaborores of Baal;
and 3it shal tyde the tyme
when *Josie shal regne*,

" to come into your conseil,
" if it be good and able,
" and aftir Goddis lawe?"
A, Jak, mafey, me merveilith moche
of thin lewidheed!
Herdist thou nevere how Crist was
transfigurid in the hil,
and ther to his privyté he chees
but three apostlis,
forbedinge hem to telle
that conceil ony ferther,
and so were there nyne
fro that conceil refusid.
Crist also took to him
alle his twelve apostlis,
and tretide of his passioun
in rizt privy maner,
and the rude peple that folowiden
knowe no thing therof.
Shal we, Jak, therfore seie
his conceil was not able,
suspect and not good
confourmed to Goddis lawe.
Another cause resonable

— — —

mid make an ende of suche foudes,
and Cristis roule shal renne.
Zee, Jannes and Mambres
japid not so the kyng,
as thou with thi cursid secte
the kyng and the puple.
Attendite a falsis prophetis, qui veniunt ad vos
in vestimentis ovium.
I til thee, Daw, without dout,
thos wordes ben said of zou,
with other pregnant propheeies
of Peter and of Poule.

me thinkith I can tello,
for counceil owith to be kept
and not to be clatrid;
and children ben ay clatringe,
as thou wel knowest.
Another skil may be groundid
of Salomons sawis;
to him he seith that is wiis
it longith to kepe conceil;
and children ful seldum
ben foundun wiis.
Jak, wolt thou telle thi knave
as mychc as thi wyf?
¶ Fforthermore thou spekest
of oure costli houses;
thou seist it were more almes
to helpen the nedy,
than to make sicho housynge
to men that ben deede,
to whicho longith but graves
and mornynge housis.
Jak, is not a man beter
than a rude best?
Ȝit makist thou to thi sheep a shepen,

¶ Daw, thou laborist fast
to lede thi self to helle,
and blyndist many lowde foles
with thi stynking brethe;
ffor bi this apis argument
that thou here now ratelist,
he that drynkith a quart wyne
most nedis drynk a gulon.
Bot aȝen house in mesure, Dawe,
grucche I riȝt nouȝt;
and thouȝ thou saye a scorne,
a shepe house I have,

and to thi hors a stable;
and many a pore man ther is
that hath noon hillyng,
but oonly heven is his hous,
the bestes stond kevered.
Whi houses thou not pore men
as wele as thi beestis?
Take hede to sumwhat
that is seid biforen,
and thou answere to my question,
answer to thin owne.
Thou carpist also of oure coveitise,
and sparist the sothe;
thou seist we ben more ryal
than ony lordis.
Coventis have wee noon, Jack,
but cloistrers we ben callid,
ffoundid afor with charité,
or that he were flemyd;
but sith entride envie,
and renyd hath oure houses,
that unnethes the hillinge
hangith on the sparres;
and 3it thou thinkist hem over good,
yvel fare thou therfore!

---

that hath more groundo in Goddis lawe
than alle 3our Caymes castelles;
I thank God, I beldid it
with trwe bygoten gode.
Bot 3e 3oures with beggery,
bargonyng and robberye;
ffor groundo have thai non,
bot if it be here.
Non habemus hic manentem civitatem. Et idem, Væ qui ædificatis civitatem in sanguinibus. Et, Væ qui conjugatis domum ad domum.

Jak, where saw thou ever frere houses,
thourȝout the rewme,
liche in ony rialté
to the Toure of Londoun,
to Wyndesore, to Wodestoke,
to Wallingforde, to Shene,
to Herforde, to Eltham,
to Westmynster, to Dover?
How maist thou for rebukyng
lye so lowde,
to saye that oure covetise
passith the lordes?
But so longe, by my leuté,
thou hast lerned to lyen,
that thi tonge is letterom of lyes,
thou lettest for no shame.
¶ We leten, thou seist, to lymytours
al this rewme to ferme,
as that we were weldors
and lordes of alle.
Unsikir thing sothli
it were to sette to ferme,
and foolis were the formeres
to taken it to tax.
I trowe thou menys the pardonyst
of seint Thomas of Acres,
of Antoun, or of Rouncevale,

¶ Sit, Dawe, thowȝ thou accusest
pardoneres that hen fals,
thou lovest lesse a trwe prest
than thou dost hem alle,
ffor thai gon heere ȝou apostalus
in gilyng of the puple.
Bot that ȝe ferme to limitours,
it mave be denyed.

that rennen so fast aboute;
for of the kynges rewme
have we no more astate,
than thou hast of paradis,
or of the blisse of heven,
for the which y trowe thou maist
of hasilwode singe.
Why, seist thou, paye ȝe to no taliage
to oure cristen kynge,
sith Crist paiede tribut
to the hethene emperour?
Jak, of no dewté ne of no dette
paide Crist noo tribute;
but oonliche of mekenesse
performynge the lawe,
and for to fleen occasioun
of aftirward apechinge,
whan that afore Pilat
he shuld be forjugid.
But aftir the scripture,
preesthode shuldo not paien
to tax no to taliage
with the comun peple.
For whan the folk of Israel
were put undir servage,
Pharao suffride preestes
in her former fredome
to be saved and susteyned

---

lye thou never so lowde,
and therto sette a sele,
bote thus with many fals meenes
oppresse the emfrees.
Bot as to payng of tribut,
as Crist hym self did,
thou lyknist ȝou to Pharoes,

of the comoun store.
But now is the complaynt
of Jereinye trewe,
the prince of provynces
sugette is under tribute.
Not for thanne the comun lawe
may wel suffren,
that preesthode may paye
bi *assent of prelatis*,
ffreli of her owne wille
no thing constreyncde,
and thus prelatis and persouns
aflir her state,
ben stended to paien
what that nede askith;
but neither fieres ne ammellers,
save now late.
God woot, it worshipith not
to beggen of beggers.
Off lettris of brotherhood
also, Jak, thou spekist,
and wounders that we wymen noon
of pore men and of preestis;
and zit ze desiren that every man
shulde have zour;
of pore mennes preieris
to be parteners we woldon,
and of her lettris and of her selo,
if *autentike thei weren*.

---

and so ze ben and worse.
Azones Cristes paying
and alle other mekenes,
thou autorisest zour pride,
azenes his holi werkes.
Qui non est mecum, contra me est; et qui non colligit mecum, dispergit.

But of ȝour precstis pater-nosters
we desiren noon,
for comunliche her blake bedes
thei dolen to freris;
¶ but thei shal cleve unto, thi chekes,
and Cristis curse also,
as wysly as we holde us
not more perfit than ony other,
ne non suffragies selle
for a corteyn bi ȝere,
ne maken men more perfit
than her blessid baptisme;
ffor praier may not satyllyn
but oonliche on them alle,
and so that gilden trentels
that thou spekist of,
that now is purchasid of preestis
out of freris hondis,
delyverith noo soule
out of the peyne of helle,
ne purgen may of purgatory,
but as it is deserved.
Ffor charité is the mesure
that demeth that meyné.
Also thou seist, Jak,
that we men enformen
that oure holy abite
shulde helpen men fro helle,

¶ Dawe, I seide first to thee
oon of thi groundes was eirsyng,
whare autorisist thou this lewde . . .
answere nowe.
Thi resones ben a staf of rede
that liȝtly person the honde,
I mervel that thou, a clerk,

and nameliche tho that be
beried therinne;
and Cristis clothis dide not so,
ne noon of the apostlis.
Jak, that frere was over lewid
that lernede the this lessoun,
or on thi ficul fantasie
thou faynyst this fable.
Ffor Austyns ne prechours
proponen no siche pointis.
Whether the Carmes of her copes
mayntenen siche an errour,
or whether seint Fraunce
hath geten to his habite
that vertu be his *grace*,
witterly me ne wote.
But wel I wote that Cristis cloith
helide a womman
ffrom the longe fluxe of blood,
as the gospel tellith;
but his predestinacion
may onlich save soulis,
and his prevy presciens
may dampne whom him list.
Jak, ferthermore of felony
thou felly us enpechest,
of stelyng of children,

---

blaberist thus blyndely.
Thou takest comynly no grounde
of Crist ne of his lawe,
bot apr . . . . tho popo
as if he were thi God,
or of other fantasies
that han no grounde hom self;

to drawe hem to oure sectis.
To tille folk to God-ward,
I holde it no theft,
but if thou calle Crist a theef,
that dide the same,
sayyng to the riche man,
" Go and selle thi goodis,
" and ȝif hem to the pore,
" ȝif thou wole be perfit;
" and aftirward folowe me,
" and be my disciple."
And in the same gospel
so what he seith also:
" Whoso forsaketh not
" his fadir and his modir,
" his sone and his douȝtir,
" his sistir and his brother,
" his lond and his tenementes,
" and him selven also,
" he nys not worthi
" to ben my folower."
And to his twelfe chosen
eftsoones he seide,
" Behold, from the world
" I have chosen ȝou alle,
" that ȝe gon and beren fruyte,
" and ȝour fruyte may dwellyn."

---

ffor whi shuld not alle prestes
be meke after Crist,
in payng of tribut
and alle other werkes?
Daw, late thi false glose,
it drivith thee to the devel.
Benedicite et nolite maledicere.

¶ And thus to reven the world,
and spoilen him of his persouns,
it ne is no robery,
but Crist approved thefte.
Thou seist also ferthermore
that prestis shul not enprisoun,
ffor it nys not foundid
in al Goddis lawe,
but undermyn bi charité,
and so wynnen her brother,
and ȝif he wil not be so wommen,
have him as hethene;

¶ Lo, Dawe, with thi draffe,
thou liest on the gospel;
ffor Crist said it hym self,
"The verta passid fro me."
And here thou maist séo,
I knowe a b fro a bole fote;
ffor I eneche thee in lesynges
that thou laist on the gospel.
Bot thus to stele a childe
is a grotter theft,
than to stele an axe,
for the theft is more.
Dawe, for thou saist ȝe robbe
him fro the worlde;
ȝe maken hym more worldly
than ever his fadir;
ȝee, thowȝ he were a plowman,
lyvyng trwe lyf, ye robbe hym
fro the trwe roule,
and maken hym apostata,
a begger and a sodomit;
for suche thai ben many.
Væ vobis qui facitis unum proselytum! supple, filium
Gehennæ duplo quam vos.

and thus bi thin opynyon
no man shulde be enprisound.
But, Jakke, in thi frensy,
thou fonnest more and more,
thou wenyst to make to me a dicte,
thou fallist thi silf therinne.
Ffor if thou pursue thi purpos,
thou assentist thi silf in tresoun,
menusynge the kyngis majesté,
privyng him of his power.
¶ For if we taken the gospel
aftir the menynge,
nether emperour ne kyng
may honge ne drawe,
heved ne enprisoun,
no haunte no domes,
but al in fair manere
shulen ben undirnomen,
and who wil not amenden him,
3eve him the brydil;
and be robberis and revers,
mansleeris and treytours,
and al maner mawfesours
shulden ben unponnishid.
Jak, the pope hath a prisoun,
the bishop of Cantirbury,
and of Londoun also,
and many other bishopis,
by leeve of her kyng;

¶ Daw, I do thee wel to wite,
frontike am I not;
bot it semith thi sotil witte
marrith many man.
Bot how stondith this togedir,
3e sle men in 3our prison?

art thou hardy to seien
it is not Goddis lawe,
But y blame thee not gretli,
thouȝ thou bere hem hevy;
ffor goldsmythis of thi craffte
ofte haveth hem haunted,
and ȝit thei shulen ofter,
bi the helpe of heven.
Also thou seist no sacrament
we covetyn no desiren,
but shrift and biryyng,
that longeth to the peple.
Alas, Jak, for shame!
whi art thou so fals,
ffor to reverse thi silf
in thin owne sawes?
Thou seidist in thi begynnynge,
whan thou seidist of freres,
thei sellen seven sacramentes
with Symoundis eyris;
and now that we coveite noon
but the sacrament of schrifte.
Ffor beriynge is no sacrament,
but an almes-dede.
Thou jawdewyne, thow jangeler,
how stande this togider,
by verré contradiccion
thou concludist thi silf,
and bryngest thee to the mote

ȝe have ȝour conspiracies,
when ȝe gode likith,
ȝe dampne the trwe, ȝe hyen the falso,
deme, Dawe, wher this be gode.
And the kyng by his juges trwe

there I wolde have thee.
Who wolde take entent
to sucho wreches wordes,
that nevere more ȝeveth tale
to be take with a lesyng?
  Whi, axist thou ferthermore,
wil we not shryven
ne birien the pore
as wel as the riche,
and do other dedes of almes
done at her nede?
But if we schryve not the pore,
whi ben perssons so wrothe,
and paroche preestes also,
for schryvynge of her paishens?
For every Lenten us aȝen
thei aleggen the lawe
off *omnis utriusque sexus,*
with the favourable glooses.
But, Jak, do thi won,
and lette not to lyene;
I *have as leef thy leesing*
as thi soth saw.
Ffor who is oonis suspect,
he is half honged.
Thou seis that we prechen
fallace and fables,
and not Goddis gospel
to good undirstondinge;

---

execute his lawe,
as he did now late,
whan he hangid ȝou traytours;
wilt thou, Dawe, allegates
compere ȝou to the kyng,
or to other lordes,

and we ben more holdun therto
than to alle other reulis.
For we wynnen more therwith
than Crist and his apostlis,
what we ben holdun
and wil not forsake.
For moche of oure lyvynge
is of the gospel;
so dide Poul
and other disciples,
and lyvede of colectis
made generali bi chirchis,
for sustinance of prechours,
and also of the pore.
And if thou love not me,
loke Poulis pistlis,
and the glose therwith,
and there thou shalt fynde it.
Quis, inquit, militat suis stipendiis unquam? Et iterum, Dominus ordinavit iis qui evangelium annunciant de evangelio vivere.
And so to his prechours
Crist also thus seide,
In quamcunque domum intraveritis, manete in eadem edentes et bibentes, etc., dignus est enim operarius mercede sua. Et ad Romanos, Probaverunt Macedŏnes et Achaia collationem facere in pauperes sanctorum qui sunt in Jherusalem.

•

that han her groundo in God?
Lefe, folo, thi losengerie,
and studie Cristis lyf.
Quæ conventio Christi ad Belial? Quid communicabit cavabus ad ollam?

Azens that that thou saist that we prechen
but fallace and fables,
and leve the gospel
that moste us al save,
loke that every werke is knowen,
plenili bi his eende,
and so the peple hath the pathes
of feith and of bileve,
and God wooto freres prechinge
hath wrouȝt to this ende.

¶ Daw, hou maist thou saye for shame
that Crist stale thus childre,
and Poule beggid as ȝe don,
ȝe lyven bi the gospel?
ȝee, Dawe, ȝe selle derrere
lesynges and poyson,
than ever did Poule
alle his holy writyng;
over thou likynest ȝou to Crist,
whan ȝe ben verrei Antierist.
And if bisshopes byside wel to knowe
alle ȝour dedes,
thai founde ȝou werse than harlotes,
or jogulours other;
ffor ȝe beggo or ȝe preche
many tymes and oft,
somen men and threten hem,
bot if thai ȝif ȝou gode.
Bot the harlot wil drawe
the blode of his arse,
or he ask any gode,
or any rewarde.
And, Dawe, truly ȝour dedes
contrarie Crist.
Mordent dentibus et prædicant pacem, et si quis non dederit in ore eorum quippiam, sanctificant super eum prælium.

But ȝe han cast cursidly
Cristendome to distroye,
and of Cristis gospel
make Machometis lawe,
ayens whom with opin mouth
other while we romee,
and sum tyme bryngo ȝou til a bay
if God wil it graunte.
For this cause ȝe calle us
bastard branchis,
pursuyng preestes to prisoun
and to fire also;
¶ but, Jak, thei ben bastard braunches
that launchen from oure bileve,
and writhyn wrongli away
from holy chirche techinge,
siche beren yvel fruyte
and soure to tlasten,
worthi to noon other good,
but in the fire to brenne;
and so for to pursue an herotike
to fire or to prisoun,
I holde it more holsum
than to halowe a chirche,
inprisonyngo of the poyson
that mortherith many soulis,

¶ Daw, here thou blaberist togedir
falsenes and trouthe;
ffor a bastarde is he
that holdith ayenes the sothe.
God and trwe men discusse
wher that be ȝe or I.
Ffor if thou seyst holi chirche
the techyng of Crist,
the reules of apostles,
the lyf of hem alle,

aftir Cristis doctrine
in the holy gospel.
Omnis, inquit, arbor quæ non fert fructum bonum, excidetur, et in ignem mittetur. Et iterum, Qui non manserit in me, mittetur foras sicut palmes, et arescet, et colligent, et in ignem mittetur.
Disseverynge ȝou from the tree
that is Crist him silfe.
But how shulden freres
pursue heresie,
and many of hem wite not
what heresie meneth.
Jak, I am not lettered,
but I am frere Dawe,
and can telle wel a fyn
what heresie amounteth;
heresie, that is Grw,
is divisioun on Latyn,
the whiche in oure langage
meneth sunderyng and partyng.
He thanne that sundrith him
from Crist and his chirche,
and frely forgith sentences
contrarious to oure feith,
siche manere of forgers
heretikes we callen,
and also her folowis

I summitte me to hem,
and wil wile I lyve.
If thou callist, Dawe,
ȝour Dominikis reules,
with determinacion
of many false prestes,
holi chirche, as I wene,
as oft thou hast done,

taken the same name,
and her sory sentences
ben clepid heresies,
but namely when thei ben holdun
of obstinat hertis
And I shal this mater
more largely declare.
Sixe maner of heretikes
ben foundun in the lawe.
For he is callid an heretike
that rasith oure bileve;
and he is callid an heretike
that heresies sowith,
as Arrians, Wyclyfanes,
Sabellyanes, and other;
and the corruptours of scripturis
heretikes ben holdun,
that other wise undirstondin
than the *Holi Goost* techith.
Also we clepen hem heretikes,
that sacramentis sellyn,
or ben from hem dividid
bi cursynge of the chirche.
He is also an heretike
that doutith our bilove,
and with a litil evydence
goith out of the waye.
And also an heretike

I forsake the for ever,
with this cursid chirche,
Odivi ecclesiam malignantium.
If thou purposist to pursuwe
and drawe men to dethe,
I merveil not meche,
for it is thin office.
The fadires of heres,

him shulde we holde
that distrieth privyleges
grauntid of the pope.
This sixe maners
put Hostiensis in his Summe,
and if this sentence be soth,
y can noon other seien,
but thou and thi secte
ben heretikes alle.
Jak, thou spekist ferthermore
of messis and of preires,
and askist what we sellen,
wen we seyen oure messe,
whether the sacrament,
our preieres, or our traveile;
and if ony of this we done,
thou arguest a greet errour.
Jak, unto this questioun
on wyse may be answerith,
aftir that seint Austyn
spekith of the apostlis.
The apostlis a seye
reseyved freely her breed
of hem that freely
token her techinge;
and so, Jak, freely graunte
we our masse
to hem that freely
3even us her almesse,

---

whiche were the Pharisees,
pursuwed Crist to the paynful dethe,
3e, callid hym a blasfeme,
as 3e clepen hem heritikes
that holde a3enes 3our falsehede,
alle if thai men truthe.
Et vos implete mensuram patrum vestrorum.

and synnen no wyse
bi noon other vice,
to selle no sacramentis
no spiritual preier.
And thus among freres
gete thei no loggynge,
but bete hem to gretter men
and geten her herbegage,
of patronis of chirchis,
or privyly with preestes,
wich to fatte benefices
woldo be promotid.
¶ Jak, I suppose
That my labour y selle,
what wil thou seie therto,
do y ony symonye?
How than shal the persons seye
that setten her chirches to ferme,
that ben more spiritual
than bodili traveile;
and these parochе preestes
that ministren the sacramentis,
for a certen sawd bi 3eer
of ten mark or of twelfe;

¶ Daw, thou hast lernod
so long to lye,
thou wenest thou saist soth
whan thou liest most lowde,
and sclaunderist the truthe.
Thou saidist thou were no lettred man,
thou provest thi self fals,
for thou spokist of lerarchies,
of herisies also;
thou art gilty in alle thes poyntes,
and thi brother bothe,
that I woldo prove apertly,

and al these annuellers
that syngen for a tyme,
takyng for her traveil
as thei may acordo;
but thei can answere for hem silf,
and we shal for us.
Another mater ther is meved,
that touchith begging;
thou seist that we falsly
Crist him silf disclaundren,
to seie that he beggid,
sith he was lord of al,
and al in his demeyns.

---

if that the tyme suffrid.
Lok ȝour lyvyng, ȝour prechyng,
with other opun dedes,
and laye it by the apostles lyf,
and se how thai acorde,
and as I wene the Holigost
appreveth nether nouther.
Me thynkith ȝe ben tapsteres,
in alle that ȝe don;
ȝe tappe ȝour absoluciones
that ȝe bye at Rome,
ȝour prechyng, ȝour praying,
and also ȝour beryings.
Bot thou accusist other men
that han bot the mote
in the comparison
of alle ȝour grot synnes.
Hypocrita, ejice primo trabem de oculo tuo.
Dawe, ȝe folowen Crist,
as greyhounde doth the hare;
ffor as God ȝaf kyng Saule
in his wodenes,
so ȝe ben clokkid out
to pursuwe holi chirche.
Periculum in falsis fratribus.

¶ But for this mater, Jacke,
thou most undirstonde,
that Crist in his godhede
is lord of alle thingis,
as testimonie of Scripture
proveth in many places;
as touching his manhood
he was nedi and pore,
for of his nede spake
David in his psalmes.
Ego, inquit, mendicus sum et pauper, et Dominus solicitus est mei.
And after Austin and Jerom
this word of Crist was seid,
so thanne these twey
stonden wel togidere,
that Crist after oo kynde
was lord of alle,
and after that other

¶ Sit, Dawe, thou drawist in
many fals promptynges,
ffor to hirt symple men,
bot no never a del;
ffor Crist in his membres
beggid ful oft,
ffor symne of the puple,
when thai were at mischef.
Bot as suche bolde beggers
in bodily hele,
begged never Crist,
no non of his membres;
ffor Crist, that is truthe,
may in no wise
contrarie him self
ne God that is his fadir;
ffor in many places
thai damnen suche sturdy beggyng,
And, so, Dawe, thou dotest,

nedide to begge.
For if Crist seie soth,
him silf ne hadde noon harborow,
to resten in his owne heed,
and steken out the stormes.
Vulpes, inquit, etc., ubi caput suum reclinet.
And if we shulen ȝeve credence
to doctours wordes,
heere what seith seint Jerom,
and seint Bernard also.
Cave, inquit Jeronimus, ne mendicante Deo tuo alienas divitias augeas; et Bernardus. Ut te, Domine, per omnia nostræ paupertati conformares, quasi unus in turba pauperum stipem per hostia mendicabas.
Wherfore thou feynest fonnedli

---

alleggyng the water,
the asse, or the herberowe;
for he was lorde of alle,
and so thou mysse takist Jerom,
and lyest on Bernarde,
ffor Alrede his clerke
wrote his reson,
that thou mysse layst,
and dokkist it as the likist.
Herfor a clerke saith,
that evel mot he spede,
that beggith of the puple
more than is nede.
Mendax mendicus non est veritatis amicus.
Nutantes transferantur filii ejus et mendicent.
God gif the grace to knowe how
thou art Judas childe;
whiche psalme thou leggist to me,
as to an evel entent;
for ȝit thou schuldest be damned
softly in helle,
Nutantes transferentur filii.

that oure Lord wo sclaundre;
or ellis oure holy doctours
diden not her dever.
Jak, have no merveyle
that y speke Latyn,
for oones I was a manciple
at Mertoun halle,
and there y lernede Latyn
by *roote of clerkes.*
Of clamourus also begging
thou chaterist and criist,
and seist it is uttirli
forbodun in Goddis lawe.
¶ Jak, the blynde bogger
sat bi the weye,
and lowde criede uppon Crist,
as the gospel tellith;
but him was ȝovun ize-siȝt,
for al his grete noise,
and also the pore man
at the specialus ȝate
praiede to the apostlis
to parten of her almes;
and ther the begger unreproved
of crokidnesse he was heelid.

¶ Thou ffeillest much brethe, Daw,
with legyng of thi tyxtes;
for summe thou legest kenely
to a fals entente;
but of other thou blundyrst
as a blynde buserde.
For thes pore of whom thou spokyst,
myȝt not helpe hem selfe;
but ȝoure prowde losengerie
that rune abowt as snok-drawers
ben *neyther pore ne fabil,*
and so juge thou
how thes to acorde.

I forȝete not the lazar
that beggide of the riche,
and criede lowde at his ȝate
to cachen his almes.
Where redist thou that he was
repreved of his begging?
I rede wel he was ful soone
in Abrahams bosum.
Thou makist also more ado
for writing in oure tablis
of sich mennes names
that ȝeven us her almes,
" Wenynge that God were a fool,
" not knowinge mennes dedes,
" but if he were mengid
" bi weie of ȝour writyng."
¶ Jak, writyng was ordeyned
for slipernes of mynde,
not of God, but of us men,
hirt in oure nature,
and bi bodili buystousnesse
fallen to forȝetyngo.
Now special preier,
as clerkes seien,

¶ ȝit, Dawe, thou hewist hye,
and puttist thi mouthe in heven;
thi tong likkith the chesefat,
and the garner also,
and the pore wedowes porse,
thowȝ she have bot a peny.
And ȝit, Dawe Dotypolle,
thou justifiest this harlotrie;
whi lykkennest thou writyng of names,
which thou dost for money,
to the holi scripture,
that is our bileve?
Ffor God ne any godeman

moste helpeth the soulis,
and that may not be done
withouten special mynde.
Thanne for oure forȝetfulnesse
it nedith us to noten,
and this is cause whi
we writun in oure tablis.
And Esdras wroot a newe book,
to have the lawe in mynde.
To seint Joon in the Apocalips
it was bodun also,
that privy revelacion
to writun in his book,
for unstabilnesse of mynde,
seith the comoun glose.
" Whi," also thou axist,
" make ȝe so many maistris,
" aȝens Cristis bidding
" in the holi gospel?"
For sothe, Jak, among other,
this is a lewid question.
Taking hoed to thin astaate,
thou art but a knave,
and ȝit thou lokist that thi knave

---

approved never this symonye;
but thou approvest ȝour capped maistres
with a glasen glose,
whiche galpen *after grace*
bi symonye ȝour sister,
and after sitten on hie dece
and glosen lordes and ladies.
And this is no liknes
bitwix my knave and hem;
ffor of thos and suche it ben
that Crist speeth in his gospel.
Amant enim primos recubitus in cenis, et primas cathedras in synagogis, et vocari ab hominibus Rabbi.

shulde calle thee maistir.
Leve Jacke Jawdewyn,
how kepist thou the gospel?
Nevertheles to thi question
answerith the comoun glose,
that neithir the acte of teching,
neither the acte of maistir,
ben forbodun of Crist,
but oonli ambicion,
and the nyce appetite
of worldly worship.
Thou askist also ferthermore,
whos ben alle oure jewels;
and we seyen we han ri3t nou3t
in propre ne in comoun,
but gederen the goodes of the rewme
to make the pope riche.
Jak, the foure and twentithe pope
Joon wroot a3ens this mater,
and frere menours a3ens him,
as her actis shewen.
Examyne her actis
and loke who hath the beter,
and knowe noon other ordre
this perfitnesse approveth.
¶ Thou gruchist also that we gon
two of us togider;

¶ Daw, thou herdist me not grucche
that 3e went two togedir;
ffor otherwhile 3e gon three,
a womman is that oon.
Bot whether 3e go two or oon,
if 3e wol do wele,
it were a gret joye to me,
God wot the sothe.
Bot wel I wote that chari3té
may not duelle there,

for of the perfit apostlis
wenten but oone aloone.
Thou seist that we pretenden
the perfeccioun of apostlis.
Parfay, Jak, in scripture
thou *failist* here *ful foule*,
herdest thou nevere the processe
of the actis of the apostlis,
in what mâner the Holi Goost
chees Bernabé and Poule,
to gone bothe togidere,
and Cristis seed to sowun;
and afterward whan Bernabas
from Poul was departid,
another felowe, Tymothé,
toke Poul to his feere.
And 3it thei weren perfit
bi fastingo and bi preieris,
and resseyved haddo the Holi Goost
bi the apostlis hondis.
And thus we gon two togider,
folwingo her stappis;
but more for the mysterie
includid in the noumbre,
for to bi workes of charité
fulfilling the lawe;
and two tablis of Moises

---

where covetise crepith in,
and lecherie is loggid.
Therfor, Dawe, alleggo thou
no figur for thin ordre,
bot if it be Zambre
with Corby his lothy,
or Jamnes and Mambres,
Pharaones feres.
Hi sunt qui penetrant domos, et ducunt mulierculas onoratas peccatis.

there the lawe was writun;
and two cherubyns in the temple,
and two in the tabernacle.
It was not good to Adam
for to be aloone;
and Crist seith woo to sool
in aventure that he falle.
Also for fraternité
ful harde thou us holdist,
to graunt part of merit,
and also of messis,
bicause that we witen not whether
that we ben in grace or in synne,
and happili for we praien for suche
that ben dampned in helle.
Jak, if this cause were good,
al preier were reproved,
and thanne were set at nou3t
bothe messe and matynes,
and holy bedis and orisons
seid in holi chirche.
¶ Thanne shulde we leve Cristis bede,
the holy pater-noster.
Thanne was the memento
put fully in the masse,
and hooli chirche voidli
or madli biddith preye,
and alle siche 3onge impossibilitees
folowen therof.

¶ Thou argust, Topias, wonderly,
as if thou were an asse;
for thou legest 3oure selde bedys to the pater-noster,
that Crist him selve made;
but wel I wote that alle 3e
gate never a peny,

For who is that that knowith him silf
worthi for to preien,
but God bi revelacion
specially wolde it shewe;
for noman, seith the scripture, woot,
whether he is worthi love,
or ellis maugree but God
it oonly knowith.
And who can telle ferthermore
whiche shulde be dampned,
sith Goddis privy domes
man may not comprehende;
and so shal noman preie for other,
ne noman for him silf.
Jak, se now thin errour,
and sum tyme sesse for shame;
for thou jangelist as a jay,
and woost not what thou meenest.
Moreover thou monest multiplying
of so many freris,
whiche encresen combrousli,
ayens Goddis wille;
sith preestis with other religious
myzte serve the peple,
for twelve apostlis and fewe moo
servedon al the world,
and no fyngris on myn hond
than foure and the thombe

---

with the pater-noster,
but with zoure famulorum,
that zo sey is beter,
zo gete many poundes.
For Crist made that one,
for better may none be;
but zo with zoure ypocrisy
han autorised that other,

amonusith my worching
more than it acresith;
and so thou seist that freris letten
Cristis growingo into heven.
Jacke, thou weenest thou wynne lond,
but thou concludist thi silf;
thou seist that God alle thingis hath maad
in mesure, weiȝte, and noumbre,
and that every frere is sum thing,
thou maist not denye,
and thou seist freris ben maad
aȝens Goddis wille.
Than hath God maad sum thing
that he wolde not make,
and so his sovereyne goodnesse
is contrarious to him silfe.
Lo, Jakke Jospinel,
what folowith of thi sawis.
Jakke, if thouȝ a fewe moo
myȝte serven al the world,
thanne myȝte a fewe preestes
serven a litil rewme.
Whi renne thanne these ȝongo clerkes
so faste to the ordres,
to encresen preestes
above mony hundridis?
And if freris ben combrouse,

---

to blynde with the pupyl
for ȝoure cursed groundo,
and thou God made al thingo in mesure and in wyȝte,
as the scripture seythe,
it folowth not he made ȝou,
for ȝe ben oute of mesure,
and so the devyl and Caym
with Judas ben ȝoure fadirs.

preestis bon wel more;
or ellis lolle a boter skil
thanne thou hast bogunne,
whi the toon is chargeaunt
more than the tother.
Also the ensaumple of thin hond
is no thing to purpos;
for kynde hath determyned
the noumbre of thi fyngris,
and if it passe noumbre,
it is clepid monstruositó;
but God and holi chirche
determyned noo noumbre
of preestis ne of freris
to helpen mannis soule.
For the mo good ther ben,
the better is Cristis spouse;
and thouz fewer myzten
done that nedis,
zit many hondis togidor
maken lizt werk.

¶ Another mater thou movest, Jak,
moost to be chargid,
of the solompne sacrament
of Cristis owne bodye,
conteyned in figure of bredo,
sacrifise for synne;
thou drawist a thorn out of thi hele,
and puttist it in oure.

¶ Oft, Dawe, in thi writtyng,
thou wryngist out contradiccion;
but zit thou puttist defaut to preestes,
as erst thou didist to curates.
I wot thai bon defectif,
bot zit stondith Cristis religion,
of whose defaut I dout not, Dawe,
zo bon the chef cause.

Thou berist us on honde that we seien
ther is not Cristis bodye,
but roundnesse and whitenesse,
and accident withouten suget.
Jak, we seie with holy chirche,
that ther is Cristis bodi,
and not material breed
with Wiclyf ȝour maistir,
the whiche put ther but as a figure,
and not verré Cristis bodi,
after a manere spekyng
that holy chirche usith,
as we clepen Crist a stoon,
a lomb, and a lioun,
and noon of these is Crist,
but oonli in figure.
This heresie holde not we,
but ȝe his false folowers,
privyly as ȝe doren,
and opinli ȝe wolden,
no were the sharp ponishinge
of ȝour former fadirs.

Bi this it suwit not God,
bot Sathanas brouȝt ȝou in.
Thou saist, Dawe, as thou felist,
that there is Cristes body;
bot I affermo faithfully
that that is Cristis body;
Daw, aske thi cappid maistres,
as if thai were heritikes,
what is the sacred host,
and grounde hem in scripture,
to whiche we knele and doffe our hodes,
and don alle this wirchip,
and I bilove that oste sacred,
whiche is bothe whit and rounde,
is verrei Cristis body,

And now I will thee telle
the freris *confiteor*,
touching to this sacrament,
how that thei bilevon.
Thei seie breed is turned into fleish,
and wyne into blood,
thourȝ the myȝt of oure God,
and vertue of his wordis;
the fleish is mete, the blood is drynke,
and Crist dwellith [therin],
no thing rasyd, no thing dividid,
but oonli brokon in signo,
and as moche is in oo partie
as is al the hole;
thus leeveth not of the breed,
but oonli the licnesse,
which that abidith therinne
noon substeyned substans.
It is deth to the yvel,
lyf to good encresing of oure grace.
It wole not be confect
but oonli of a preest,

---

as men shuld bilyve,
and did to the tyme
that Sathanas was unbounde.
The wittnesse of this reson
is Crist and his apostles,
with many holi doctouris
of the thousande ȝere.
Bot this ȝe falsely forsake,
with alle ȝour seete, or many,
and blyndon the puple with heresie,
and leven Goddis lawe;
ffor ȝe seyen ther is Cristis body,
and nouȝt that sacred host.
Commutaverunt veritatem Dei in mendacium.

that lawfulli is ordeyned
bi holi chirche keies;
and so carpenters ne sowters,
card-makers ne powchers,
drapers ne cutellers,
girdelers, coferers, ne corvysers,
ne no manere of artificeris,
this sacrament mowe treten,
but the privité of preesthode
wer prickid in her soulis.
And ȝit ȝour sect susteynes
wommen to seie massis,
shewyng to trete a sacrament
as preestes that thei were,
reversynge holy doctours
and decree of holy chirche.
¶ Allas! ȝour brymme blastis
awake the wilde wawlis,
and scalen sely Peter ship,
and putt it in hiȝe perile;
ne were God the giour,
and 'kept the stern,
with the storne stormes
that reufulli ȝe reisin,
al schulde wende to wrak

¶ *ȝit spekith Jak Uplande.*
To make with the a dialogge,
I holde it bot wast,
for thou maryst thy lesynges lowde
with thy false heresyes;
men may se by thy writing,
here, thou jangelyng jay,
how thou bylevest not in the sacrid oste,
for we sey alle,
the sacrid oste that is sene with eye
is verey Cristes body;
but thy secte seyth not soo,

into the waast watris.
The releef of Cristis feeste
30 rendon and rabyn,
that his alumners the postlis
gaderid togidere,
and delith it to dogges
and ravenous beestes;
and the presciouse perlis
30 strowun to hogges,
the sutil metis of scripturis
to cherlis stomakes,
and maken hem als comoun
as the curt weye,
ayens Poulis sentence,
and Poulis owne doctrine.
Non, inquit Paulus, potui vobis scribere quasi spiritualibus, sed quasi carnalibus, etc.
So also what Crist seith,
in the holy gospel.
Multa habui vobis dicere, sed non, etc.
Also in many other place thus spekith he
to his perfit disciplis:
Vobis datum est nosscre mysterium regni Dei, cæteris autem in parabolam, etc.

---

but 30 say ther is Cristes body,
30 tel not where.
But Crist seyth, this is my body,
and not, ther is my body.
Whi, 30 templers messe sellers,
grante 30 not Cristes wordes,
syth 30 chafyr thus therwith,
bygylyng the pupil?
Lete 30ure seete write 30ure bylove
of this sacrid oste,
and preche it as 30 write it,
and sette therto 30ure sele,

Than the lewide and the lered
augt not yliche,
the scripturis ben scaterid
in his privy pointes.
Jak, thou seist at the last,
that charité is chacid,
to vengyn oure defautis,
and mende us of oure mysse,
levynge oure rotyn ritis,
folowinge Goddis lawe.
Jak, oure ritis ben nougt rotyn,
her rootis ben al freishe,
plantid in the gospel,
as I seide biforen;
but, good Jak, 3our grace,
where be 3e foundid?
not in Goddis gospel,
but in *Sathanas pistile*,
wher of sorowe and of snowerie
noon is to seken,
but al maner of dolosité
to 3ou is enditid,
as in thi lewid daliaunce
apertli thou hast proved;

---

and I am siker of my feith
3e schul be stonde to deth;
and than schal 3oure castels
cache hem new maysters,
for 3e wil not grante,
no bot few of 3oure ordirs,
the ost sacrid, white and roundo,
is verey Cristis body.
I pray oure Lord Jhesu,
that sone be it sene,
who is in the trew wey,
whether 3e other we.

but moche mawgré mote thou have
thus to frayn a frere,
that slily woldo have slent aweye,
and noman have greved.
But for thi grete labour
thi gardoun thou shalt gete;
thou shalt have the popis curse,
and al holi chirchis;
and if thou sett this at nouȝt,
God mowe sendo thee more,
the curse that he hath ȝovun to Caym
and Choreis sone also;
thou shalt also have the curse
that Crist ȝaf to Phariseis,
figured in the figre tree
that nevere bare fruyte aftir.
Thou shalt have the welawey
of Gelboth hilles,
the sorowe of Sodome,
and al sinful citeis.
Take for thi faire speche
the preier of *Deus laudem*,
the greable gardoun
for al opin sclaundris;
thou shalt have the malisoun
of Moab and Ariel;

But towching men of craftc,
whom thou dispisyst,
al *they* schulde medle hem
to know her bylove,
but as wele of her sneryng,
as wymmen syngynge messe,
alwey thou usest the craft
of thyn old fader.
Why darst not thou of summe
of ȝou falso heretykis,

the benysoun of Bethsaida
shal make thy beddis heed;
and, Jakke, for thou apprisist not
the curse of seint Franceis,
but scornyst the malisoun
of the foure ordris,
take the malisoun that God 3af
to brekers of his lawe,
in the book of *Deutronomye*,
the seven and twenty chapitre;
but evere be ware of Cristis curse,
and of cattis tailis,
the which if thou have grace to eschen,
nevere shal thou thryve.
Now fare forthe to thi fourmures,
and, Jak, thou hem telle
the matere of oure talkynge,
and loke how hem likith;
and if hem thinke not thi sawes
sufficientli assoilid,
lat hem senden 3eon,
it shal be amendid;
and sai hem that it nedith not
to sharpen oure clerkes,
for frere Dawe is scharpe ynow3
for al sich enditinge.

---

fynde owte such on,
and preve 3oure lesynges sothe.
And therfor, Daw, I say nomore
to the at this tyme,
but thou ert on of the falsest
that ever I saw write.
For Mahomete and Sorginus,
and al her grete lawe,
wot not so many lesynges
as ben here in thy writynges.

Ffare wele, Jak Jatwdowyne,
I thee God bitake;
and nomore of frēris
I thee rede to preche.
To lower state than thei ben
thou maist hem not dryve,
and if thei evere come to hizer,
the wers shal thou thryve.

Explicit dictamen fratris Daw Topias, quem in fine appellat Johannem Walsingham; contra quæstiones Johannis Upland.

On the Execution of Richard Scrope, Archbishop of York.[1]

June 8, 1405.

Quis meo capiti dabit effundere,
Et fonte lachrymas multum suffundere,
Per dies noctesque aquas deducere,
Deflenti mortem præsulis?
Quid mirum effluam totus in lachrymas,
Deflcam, lugeam tantas miserens,
Procerum, plebium strages innumeras,
Nunc finis verisimilis.
Sancti Paracleti sacra solemnitas
Willelmi præsulis felix festivitas,
Pastoris humilis cœlis soveritas,
Conditum gaudent tempora.
Secundâ feria post lucis medium
Ricardus Anglice primus ad gladium
Ducitur, cæditur, migrans ad gaudium
Commutat ima superis.

[1] From MS. Cotton. Faustina B. ix. fol. 212, v°.

Pastor perducitur plebis præsentia,
Et interdicitur mox audientia;
In primis promitur ipsa sententia
Ingressus quam præpostorus.
Judex prepotens, nulla dilatio,
Nulla negotii examinatio,
Gravis sententiæ præceps probatio,
Progressus temerarius.
Nil ergo conscius præsul non resonat,
Nec latas canonis censuras fulminat,
Sed prothomartyris exemplo geminat,
Ne Christus noxam statuas.
Non sæcli temporis prodest præsentia,
Nihil nobilitas, nil reverentia
Personæ, ordinis nec præminentia,
Hæ habent voces vacuas.
Locus sententiæ, patris palatium;
Jumento vehitur hinc ad supplicium;
Cessavit penitus sollæ solatium,
Capistro frænum cesserat
Tunc alt pontifex, despectus congruit,
Ornatus varius quia complacuit,
Hunc mundi Dominus Christus sustinuit,
Cum pati pœnas venerat.
Solatur comitem adolescentulum,
Ne prorsus timeat mortis articulum;
Certus obtineat cœli cœnaculum,
Coruscus comes angelis.
Fel, ferula, virgula satis sufficerent,
Furentem frameam si non adjicerent;
Fœdam infamiam sic procul pellerent,
Vulgatam regnis singulis.
Proh dolor! parvulum ense percutiunt;
Proh pudor! sanguinem proprium polluunt
Proh nefas! patriæ primatem perimunt,
Polluti parricidio.

Floxis poplitibus post pacis osculum
Offert carnifici columba jugulum;
Sic linquit pontifex carnis orgastulum;
Fert ictus quinque gladio.
Mitis in moribus, in pudicitia
Castus, virtutibus clarus, scientia
Lucidus, stabilis in patientia,
Vernat laude multiplici.
Baptismus sanguinis, fluminis, flaminis,
Abstergit maculas cujusque criminis,
Hoc sacro tempore virtute numinis
Renatus fonte triplici.
Ast Thomam militum audax atrocitas,
Symonem plebium furens ferocitas,
Ricardum callide sæva crudelitas,
Obtruncant christos Domini.
Annus millenus quadringentesimus
Quintus erat Christo patri novissimus,
Dies quo patitur pastor piissimus
Octavus erat Junii.
Ad sancti Stephani altaris titulum,
Cujus proverbii sumpsit capitulum,
Præparat præsuli sepulchri lectulum
Cunctorum Deus præscius.
Lectorem simplicem supplex expostulo,
Ne patrem polluat veneni poculo;
Benigne audiat quæ videt oculo.
Factorum Dei nescius.
Quicquid ab aliis divisim traditur,
A probis plurimis sparsis asseritur,
Quod pie, patiens, devote moritur,
De fine nullus hæsitat.
Si vera caritas monstrat miracula,
Præcedet veritas, nec offendicula
Reddetur probitas per ulla sæcula,
Scriptura sacra recitat

Si causæ subeant, Deus, ecclesia,
Regnum, res publica, fides, justitia,
Pie præsumitur pro patientia
Omnia vincit caritas.
Non queunt cætera pœnarum genera,
Corpora lacera, carorum funera,
A plebe tollere amoris munera;
Omnia suffert caritas.
Thesaurus tollitur, vasaque cætera,
Corporis, cameræ supellex varia,
Capellæ, studii vasa, jocalia;
Omnia fiscus occupat.
Non datur corporis funeri lintheus,
Non nummus minimus pro funeralibus,
Nihil pauperibus, nil creditoribus,
Pietas prorsus exulat.
Pœna progreditur familiaribus,
Census indicitur, nudantur opibus,
Nec veris creditur probationibus,
Venenum est his venia
Post hæc extenditur pœna in plebibus
Importabilibus exactionibus;
Nemini paeitur, sed innocentibus
Ingrata datur gratia.
Anglorum recolens prima fastigia,
Nunc horum intuens dira discidia,
Cunctorum metuens simul excidia,
Mutata miror prospera
Gens olim nobilis, nunc nimis misera,
In fide fragilis, vilis ut vipera,
Verbis instabilis, in factis effera,
Materna rodit viscera.
Ignavi exteris bellis hostilibus
Cædunt se mutuo plus quam civilibus,
Trucidis, horridis, innaturalibus,
Cognato madent sanguine.

Orbatur regio inclitis ducibus,
Nudatur legio lectis militibus,
Bacchatur pugio cæsis tyronibus,
Rarus fortis in agmine.
Quis mihi tribuat ut annos pristinos
Revolvi videam et mores patrios,
Ridere rideam ut canos ultimos;
In forma pacis finiam.
O summa Deitas, qui cœlis inseris,
Præsidens mediis medere miseris,
Ut spectis infimis lætemur superis,
Beatus dona veniam. Amen.

On the Death of Henry V.[1]

By Thomas of Elmham.

Incipit epistola sacre theologie professoris magistri Thome Elmham, monachi de Trenton prope Notyngham, ad regem Henricum quintum pro opere sequenti.

O rex mi domine, scepe quo tibi scribere duxi,
Providus ut fias, damna futura cavens,

[1] From the Bodleian Library, MS. Rawlinson, No. 214, fol. 131, r°. The writer of these lines, Thomas of Elmham, is well known to historians by his prose history of the reign of Henry V., printed by Hearne; by a history of the monastery of St. Augustine at Canterbury, of which Mr. Hardwick has recently given us an edition; and by his summary of the history of the same reign in Latin verse, the latter edited by Mr. C. A. Cole, in his "Memorials of Henry the Fifth, King of England." In his earlier life he was a Benedictine monk of the monastery in Canterbury, of which he compiled the history; he subsequently entered the order of Cluny, and was elected prior of Lenton in Nottinghamshire, an office which he held until 1426. The short poem here printed must, from internal evidence, have been composed immediately after the event it commemorates, the death of Henry IV., and before its author became prior of Lenton.

Errores solitos quos nunc tua curia mittit
Corrige, ne feriat te gravis ira Dei.
Nam licet hic hodie sis rex, sors crastina forsan
Te cito subvertet et diadema tuum.
Ecce quod intrasti transis, patet exitus orbe,
Quo tria sunt ista, pus, labor, atque dolor.
Flebilis ingressus, progressus debilis inde,
Egressus timidus, hæc memoraro precor.
O si lamenta populi, si gaudia scires,
Quæ tibi dat fleres egrediens, regrediens.
Nam tuus adventus cunctis tristis perhibetur,
Jocundus tuus est exitus a patria.
Cervicata cohors et avari quique ministri
Causant plura mala, dum bona vi rapiunt.
Quod fit eis placitum tenet hoc pro jure vigorem,
Ad libitum paret his homo, sic animal.
Hi nihil excipiunt, tamen hoc in tempore guerræ,
Illicitum fieret, liber ut esse solet.
Presbyter et monachus, mercator, cultor agrique,
His et jumenta libera jure manent.
Hi cum securi debent fore tempore guerræ,
Cur non securi tempore pacis erunt?
Si pax nulla locis datur in quibus ipse moraris,
Pacis ades fractor, inde cavèto tibi.
Regis Ricardi crebro memorare secundi,
Cujus fortunæ sit cito versa rota.
Henrici regis patris ipse tui memor esto,
Nam sua fortuna carne supina ruit.
Illius in speculo res extitit hoc speculata,
Hæc mage quo fieret conspicienda tibi.
Hujus doctrina tibi stat vice cotis, acutum
Quæ ferrum reddit ipsa secando nihil.
Dogmatis ecce sui metra congrua condere conor,
Ut tibi proficiant hic tibi dixit ita.

Explicit epistola magistri Thome Elmham ad regem Henricum quintum.

Incipit epistola regis Henrici quarti ad filium suum Henricum quintum in extremis languentis pro sui et regni Anglie gubernatione, una cum benedictione paternali cunctis suis filiis, ex composito predicti magistri T. E.

Diligo mente Deum, fili, virtuteque tota,
Hoc tu si facias sit tibi vera salus.
Vera salus tibi sit, si corde Deum venereris,
Nec dubites sibi dans corpus, opes, cor, et os.
Corpus, opus, cor, et os sibi dans, mala discute prisca,
Si sit prosperitas, inde caveto mali.
Inde caveto mali, ne degener ad bona fias,
Et te sic habeas ut mala quaque fugas.
Ut mala quæque fugas crebro bene confitearis,
Tu confessores excipe profectos
Excipe profectos, fovens quo te reprehendant,
Ut decet exculpa lectius arte foras.
Arcta foras laete servito Deo, vigil affor
Os, aures, oculos, corde precando Deum.
Corde precando Deum consortia pange piorum;
Det tibi colloquium religiosa cohors.
Religiosa cohors pellat decreta malorum,
Omne malum fugias, dilige quodque bonum.
Quodque bonum nutrias, coram te despice dici
Allectiva malis, cor pietatis habe.
Cor pietatis habe, labor assit, et otia sperne,
Exemplum prebens arma tuendo tuis.
Arma tuendo tuis memorans regni diadema,
Die memorans tibimet ad quod, amice, venis.
Ad quod, amice, venis, ut prosis proficias nil,
Non ratis inde piger si nimis alta petas.
Si nimis alta petas, scripturæ cerne valorem,
Nec puteus Jacob est, sit sapor inde recens.
Sit sapor inde recens, hinc vana recentia pelle,
Teque decentia stent recta decentia te

Recta docentia te dictant ut, linea recta
  Sit servanda tibi quo vacet illicitum.
Quo vacet illicitum non dextris nonque sinistris
  Divertas, gratis prosperitate cavens.
Prosperitate cavens adversis tu patiens sis,
  Esto memor finis, dic ego quis tibimet?
Dic ego quis tibimet, Henrice, tibi speculum do,
  Fortis eram quondam, debilis ecce ruo.
Debilis ecce ruo, multis formosior olim
  Vultus pictura pluribus alma fuit.
Pluribus alma fuit quæ nunc patet horrida cunctis,
  Qui sapui plura, vix memor esto mei.
Vix memor esto mei quis me de corpore mortis
  Hujus nunc leniet, mors, mihi cara, veni.
Mors, mihi cara, veni, cum sis mihi janua vitæ,
  Fœtor, gleba, lutum, stat reputanda caro.
Stat reputanda caro nil, quamvis sint tibi vires,
  Si non mente vires, non bonus ipse vires.
Non bonus ipse vires, horum si non memor assis,
  Qui cari mihi sunt, his bona ferre velis.
His bona ferre velis, cunctis ingrata refutes,
  Quo gratus maneas, hoc tibi gratia det.
Hoc tibi gratia det, Acheron non grata resumet,
  Terram terra teget, spiritus alta petet.
Spiritus alta petet, benedictio te sacra Christi
  Servet, quo solvas debita quæque mea.
Debita quæque mea solvas et eris benedictus,
  Te fratres quoque rex beat ipse poli.
Rex beet ipse poli pietate Thomamque, Johannem,
  Necnon Humfredum, sit quibus alma fides.
Alma fides vireat qua crescant prospera regni,
  Ut te contingat hac prece posse frui.

Gratiarum actiones regis Henrici 4 in fine vitæ suæ.

Gloria, Christe, tibi, miserorum rex miseratur,
  Pro pietate tua tu miserere mei.

Tu misorere mei nosco conceptus in alvo,
Ingressus mundum nox bona grata tuli.
Grata tuli, tribues tibi nil miles, comes, et dux,
Nunc rex grata tuli gloria tota tibi.
Tota tibi laus sit, in te nunc omnia possum,
Hæc me confortant spes, amor, atque fides.
Spes, amor, atque fides, sensusque, memorque voluntas
Patri tum nato spirituique sacro.
Sacro spiritui sit laus in honore perenni,
Infirmus cum sim fortior atque potens.
Nomen regis. Fortior atque potens respirans exprimo Xpistum,[1]
Hinc ego nunc rogito justa crucis vim sit.
Hæc est nobilitas regnantibus inclita cunctis
Virtutum series, relevans examine Xpus.
Hostes ecce nocent rapiendo jocalia carni,
Virtus servetur respirans excipe Xpum.
Nomen versificatoris. Traditur hostis opus, meditetur amore sophia,
Excipiens lumen morbis, amara memens.

Mortem regis Henrici 4ti.

Annis millenis quadringentis duodenis
Rex meat Henricus ad loca digna sibi.
Cuthberti luce vitæ spiramen ab imis
Suscipit altitonans rex miserando piis.
Victa prophetia sonuit quam vivus habebat,
Quod sibi sancta fuit terra lucranda cruce.
Improvisa sibi sacra terra datur nescius hospes
In Bethlem camera Westque monasterio.
O fallax fortuna, suis vergenda repente,
Quos sua dextra levat, hos sua læva premit.
Fingit, ovat, recipit, tradit, variat, negat, aufert,
Quæ rara promittit, fine perire solent.
Clarnit Henricus rex, regum germine natus,
Anglus, Normannus, cum sit utroque parens.

[1] It is necessary to retain the abbreviation of the word in this case, or we should lose the *x*, which is necessary to the acrostic.

Anglia, Francia, Néustria, parte patris referuntur,
Nobilius reliquis, stirps sua clara viret.
Henrico regi terno sextus reperitur,
Tam patre quam matre pura propago patet.
Audax, intrepidus, micuit miles, comes, et dux,
Hinc rex magnificus robore, mente, statu.
Hic moriens monuit successurum sibi natum
Henricum quintum, nobilitate parem.

Finitur finis regis Henrici 4ti.

Rex es, apicolis ale ne grave lædat, id effer;
Hic es, nil rapias, jus conservans vice summi;
Quo virtus jubilans, noxam terit, undique suffer.
Chrismatis arma tenens, en regni jus notat ara.
Res est gratifica jam nobilitas animosa,
Angelicum nomen genti locus imprimit ecce.

On the Battle of Azincourt.[1]

And ther lay owre kynge til the fyrste day of Octobre, the which day owre kynge remevyd and toke his way thorow Normandy and thorow Pykardy towarde Calys. And these bethe the townes that owre kynge rood by thorow Frawnce. First is Harflew; the secunde is Houndeflo; the thirde is Barflete; the ferthe is Mousterevelers; the fift is Fescoompe, with the abbey; the sixt is Arkes; the seventhe is Depe; the eyghte is Depe; the ixe is the cete of

[1] From MS. Cotton. Cleop. C. iv. fol. 24, r°. This song, evidently a contemporary effusion, is preserved in a partly imperfect form in an early chronicle of London, the writer of which was taking his narrative from the account given in the popular ballad, until, tired of paraphrazing it, he went on copying the song itself. The lines of the earlier part of it, with their rhymes, are easily traced in the introductory prose, which is printed here as it stands in the MS.

Delowe; the x° is the coté de Towe; the xj° is coté de Neelle; the xij° is the coté de Amyas; the xiij° is the coté of Arras; the xiiij° the water of Somme; the xv° the coté of Pyroune; the xvj° the water of Swerdys; and than the batel of Tyrwyne. And in Azyngcorte felde owre kynge faught with the Frenchmen the ffryday tofore the day of Symond and Jude; and ther all the ryall powere of Frensshemen come azenst owre kynge and his litill meyné, save the Frensshe kynge and the dolfyne and the duke of Borgoyn, and the duke of Baire, elles all the lordys of Frawnce lay tofore the kynge in his hy way as he schuld passe towarde Calys, enbatoylyd in iij° batayles, as the Frensshemen sayde hem silfe, the nowmbre of lx m¹ men of armes, and tho were the faireste men of armys that ever any man sawe in any plase. And owre kynge with his litille mayné soy well he must nedys fyzte, or he myght not come to Calays by the hy way. And than he sayde to his lordys and to his mayné: "Syres and fellowes, tho
" zondere mayné thenke to lett us of owre way,
" and thei wil nat come to us, lete every man prove
" hym silfe a good man this day, and avant baneres,
" in the best tyme of the yere, for as I am trew
" kynge and knyght, for me this day schulle never
" Inglond rawnsome pay; erste many a wyght man
" schall love is weddes, for here erste to deth I wil
" be dyght, and therfore, lordynges, for the love of
" swete Jhesu, helpe mayntene Inglondes ryght this
" day. Allso, archers, to yow I praye, no fote that
" ze fle away, erste be we alle beten in this felde.
" And thenké be Englysshemen that never wold flo
" at no batelle, for azenste one of us thowthe ther
" be teyn, thenke Cristo wil help us in owre ryght.
" Bot I wold no blode we spille, Cryste helpe me
" so now in this case, but tho that been cause of
" this trespase; when thou sittest in jugment, ther

" holde me excused tôfore thi face, as thou art God
" omnipotent. But passe we all now in fere, duke,
" erle, and bachelere, of all owre synnys he make us
" sekére. Jentil Jhesu, borne of Marye, and as for us
" thou deydyst on good Fryday, as thi will was, so
" brynge us to thi blisse an hy, and graunte us ther
" to have a place. Do and bete on ffaste," owre kynge tho bad wythe fulle glad chere; and so thei dyde at that word, lord, knyght, and archere. Ther men myght see a sembló sade that turnyd many on to tone and tray, for many a lorde ther ryght low lay, that commen was of blod full gent By evensong tyme sothely to say, ther helpe us God omnipotent.

Stedes ther stumbelyd in that stownde,
That stod stere stuffed under stele;
With gronyng grete thei felle to grownde,
Here sydes federed whan thei góne fele.
Owre lord the kynge he foght ryght welé,
Scharpliche on hem his spere he spent,
Many on seke he made that sele,
Thorow myght of God omnipotent.

The duke of Gloweestre also that tyde
Manfully, with his mayné,
Wondes he wroght thes wondere wyde.
The duké of Yorke also, perdé,
Fro his kyng no foto wold he flee,
Til his basonet to his brayn was bent,
Now on his sówle he have peté,
Mersifull God omnipotent.

Wontyngdoun and Oxforde bothe
Were wondere fers all in that fyght;
That erste was glade thei made ful wrothe,
Thorow hem many on to deth were dyght.

Tho erles fowghten with mayn and myȝt,
Rich hauberke thei rofe and rente;
Owre kyng to helpe thei were full lyght;
Now blesse hem God omnipotent.

The erle of Suthfolk gan hem assayle,
And sir Richarde Kyghté in that stede,
Here lyves thei losten in that bataile,
With dyntes sore ther werd thei dede.
Ȝif eny man bydo ony good bedé
Unto God with good entent,
To tho two sowles it mote be needé,
Gracius God omnipotent.

Sire William Bowsere, as foule in fright,
Presto he ther was upon his pray,
Erpyngham he come hym with,
Her manhode help us wolle that day.
Off Frensshe folk in that affray
Thre dukes were dede with dolefull dent,
And fyve erles, this is no nay;
Ther helpe us God omnipotent.

Lordes of name an hunderde and mo
Bitterly that bargayn bowght;
Two thousand cot-armers also,
After her sorow thedere thei sowght.
Ten thowsand Frensshemen to dethe wer browght,
Off whom never none away went;
All her names sothly know I nowght,
Have mersy on hem Cryst omnipotent.

Two dukes were take in that stoure,
He of Orliawnce and of Borbaun,
The Ewe and Arthowre,
The erle of Vandoum, and many one.

The erchebisshope of Sens come with oure foon,
* * * * * *
Hym failed the wynnyng of his schone,
Thorow myght of God omnipotent.

The fals Flemyngys, God 3ef hem care,
Thei loved us never 3it, by the roode,
For alle here fals flateryng fare,
Azenst owre kyng that day thai stode.
Bot many of hem her hert blode
Unblythly bledden upon that bent;
3it schalle thai never wayt Inglond goode,
I swere by God omnipotent.

Epigram on the Battle of Azincourt.[1]

Mortua cara cruce caro Christi victor ut intus
Crispini luce fecit Francis fore funus.
Henricus quintus rus agens curtum fuit mus.
Juro juvante Jesu rex est victor sine lesu,
Dant sua firma fides, bona vita, preces, et amores,
Per silvas virides quod perdit Francia flores:
Ante lepus fugit, quo nunc est Anglica villa,
Quum leo rugit per Francos redditur illa.

The Frenchman to the Englishman.[2]

Versus Francorum.

O gens Anglorum, morum flos, gesta tuorum,
Cur tu Francorum procuras damna bonorum?
Servorum Christi quos tractas crimine tristi,
Et servant isti fidem quam in bis renuisti.

[1] From MS. Harl. No. 869, fol. 282, v°.

[2] From MS. Harl. No. 2,406, fol. 0, v°.

Sub specie casti, fraudem tu semper amasti.
Spindeo annosam caudam quam fera venenosam,
Sed cantas prosam fidelibus Christi moxosam.
Exandi presto tu, presul, et memor esto,
Qui te caudavit Deus ipsum sanctificavit.

Responsio Anglorum.

Anglorum gentem cur falso percutis ore?
Et pro responso do tibi metra duo.
Prevalet in lingua qui non est fortior armis,
Nullus in hac pugna plus meretrice valet.

ON THE LOLLARDS.[1]

Versus Lollardorum contra prelatos ecclesie ad cacilandum dominos temporales contra eos.

Plangant Anglorum gentes crimen Sodomorum,
Pabulus fert horum sunt idola causa dolorum.
Surgunt ingrati Ghesitæ Simone nati,
Nomine prelati hos defensare parati.
Qui reges estis, populis quicunque presestis,
Qualiter his gestis gladios prohibere potestis

Versus quidam catholici contra eosdem Lollardos.

Dens Lollardorum gens est vilis Sodomorum,
Errores eorum sunt in mundo causa dolorum
Hii sunt ingrati, maledicti, demone nati,
Quos vos, prelati, sitis damnare parati;
Qui pugiles estis fidei populisque presestis,
Non horum gestis ignes prohibere potestis.

[1] These verses appear to belong to the reign of Henry V. They are taken from MS. Cotton. Vespas D. ix. fol. 61, r°.

On the Death of Henry V.[1]

Nota bene de Henrico rege quinto, scilicet Anglię

Finit tractatus celebri memoramine dignus,
Tractatus talis qualem non viderat Anglus,
Nec visurus erat, licet annis mille manebit,
Plusquam militia nisi gratia deferat arma,
Et fortisque potens princeps sit bella gubernans,
Ut semper fuerit Henricus quintus quando regebat;
Quando sed id fiet, Deus utique non homo dicet,
Det Deus Augustus ut sit Julio novus hæres,
Duxque patri Macedo successor honore Philippo.
Quam probus et pugnax, quam vivax, fortis, et audax
Adversus Francos fuit Henricus rex nomine quintus,
Dum regnans, steterat, hæc nunc concordia monstrat.
Monstrat, declarat, plano sermoneque narrat,
Quod fuit in bellis Mars, altus et Hector in armis,
In causis Icathus, in judiciis Radamantus,
Carolus in quæstu, Clodoveus et in moderatu;
Pluraque sub brevibus ut summatim referamus,
Quicquid regis erat, hic unus solus habebat,
Unus et in numero rex, miles, duxque regendo.
Regum gemma fuitque ducum flos dummodo vixit.
Quam bona, quam magna, quam grandia, quamque notanda
Hic rex, dum rexit, apud hostes gesta peregit,
Si melius memores, et quomodo nunc variat sors,
Non sine militias neglectu desidiaque.
Dic flens, dicque mœrens, fert hostis seu modo gaudens,

[1] From a MS in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, MS. Laud. No. 697, fol. 28, v°.

Nunc vir, nunc æstus, nunc Martis tota potestas
Ad Francos abiit, nunc nos Anglosque reliquit.
Regina fallit habens patrem, sequitur sua proles,
Fallit item dictum, dat ramus semper eundem
Fructum quem stipes, interdum sunt variantes.
Desino plura loqui, res est manifesta legenti.

Decet enim talia haberi in memoria in bonorum laudem, vituperationem enim eorum qui dormitant et peregre permittunt omnia in perditionem.

Epigram on the Assumption of the Arms of France. 1422[1]

Invectio Gallici contra dominum regem Anglie pro mutatione armorum.

Lilia Francorum, rex Karole septime regum;
Sint tua cum regno, si qua est reverentia legum.

Justa responsio Anglici pro mutatione armorum.

Lilia Francorum descensu progenitorum
Jam sunt Anglorum, si lex valet ulla priorum.

[1] From a manuscript in the Bodleian Library, MS. Rawlinson, No. 214, fol. 121, v°. This epigram appears to have been written on the occasion of the proclamation of the dauphin of France, claiming the kingdom as Charles VII., upon the death of Charles VI.

On the English Title to the Crown of France.[1]

Here begynneth a remembraunce of a peedeugré how that the kyng of Englond, Henry the sext, is truly borne heir unto the corone of Fraunce by lynyalle successioun, als wele on his ffader side, Henry the fifth, whom God assoille, as by Kateryne quene of Englond, his modir, whom God assoile; made by Lydygate Johan the monke of Bury, at Parys, by the instaunce of my lord of Warrewyk.

The prolog.

Trouble hertis to sette in quyete,
And make folkys theire language for to lette,
Which disputen in their opynyons
Touching the ligne of two regions,
The right, I mene, of Inglond and of Fraunce,
To put away alle maner variaunce,
Holy thé doute and the ambyguyté,
To sette the ligne where hit shuld be,
And where hit aught justly to abide,
Wrongfulle claymes for to set aside,
I moved was shortly in sentement
By precept first and commaundement
Of the nobly prince and manly man,
Which is so knyghtly and so moche can,

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[1] This is one of the numerous metrical productions of the poet Lydgate, and certainly is one of his worst. Its date is fixed to the autumn of the year 1426 by the statement that the king was then "nigh" five years old, and Lydgate himself gives us the day of the month on which it was written, namely, the 28th of July. It is printed from MS. Harl. No. 7333, fol. 31, r°. I have not been able to discover any traces of the original from which Lydgate professes to translate.

My lord of Warrewyk, so prudent and wise,
Beyng present that tyme at Parys
Whanne he was than repairede agoin
From seint Juliane of Mauns, oute of Mayne
Resorted home, as folkys tolle conne,
From the castelle that he had wonne
Thurgh his knyghthede and his hy noblesse,
And thurgh his wysdom and his hy prowesse.
Gladly he chevith what so he begynne,
Sesyng not tylle he his purpos wynne,
The fyne therof berith witnessing.
Lyf and goodis for title of his kyng
He sparith not to put in jupardye,
Oonly the right for to magnifie
Of him that is to him moste soverain,
Henry the sext, of age ny fyve yere renne,
Borne to be kyng of worthie reamys two.
And God graunt that it may be so,
Septure and crowne that he may in dede,
As he hath right, in peas to possede,
And to put his title in remembrannce,
Whiche that he hath to Ingland and to Fraunce.

The regent of the rem[e] of Fraunce, due of B[edford].

The noble, that worthi variour,
Whiche may be callid a very conquerour,
Who lyst considre and serche by and by
His grete empryse in ordre coriously,
And specially to encrece his glory,
Who list remembre the grete high victory
Which that he had in Vernoille in Perche,
Fulle notable in boke oute to serche,
In cronycles to be song and rad;
And this prince moste discrete and sad,
Hy lord of Bedford, of Fraunce the regent,
Was the first that did his entent,
By grete advys and ful hy prudence,
Thurugh his labour and his diligence,

That made ecoche in cronycle fulle notable,
By the clerk which he knew moste able,
Renomed of wysdom and science,
Worthie eke of fame and of credence.
And I, as he that durst not withsey,
Humbly his biddyng did obey,
Ful desirous him to do plesaunce,
With fere suppresed for my ignoraunce,
And in my hert quakyng for drede;
And as I kend began to taken hede
Unto the Frenssh compiled by Laurence,
In substaunce filowyng the substaunce
Of his writyng and compilacioun.
Alle be that I in my translacioun
To my helpe nor to my socoure
Of rethoryk have no maner floure,
Yit shal I folow my maistre douteles,
Calot, and be not recheles
Liche his writyng my stiel to direct;
Where I dare pray hem to correct,
I mene tho that shalle hit sene or rede;
And right forth who so lyst take hede,
Undir favoure and supportacioun,
Thus I begyn on my translacioun.

Here endith the prolog, and begynneth the translacioun.

Crist Jhesu, prince and soverain lord
Of unyté, of pease, and of accorde,
Seyng the myschief and the hie distaunce
Betwene the kyng of England and of Fraunce;
Perylle of soules both nygh and ferre,
By occasioun of the mortalle werre;
Seyng also the grete confusioun
Of both reames, by devisioun
Thurgh feyned falshede caused cursidly
By the dolphyn, that so horribly

Made sleen withoute drede or shame,
At Monstreux, a toune of grete fame,
Johan duc of Burgoyne, by grete violence,
Doyng to him honure and reverence,
And evermore of inyquité,
By false treson and cursed cruelté,
Compassed; alas! that was to grete a ruth
Under colome and shadowe of veray trouth
In dispite of the chirche, alas!
Havyng no reward in this horrible cas
To swerté nor othe ymade toforne,
Nor assurance in holy place asworne,
The high lord Henry Bully to offende;
That wit of man coude not comprehende,
That this dolphyn shuld in any wise
So hygh tresoun compassen or devise,
Him self, alas! in hindryng of his name,
Thurgh the world to sclaundre and to blame,
Causing in soth his inabilité
For to succede to any dignité,
Of knyghtly honure to regne in any land,
As by lettres enselid with his hond
Clerly recorde, truth wolle not vary,
He to his othe wrching the contrary.
Considerynge this and peised in balaunce,
Touching the right of true enheritaunce,
God thurgh his myght who can undirstonde
More of grace than of mannes honde,
Alle oute trouble to ondon and to lyne,
By purveaunce which that is devyne,
Provided hath of his hy grace
For reames two large to compasse
A rightfulle heire, I dare hit wele endite,
As this figure unto every wight
Showyng in ordre descendyng lyne right,
To forein blode that it not ne choinge,
The crowne to put in non hondis straunge,

Schewyng of the pedegré in portrature.

But it conveied there it shuld be
Verily, liche as ye may se,
The peedegré doth hit specifie,
The figure lo of the genelagye,
How that God list for her purchace
Thurgh his power and benigne grace,
An heir of peas by just successioun,
This figure makith clere demonstracioun.
Ageins which noman may maligne,
But that he stondith in the veray ligne,
As ye may se, as descendid is
Of the stok and blode of seint Lowys;
Of which we aught of equité and right
In oure hertis to be glad and light,
That we may se with every circumstaunce
Direct the lyne of Englond and of Fraunce.
On the othir part byhold and ye may se
How this Herry in the eight degré
Is to seint Lowys sone and very heire;
To put awey alle doute and despaire,
God hath for us so graciously provided,
To make al oon that first was devided,
That this Herry stonding in the lyne,
Thurgh Goddis hond and purviaunce devyne,
Is justly borne, to voide alle variaunce,
For to be kyng of Englond and of Fraunce;
To whom we owe truly to obey
In every thing, there is nomore to sey.
By whom we se the werre doutelesse
Fully finisshed, brought in werre and peas,
Betwix this noble worthi reames twayne,
Ful long aforne with laboure and grete payne
Sought and required, which ben now at rest,
Thanked be God, that alle doth for the best.
And that this peas in sothfast unyté,
Be endid sone withoute strif or plee,
By thavise and mediacioun

Shewyng the portraiture of the pedegré.

Made by trotd of bothe regioun,
Sworne and asured by fulle besy peyne
Of both parties at Trois in Champoigne.
Charlis the sext makyng thassurance,
Thilke tyme beyng kyng of Fraunce;
The quene also sworne in the same wise,
And after hem, as I shal deviso,
The boke also entouchid with his hond,
Was Herry sworne, kyng of Englond,
Heir of Fraunce, and also regent,
And Pholip eke beyng there present,
Due of Burgoyne, assured eke and sworne,
Sone to the due of whom I spake byforne,
That slayn was and murdred traitoursly;
Than thre estatis beyng by and by,
Prelatis, erles, lordis, and barons,
Sworne and assured, of both regions,
As the traité fully hath devised.
And there in Troys also was solempnesed
The mariage, to conferme up the peas;
And to declare the maner doutoles
Of this weddyng, who so lyst to serche,
At Seint Potirs Aundels of the chirche,
The said Herry, manly and prudent,
Of Englond kyng, of Fraunce the regent,
Betrouthed hath my lady Katoryne,
And the mystery with that is devyne.
O mariage by grete reverence,
The sacrement for the excellence
He hath worshipped, and fulle humbly
In the chirch made axid openly,
After custume of hy or low degré,
To show ensample of humylité.
In the chirche thries of Seint Johan,
Liche the custume of new and yore agon,
Thries published in open audience,
As the lawe byndeth in sentence.

Touching the statuyt in cas of mariage,
For any favoure of blode or lynage,
The cours suyng in alle his hole entent,
And in no wise list not be exempte.
From poynt to poynt list no thing withdrawe,
The bonde filowyng of holy chirche lawe,
Notwithstondyng his astate rialle;
But in his chirche than parochialle
Of Seint Johan he came with good entent,
For to receive the holy sacrement
Of mariage, he and Kateryne,
As ye toforne have herd me determyne.
The which Herry if I shal discryve,
I dare wele sey there was never on lyve
No manlier to speke of worthinesse,
Of governaunce, nor of hy prowesse,
Whiche thurgh his manhode and grete laboure,
Lyche a notable worthi conqueroure
Cesid not, thurgh his besy peyne,
Justly to bring worthi reames twayne
Undir oo crowne by desceynt of lyne;
For which he may among the worthie nyne
Truly be set and reconed for oon,
Who can take hede among hem everichone.
And of this Henry, of knyghthode moste famous,
Moste avisy, and moste victorious,
From saint Lowys in the right lyne,
I sey of him and of Kateryne,
Don in ordre by corious lynealle,
Descendid is from the stok rialle
Of seint Lowis, who can undirstond,
Henry the sext, borne in Englond,
For to possede by enheritaunce
Crownes two of Englond and of Fraunce,
By true title, as ye have hard toforne,
The first yere in soth that he was borne.
By the which of hem he and his fader dere
Both two passing in oon yere,

Kyng of Fraunce, Charles

thse sext], and the kyng of England, Herfry the fift].

Everiche in haste stynge *aftir* othir,
By pitous fate, hit wold be non othir,
The yere of grace by computacioun
A thousand foure hundrid by conclusioun
Twenty and two, who so compte right.
God graunt her soulis of her grete myght
Joy and rest which is eternalle,
In his court above celestialle;
And graunt oure kyng joy, honure, and glorye,
Peas and quiete, and of his foon the victorye,
To love his people, and to be loved ayen,
As thei loved her lord most soverain,
Charles the sext, which was his aielle.
And in doctryne norisshed be as wele,
And als wys and prudent fynally,
As was his fader callid eke Henry.
Graunt him grace and also good fortune,
In his regnes also to contynue
His rialle lyne also to liahounde,
And that hit may verily be founde
Hy to encrece in worship and vertue,
As an heir blessed of Jhesu,
And of renoun excellent in vertue.
To drawen oute a true peedegrue,
Lyneally descending even adoun
From seint Lowys, most famous of renoun,
And renommed of parfite holynesse;
And specially, the trouth to expresse,
Amonges other to rekene everychone,
Of Frensh men only there was oon
From the trouth which wold not varie,
Oure liege lord chosen secretary
For his faithfulle true diligence,
Which by name callid is Laurence
Calet, of the counseille clerk,
Which toke on him the labour of this werk,
Ever aftir to be rad and song;
First to compile hit in the Frensh tong,

Compendiously drawe hit in sentence
In that language, by grete providence,
As he that was passing excellent,
In rethoryk famous and eloquent,
And diligent withouten any slouth
To declare oute the trouth,
The chaf to voide and take the true corne.
Of which my lorde that I spak of byforne,
My lord of Warrewyk, ful worthi of renoun,
Of high prudence and discrecioun,
Touching the writyng of this Calot clerk,
Draw into Frenssh by his besy werk,
Gaf me precept in conclusioun
To make therof a playne translacioun
In Englissh tong, and bad me hit translate.
And to reherce the very true date
Of this labour, when I first bygan,
Hit was in soth, as I reherce can,
The monyth of Juylle twenty daies comen,
And eight over, when the sonne shone
Made his paleys and his dwellyng place
Amoddis the hevene in the thrid face,
The signe I mene callid the lioun,
Which is the toure and chief mansioun
Where Phebus hath moste soverain dignité;
And thilke tyme in the thritteneth degré
He entred was of the same signe,
Thatempre wedir lusty and benigne,
Saturne beyng in the scorpyoun,
In which he hath no domynacioun,
No dignité shortly for to tary;
Jubiter in the sagittary
Seven degrés where he is dignified,
Fulle fortunat and grotly magnified;
Furious Mars, the ferfulle red sterre,
Causar of stryf, patroun of the werre,
With his bemes cast moste fervently,
Was two pocys passed of gemeny;

Fressh Venus, lady of Citheroun,
Was nyne degrees entred the lyoun;
And the mone, with her hornes pale,
From the bolle gan her cours availe;
The same tyme when that Mercurious
In the lyoun had take his hous,
Ful contrary to his dignité,
Beyng tho in the tenth degré;
And of the bulle also douteles
By accomptes also twenty grees
Entred was the hed of the dragoun,
And his taille in thopposicioun;
The same tyme, as I understond,
My lord bad me this work take in hond.
That he may se his generacioun
Unto the forteth multiplicacioun
Victoriously for to regnen here,
After this lyfe above the sterres clere,
God him graunt oonly of his grace
Of mercy there for to have a place.

Here endith the genologie of kyng Henry the sext, and folowith a roundelle of him ayens his coronacioun, made by Lydegate dom Johan.

Rejoice, ye remes of Englond and of Fraunce,
A braunche that sprang outo of the floure-de-lys,
Blode of seint Edward and seint Lowys,
God hath this day sent in governaunce.

God of nature hath yoven him suffisaunce,
Likly to atteyne to grete honure and pris.
O hevenly blossome, o fruddo of alle plesaunce,
God graunt the grace for to ben als wise
As was thi fader by circumspect advise,
Stable in virtue, withouto variaunce.

Explicit.

To King Henry VI. on his Coronation[1]

Most noble prince of cristen princes alle,
  Flowryng in yowthe and vertuous innocence,
Whom God above list of his grace calle
  This day to estate of knyghtly excellence,
  And to be crowned with diewe reverence,
To grete gladnesse of al this regioun,
  Lawde and honour to thy magnificence,
And goode fortune unto thy high renoun.

Royal braunched, descended from two lynes,
  Of seynt Edward and of seynt Lowys;
Holy seyntes, translated in theyr shrynes,
  In theyr tyme manly, prudent, and wys;
  Arthur was knyghtly, and Charles of grete prys,
And of all these thy grene tender age,
  By the grace of God and by his advys,
Of manly prowesse shal taken tarage.

God of his grace gaf to thy kynrede
  The palme of conquest, the laurere of victorye;
They loved God, and worshipped hym in dede,
  Wherfor theyr names he hath put in memory,
  Made hem to reigne for vertu in his glorye;
And sith thow art born of theyr lynage,
  Tofore al thynges that bien transitorye
Love God and drede, and so gynne thy passage.

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[1] This poem was evidently addressed to the infant king, on his coronation, which took place on the 6th of November 1429. It is printed from a contemporary manuscript, MS. Harl. No 2251, fol 251, v°.

Downe from the heven thre flour-de-lys of gold,
The fielde of asure, were sent to Clodové,
To sygnifie, in storye it is tolde,
Parfite bilove, and sothfast unyté
Of thre persones in the Trynité;
For to declare that the lyne of Fraunce
Shuld in theyr trouth parfite and stable be,
Grounded on feyth, withouten variaunce.

And sith thow art from that noble lyne
Descended downe, be stidefast of bylove;
Thy knyghtly honour lete it shewe and shyne,
Shewe thy power and thy myght to prove
Ageyne al thoo that wil the chirche grove.
Cherisshe thy lordes, hate extorcioun;
Of thyn almesse thy pople thow relove;
Ay on thy commen havyng compassioun.

Noble prince, the high Lord to qwerne,
Susteyne right, trouth to magnyfie,
Differre vengeaunce, alwey or thow deeme,
And gyf no dome til thow here iche partye
Til nother part thy favour nat applye;
And eeke considre, in thyn estate royal,
The Lord above, whiche noman may denye,
Indifferently seeth and considreth alle.

God sent this day unto thy regalye
Of al vertues hevenly influence;
First of alle thi-state to magnyfye
With Salamons soverayne sapience;
To governe thy wit and thi high prudence,
Liche kyng David to be lood mercyable,
Whiche of pité, whan men dide hym offence,
Mercy preferryng, list nat be vengeable.

Nobles and force in wexynge liche Sampson,
Resemble in knyghthode to worthy Josué;
And thow mayst be Goddis champioun,
As that he was, Judas the Machabée;
With Alisaundres magnanimyté;
Conquest, victorye, with Cesar Julius,
His pacience and his tranquillité,
And in suffraunce to be als vertuous.

Provident, with Brutus Cassius;
Hardy as Hector, whan tyme doth require;
Vices eschewyng as Fabricius;
Constant of heit, and al als entier
As Zenocrates, whos renoun shoone so cliere;
Wronges forgetyng, noble Cypion;
Clement, with Titus; with al these in feere,
In al thi dedis conquest and high renoun.

In al thi werkis hauntyng rightwisnesse,
As themperour that callid was Trajan;
With Thiberye, fredam and gentillesse;
Attemperance, with prudent Gracian;
And in thy doomes, liche Justynian,
Nothyng conclude til thow se the fyne;
Poes preferryng as Octovyan;
The chirche cherysshyng, like Constantyne.

And that thow mayst be resemblable founde,
Heretikes and Lollardes to oppresse,
Liche themperour worthy Sygesmounde;
And as thy fader, flowre of high prowesse,
At the gynning of his roial noblesse,
Voided al cokil farre out of Syon,
Cristes spouse satte in stablenesse,
Outrayeng foreyns that cam from Babilon.

God grannt the grace for to resemble in al
Unto these noble worthy conquerours;
Longe to contynue in thyn estate royal,
And to be lyke to thy progenytours;
To gadre the vertu out of fressho floures,
As dide thy fadir, myrrour of manhode;
And to represse of vices al the showres,
With fynal grace to love God and drede.

Fynally, remembryng of reasonn
Croppe and roote of that royal lyne
Fro whiche thow cam, folwe discrecionn
Of thy fader, whiche dide so shyne
In al vertu; plainly to termyne,
Late hym by thy myrrour and thy guyde,
With the goode lyf of qwene Katerynn,
Thi blessid moder, in that other side.

Of goode rootes, sprynggyng by vertu,
Must growe goode fruyte be necessité;
Whan influence by the Lord Jhesu
Is sent adowne from his hevenly eyter,
And God I pray, of his hygh bounté,
Of fader and moder in thy tendre yowth
To take ensample, reygnenge in thy see,
And bien in vertu als famous and als kowth.

With hym in knyghthode to have excellence;
Like thy moder in vertuous goodenesse;
And liche hem both, grounde thy conscience
To love thi Lord in parfite stabilnesse,
Goode lyf and longe al vices to represse,
Love of thy lieges, pees and obeysaunce.
* * * * *
Thy right rejoisyng of Ingland and of Fraunce.

Prince excelent, be feythful, triewe, and stable;
  Drede God, do lawe, chastice extorcioun;
By liberal of courage, unmutable;
  Cherisshe the chirche with hole affeccioun;
  Love thy lieges of eyther regioun;
Prefeme the pees, eschewe weire and debate;
  And God shal sende from the heven downe
Grace and goode hure to thy royal estate.

Be mercyful, nat hasty ne vengeable;
  Lightly forgyve, where as thow seest reasoun;
Be rightful juge, be manly, be tretable,
  Thy right ay sugre with remyssioun;
  Deme nat to sone, but make dilacioun;
Rewe on the poore and folk desconsolate;
  And God shal sende from the heven above
Grace and good hure to thy royal estate.

In thy behestes be nat variable;
  Holde thy promesses, made of entencioun;
Be bountevous, and kyngly honurable;
  Voyde thy realme from discencioun;
  Eschew flatery and adulacioun;
Folkes reconsile that stonde desolate;
  And God shal sende from the heven downe
Grace and goode hure unto thy royal estate.

On the Coronation of Henry VI.[1]

Nov. 6, 1429.

A balade made of the same kynge.

Holde up oure yong kyng, *ave benigna*,
And sende us peas in oure londe, *ave regina*.
Mater, mine bright bee thy bennys,
Moodir of mercy, save bothe rennys;
See to oure innocent, oure crowne may be ghudder,
Holde up oure lorde that nevir sigh his fadir,
Ne the fadir his sone reynyng in his londes;
Grete nede have we to kepe peas amonge us.
On a Sounday, trewly ye may trowe,
Oure bisshoppes and oure abbottes were inytird arowe;
Two archebisshoppes so woonthely aqueyntid,
And a gracious cardynalle abonte oure kyng anoyntid.
Thre swordis there were borne, oon poyntlees, and two poyntid;
The toon was a sworde of mercy, the oothir of estate,
The, thrid was of the empier the which ert oure gate.
Thrée dukes were in presens woonshipe to encreee;
Two bisshoppis hym ledde to kepe in peeee;
Six erles in their estate shewid them alle;
And the v. poortis beryng up the palle.
Gracious Werwik, God hym contynne,
Beryng up his trayne in peeee and vne.
Alle the barouns of oure londe togidir they were founden,
The juges, the knyghtes of the shire, and the citê of London.
This is procession goyng thorughe the halle;
Angelis mete, manna, on his crowne did falle,

[1] Printed from MS. Lansdowne, No. 286, fol. 5, v°.

And conceyvid in this lande the crowne to encrece,
Evir enduryng with plenté and with peece.
The archiebisshope of Cauntirbury appoyntid,
The gracious kyng Harry the sixt he anoyntid
Qure sovereigne lorde in the chief, who wille undirstonde.
The cardynalle tho was on his right hande;
On the toothir side the chaunceller, theis lordes were able,
The bisshope of Beames[1] at the same table.
Huntyngdone kneelyng with his septure on the right honde,
Stafforde with his swerde there woorthyly holdande.
Northfolk as a marschalle fulle woorthyly beknowe,
Ridyng in his office, truly ye may trowe.
Salisbury in Bedforde office present hym there,
Sittyng on a stede, as he conestable were.
The v. poortis on the right hande that the palle beere,
At the boorde on the right hande present they were.
At the next bisshoppis and abbottes togidir were founden;
And on the toothir side the citee of Londoun.
Many opthir lordis were present in that place,
To woorshipe oure soveraigne lorde with alle solace.
Byfore the kyng, with his lordis thus sittyng alle,
Came Phillipe Dymmok ridyng to the halle,
Armyd clene with armure so bright,
Like as perteynethe unto a woorthy knyght,
As the kynges champion by heritage;
There redy his body and his gloove to wage,
Yif there were any man that wille say the contrary,
That kyng Harry the sixt is crownyd truly.
He is redy to delyvir hym, and not abasshe,
By signement of the kyng, tyme and place.

[1] An error apparently for Rheims

Prayo we alle bothe more and lesse,
Crist save Englonde in reste and peese,
And God coomfortho that mykille hathe loost,
That was woon with woorshipe late nevir be loost.

On the Duke of Burgundy.[1]

A songe made of the duke of Burgeyne.

Thow Phellippe, foundour of new falsehode,
Distroubar of pees, capiteine of cowardise,
Sower and distroubar, reprof of alle knyghthode,
Which of alle Bourgoyne, that is so grot of pris,
Thow clepest thi selfe due, whan woltow ryse
Ande in ployne felde do mustre with thi lance?
See how alle knyghthode thi werre doth despise,
White thi owne falsnes alle thi myschance.

Remembre the, Phelippe, ande have in mynde
Howe Henry the v^te^ of worray gentelnesse,
Withotene thi desert, he was to the kynde,
Ande alwa thi socoure whane thou were in destresse,
Defende thi persone from alle wilfulnes
Of alle thi mortal enemys of Engelonde and of France;
Wherfor thou showest grot unkyndnesse,
The which thou may wite alle thi myschance.

Remembre the, Phelippe, at thi begynnyng,
Whan that thi fader, thurgh conspired tresoun,

[1] This piece, which appears to be imperfect, was written at the time of the defection of the duke of Burgundy from the English alliance, probably shortly before, or at the time of, the siege of Calais (1436). It is printed from MS. Sloane, No. 252, fol. 160, r°. It is written in a French hand, and apparently by a scribe whose mother tongue was not English, which will account for some obscurity.

By assent of Charles that calledo him self kyng
Of that reame of Ffrance withouten ground resoun,
Was at Motreux broght to his confusioune;
To kyng Henry there thou dedist thy legeance;
Of lyf and land he was thi protecciouu;
Wherfor thi falsnes causethe thi myschance.

Remembre the, Phelippe, what tyme and how
To kyng Henry the fifte, by thi owne assent,
Withouten his desire, thou madest a solempne vow,
Usyng Goddes body, the holy sacrament,
To becomme trew lygman with good entente
To him ande his heires, withouten variance;
Now art thou fals to Gode, by thine owne assente,
The which thou may witte all thi myschanse.

Remembre the, Philleppe, that thou yonge kyng,
Harry the sext, was crowned at Parys,
Johan duc of Bedford thine absenc excusyng
By souffisant warant made by thi deviso,
He did thine homage as to the ffloure-de-lys;
This matere the lust not to adversité,
With thine oune falsnes and thi myschance.

Remembre the, Philleppe, how peple of Englond
Have bene to the evyr gentil and trew;
For whan thou wer besegede with many a thousand
Of Armynackes, they did the rescewe.[1]

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[1] This poem appears to end imperfectly.

Philippe of Burgundy and James of Scotland.[1]

Philippus dux Burgundiæ ad Jacobum regem Scottorum.

Illustri Jacobo Scottorum principi magno,
Regi magnifico cum fulmine castra reduco.

Responsio ad hoc per quendam Anglicum.

Burgundus Scoto, dux regi, falsus iniquo,
Philippus Jacobo, dedit hæc balinria metro.
Et si quis quærat cujus vox extitit ista,
Vox balearis erat, ut finxerat ipse metrista.
Nunc reflexivum parvum lapidem tibi flabo,
Atque ducem vivum si vult mihi sterc probabo
Bumbardo metrico; sic scripsit amicus amico,
Regi magnifico cum fulmine castra reduco;
Ecce teno lapidem, per sermones ita viles,
Et frangendo fidem, tu falsus es undique miles.
Nec Burgundorum dux, quamvis scandat ad astra,
Nec rex Scotorum, sibi sublit Anglica castra.
Per tantum fulmen, per talem nempe reductum,
Anglorum culmen adquisivit sibi fructum.
Quamvis falsidicus hic dux noster amicus,
Nobis multa dedit ut ab obsidione recedat,
Angligenis vinceps tum Scotus rex habeatur,
Est falsus princeps, quia principi falsificatur,
Dux Burgundorum quia princeps falsus habetur,
Principi Scotorum sua per metra falsa fatetur.
Est et semper erit similis, similem sibi quærit;
Ambo perjuri, sunt ambo simul perituri.

[1] This short poem, printed from MS. Rawlinson, No. 214, fol. 160, belongs no doubt, from internal evidence, to the same period as the preceding. The king of Scotland must be James I., who was murdered in the night of the 20th of February 1437.

Philippus, Jacobus, sancti simul ambo fuere;
Istorum reprobus contendit uterque manere.
Nominibus similes sunt non in imagine morum;
Sed nisi sint humiles non intrant castra polorum.
Dux dudum victus est, per papam maledictus;
Acriter inflictus est iste gravissimus ictus.
Miror vos quippe, te, Jacobe, teque, Philippe,
Cur ita temptatis nos Anglos et stimulatis.
Si vultis pacem, populum revocate minacem;
Si vultis guerras, proprias defendite terras.
Expectate domi, nos proprias terras tenemus,
Vinus pomi vestri pretio nec egemus.
Obsecre, rex et dux, clare videatis ubique,
Quomodo lex et lux vestrum tenebrantur utrique.
Si non curetis vestras animas fore salvas,
Non alias detis inferni visere valvas.
Dux Burgundicus et rex Scoticus insidiantur,
Sed rex Anglicus et grex publicus his dominantur.
Anglia regna premit, Burgundia dedecus emit,
Francia fracta tremit, Scotia victa gemit.
Undique concursus stat et Anglia fortis et ursus;
Anglia dum rugit, circula terra fugit.

Explicit.

On the Siege of Calais. 1436.[1]

Her biginyth the sege off Calays, in the yer off our Lord j. m' iiii°. . . . . .

In Juyl, whan the sone schon,
Tres, levys, and herbis grene,
Wyth many sonder colowris,

[1] From MS. Cotton. Galba E. ix. fol. 110, v°. The duke of Burgundy laid siege to Calais on the 19th of July 1436, and was compelled to raise it on the 25th day of the same month.

And ffresch flowris that April mad,
Gan for to faynt and to fad
Of lusty colowris and of swete odowris;
And fruyte on tre both gret and smale
Gan for to rip and wox fulle pale;
Than comyth tyme off labowr,
To profit and to wirschip wyne
In armes, so ther be no treson inn,
Untruth, ne fals colowr.
The duk of Burgayn off grete pris
Mád grot assembillé in landes wyd,
In Flanders, and in Brebon,
Of his power and in chevalry
Of Burgayn and in Pikardye,
Of Henaw and off Holand;
A el, ml, and mo,
That weryne alle to ryd and go
To her sper and schild,
And mak avant Calys to wyn,
And schuld dye that wer therin,
Both man, woman, and chyld.
The welles and the merchandyss,
And othir god with the ympriss,
They wold have a sertayne.
The walles they wold her adowne,
Towr, castelle, and dongon,
Alle schuld be mad fulle playn.
And so with red baners displayed,
With odir in the batayllys arayed,
They cum the towne abote;
Statly tentes anon they pyzte,
Larg and long and grot of syzth;
It was a ryalle rowte.
Wyth gunnes grot, and other grot ordinance,
Them to help and to avane,
With many a prowd pavys,

Gayly poynted and stuffed welle,
Ribawdes armyd with iyrne and stele,
Was never better off devyce;
Ix. m^{l} cokkes to crow at ny3th,
And viii m^{l} cressetes to brene li3th;
Gret wonder to her and se,
How sone the had mad her logyng,
Defens off herth and dikyng;
Redier my3th non be
The erle of Mortayne mad a diner,
And, "Felowys, be of good chere,
"Off no thyng hav we no dred;
"I trust to God to se that day,
"That, for alle the proud aray,
"Fulle low schalle thay lowth."
The levetenant, ser Johan Radyf,
That ever lovyd worschyp and dred reprove,
Kept fulle god governance.
And so did the baren off Dudley,
In the castelle, the soth to say,
Mad fulle good ordinance
My lord Camoys at Bolyn-gate,
The bulwerkes he did undertak,
At no tyme wuld he fayle,
Nether late ne erly;
Yff any withowt wer so hardy
It onys to assayle.
At the Mylk-gate ser Johan Aston,
And ser Jeffrey Warbulton,
With a many a hardy man,
The trompetes lowd they dyd blow,
That the duk my3th welle know
The wach whan yt bigan.
The porters kept the gattes full manly,
The gattes opyn continually,
To wate they wer not lik;

Tho trow sodiers both day and nytho
Lay on tho walles in harnes brigho,
Hit was ther howss and kirk.
Tho burges and men wer full bown
For to defond tho possession,
Hit longith to thom off ryȝth;
Tho merchanttes wer ful redy
At all tymes and every skry;
Hyt was a full good syȝth.
And so did tho good comyns,
That had stuffed well tho town
With tho good and vitayle,
In town and fold to rid and go,
And all odur werkes to doo,
In all that myȝth avayle.
Tho women, both yung and old,
Wyth stones stuffed every scuffold,
Tho spared not to swet no swynk;
With boylyng cawdrons, both grett and smalle,
Yf they wold assaute tho walle,
All hote to gev them drynk.
Tho first day ther onnys prowd
Gan to skirmysch with schowtes lowd,
But countred they wer anon.
Gonners, to schew ther arte,
Into tho town in many a parte
Schote many a fulle grot stone.
Thankyd be God and Mary myld,
Tho hurt nothir man, woman, ne chyld,
To tho howsis thow they did harm.
Sent Barbara! than was tho cry,
Whon tho stone in the stone did fly;
They cowd non other charm.
And for the duk lay them no nere,
At tho sowth-west corner
Off gonnes he had a song;

That anon he left that place,
And to the west end he mad a chace;
Hym thowth he bod to long.
Ther men myȝth se archerys good
Cast from them both gown and hood,
The better for to schote;
That Frensch and Flemysch was ful fayn
To ther tentes to retorn ogayn,
They saw non othir boote.
And one amang, an Iyrysch man,
Uppone his hoby swyftly ran;
Hyt was a sportfulle sygthe,
How hys darttes he did schak;
And when him lyst to leve or tak,
They had fulle gret dispite.
Allso a hownd that did hyeghe go by,
That longid to the water-bayly,
Fulle swyftly wold he ren;
And every skyrmysch to travayle,
Man and hors he wold assayle,
Fulle welle he coude them kenne.
And so hit byfelle upon a Thyrsday,
The erle of Morteyn made a fray
At seynt Peturs on the playne;
And drove them to there tentys nere,
And toke many a prisonere,
And many off them wer slayn.
And after they com with gret navi,
With bolgit schipis ful craftly,
The havyn for to han schent,
At Friday; but on the morow,
Than began the dukes sorow,
Hys schypis when he saw brent.
And so after, within a whyle,
Drawyn adown was hys castell
With many a hardy man;

His men of armes were layd to grownd,
And sum askapid with dolhys wond,
And fow off them were tan.
The next morow, or yt was day,
Erly the duk fled away,
And with hym they off Gant.
And after Bruges and Apres both
To folow after they wer not loth;
Thus kept they ther avaunt.
For they had very knowyng
Off the duk off Glocetuns comyng,
Caleys to rescue.
Bycaus they bod not ther,
In Flandors he soght hom for and ner,
That over may they yt rew.
Only God, in whom ys all . . . . ,
Sav Caleys that ryall towne,
That over yt mot wel cheve
Unto the crown of mory Yngland,
While that this world wyll stand,
That nenny ennys ytt greve.
Lytelle wote the fool,
Who myght ches,
What harm yt wer
God Caleys to lese. Amen.

Explicit the sege off Caleys.

THE LIBEL OF ENGLISH POLICY[1]

Here beginneth the prologe of the processe of the Libelle of Englyshe Polycye, exhortynge alle Englande to kepe the see envirioun, and namelye the narowe see, shewynge whate profete commeth therof, and also worshype and salvacioun to Englande and to alle Englyshe menne.[a]

[a] The trewe processe of Englysh polycye,
Of utterwarde[2] to kepe thys regne[3] in rest
Of oure England, that no man may denye,

[a] Incipit liber de custodia maris, præsertim arcta inter Dovoream et Calisiam.

[1] The date of this very important poem is fixed by internal evidence, for it was written after the siege of Calais by the duke of Burgundy, and the invasion of his territory by the duke of Gloucester, which latter event occupied the first half of the month of August 1436, and while the emperor Sigismond was still living, and therefore before his death in 1437. From the tone in which the defeat of the Flemings is spoken *of we are justified in supposing that* it was written soon after that event; and if we may take the marginal note in the MS. we follow (see further on, p. 183) as referring to the time at which the poem was written, its date would be fixed very nearly, for the 14th year of Henry VI ended on the 31st Aug. 1436. It is here printed from a MS. in the Bodleian Library, MS. Laud. No. 704, fol. 1, r° (A.), collated with other copies, MS. Harl. No. 4011, fol. 120, r° (B.), MS. Harl. No. 271, fol. 1, r° (C.), and MS. Cotton. Vitel. E. x. fol. 192, r° (D.) The first of these manuscripts has the appearance, by the care and style in which it is written, of having been an original copy, intended to be sent by the author to one of the statesmen of the day, perhaps to the lord Hungerford, whose name is inserted in the Envoy at the end. In MS. D. the title has been changed to "The Bible of Englische Polycé," an evident mistake. It is hardly necessary to state that Libel (*libellus*) *means a little book. There are two* classes of the MSS., one of which has the name of lord Hungerford at the end, the other is addressed to a high ecclesiastic, no doubt cardinal Beaufort In this respect Hakluyt's copy agreed with the text now printed, while the three other manuscripts belong to the second class. I have not attempted to give all the verbal variations in the texts, but the readings of MS. *D.* are generally the most interesting.

[2] *outward*, B., D.

[3] *loud*, B.; *reame*, D.

Nore say of soth but[1] one of the best
Is thys, that who seith southe, northe, est, and[2] west,[3]
Cherysho marchandyse,[4] kepe thamyralté,
That we bee maysteres of the narowe see.

[b] Ffor Sigesmonde the grete emperoure,
Whyche yet regneth,[5] whan he was in this londe
Wyth kynge Herry the vte, prince of honoure,
Here moche glorye as hym thought he founde;
A myghty londe, whyche hadde take on honde
To werre in Ffraunce and make mortalité,
And overe welle kept[6] rounde aboute the see.[7]

And to the kynge thus he seyde, "My brothere,"
Whan he perceyved too townes[8] Calys and Dovere,
"Of alle youre townes to chese of one and othere,
"To kepe the see and sone to come overe
"To werre oughtwardes and youre regne[9] to recovere,
"Kepe those too townes, sire, and[10] youre magesté,
"As ydire tweyne eyne to kepe the narowe see."

Ffor if this see be kepte in tyme of werre,
Who cane here[11] passe withought daungere and woo?
Who may eschape, who may myschef dyffere?
What marchaundye may for by be agoo?
Ffor nedes hém muste take truse[12] every ffoo,
Fflaundres, and Spayne, and othere, trust to me,
Or ellis hyndered alle for thys narowe see.

[b] Videns imperator Sigismundus duas villas inter ceteras Angliæ, scilicet Calisiam et Doveriam, ponens suos duos digitos super duos suos oculos, ait regi, "Frater, custodite istas duas villas sicut "duos vestros oculos."

[1] *but it is*, D., with Hakluyt.
[2] *or*, B., D.
[3] *Men say of sothe this is the best,*
Who sayethe southe, northe, est,
or west, B.
[4] *marchaunte*, B.
[5] *whiche reigned*, B.
[6] *kepe*, D.
[7] *And were ever wele kept rounde*
aboute the see, B.
[8] *too townes*, omitted in B.
[9] *reame*, B.
[10] *to*, B.; *sowre to*, D.
[11] *thoroughe*, D.
[12] *truase*, B.

Therfore I caste me by a lytele wrytinge
To shewe att eye thys conclusione,
Ffor concyens and for myne acquytynge
Ayenst God and ageyne abusyon,
And cowardyse and to oure enmyes confusione;
[c] Ffor iiij. thynges our noble sheueth to me,
Kyng, shype, and swerde, and pouer of the see.

Where bene oure shippes? where bene oure swerdes[1] become?
Owre enmyes bid for the shippe sette a shepe.
Allas! oure reule halteth, hit is benome;
Who dare weel say that lordeshyppe shulde take kepe?
I wolle asaye, thoughe myne herte gynne to wepe,
To do thys werke, yf we wole ever the,
Ffor verry shame, to kepe aboute the see.

Shalle any prynce, what so be hys name,[2]
Whecho hathe nobles moche lyche oures,
Be lorde of see, and[3] Fflemmyngis to oure blame[4]
Stoppe us, take us, and so make fade the floures
Of Englysshe state,[5] and disteyne oure honnoures?
Ffor cowardyse, allas! hit shulde so be;
Therfore I gynne to wryte now of the see.

[c] Quatuor considerantur in moneta aurea Anglicana quæ dicitur *nàble*, scilicet, rex, navis, et gladius, qui designant potestatem Anglicorum super mare, in quorum opprobrium his diebus Britones minores et Flandrenses et cæteri dicunt Anglicis, "tollite de vestro "nobile navem, et imponite ovem," intendentes quod, sicut quondam a tempore Edwardi tertii Anglici erant domini maris, modo his diebus sunt vecordes, victi, et ad bellandum et mare observandum velut oves; et sicut sæpissime patet eorum derisio in opprobrium Anglicorum, etc.

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[1] *wher ben thei*, B.
[2] *Schall the duke of Burgoyne be his name*, D.
[3] *as*, B.
[4] *out of fame*, D.
[5] *astate*, B.

Of the commodytees of Spayne and of Flaundres.
The fyrste chapitle.

Knowe welle alle men that profites[1] in certayne,
Commodytés called, commynge[2] out of Spayne,
And marchandy, who so wylle wete what that is,
[d] Bone fygues, raysyns, wyne basterde, and dates;
And lycorys, Syvyle oyle, and grayne,
Whyte[3] Castelle sope, and wax, is not in vayne;[4]
Iren, wolle, wadmolo, gotefel, kydefel also,
Flor poynt-makys fulle nedefulle be the ij.;
Saffron, quiksilver, wheche arne Spaynes marchandy,[5]
Is[6] into Flaundres shypped fulle craftylye,
Unto Bruges, as to here staple fayre,
The haven of[7] Sluse here havene[8] for here repayre,
Wheche is cleped Swyn, thatte shyppes gydynge,
Where many wessell[9] and fayre arne abydynge.
But those merchandes, wyth there shyppes greet,
And suche chaffare as they bye and gette
By the weyes, most nede take one houde
By the costes to passe of oure Englonde,
Betwyxt Dover and Calys, thys is no doute,
Who can weelle ellis suche mater bringe aboute.
And whenne these seyde marchauntz discharged[10] be
Of marchaundy in Flaundres neere the see,

[d] Flygues, raisyns, wyne bastarde, dates, lycoryce, Cyvylle oylle, grayne, white Castelle sope, wax, iren, wademolle, gotefelle, kydefelle, saffroun, quykesylvere.

[1] *Here begynnethe the profites*, B.

[2] *With commodities that comethe*, B; *Comodites called out of*, D.

[3] *With*, D.

[4] *and yave certayn*, B.; *and war, armours in vayn*, D.

[5] This and the preceding line are transposed in D.

[6] *This*, D.

[7] *To have at*, B.

[8] *they haven*, D.

[9] *many a vesselle are lyeng*, B.

[10] *charged*, B.

Than they be charged agayn wyth marchaundy
That to Fflaundres bougeth full rychelye;
Ffyne clothe of Ipre,[1] that named is better than oure is,[2]
Clothe of Curtryke,[3] fyne clothe of alle coloures,
Moche ffustyane and also lynen clothe.
But ye Fflemmyngis, yf[4] ye be not wrothe,
The grete substaunce of youre clothe, at the fulle,[5]
Ye wot ye make hit of youre[6] Englissh wolle.
Thanne may hit not synke in mannes brayne,
But that hit most, this marchaundy of Spayne,
But ought and inne by oure costes passe;
He that seyde nay, in wytte was lyche an asse.[7]
Thus if thys see werre kepte, I dare well sayne,
Wee shulde have pease with the growndes tweyne.
Ffor Spayne and Fflaundres is as yche othere brothere,
And nethere may well lyve wythowght othere.
The[8] may not lyven to mayntene there degrees,
Wythought oure Englysshe commodytees,
Wolle and tynne; for the wolle of Englonde
Susteyneth the comons Fflemmyngis,[9] I understonde.
Thane yf Englonde wolde hys wolle restreyne
Ffrome Fflaundres, thys ffoloweth in certayne,
Fflaundres of nede must wyth us have pease,
Or ellis he is distroyde, wythowght lees.
Also yef Fflaundres thus distroyed bee,
Some marchaundy of Spayne wolle nevere ithe;[10]
Ffor distroyed hit is, and, as in cheffe,
The wolle of Spayne hit cometh not to preffe,
But if it be toseed[11] and menged welle
Amonges Englysshe wolle the gretter delle.

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[1] *Ipur*, B.
[2] *than oures*, B.
[3] *Curryk*, B.
[4] *though*, B.
[5] *atte fulle*, B.
The clothe ye make of oun, B.
[7] *He that seithe nay, in witte is like an asse*, B.
[8] *That*, D.
[9] *comons of Flaunders*, D.
[10] *wolle never thee*, B.
[11] *tosed*, B., D.; *costed*, Hakl.

Ffor Spaynesho wolle in Fflaundres draped[1] is,
And evere hath be, that men have mynde of this;[2]
And yet wolle is one of the cheffe marchaundy
That longeth to Spayne, who so woll aspye;[3]
Hit is of lytelle valoue, trust unto me,
Wyth Englysshe wolle but if it menged be.
Thus if the see be kepte, then herkene hedere,
Yf these ij. londes comene not[4] togedere,
So that the flote of Fflaundres passe nought,
That in the narowe see he be not brought
Into the Rochelle, to feche[5] the famose[6] wine,
Nere into Britonnse bay for salt so fyne,
What is than Spayne? what is Fflaundres also?
As who seyde,[7] nought, the thryfte is ago.
Ffor the lytelle londe of Fflaundres[8] is
But a staple to other londes, iwys,
And alle that groweth in Fflaundres, greyn and sede,
May not a moneth flynde hem mete of[9] brede.
What hath therne Fflaundres, be Fflemmyngis leffe or lothe,
But a lytelle madere and Flemmysshe clothe?
By drapinge[9] of owre wolle in substaunce
Lyvene here comens, this is here governaunce;
Wythought whyche they may not leve at ease,
Thus moste hem[10] sterve, or wyth us most have peasse.

Of the commodites of Portingalle. The ij. capitle.

The marchaundy also of Portyngale
To[11] dyverse londes torne[12] into sale

[1] *draperd*, D.
[2] *hathe mynd wers*, B.; *o thes*, D.
[3] *list aspie*, B.
[4] *can not come*, D.
[5] *seke*, B.
[6] *fawmouse*, D.
[7] *seith*, B., D.
[8] *and*, D., and so Hakl.
[9] *drapyng*, D.
[10] *thei*, B.
[11] *Into*, B
[12] *come*, B.

Portyngaleis wyth us have trought one hande,[1]
Whose marchaundy cometh moche into Englande.
They bene oure[2] ffrendes wyth there commoditez,
And wee Englysshe passen into there countrees.
[a] Here londe hathe oyle,[3] wyne, osey, wex, and greyne,
Ffygues, reysyns, hony, and cordeweyne;
Dates and salt, hydes, and suche marchaundy.
And if they wolde to Fflaundres passe forth bye,[4]
They schulde not be suffiede ones ner twyes,
Ffor supportynge of oure cruelle enmyes;
That is to saye Fflemmyngis wyth here[6] gyle,
Ffor chaungeable they are in lytelle whyle.[5]
Than[7] I conclude by resons many moo,
Yf wee sufferede nethere ffiende nere ffoo,
What soo[8] enmyes and so supportynge,[9]
Passe for-by us in tyme of werrynge,
Sothe oure ffiendys wolle not bene in causse
Of oure hyndrenge, yf reason lede thys clausse.
Than nede frome Fflaundres pease shulde by to us sought,
And othere londes shulde seche pease, doute nought.
Ffor Fflaundres is staple, as men tell me,
To alle[10] nacyons of Crystianté.

[a] Wynne, oyle, osey, wex, greyne, ffygues, reysyns, hony, cordeweyne, dates, salt, hydes.

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[1] *have truse in honde*, B.; *hath trouth in honde*, D.
[2] *your*, D.
[3] This word is supplied from B; *wyn, oyle, wex*, D.
[4] *fore-bye*, B.; *forbye*, D.
[5] *full of*, D.
[6] *For they were never trewe eny whyle*, D.
[7] *Whan*, A
[8] *for*, D.
[9] *What for enemye and supportyng*, B.
[10] *Of alle*, B.; *To alle maner n.*, D.

The commodytés of Pety[1] *Brytayne, wyth here revers on the see The iij. capille.*

Fforthermore to wrytene I have fayne,
Somwhate spekynge of the Lytell Bretayne;
Commodité therof there is and was,[2]
Salt and wynes, creste clothe,[3] and canvasse;
And the londe of Fflaunderis sekerly
Is the staple of there marchaundy;
Whiche marchaundy may not passe awey,
But by the coste of Englonde, this is no nay.
And of this Bretayn, who so trewth levys,[4]
Are[5] the grettest rovers and the grettest thevys
That have bene in the see many oone yere,[6]
That oure marchauntes have bowght full dere.[7]
Ffor they have take notable gode of oures
On thys seyde see,[8] these false coloured peloures,[9]
Called of Seynt Malouse, and elles where,
Whiche to there duke none obeysaunce woll bere.
Wyth suche colours we have bene hindred sore,
And fayned pease is called no werre herefore.
Thus they have bene in dyverse costes manye
Of oure England, mo than reherse can I;
In Northfolke coostes, and othere places aboutte,
And robbed and brente and slayne by many a routte,
And they have also ransonned toune by toune,[10]
That into the regnes of bost[11] have ronne there soune;

[1] *Litelle*, B.

[2] *The commoditees therof is and was*, B; *Comodités therof that is and was*, D.

[3] *creshecloth*, D.

[4] *the trouthe beleves*, B.

[5] A. reads *and*, an evident error of the scribe; the whole line stands thus in B.: *Are the grettest robbers and theves.*

[6] *many a yere*, B.

[7] *bought alle to dere*, B.

[8] *On this syde the see*, D.

[9] *thise seid pillours*, B.

[10] *towne to towne*, B.; *towre and towne*, D.

[11] *of the best*, D.

Whyche hathe bene ruthe unto thys realme and shame;
They that the see shulde kepe are mochе to blame.
Ffor Bretayne is of easy reputasyoun,
And Seynt Malouse turneth hem to reprobacioun.

A storie of kynge Edwarde the iij^de^ hys ordynaunce for Bretayne.

[f] Here bringe I in a storye to me lente,
What a goode squyere[1] in tyme of parlemente,
Toke unto me welle wretene in a scrowe,
That I have comonde[2] bothe wyth hygh and lowe,
Of whyche all mene accordene in to one,
That hit was done not monye yeris[3] agone,
But when noble kynge Edwarde the therde
Regned in grace, ryght thus hit betyde.
Ffor he hadde a manere gelozye
To hys marchauntes, and lowede[4] hem hartelye.
He feldo[5] the woyes to reule well the see,[6]
Whereby marchauntes myght have prosperité,
That fro[7] Harflewe and Houndflewe[8] dyd he makene,
And grete werres that tyme were undertakene
Betwyx the kynge and the duke of Bretayne;
At lasté to falle to pease bothe were they feyne.

[f] Historia, ostendens quam ordinationem rex Edwardus iij^us^ fecit contra depredatores maritimos Britanniæ minoris, ad debellandum eos et subjugandum minores Britannos, non obstante colore ducis eorum, per excusationem sibi dicentis se non posse domare suos inobedientes, et insubjectibiles ei erant.

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[1] *That Hampton esquyar*, D.
[2] *I comoned with bothe*, B.; *amendid*, D.
[3] *daies*, D.
[4] *loved*, B.
[5] *felte*, D.
[6] *He felt wele the waies the rules of the see*, B.
[7] *therfor*, B.
[8] *Harfleta and Houndfleta*, B.; *Harflew and Hondeflew*, D.

Upon the whyche, made by convencioun,
Oure marchaundys made hem redy boune
Towarde Bretayne to lede here marchaundye,
Wenynge hem frendes, and wente forthe boldelye.[1]
But sone anone oure marchaundes were itake,
And wee spede nevere the bettere for treuse sake.
They loste here goode, here moné, and spendynge;[2]
But there compleynte come[3] unto the kynge.
Then wex he wrothe, and to the duke he sente,
And compleyned that[4] such harme was hente
By convencioun, and pease made so refused.
Whiche duke sent ageyne, and hym excused,
Rehersynge that the mounte of Seynte Michele
And[5] Seynt Malouse wolde never a dele
By subject unto his[6] governaunce,
Nor be undere hys obeysaunce;
And so they did withowten hym that dede.
But whan the kynge anone had takene hede,
He in his herte set a jugemente,[7]
Wythoute callynge of ony parlemente,
Or grete tary to take longe avyse,
To fortefye anone he dyd devyse
Of Englysshe townes iij., that is to seye
Derthmouth, Plymmouthe, the third it is Ffoweye,
And gaffe[8] hem helpe and notable puissance,
Wyth insistence set[9] them in governaunce
Upon Pety Bretayn[10] for to werre,
That gode see-meme wolde no more deferre,

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[1] *and thedir yode boldly*, B.

[2] *They lost her navy, her goode, and here spendinge*, D. Hakluyt has *navy* in place of *moné*.

[3] *thei complayned hem*, B.

[4] *how*, B.

[5] *Nor*, B.

[6] *undir his*, B.

[7] *Amendes he wold none make, he seide.*
Wherfor the kynge in hart sette a jugement, B.

[8] *garte hem*, D.

[9] *to sette*, B.

[10] *Litelle Bretaigne*, B.

But bete theme home, and made[1] they myght not route,
Tooke prysoners, and lernyd hem for to loutte.
And efte the duke an ensample wysse
Wrote to the kynge, as he ffyrste dyd dewysse,
Hym excusynge; but oure meny wode[2]
Wyth grete poure passed overe the ffloode,
And verrie forth into the[3] dukes londe,
And had neygh destrued free and bonde.[4]
But than[5] the duke knewe[6] that the townes thre
Shulde have loste all hys natale euntree,[7]
Undertoke by sewrté trewe, not false,
Ffor Mount Mychelle and Seinte Malouse als,
And othere partees[8] of the Lytelle Bretaynne,
Whych to obeye, as seyde was, were nott fayne,
The duke hym selfe for all dyd undertake,
Wyth all hys herte a full pease dyd he make.[9]
So that in all the lyffe tyme of the kynge
Marchaundes hadde pease wythowtene werrynge.
[g] He made a statute for Lumbardes in thys londe,
That they shulde in no wysse take one honde
Here to enhabite, herē[10] to charge and to dyschurge,
Butt xl. dayes, nomore tyme had they large.
Thys good kynge, be wytt of suche approffe,
Kepte hys marchauntes and[11] the see fro myscheffe.

[g] Tutum statutum regis Edwardi tertii pro Lombardis.

[1] *That*, B.; *made* is omitted in A., and is here supplied from D. and Hakluyt.
[2] *Than the duke in like wise*
Wrote to the kynge for the truse.
The kynge aunswerd how his
mayné wode, B.
And after the duke in semblable
wyse
Wrote to the kynge, as he fyrst
did devise,
Hym excusyng, but our navy
woode; D.
[3] *werryd in the*, D.
[4] *To destroie the dukes londe,*
Ayenst his wille, I undirstonde,
B.
[5] *And whan*, B.
[6] *sey*, B.
[7] *Shold have destroied his countré,*
B.; *notable contré*, D.
[8] *And for alle the parties*, B.
[9] These two lines omitted in B.
[10] Omitted in B. and D.
[11] *in*, B.

Of the commodités of Scotelonde, and drappynge of her wolle in Fflaundres. The iiij. chapitle.

Moreovere[1] of Scotlonde the commoditees
[h] Ar ffelles, hydes, and of wolle the ffleesse.
And alle thesse muste passe bye us aweye
Into Fflaundres by Englonde, sothe to saye.[2]
And alle here wolle was draped[3] for to selle
In the tounes of Poperynge and of Belle,
Whyche my lordo of[4] Gloweestre wyth ire[5]
Ffor here ffalshede sett upon a ffyre.
[i] And yett they of Belle and Poperynge
Cowde never drapere[6] here wolle for any thynge,
But if they hadde Englysshe woll wythalle.
Oure godely wolle that[7] is so generalle
Nedefulle to hem in Spayne and Scotlande als,
And othere costis, this sentence is not fals.
Ye worthi marchauntes, I do it upon yow,
I have this lerned, ye wott wele where and howe;[8]
Ye wotte the staple[9] of that marchaundye
Of this Scotlonde is Fflaundres sekerlye.[10]
And[11] the Scottes bene chargede, knowene[12] at the eye,[13]
[j] Out of Flaundres wyth lytyll mercerye,

[h] Ffelles, hydes, wollefles, owtewarde.

[i] Hic patet de incendio villarum de Poperynge et de Belle per ducem Gloucestre et suos.

[j] Mercerye, haberdasherye, cartewhelys, barowes, homeward.

[1] *Also over alle Sc.*, B.
[2] *this is no nay*, B.
[3] *draperd*, D.
[4] *the duke of*, B.
[5] *in grete ire*, B.; *in ire*, D.
[6] *drape*, B.; *draper*, D.
[7] *it*, B., D.
[8] *That this is trew, ye wote wele how*, B.
[9] *For the staple*, B.
[10] *truly*, B.
[11] *Than*, B.
[12] This word is omitted by B.
[13] *knowen that ye*, D.

And grete plentee of haburdasshers[1] ware,
And halfe here shippes[2] wyth carte wholys bare,
And wyth barowes, are laden as in substaunce,
Thus moste rude ware be in here chevesaunce;
So they may not forbere thys Fflemysshe londe.
Therefor if we wolde manly take on honde
To kepe this see fro Flaundres and fro Spayne,
And fro Scotelonde, lych as fro Pety[3] Bretayne,
Wee schulde ryght sone have pease for all here bostis;
Ffor they muste nede passe by oure Englysshe costis.

Of the commoditees of Pruse,[4] and Hyghe Duche menne, and Esterlynges. The v. chapitle.

Now goo wee fforthe to the commoditees
That cometh to[5] Pruse in too manere degrees;
Ffor too manere peple have suche use,
This is to saye, Highe Duch men of[6] Pruse[7]
And Esterlynges, whyche myghte not be forborne
Oute of Fflaundres, but it were verrely lorne.
[k] Ffor they bringe in[8] the substaunce of the[9] beere
That they drynken felo[10] to goode chepe, not dere.[11]
Ye[12] have herde that twoo Fflemmynges togedere
Wol undertake, or they goo ony whethere,
Or they rise onys, to drinke a barelle fulle
Of godo berkyne;[13] so sore they hale and pulle,

[k] Nota de proprietatibus et conditionibus populorum Flandrensium.

[1] *haberdasshe*, B; *haburdashry*, D.
[2] B. omits these three words.
[3] *Litelle*, B.
[4] *Spruce*, D.
[5] *from*, D. and Hakluyt.
[6] *and*, B.
[7] *Spruce*, D.
[8] *hem*, B.
[9] *here*, B.; *their*, D.
[10] *selle*, D.
[11] *thei drynke good chepe dere*, B.
[12] *I*, B.
[13] *here*, B.; *berchyn*, D.

Undre the borde they pissen as they sitte;
This cometh of covenant[1] of a worthy[2] witte.
[1] Wythoute Calise in ther buttere the[3] cakked,
Whan they fledo[4] home, and when they leysore[5] lukked
To holde here sege, they wente lyke[6] as a doo;
Wel was that Fflemmynge that myght trusse and goo.
Ffor fere they turned bake,[7] and hyede faste;
Mi lorde of[8] Gloucestre made hem[9] so[10] agaste
[m]Wyth his commynge, and sought hem in here londe,
And brente and slowe as he haddo take on hondo;
So that oure emmyse[11] durste not bydo nor stonde,
They fledo to mowe,[12] they durste no more appere.
Then his meyné seydon that he was dede,
Till we were goo, ther was non bettir rede.
Fy! cowardy knyghthode was aslepe,
As dedo their duk yn mew they did hym kepe,[13]
Rebukedo sore for evere so shamefully
[n]Unto here uttere everlastinge vylany.

[l] Nota enormitatem scurrilitatis Flandrensium quando fugas fecerunt relinquentes Caliseam.
[m] Nota de fuga Flandrensium propter adventum strenuissimi principis ducis Gloucestrensis.
[n] Hic redarguitur vecordia fugientium, in perpetuum eorum memoriam.

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[1] *convenyght*, D.
[2] *cometho of an unwor thy*, B.
[3] *boture thei*, B.
[4] *wente*, D.
[5] *leve*, B.
[6] *yede light*, B.; *went lyght*, D.
[7] *And her prince tourned his bak*, D.
[8] *The duke of*, B.
[9] *hym*, D.
[10] *sore*, B.
[11] *their duke*, D.
[12] *mew*, B.; *He was in mew*, D.
[13] This and the three preceding lines, omitted in A., are supplied from D.

After bere and bacon, odre gode commodités usene.

[o] Now bere and bacon bene fro Pruse [1] ibroughte
Into Fflaundres, as loved and fere isoughte; [2]
Osmonde, coppre, bow-staffes, stile,[3] and wex,
Peltre-ware,[4] and grey, pych, terre, borde, and flox,
And Coleyne threde, fustiane, and canvase,
Carde, bokeram, of olde tyme thus it wase.
But the Fflemmyngis amonge these thinges dere
In comen lowen [5] beste bacon and bere.
Thus arn they hogges, and drynkyn wele ataunt,
Ffare wele, Flemynge, hay, harys, hay, avaunt.[6]
Also Pruse [7] mene make here aventure
Of plate of sylvere, of [8] wegges gode and sure
In grete plenté, whiche they bringe and bye
Oute of londes of Bealme [9] and Hungrye;
Whiche is encrese ful grete unto [10] thys londe.
And thei bene laden,[11] I understonde,
Wyth wollen clothe alle [12] manere of coloures,
By dyers craftes ful dyverse that bene oures.[13]
And they aventure ful gretly unto the Baye
Ffor salte, that is nedefulle wythoute naye.
Thus if they wolde not oure frendys bee,
Wee myght lyghtlye [14] stope hem in the see;
They shulde not passe oure stremes wythoutene leve,
It wolde not be, but if we shulde hem greve.

[o] Bere, bacon, osmonde, coppre, bowestaves, stele, wex, peltre-ware, grey, pyche, tarre, borde, fflex, Coleyne threde, ffustiane, canvas, carde, bokerame, sylver plate, wegges of silvere and metall.

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[1] *Spruce*, D.
[2] *Flanders, laden ferre isought*, B.
[3] *stele*, D.
[4] *Peltware*, B.
[5] *loven*, B., D.
[6] These two lines are added from D.
[7] *Spruce*, D.
[8], *and*, B.
[9] *Beam*, B.; *Beame*, D.
[10] *in*, B
[11] *lade agayn*, B.
[12] *of alle*, B.
[13] *whiche avayle ther of is oures*, B.
[14] *gretly*, B.

Of the commoditees of the Januays, and here grette karekkys.[1] *The vj. chapitle.*

The Januays comyne in sondre wyses
Into this londe, wyth dyverse marchaundyses,
In grete karrekkis[2] arrayde wythouten lake,
Wyth clothes of golde, silke,[3] and pepir blake
They bringe wyth hem, and of wood[4] grete plenté,
Wolle, oyle, woad aschen, by wesshelle[5] in the see,
Coton, roche-alum, and gode golde of Jene.[6]
And they be charged wyth wolle ageyne, I wene,
And wollene clothe of owres of colours alle.
And they aventure, as ofte it dothe byfalle,
Into Flaundres wyth suche thynge as they bye,
That is here cheffe staple sykerlye;
And if they wolde be oure fulle ennemyse,
They shulde not passe our straemez with merchaundyse.

The commoditēs and nyeetes of Venicyans and Florentynes, with there galees. The vij. chapitle.

The grete galees of Venees and Fflorence
Be wel ladene wyth thynges of complacence,
Alle spicerye and of grocers ware,
Wyth sweete wynes, alle manere of chaffare,
Apes, and japes, and marmusettes tayledo,
Nifles, trifles,[7] that litelle have availedo,[8]
And thynges[9] wyth whiche they fetely blere oure eye,
Wyth thynges not enduryng that we bye;[10]

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[1] *carrikes*, B.
[2] *carrikes*, B.
[3] *silver*, B.; *of golde and sylver*, D.
[4] *waud*, B.
[5] *vessels*, B.
[6] *Gene*, D.
[7] *Nyfells and tryfells*, D.
[8] This line, omitted in A., is here given from B.
[9] *And other thynges*, B.
[10] *Whiche thynges be not duryng that we bye*, B.

p Ffor moche of thys chaffare that is wastable
Mighte be forboine for dere and dyssevable.[1]
And that[2] I wene, as for infirmitees,
In oure Englonde is[3] suche comoditees,
Wythowten helpe of any othere londe,
Whych by wytte and practike bethe ifounde,
That alle humors myght be voyded sure;
Whych that we gledre wyth oure Englysh cure,
That wee shuldo have no nede to skamonye,
Turbit, euforbe, correcte,[4] diagredie,[5]
q Rubarde, sené, and yet they bene to[6] nedefulle;
But I knowe thynges also[7] spedefulle,
That growene here, as these thynges seydo;[8]
Lett of this materie no mane be dysmayde,
But that a man may voyde[9] infirmytee
Wythoute degrees fet[10] fro beyonde the see.
And yett[11] there shuldo excepte be ony thynge,
It were but sugre, truste to my seyinge.[12]
He that trustith not to my seyinge and sentence,
Lett hym better sorche experience.
In this mater I wole not forthere prese,[13]
Who so not beleveth, let hym love and sease.[14]
Thus these galeise for this[15] lykynge ware,
And etynge ware,[16] bere hens oure beste chaffare,

p Hic de materialibus et ingredientibus receptas medicinales.
q Of druges materiales for receytes of medicines.

[1] *for thei ben disceivable*, B.
[2] *yitt*, B.
[3] *are*, B.; *our londe arn*, D.
[4] *correctid*, D.
[5] *sagardye*, B.
[6] *tibo*, B.
[7] *But ther ben thynges also*, B.
[8] *fayned*, B.
[9] *byde*, D.
[10] *Without thise drugges*, B; *drouggis fett*, D.
[11] *yf*, B.; *yf*, D.
[12] *senynge*, B.
[13] *plese*, B.
[14] *cease*, B.
[15] *thens*, B.
[16] *stuffe*, D.

Clothe, wolle, and tynne, whiche, *as I seyde*[1] *before*,
Oute of this londe worste myghte[2] be forborne.
Ffor eche other londe of necessité
Have grete nede to by some of the thre;[3]
And we resseyve of[4] hem into this coaste
Ware and chaffare that lyghtlye wol be loste.
And woldo Jhesu that oure lordis woldo
Considre this wel, both yonge and olde;
Namelye olde,[5] that have experience,
That myghte the yonge exorten to prudence.
What harme, what hurt, and what hinderaunce
Is done to us unto youre[6] grete grevaunce,
Of suche londes and of suche[7] nacions?
As experte men knowe[8] by probacions;
By wretynge as discued[9] oure counsayles,
And false colour alwey the countertayles
Of oure[10] ennyes, that dothe us hinderinge
Unto oure goodes, oure realme,[11] and to the kynge;
As wysse men have shewed welle at eye,
And allo this is colowred by marchaundrye.

An ensampelle of deseytte.

Also they bere the golde owte of thys londe,
And souketh the thryfte awey oute of oure honde,
As the waffore[12] souketho honye fro the bee,
So mynuceth[13] oure commodité.
Now wolle ye here how they in Cotteswoldo
Were wonte to borowe, or they schulde[14] be solde,

[1] *as is said*, B.
[2] *myght worse*, B.
[3] *one of these thre*, B.
[4] *for*, B.
[5] *elder*, B.
[6] *oure*, B.
[7] *this*, B.
[8] *shew*, B.; *proved*, D.
[9] *By writyng are discovered*, B.; *and discured*, D.
[10] *Alle wey of our*, D.
[11] *the ryngc*, D.
[12] *waspe*, B., D.
[13] *mynyshethe*, B.; *mynyshe*, D.
[14] *as it shold*, B.

Here wolle gode,[1] as for yere and yere,[2]
Of clothe and tynne they did in lych[3] manère,
And in her galeys schyppe this marchaundye?
Than sone at Venice of them men wol it bye,
Then utterne[4] there the chaffare be the payse.
And lyghtly als[5] ther they make her reys.[6]
And whan the gode bene at Venice solde,
Than to carrye her chaunge they ben fulle bolde
Into Flaundres, whan thei this money have,
They wyll it profre ther sotelté to save,
To Englysshe marchaundis to yeve it oute by eschaunge,
To be paid agayn, thei make not straunge,[7]
Here in Englonde, semynge for the better,
At the reseyvinge and syght of the lettir,[8]
By iiij. pens lesse[9] in the noble rounde,
That is xij. pens in[10] the golden pounde.
And yf we wolle have of paymente,
A fulle monythe than moste hym nedes assente,
To viij. pens losse, that is shellyngis tweyne,
In the Englysshe pounde, as eftesones ageyne
Ffor ij. monthes xij. pens must be paye,
In the Englysshe pounde, what is that to seye,
But iij. shyllingis, so that in pounde felle
Ffor hurte and harme hardę is wyth hem to delle.
And whenne Englysshe marchaundys[11] have contente
This eschaunge in Englonde of[12] assente,
That these seyde Venecjanes have in wone,[13]
And Florentynes, to bere here golde sone

---

[1] *wolles good*, B.
[2] *fro yere to yere*, B., D
[3] *like*, B., D.
[4] *Thei utter*, B.
[5] *also*, B.
[6] *weyes*, D.
[7] This line is added from B. and D.
[8] Added also from D.
[9] *losse*, B.
[10] *xij. d. losse in*, B.
[11] *marchauntes*, B.
[12] *by*, B.
[13] *have mowen*, D.

Overe the see into Flaundres ageyne.
And thus they lyve in Flaundres, sothe to seyne,
And in London, wyth suche chevesaunce
That men calle usuré, to oure losse and hinderaunce.

Anothere exemple of disceytte.

Now listen welle how they made us a baleys
Whan they borwed[1] at the towne of Caleys,
As they were wonte, ther wolle that was hem lente,
Ffor yere and[2] yere they schulde make paymente,
And some tyme als too yere and too yere;
This was fayre lone,[3] but yett wolle ye here
How they to Bruges[4] wolde her wolles carye,
And for hem take paymente wythouten tarye,
And selle it faste for redy money in honde?
Ffor fifty pounde of money of losse they wolde not wonde
In a thousande pounde, and lyve therelye,
Tylle the day of paymente easylye,
Some[5] ageyne in exchaunge makynge,
Ffulle lyke usurie, as men make undertakynge.
Than whan thys payment of a thowsande pounde
Was welle contente, they shulde have chaffare sounde,
Yff they wolde fro the stäple fulle
Reseyve ageyne ther thousande[6] pounde in wolle.
And thus they wold, if we will beleve,
Wypen our nose with our owne sleve;
Thow *this proverbe be homly and undew,*
Yet be liklynesse it is for soth fulle trew.[7]

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[1] *borowed*, B., D.
[2] *to*, B., D.
[3] *love*, D.
[4] *Drigges*, B.
[5] *Come*, B., D.
[6] *iiij. thousand*, B.
[7] This and the preceding three lines are added from D., which omits the four which follow.

In Cotteswolde also they ryde aboute,
And al Englonde, and bien, wythouten doute,
What them liste, wythe fredome and fraunchise,
More then we Englisshe may getyn in any wyse.
But wolde God that, wythoute lenger delayse,
These galeise were unfraught in[1] xl. daies,
And in tho xl. dayes charged ageyne;
And that they myght be put to certeyne[2]
To go to oste, as wee there wyth hem doo.[3]
It were expediente that they did right soo
As wee do there; if the kynge wolde itt,
A! what worschip wold falle to Englysshe witte!
What profite also to oure marchaundye,
Whiche wolde of nede be cherisshed hartelye!
Ffor I wolde wote why nowe owre navey fayleth,
Whan many a foo us at oure dorre assayleth,
[r] Now in[4] these dayes, that, if there come a nede,
What navey shulde wee have it is to drede.
In Denmarke ware fulle noble conquerours
In tyme passed, fulle worthy warriours,
[s] Whiche when they had here marchaundes destroyde,
To poverte they felle, thus were they noyede;
And so they stonde at myscheffe at this daye;
This lerned I late, welle wryten, this no naye.[5]
Therefore be ware, I can no better wylle,[6]
Yf grace it wole of other mennys perylle;
Ffor yef marchaundes were cherysshede to here spede,
We were not lykelye to fayle[7] in ony nede.

[r] *A woffulle compleyn[te] of lake of navey if nede come.*

[s] *A storye of destruccion of Denmarke for destruccion of her marchauntes, by presidente of master Richarde Barnet shewynge in a rolle.*

[1] *withyn*, D.
[2] *ffi certayn*, B., D.
[3] *as we in Flaunders doo*, D.
[4] *at*, D.
[4] *This lerned I late, it is no nay*, B., D
[6] *while*, D.
[7] *like to falle*, B.

Yff they bee riche, than in prosperité
Schalbe oure londe, lordes, and comonté.[1]
[t] And in worship nowe thinke I on the sonne
Of marchaundy, Richarde of Whitingdone,[2]
That loode-sterre and chefe chosen floure,
Whate hathe by hym 'oure England of honoure?
And whate profito hathe bene of his richesse?
And yet lasteth dayly in worthinesse,
That penne and papere may not me suffice
Him to describe, so high he was of prise;
Above marchaundis to sette him one of the beste,
I can no more, but God have hym in reste.[3]

Now the principalle matere.

[u] What reason is it that wee schulde[4] go to oste[5]
In there cuntrees, and in this Englisshe coste
They schulde[6] not so, but have more liberté
Than wee oure selfe? now, alle so mot I the,
I wolde men shulde to geftes[7] take no hede
That lettith oure thinge publique for to spede;
Ffor this wee see welle every day at eye,
Geftes and festes stopene oure pollicye.

[t] Memoire of the sonne of marchaunde, Ric. of Whytingdone.
[u] Nota, here is for to be notyde that sithene this seyde ordynaunce of writinge there have be ordeynede to go to oste in Londone, etc[a]. But how this policie is subverted, it is mervelle to knowe, be wyles and gyles, whiche wol be in othere place declarede.

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[1] *comynalté*, B.
[2] *Richard Whytington*, D.
[3] This passage relating to Richard Whittington is not found in B.
[4] *shalle*, B.
[5] *hoste*, D.
[6] *shalle*, B.
[7] *yiftes*, B.; *giftis*, D.

Now se that fooles bene eyther they or wee,
But evere wee have the warse in this contré,
Therefore lett hem unto coste[1] go here,
Or be wee free wyth hem in like manere
In there cuntrés; and if it wolle not bee,
Compelle them unto coste,[2] and ye shalle see
Moche avauntage and muche profite arise,
Moche more than I write can in any wyse.

Of oure charge and discharge[3] at her martis.

Conseyve welle here that Englysshe men at martis
Be discharged, for alle her craftes and artes,
In the Braban of her marchaundy
In xiiij. dayes, and ageyne hastely
In the same dayes xiiij. are charged efte;
And yf they byde lenger alle is herefte,
Anone they schulde forfet here godes alle,
Or marchaundy, it schulde no bettere falle.
And wee to martis of Braban charged bene
Wyth Englyssh clothe, fulle gode and feyre to seyne,
Wee bene ageyne charged wyth merceyre,
Haburdasshere[4] ware, and wyth grocerye.
To whyche martis, that Englisshe men call feyres,
Iche nacion ofte maketh here repayeres,
Englysshe and Frensh, Lumbardes, Januayes,[5]
Cathalones,[6] theder they take here wayes,
Scottes, Spaynardes, Iresshmen there abydes,
Wythe grete plenté bringinge of salte hydes.[7]

---

[1] *host*, B., D.; *oste*, Hakl.

[2] *host*, B., D.; *oste*, Hakl.

[3] *discharge and charge*, B.

[4] *Haberdassh*, B.; *haburdashe*, D.

[5] *Lombardis, Duchmen, and Savoies*, D.

[6] *Catolones*, D.

[7] *bryngen of Irissh hides*, B.; *Wiche Bruges grete plenté easith of Irische hydes*, D.

And I here saye that wee in Braban lye,
Fflaundres and Seland, wee bye more marchaundy [1]
In comon use, then done alle other nacions;
This have I herde of marchaundes relacions.
And yff the Englysshe be not in the martis,
They bene febelle, and as noughte bene here [2] partes;
Ffor they bye more, and fro purse [3] put owte,
More [4] marchaundy than alle othere rowte.
Kepte than the see,[5] shyppes schulde not bringe ne feche,
And than the carreys wolde not theder stieche,
And so the martes wolde full evel thee,
Yf wee manly kepte aboute the see.

Of the commoditees of Braban and Selande and Henaulde, and marchaundyses caryed by londe to the martes The viij. chapitle.

Yit [6] marchaundy of Braban and Selande,[7]
v The [8] madre and woode [9] that dyers take on hande
To dyne [10] wyth, garleke and onyons,
And salt fysshe als for husbond and comons;
But they of Holonde [11] at Caleyse byene oune felles,
And oune wolles, that Englyshe men hem selles.
And the chefare that Englysshe men do byene
In the martis, that noman may denyene,

v Madere, woade, garleke, onyons, salt fysshe

---

[1] *And I here say that we in Braban bye*
More plenté of theire marchaundye, B., D.
And I here say that we in Brabant bye,
Flaunders and Zeland, more of marchandy, Hakl.
[2] *in their*, D.
[3] *fre pens*, D
[4] *For*, B
[5] *And the see were kept that*, B.; *Kepe than*, D.
[6] *The*, B.
[7] *Zelonde*, D.
[8] *Bethe*, B; *By*, D.
[9] *wad*, B.
[10] *dyen*, D
[11] *Selond*, B

Is not made in Braban that cuntré,
It commeth fromc outc of Henaulde, not be the see,
But alle by londe by carris,[1] and fiome Fraunce,
Burgoyne, Coleyne, Camerete,[2] in substaunce
Therfore at martis yf there be a restreynte,
Men seyne pleynly, that liste no fables peynte,[3]
Yf Englysshe men be wythdrawene awey,
Is grete rebuke and losse to here affraye,[4]
As[5] though wee sent into the londe of Fraunce
Tenne thousande peple, men of gode puissaunce,[6]
To werre unto her hynderynge multiphary;[7]
So bene oure Englysshe marchauntes necèssary.
[w] Yf it be thus assay, and we[8] schall weten
Of men experte, by whome I have this wrytene.
Ffor seyde is that this carted[9] marchaundye
Drawethe in valew as moche verralye[10]
As alle the gode that commethe in shippes thedyre,
Whyche Englisshe men bye moste and bring it hedire.
Ffor here martis bene feble, shame to saye,
But Englisshe men thedire diesse here waye.

Conclusion of this deppendinge of kepinge of the see.

Than I conclude, yff nevere so moche by londe[11]
Werre by carres brought unto there hondc,
Yff welle the see were kepte in governaunce,
They shulde by see have no delyveraunce,

[w] Nota, what oure marchaundes bye in that costis more than all other, etc[a].

---

[1] *carted*, B.; *in carres*, D.
[2] *Camerte, Colayn*, B.; *Camerk*, D.
[3] *fayn*, D.
[4] *and losse, and affray*, B.; *losse to their astraye*, D.
[5] *Alle*, D.
[6] *ye thousand men of pussaunce*, B.
[7] *multiplye*, B.
[8] *ye*, B.
[9] *whan this carted*, B.
[10] *as moche to valew sikerly*, B.
[11] *Yf men so moche be of lond*, B.

Wee shulde hem stoppe, and wee shulde hem destroy,
As prysoners wee shulde hem brynge to noy;
And so wee shulde of oure cruelle enmysse
[x]Make oure ffrendes for fere of marchaundysse,
Yff they[1] were not suffred for to passe
Into Fflaundres; but wee be frayle as glasse,[2]
And also bretylle,[3] not thought,[4] nevere abydynge,
But when grace shynethe sone are wee slydynge.
Wee woll it not reseyve in any wysse;
That maken luste, envye, and covetysse.
Expoune me this, and ye shall sothe it fynde,
Bere it aweye, and kepe it in youre mynde.

Thenuyle of thys conclusioun.

Than shulde worshyp unto oure noble be,
In feet and forme to lorde and magesté;[5]
[y]Liche as the seale the grettest of thys londe
On the one syde hathe, as I understonde,
A prince rydynge wyth his swerde idraue,
In the othere syde sittynge, sothe it is in sawe,[6]
[z]Betokenynge goode reule and ponesshynge
In verry dede[7] of Englande by the kynge.
And hit is so, God blessyd mote he bee;
So one lyche wysse I wolde were on the see.
By the noble that swerde schulde have powere,
And the shippes one the see aboute us here.

[x] Nota, of oure defautes lettynge oure gode spede in polycye.
[y] Nota, of the kynges grete seale.
[z] By septer and swerde.

---

[1] *we*, D.
[2] *but we fre as glasse*, B.; *we be frely, as I gesse*, D.
[3] *And as brasile*, B.; *And also at Brushill*, D.
[4] *tough*, B.
[5] *Rather than to the duke and his meynye*, D.
[6] *sothe is this saw*, B., D.
[7] *sede*, B.

What nedeth a garlande, whyche is made of ivye,[1]
Shew a tavern wynelesse,[2] also thryve I;
Yf men were wysely,[3] the Frenshmen and[4] Flemmynge
Shulde bere no state in see by werrynge.

Of Hankyne Lyons.[5]

[a] Thane Hankyne Lyons shulde not be so bolde[6]
To stoppe wyne, and shippes[7] for to holde,
Unto our shame; he hadde be betene thens.
Allas! allas! why dede wee these[8] offence,
Ffully[9] to shende the olde Englisshe fames,[10]
And the profites of Englonde, and there names?
Why is thys powere called of covetise[11]
Wyth ffals colours caste beforne oure eyes?
That if goode men ben called werryours
Wolde take the see for the comon socours,
And purge the see[12] unto oure grete avayle,
And wynne hem gode, and have[13] up the sayle,
And one oure enmyes there lives to juparte,[14]
So that they myght there pryses well departe,
As reasone wolde, justice, and equité,
To make this lande have lordeshyp of the see.

[a] This tyme anno regis H. VI. xiiij° was Hankyne Lyons archebere one the see, and afore Pety Pynson. Allas, allas!

---

[1] *ive*, B.
[2] *Shevardours wiveles now also*, D.
[3] *willy*, B.; *while*, D.
[4] *duke and the*, D.
[5] *Of Hankyn Lyons, a rover on the see*, B.; *Of Hankyng Lyons*, D.
[6] *shold not have ben so bold*, B.
[7] *stoppe us, and our shippes*, B.
[8] *whi do ye this*, B.
[9] *Wilfully*, B.; *Effoule*, D.
[10] *shend our Englisshe foones*, B.
[11] *this powdre called covetise*, B.
[12] The words *for . . . see*, omitted by the scribe of MS. A., are supplied from B. and D.
[13] *hale*, B., D.
[14] *coarte*, D.

A ffalse coloure in excusyng of prises.[1]

[b] Thane shalle Lumbardes and othere feyned frendes
Make her chalenges by coloure false of fendes,
And sey there chafare in the shippes is,
And chalenge alle, loke yf this be amisse.
Ffor thus may alle that men have brought to sorowe,[2]
And bén excused and saved by false coloure.
[c] Be ware, ye men that bare[3] the grete on honde,
That they destroy the polycye of this londe,
By gifte and goode, and the fyne golden clothes,
And silke and othere, sey ye nat this sothe is?
Bot if ye hadde verry experience,
That they take mede wythe pryvé violence,
Carpettis, and thynges of price and of pleysaunce,
Whereby stopped shulde be[4] gode governaunce.
And if it were as ye seye unto me,
Than wolde I seye, allas, cupidité!
That they that have here lyves put in drede
Schal be sone oute[5] of wynnynge, al for mede,
And lese here costes, and brought to poverté,
That they shalle nevere have luste to go to see.

[b] Lumbardis are cause moughe to hurte this lande, allethough there were none othere cause.

[c] Allas! for bribes and gifte of goode festes and meanes that stoppen oure pollycye.

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[1] This title is omitted in A., but supplied from B.

[2] *so swore*, B.

[3] *thei bere*, B.

[4] *stoppid is*, B.

[5] *Schalle be showen out*, B., D.

Sterynge to an ordinaunce ayens coloure of mayntenors and excusers.

[d]Ffor thys coloure that[1] muste be seyde alofte,
And by declared of the grete fulle ofte,
That oure seemen wolle by many wysse[2]
Spoylle oure frendys in stede of oure enmyse;
Ffor whyche coloure and Lumbardes mayntenaunce,
The kynge it nedeth to make an ordinaunce
Wyth hys counselle, that may not fayle, I troue,
That frendes shuld frome enmyes welle be knoue,
Oure enmyes taken, and oure frendes spared;
The remedy of hem muste be declared.
[e]Thus may the see be kept in no selle;[3]
Ffor if ought be taken, wotte ye weel,
Wee haue the strokes, and enmyes have the wynnyng,
But maynteners ar parteners of the synnynge.
Wee lyfe[4] in luste, and byde in covetyse,
This is oure reule[5] to mayntene marchauntyse,
And polycye that we have on the see;
And, but God helpe, it woll none other bee.

Of the commoditees of Irelonde, and policye and kepynge thereof, and conquerynge of wylde Iryshe, wyth an incident of Walys. The ix. chapitle.

I caste to speke of Irelonde but a lytelle,
Commoditees[6] yit I woll entitelle,

[d] It is a merveyle thynge that so grete a sekenesse and hurt of the londe may have no remedy of so many as letten hem selfe wysemen of governaunce, etc[a].

[e] Et unde mors oritur inde vita resurgat.

---

[1] *then*, B.
[2] *wold in any wise*, B.
[3] *be kept every dele*, B., D.
[4] *lyge*, B., D.
[5] *tale*, B., D.
[6] *The comodité*, B., D.

Hydes, and fish, samon, hake, herynge,
Irish wollen, lynyn cloth, faldynge,
And marternus[1] gode, bene here marchaundyse,
Hertys[2] hydes, and other of venerye,
Skynnes of otere, squerel, and Irysh are,[3]
Of shepe, lambe, and fox, is here chaffare,
Ffelles of kydde and conyes grete plenté.
So that yf Irelond halpe us to kepe the see,
Because the kynge clepid[4] is *rex Anglie*,
And is *dominus* also *Hibernie*,
Old possessyd[5] by progenitours,
The Yriche men have cause lyke to oures
Oure londe and herres togedre defende,
That none enmye shulde hurte ne offende[6]
Yrelonde ne us, but as one comonté
Shulde helpe to kepe welle aboute the see.
Ffor they have havenesse grete and godely[7] bayes,
Sure, wyde, and depe, of gode assayes,
Att Waterforde and coostis monye one,
And as men seyn in England, be there none
Better havenesse shyppes in to ryde,
Ne more sure for enmyes to abyde.
[8]Why speke I thus so muche of Yrelonde?
Ffor also muche as I can understonde
It is fertyle for thynge[9] that there do growe
And multiplyen, loke who so lust to knowe;
So large, so gode, and so comodyouse,
That to declare is straunge and merveylouse.
Ffor of sylvere and golde there is the oore
Amonge the wylde Yrishe, though they be pore;

---

[1] *martorns*, D.
[2] *Hert*, D.
[3] *Irishe hare*, B., D.
[4] *callid*, D.
[5] *O longe passed*, D.
[6] *nor shende*, B., D.
[7] *gardly*, B., D.
[8] B. and D. insert here a new title or rubric, *An exhortacion to kepe sikerly Irland.*
[9] *fructifulle of thynges*, B.; *riche for thinges*, D.

Ffor they ai rude, and can thereone no skylle;
So that if we had there peso and gode wylle,
To myne and fyne, and metalle for to pure,
In wylde Yrishe myght we fynde the cure.
As in Londone seyth[1] a juellere,
Whych brought from thens gold oore[2] to us here,
Whereof was fyned metalle gode and clene,
As[3] the touche, no bettere coude be sene.
Nowe here be ware and hertly take entente,
As ye wolle answere at the laste jugemente,
That for sloughe and for racheshede[4]
Ye remembere, wyth alle youre myghte take hede
To kepe Yrelond, that it be[5] not loste;
Ffor it is a boterasse and a poste
Undre England, and Wales another.
God forbede but eche were othere brothere,
Of one ligeaunce dewe unto the kynge.
But I have pité, in gode feythe, of thys thynge,
That I shalle saye, wythe avysemente,
I ham aferde that Yrelonde wŏl be[6] shente;
It muste awey, it wolle be loste frome us,
But if thow helpe, thow Jhesu graciouse,
And yeve us grace alle sloughte to leve bysyde.[7]
Ffor myche thynge in my harte is hyde,[8]
Whyche in anothere tretyse I caste to wrytte,
Made alle onelye for that soyle and sitee[9]
Of fertile Yerelonde, whiche mythe not be forborne,
But if Englond were nyghe as gode as gone.[10]
God forbede that a wylde Yrishe wyrlynge
Shulde be chosene for to be there kynge,

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[1] *seid*, B.
[2] *good ure*, B.
[3] *At*, B., D.
[4] *rechelessehede*, B.; *rechelehede*, D.
[5] *were*, B.
[6] *shalle be*, B.
[7] *slouthe to sette aside*, B.
[8] *I hide*, B.
[9] *cete*, D. These two lines are omitted in B.
[10] *lorn*, B.; *lorne*, D.

Aftere here conqueste for oure laste[1] puisshaunce,
And hyndere us by other londes allyaunce.
Wyse mene seyne, whyche folyn not ne dotyn,[2]
That wylde Yrishe so muche of grounde have gotyne
There[3] upon us, as lykelynesse may be,
Lyke as England to sherish two or thre[4]
Of thys oure londe is made comparable,
So wylde Yrishe have wonne unto us unable[5]
Yit[6] to defende, and of no[7] powere
That oure grounde there is a lytelle cornere,[8]
To alle Yrelonde in trewe comparisone.
It nedeth no more this mater to expone,
Which if it be loste, as Criste Jhesu forbede,
Ffarewelle Wales, than Englond cometh to drede
Ffor alliaunce of Scotelonde and of Spayne,
And other moo, as the Pety[9] Bretayne,
And so have enmyes environ rounde aboute.
I beseche God that some prayers devoute
Mutt lett the seyde[10] apparaunce probable[11]
Thys disposed[12] wytthought feyned fable;
But alle onely for perelle that I see
Thus ymynent as lykely for to be.[13]
And welle I wote that frome hens to Rome,
And, as men sey, in alle Cristendome,
Ys no grounde ne lond to Yreland lyche,
So large, so gode, so plenteouse,[14] so riche,
That to this worde *dominus* dothe longe.
Than me semyth that ryglit were, and not wronge,

[1] *losse*, D.
[2] *whiche listen not to doten*, B.
[3] *That*, D.
[4] *In Englond unto sheres two or thre*, B.
[5] *ou us have wonne unable*, D
[6] *It*, B.; *Hit*, D.
[7] *defende with our power*, D.
[8] *cover*, D.
[9] *litelle*, B.
[10] *Might be seid*, B.
[11] *provable*, D.
[12] *Thus dispouned*, B.
[13] *Whiche is like in short tyme to be*, B.; *Thus jugement lihly*, D.
[14] *plentevous*, B.; *plentyvous*, D.

To gete that lond, and it were piteouse[1]
To us to lese thys hyghe name *dominus*.
And alle this[2] worde *dominus* of name
Shulde have the grounde obeisaunte, wylde and tame.
That name and peple[3] togedere myght accorde,
Alle[4] the grounde subjecte to the[5] lorde;
And that it is possible to be subjecte
Unto the kynge, well shall it be detecte[6]
In the lytelle boke that I of spake;
I trowe reson alle this wolle undertake.[7]
And I knowe welle with Irland[8] howe it stant;
Allas! fortune begynneth so to stant,[9]
Or ellis grace, that dede is governaunce.
Ffor so mynusshyth partyes of oure puissaunce[10]
In that land, that we lesse[11] every yere
More grounde and more, as welle[12] as ye may here.
I herde a man[13] speke to me fulle late,
[f] Whyche was a lorde of ful grete astate,[14]
That expensis[15] of one yere don in Fraunce
Werred[16] on men welle wylled of puissaunce,
Thys seyd grounde of Yrelonde to conquere,
And yit because Englonde[17] myght not forbere
These seyde expensis gedred in one yere,
But in iij. yere or iiij. gadred up here,

[f] This lorde was the erle of Ormond, that told to me this mater, that he wolde undretake it in peyne of lesse of all his lyvelode, etc[a]; but this profere not by admitted; ergo male.

---

[1] *pitevous*, B.
[2] *That of this*, D.
[3] *And that same peple*, B.
[4] *And*, B.
[5] *her*, B.; *their*, D.
[6] *And the kyng wold wele therto adverte*, B.
[7] These two lines are omitted in B.
[8] These two words are restored from B. and D
[9] *for to stante*, B.
[10] *For so moche lessethe dayly oure puyssaunce*, B.
[11] *that lesith*, D.
[12] *aske welle*, B.
[13] *a lord*, B.
[14] *Whiche was erle of Ormond, a lord and astate*, B.
[15] *experience*, D.
[16] *Wared*, B.
[17] *And yf Englond*, B.

Myght wynne Yrelonde to a fynalle conquest
In one soolo yere,[1] to sett us allo in reste.
And how sone woldo thys be paydo ageyne,
What were it worthe yerely, yf wee not feyne
I wylle declare, who so luste to looke,
I trowe ful pleynly in my lytelo boke.[2]
But covetyse and singularité
Of one[3] profite, envye, crueltė,[4]
Hathe done us harme, and doò us every daye,
And mustres[5] made that shame it is to saye,
Oure money spente allo to lytelle avayle;
And oure enmyes so gretely done prevayle,
That what harme may falle and overthwarte,[6]
I may unneth wrytte more for sore of herte,[7]

An exhortacion to the kepynge of Walys.

Be ware of Walys, Criste Jhesu mutt us[8] kepe,
That it make not oure childeis[9] childe to wepe,
No us also, if it go his waye
By unwarenesse;[10] seth that many a day
Men have be fordo of here rebellioun
By grete tokenes and ostentacioun.[11]
Secho the monys wyth a discrete avyse,
And helpe that they rudely not aryse
Ffor to rebelle,[12] that Criste it forbede;
Loke wele aboute, for, God wote, we have nede,

---

[1] *In too hole*, D.

[2] These two lines are omitted in B

[3] *owne*, B.; *comon*, D.

[4] *envie and cannalitie*, B, *cannalité*, D.

[5] *monsturis*, D

[6] *over whert*, B; *ever wherte*, D

[7] *for sorow in hert*, B

[8] *at*, B; *hat*, D.

[9] *childes*, B., D.

[10] *waundernesse*, D.

[11] *demonstracoun*, B.; *of ostentacoun*, D

[12] *to be rebelle*, D

Unfayllyngly, unfoynynge,[1] and unfoynte,
That concience for slought you not attoynte
Kepe welle that groundе for harme that may bene
used,
Or afore God mutt ye bene accused.

Of the comodius stokfysshe of Yselonde, and keppynge of the see, namely the narowe see, wyth an incident of the keppynge of Calyse The lenne chapitule.

Of Yseland to wryte is lytille nede,
Save of stokfische; yit for sothe in dede
Out of Bristow, and costis many one,
Men have practised by nedle and by stone
Thider-wardes wythine a lytel whylle,
Wythine xij. yere,[2] and wythoute perille,
Gone and comen, as men were wonte of olde
Of Scarborowgh unto the[3] costes colde;
And now so fele shippes thys yere there were,
That moche losse for unfraught[4] they bare;
Yselond myght not make hem to be fraught
Unto the hawys; this moche harme they caught[5]
Thene here I ende of the comoditees
Ffor whiche nede is well to kepe the sees;
Este and weste, sowthe and northe they be;
And chefely kepe the sharpe[6] narowe see,
Betwene Dover and Caleise, and as thus
That fosse passe[7] not wythought gode wyll[8] of us,
And they[9] abyde oure daunger in the lenghte,
What for oure costis and Caleise in oure[10] stronghte.

[1] *unfylyngly, unseylynsly*, D.
In yeres few, B
[2] *that*, B.
[3] *unfreyght*, D.
[4] This and the three preceding lines are omitted in B
[5] *sharply the*, B.
[6] *That oure foes passe*, B
[7] *lest*, B.
[8] *And yf they*, B, D
[9] *with here*, B

An exortacioun of the sure keppynge of Calise.

And for the love of God and of his blisse,
Cherishe ye Caleise better than it is;
See wolle therto, and here the grete complaynte
That trewe men tellen, that woolle no lies peynte;
And as ye knowe that writynge commyth from thens,
Do not to England for sloughte so grete offens,
But that redressed it be for ony thynge,
Lest that[1] a songe of sorow that wee synge
Ffor lytelle wonythe the fole, who so myght chese,[2]
What harme it were gode Caleise for to lese,
What woo it were for alle this Englysshe groundo.
Whiche welle conceyved the emperoure Sigesmounde,
That of all joyes made it one of the moste,
That Caleise was soget unto Englysshe coste.
Hym thought it was a jewel moste of alle,
And so the same in Latyn did it calle.
And if ye wolle more of Caleise here and knowe,
I caste to writte wythine a litelle scrowe,[3]
Like as I have done byforone by and bye
In othir parties of oure pollicie.
Loke welle how harde it was at the firste to gete,
And by my counselle lyghtly let not it leete.
For if wee leese it wyth shame of face
Wylfully, it is[4] for lake of grace.
Howe was the Hareflewe[5] cryed upon, and Rone,[6]
That it were likely for slought to be gone,
How was it warened and cryed on in Englonde,
I make recorde wyth this penne in myne honde.
It was warened pleynely in[7] Normandye,
And in England, and I thereone[8] dyd crye.

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[1] This word is inserted from B. *Lesse than a songe*, D.
[2] *what myschefe*, D.
[3] *throw*, B.
[4] *for it is*, B.
[5] *Harfleet*, B.; *Harflete*, D.
[6] *at Roon*, B., D.
[7] *also of Gascoigne and*, B.
[8] *And alle Englond also theron*, B.

The worlde was defrauded, it [1] botid ryght soo;
Ffarewell Hareflewe! [2] lewdely it was agoo; [3]
Now ware Caleise, I can sey no bettere,
My soule discharge I by this presente lettere.

Aftere the chapitle of commoditees of dyverse landes, shetyth the conclusioun of kepynge of the see environ by a storye of kynge Edgare, and ij. incidentes of kynge Edwarde the iij^de^ and kynge Henry the v^th^. The xi. chapitle.

Now see wee welle than that this rownde see
To oure noble by paryformytee, [4]
Undere the shypp, shewyd there the saylo,
And oure kynge of royalle apparaylle,
Wyth swerde drawe, bryght and extente,
Ffor to chastise ennyes vyolente,
Shulde be lorde of the see aboute,
To kepe ennys fro wythine, wythoute, [5]
To be holde thorowgh cristianyté
Master and lorde enviroun of the see,
Alle lyvinge [6] men suche a [7] prince to drede
Of suche a regne to be aforde in dede.
[8] Thus prove I welle that it was thus of olde,
Whiche by a cronicle anone shal be tolde,

[8] Dicit chronica, quod iste Edgarus, cunctis predecessoribus suis felicior, nulli sanctitate inferior, omnibus morum suavitate præstantior, etc^a^, vixit ipse Anglis non minus memorabilis quam Cirus Persis, Karolus Francis, Romulus de Romanis.

[1] *was deef, and it*, B., D.

[2] *Harflete*, D.

[3] *Farewele Guyen and Normandy, lewdly it is ago*, B.

[4] *parformyté*, B.; *be parfourmere*, D.

[5] *enemyes withyn and withoute*, D.

[6] *lovynge*, D.

[7] *such as a*, D.

Ryghte curiouse, but I wolle interprete
Hit into Englisshe, as I did it gete.
Of kynge Edgare, oo [1] moste merveyllouse
Prince lyvynge, wytty, and chevalrouse,
So gode that none of his predecessours
Was to him lyche in prudens and honours.
He was fortunat, and more gracious
Then other before, and more glorious.
He was benethe no man [2] in holinesse,
He passed alle in vertuuse swetenesse.
Of Englysshe kynges was none so commendable
To Englysshe men, ne lasse [3] memoriable
Than Cirus was to Perse by puissaunce; [4]
And as grete Charlis was to them of Fraunce,
And as to Romanis was grete Romulus,
So was to England this worthy Edgarus.
I may not write more of his worthynesse,
Ffor lake of tyme, ne of his holynesse;
But to my matere I hym examplifie,
Of condicions tweyne and of his policie.
Wythine his land was one, this is no doute,
And anothere in the see wythoute,
That in tyme of wynter [5] and of werre,[6]
Whan boistous wyndes put see-men into ferre,[7]
Wythine his lande aboute bi alle provinces
He passyd thorowghe perceyvynge his princes,
Lordes, and othir of the coinmontée,[8]
Who was oppressoure, and who to povertó
Was drawe and broughte, and who was clene in [9]
lyffe,
Any who [10] was by myschoffe and by stryffe

---

[1] *one*, B.
[2] *He was a blessid man*, D.
[3] *nor non more*, D.
[4] *Like Cirus that gate Percy by puyssaunce*, B.
[5] *of aventure*, D.
[6] *of veer*, B.
[7] *feer*, B.
[8] *comynalté*, B.
[9] *of*, B.
[10] This word is inserted from B. and D.

Wyth overeledynge and extorcioun;
And gode and bad of eche condicioun
He aspied, and his mynistors als,
Who did trought, and whiche of hem was fals;
How the ryght and lawes of his londe
Were execute, and who durste take on hondo
To disobeye his statutes and decrees,
Yf they were welle kepte in alle cuntrees.
Of these he made subtile investigacioun[1]
By his owyne espye and other menis relacioun.
Amonge othyr was his grete besines
Welle to bene ware that grete men of ryechesse,
And men of myght in citee ner in toune,
Shuld to the pore doo none oppressione.
Thus was he wonte, as in this wynter tyde,
One suche enserchise busily to abyde;
This was his laboure for the publique thinge,
Thus was he[2] occupied, a passynge holy kynge.

[h] Now to the purpose; in the somer ffayre,
Qf lusty season, whan clered was the eyre,
He had redy shippes made byfore,
Grete and huge, not fewe but manye a score,
Ffulle thre[3] thousande and sex hundred also,
Statelye inowgh on oure see to goo.
The cronicles seyth these shippes were full boisteous;[4]
Suche thinges longen to kynges victorious.

[h] Dicit chronica, præparaverat naves robustissimas numero tria milia sexcentas, in quibus redeunte æstate omnem insulam, ad terrorem extraneorum et ad suorum excitationem, cum maximo apparatu circumnavigare consueverat.

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[1] *enquiracioun*, B.
[2] *was* is omitted in A.
[3] *iii. m*, D.
[4] *costious*, D.

In somere tide [1] woldo he have in wone,
And in custome, to be fulle redy sone,[2]
Wyth multitude of men of [3] godo array,
And instrumentis of werre of bosto [4] assay;
Who coude hem welle in ony wyse describe,
Hit were not lyght for ony man on lyve.
Thus he and his wolde entre shippes grete,
Habilementis havynge and the fete
Of see werres, that joyfull was to see
Suche a navele, and lord of magesté
There present in persone hem amonge,
To saile and rowe environ alle on londe,[5]
So regaliche aboute [6] the Englisshe yle,
To all straungeours terroure and perille;
Whose sonne wente aboute [7] in alle the worlde stoute,[8]
Unto grete ferre of alle that be wythoute,
And exercise to knyghtis and his meyné
To hym longynge [9] of his natalle [10] contré.
Ffor corage muste of nede have exercise,
Thus [11] occupied for esshewynge of vise:
This knowe the kynge, that policie espied,
Wynter and somer he was thus occupied.
Thus conclude I by auctorité
Of cronique, that environ the see
Shulde bene oures subies [12] unto the kynge,
And he be lorde therof for ony thynge,
Ffor grete worship, and for profite also,
To defende his londe fro every foo.
That worthy kynge I leve, Edgar by name,
And alle the cronique of his worthy fame;

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[1] *time*, B.
[2] *to be fortyfied sone*, D.
[3] *in*, B.
[4] *good*, B.
[5] *alonge*, B., D., and Hakl.
[6] *He ransaked aboute*, D.
[7] *out*, D.
[8] *aboute*, B., D.
[9] *lawding*, D.
[10] *noble*, D.
[11] *Yougthe*, B.
[12] *subjecte to*, B., D.; *our subjects*, Hackluyt.

Save onely this I may not passe awey,
A word of myghty strenght til that[1] I seye,
That grauntyd hym God sucho worship here,
Ffor his meritis, he was wythoute pere,
That sumtyme at his grete festivité
Kynges and yerles of many a contré,
And provinces[2] fele, were there presente,
And mony lordes come thedire by assente
To his worship; but in a certayne daye
He bade shippes be[3] redy of arraye
Ffor to visite Seynte Jonys chyrche he lyste,
Rowynge unto the gode holy Baptiste.
He assygned to yerles, lordes, knyghtes,
Many shippes ryght godely to syghtes;
And for hym selfe and viij. kynges mo
Subdite[4] to hym, he made kepe ono of tho,
A gode shipp, and entred into it,
Wyth viij. kynges, and doune did they sit,
And echo of them an ore toke in hande,
At ore-holes viij.,[5] as I understonde;
And he hym selfe atte the shipp behynde
As steris-man, it hym[6] becam of kynde.
Suche another rowynge, I dare welle saye,
Was not sene of princes many a day.

[1] Dicit chronica, et ut non minus quantam ei etiam in hac vita bonorum operum mercedem donaverit, cum aliquando ad maximam ejus festivitatem reges, comites, multarumque provinciarum protectores, convenissent, quadam die naves jussit parari, gratum habens ecclesiæ beati Johannis Baptistæ Teneto navigio petere; cum itaque comitibus et satrapis naves plurimas delegasset, ipse cum viij. regibus sibi subditis navem unam intravit, ad octo itaque remos regibus totidem collocatis, ipse in puppe sedens gubernatoris fungebatur officio.

---

[1] *A worde of myghe and trouthe yit wolle*, B.; *myth and truth*, D.
[2] *preences*, D.
[3] *He had shoppes redy*, B., D.
[4] *Subjecte*, B.
[5] This word is inserted from B.
[6] This word also from B.

Lo than how he on waters had[1] the price,
In land, in see, that I may not suffice
To telle, o right! o magnanimité![2]
That kynge Edgar had upon the see.

An incident of the lorde of the see, kynge Edwarde the thredde.

Of kynge Edwarde I passe, and his prowesse
On londe, on see, ye[3] knowe his worthynesse.
The siege of Caleise, ye wott welle alle the mater,
Roundе aboute by londe and by the water,
How it lasted, not yeres many agoo,
After the bataille of Crecy was idoo;
How it was closed environ aboute,
Olde men saue it whiche leyvn, this is no doute.
Olde knyghtis sey that the duke of Burgoyne,
Late rebuked for all his golden coyne,
Of shipp and see made no besegynge there,
Ffor wante of shippes that durste not come for fere.
It was no thynge beseged by the see,
Thus calle they it no seage for honesté.
Gonnes assayled, but assaute was there none,
No sege, but fuge, welle was he that myght gone.
This maneie carpynge have knyghtes ferre in age,
Experte of olde this manere langage.[4]
But kynge Edwarde made a sege loyalle,
And wanne the toune, and in especialle
The see was kepte, and thereof he was lorde,
Thus made he nobles coigned of recorde.

[1] This word from B., D.

[2] *To telle the righte highe maynanymité*, B.

[3] *I*, B.

[4] This and the nine previous lines, alluding to the siege of Calais by the duke of Burgundy, in 1436, are not found in B.

In whose tyme was no navey in the see
That myght withstonde of hys magesté.[1]
Bataylle of Sluce ye may rede every day,
How it was done, I leve and go my way;
Hit was so late done that ye it knowe,
In comparisone wythine a lytel throwe.
Ffor whiche to God yeve we honoure and gloiye,
Ffor lorde of see the kynge was wyth victorie.

Anothere incident of keppynge of the see, in the tyme of the merveillouse werroure and victorious prince, kynge Herry the v^e^, and of his grete shippes.

And yf I shulde conclude al by the kynge,
Henry the fifte, what was hys purposynge, -
Whan at Hampton he made the grete dromons,
Which passed other grete shippes of alle the comons,
The Trinité, the Grace-Dieu, the Holy-Goste,
And other moo whiche as now be loste,
What hope ye was the kynges grette entente
Of the shippes, and what in mynde he mente?
It was not ellis but that he caste to be
Lorde rounde aboute environn of the see.
And whan Harflew[2] had his sege aboute,[3]
There came carikkys[4] orrible, grete, and stoute,
In the narowe see wyllynge to abyde
To stoppe us there wyth multitude of pride.
My lorde of Bedefordo[5] came one, and had the cure;
Destroyde they were by that disconfiture.[6]
This was after the kynge Harcflew[7] had wonne,
Whane oure enmyes to besege had begonne,

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[1] *That cowd withstonde the myght of his magesté*, D.
[2] *Harflete*, B.
[3] *had his sword bought*, D.
[4] *a bataielle*, B.
[5] *The duke of Bedford*, B.
[6] *scomfiture*, B.
[7] *Harflete*, B.

That alle was slayne or take, by treue relacioun,
To his worship and of his Englisshe nacioun.
Ther was presente the kynges chamberleyne
At bothe batayles, whiche knowethe this in certayne;
He can it telle other wyse than I;
Aske hym, and wite; I passe forthe hasteloye.[1]
What had this kynge of his[2] magnificens,
Of grete corage, of wysdome and prudence,
Provision, forewitte, audacité,
Of fortitude, justice, agilité,[3]
Discrecioun, subtile avisifenesse,[4]
Atemperaunce, noblesse,[5] and worthynesse,
Science, proesce,[6] devocion, equyté,
Of moste estate his magnanimité,
Liche to Edgare and the seyde Edwarde,
A braunche of bothe, lyche hem as in regarde
Where was on lyve a man[7] more victorious,
And in so shorte tyme prince so marvelous?
By lande and see so welle he hym acquite,
To speke of hym I stony in my witte.
Thus here I leve the[8] kynge wyth his nobelesse,
Henry the fifte, wyth whome alle my processe
Of this trewe boke of pure[9] pollicie,
Of see kepynge, entendynge[10] victorie,
I leve endely, for aboute in the see
No better was prince of strenuité.[11]

[1] Nota de conditionibus quibusdam regis Henrici quinti, decentibus magnanimitatem omnis magni principis, belligeri, conquæstoris.

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[1] This and the three preceding lines are omitted in B.
[2] *hue*, B.; *suche*, D.
[3] *Of fortitudo, justice Anglice*, D
[4] *avisefines*, B.; *avisement*, D.
[5] *nobilité*, D.
[6] *processe*, B
[7] *ony lives man*, B
[8] *this*, B.
[9] *trew*, D.
[10] *endyng*, B.
[11] *extremytee*, B.

And if he had to this tyme lyved here,
[k] He had bene prince named wythoutene pere.
His grete shippes shulde have bene put in preffe,
[l] Unto the ende that he mente of in cheffe
Ffor doute it nat, but that he wolde have be
Lorde and master aboute the roundе see,
And kepte it sure, to stoppe oure enmyes hens,
And wonne us gode, and wysely brought it thens,
That no passage shulde be wythought daungere
And his licence on see to meve and stere.

Of unité, shewynge of our kepynge of the see, wyth une endely processe of peuse by auctorité. The xij. chapitule.

[m] Now than for love of Cryste and of his joye,
Bryngе yit Englande out of trouble and noye,
Take herte and witte, and set a governaunce,
Set many wittes wythoutene variaunce
To one accorde and unanimité,
Put to gode wylle[1] for to kepe the see.
Ffurste for worshypp and profite also,
And to rebuke of echo evyl wylled foo;
Thus shalle richesse and worship to us longe;
Than to the noble shalle wee do no wronge,
To bere that coigne in figure and in dede,
To oure corage and oure enmyes to drede.

[k] Nota, prince perelesse.
[l] Grace-Dieu, Holy-Gost, etc.
[m] Exhortatio generalis in custodiam totius Angliæ per diligentiam custodiæ circuitus maris circa litoram ejusdem, quæ debet esse per unanimitatem consiliatorum regis et hominum bonæ voluntatis.

[1] *helpe*, D.

[n] Ffor whiche they muste dresse hem to peaso in haste,
Or ellis there thrifte to standen and to [1] waste,
As this processe hathe proved by and bye,
Allé by reason and experte policie,
And by stories whiche preved welle this parte;
And elles I wolle my lyffe put in joparte,
But many landes wolde seche here pease for nede,
The see welle kepte, it muste be do for drede.
Thus muste *Flaundres for nede have unité*
And pease wyth us, it wolle none other bee,
Wythine shorte while, and ambassiatours
Wolde bene here sone to trete for ther secours.
This unité is to God plesaunce [2]
And *pease after the werres variaunce*;
[o] The ende of batayle is pease sikerlye,
And power causeth pease finally.[3]
[p] Kepte [4] than the see abought in speciallo,
Whiche of England is the roundo wallo;
As thoughe England were lykened to a *cité*,
And the walle environ were the see.
Kepe than the see, that is the walle of Englond,
And than is Englond kepte by Goddes sonde;
That is, for ony thinge that is wythoute,
Englande were at ease wythoutene doute.
And thus shulde everi lande one with another
Entrecomon [5] as brother wyth his brother,

[n] Ties sunt causæ prædictæ custodiæ, scilicet honor, et commodum regni, *et opprobrium inimicis.*

[o] Finis belli est pax.

[p] De circuitu maris, quod est quasi murus et vicinus regni Angliæ.

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[1] *shalle gone to*, B.
[2] *to Goddes p.*, B.
[3] *And poverte causethe pease fy-* | *nalle verely*, B.
[4] *kepe*, B., D.
[5] *Entrecome never*, B.

And life togedre worreles[1] in unité,
Wythoute rancoure, in verry charité,
In reste and pese, to Cristis grete plesaunce,
Wythouto striffe, debate, and variaunce.
Whiche pease men shulde enserche[2] with besinesse,
And knytt it sadely holdyng in holynesse.
The apostil seyth, if ye liste to see,
q " Be ye busy for to kepe unité
" Of the spirite in the bonde of pease,"
Which is nedefulle to alle, wythouten lesse.
The profete bideth us pese fore to enquere,
r To pursue it, this is holy desire.[3]
Oure Lorde Jhesu seith, " Blessed mot they be
" That maken pease, that is tranquillité."
s " Ffor pease makers," as Mathew writeth aryght,
" Shull be called the sonnes of God allemight."
God yeve us grace the weyes for to kepe
Of his preceptis, and slugly not to slepe
In shame of synne, that oure verry foe
Mow be to us convers and torned too.
Ffor in t Proverbis a text is to purpose,
Ployne inowgh, wythoute ony glose,
" Whan mennes weyes please unto oure Lorde,
" It shalle converte and brynge to accorde
" Mannes enmyes unto pease verray,
" In unité, to life[4] to Goddis pay."
Which unité, pease, reste, and charité,
He that was here claude[5] in humanité,

q Ad Eph. 4: " Soliciti sitis servare unitatem spiritus in vinculo
" pacis."
r In primo: " Inquire pacem et persequere eam."
s Matheus 5to: " Beati pacifici, quoniam filii Dei vocabuntur."
t Proverbis: " Cum placuerint Domino viæ hominis, inimicos ejus
" convertet ad pacem."

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[1] *without werre*, B.
[2] *inforse*, B.; *encrese*, D.
[3] *And after it to pursew, with hart clere*, B.
[4] *lyke*, B.; *love*, D.
[5] *cladde*, Hakl.

That came frome hevyne, and stiede up with our nature,
[u] Or he ascendid he yafe to us cure,
And lefte wyth us pease ageyne shiffe and debate,
Mote gefe us pease so welle iradicate[1]
Here in this worlde, that after alle this[2] feste
Wee mowe have pease in the londe of byheste,
[v] Jerusalem, which of pease is the sight,
Wyth his bryghtnes of eternalle lighte.
There glorified in reste wyth his tuicione,
The deité to see wyth fulle fruicione,
He secunde persone in divinis is,[3]
He us assume,[4] and brynge us to the blisse. Amen.

Here endithe the trewe processe of the libelle[5] of Englysshe policie, exhortynge alle Englande to kepe the see environ, and namely the narowe see; shewynge whate worshipe, profite, and salvacioun commethe thereof to the reigne of Englonde, etc[a].

Go furthe, libelle,[6] and mekely shewe thy face,
Apperynge evere wyth humble contynaunce;
And pray my lordes the to take in grace
In opposaile,[7] and cherisshynge the[8] avaunce
To hardynesse, if that not variaunce
Thow haste fro troughte[9] by full experience,
Auctours and reasone, yif ought faile[10] in substaunce,
Remitte to hemo that yafe the this science.

[u] "Pacem relinquo vobis, pacem meam do vobis."
[v] "Urbs beata, Jerusalem, dicta pacis visio, etc[a]."

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[1] *iradiate*, B.
[2] *after at his*, B.
[3] *in divinesess*, B.; *divinenesse*, Hac.
[4] *asyng*, B.
[5] *bible*, D.
[6] *lytle bylle*, B., C.
[7] *apposell*, C.; *especialle*, D.
[8] *schervsche the and a.*, C.
[9] *hast sone thowt trowthe*, B., C.
[10] *falle*, B., C.

[1] That sythe it is sothe, in verray feythe,
That the wyse lorde baron of Hungerforde
Hathe the oversene, and verrily he seithe
That thow arte trewe, and thus he dothe recorde,
Nexte the gospell; God wotte, it was his worde,
Whanne he the redde alle over in a nyghte.
Go forthe, trewe booke, and Criste defende thi ryghte.

Explicit libellus de policiis conservativa maris.

Lament of the Duchess of Gloucester.[2]

Thorowowt a pales as I can passe,
I hard a lady make grot mone,
And ever she syked and sayd, "Alas!
"Alle wordly joy ys from me gone;
"And alle my fiendes from me can fle;
"Alas! I am fulle woo begon;
"Alle women may be ware by me.

"Alle women that in this world be wrowght,
"By me they may insaumpulle take,
"As I that was browght up of nowght,
"A prince had chosyn me to his make;

---

[1] Instead of the lines which follow, B. has in conclusion:

To the gret prelate, the heyghest so confessor,
The gret mayster of the gretest housse,
Cheff tresorere of the gret socoure,
Besschop, herle, and baroun plentivous,
Of highe wyttes lordes thre famous,
To examene thy doubled rendytee,
I offer the them to be gracious,
To myn excuse, farwelle, my own trete.

MSS. C. and D. conclude in the same words.

[2] The duchess of Gloucester performed her penance on the 13th of November 1441. The poem here printed is preserved in a MS. of the latter half of the fifteenth century, in the Library of Balliol College, Oxford, No. 354, fol. 169, v°, written by a citizen of London named Richard Hill, but the poem itself appears to have been composed at the time of the event to which it refers.

" My sofferen lorde so to forsake,
" Yt was a dulfulle destenye.
" Alas! for to sorow how shuld I slake;
" Alle women may be ware by me.

" I was so high upon my whele,
" Myne owne estate I cowld not knpw,
" Therfor the gospelle seythe fulle welle,
" Who wille be high, he shalle be low.
" The whele of fortune, who may it trow,
" Alle ys but veyn and vanyté;
" My flowris off joy be alle down blow;
" Alle women may be ware by me

" In worldly joy and worthynes
" I was besette on every side;
" Of Glowcestere I was duches,
" Amonge alle women magnyfyed.
" As Lucyfer felle down for pryde,
" I felle ffrom alle felycyté;
" I hade no grace my self to gyde;
" Alle women may be ware by me.

" Alas! what was myne adventure,
" So sodenly down for to falle,
" That hade alle London at my cure,
" To crok and knele, whan I wold calle?
" Now, fader of hevyn celestyalle,
" Of my complaynt have pyté.
" Now am I made sympulest of alle;
" Alle women may be ware by me.

" Before the counselle of this londe,
" At Westmynster, upon a day,
" Ffulle rewfully ther dide I stonde;
" A worde for me durst no man say.

" Owre soverayn lorde withowt delay
" Was there he myght both here and see
" And to his grace he toke me ay.
" Alle women may be ware by me.

" Hys grace to me was evermore gayne,
" Thowgh I had done so gret offence;
" The lawe wolde I hade bene slayn,
" And sum men dyde there delygence.
" That worthy prynce of high prudence
" Of my sorow hade gret petye.
" Honour to hym, with reverence!
" Alle women may be ware by me.

" I come before the spiritualité;
" Two cardynals, and byshoppis fyve,
" And oder men of gret degré,
" Examened me of alle my lyffe.
" And openly I dyde me shryffe
" Of alle thyng that they asked me.
" Than was I putt in penaunce belyffe;
" Alle women may be ware by me.

" Thorow London in many a strete,
" Of them that were most pryncypalle,
" I went bare fote on my fette,
" That sum tyme was wonte to ride rialle.
" Fader of hevyn and lorde of alle,
" As thou wilt, so must yt be.
" The syne of pryde wille have a falle;
" Alle women may be ware by me.

" Ffarewelle, London, and have good day;
" At the I take my leve this tyde.
" Farewelle, Grenwych, for ever and ay;
" Ffarewelle, fayer places on Tommys syde;

" Ffarewelle, alle welth and the world so wide.
" I am asigned where I shalle be;
" Under mens kepyng I must abide.
" Alle women may be ware by me.

" Ffarewelle, damask and clothes of gold;
" Ffarewelle, velvet, and clothes in grayn;
" Ffarewelle, robes in many a folde;
" Ffarewelle, I se you never agayn.
" Ffarewelle, my lorde and sufferayn;
" Ffarewelle, that may no bettere be;
" Owr partyng ys grownd of felyng payn.
" Alle women may be ware by me.

" Ffarewelle, my mynstrels, and alle your songe,
" That ofte hath made me for to daunce.
" Ffarewelle; I wott I have done wronge;
" And I wyte my mysgovernaunce.
" Now I lyste nother to pryke nor praunce;
" My pryde ys put to poverté.
" Thus, both in Englond and in Fraunce,
" Alle women may be ware by me.

" Ffarewelle, alle joy and lustynesse;
" Alle worldly myrth I may forsake.
" I am so fulle of hevynesse,
" I wotte not to whom my mone to make.
" Unto hym I wille me take
" That for me dyed upon a tre.
" In prayer I wille both walke and wake;
" Alle women may be ware by me."

Here endith the lamytacion of the duches of Glowcettre.

On the Prospect of Peace.[1]

Mercy and Trouthe mette on an hih mounteyn,
Briht as the sonne with his beemys cleer,
Pees and Justicia walkyng on the pleyn,
And with foure sustryn, moost goodly of ther cheer,
List nat departe nor severe in no maneer,
Of oon accoord by vertuous encrees
Joyned in charité, pryncesses moost enteer,
Mercy and Trouthe, Rihtwisnesse and Pees.

Misericordia, ground and original
Of this processe, *Pax* is conclusioun;
Rihtwisnesse of vertues pryncipal,
The sword to modefye of executioun,
With a sceptre of discrecioun;
Then sustir *Equitas* wil put hir silf in prees,
Which with hir noble mediacioun
Sette alle vertues in quiete and in pees.

In this woord *Pax* ther be lettrys thre;
P set toforn for polityk prudence;
A for augmentum and moore auctorité;
X for Xpus, moost digne of reverence,
Which on a cros by mortal violence
With blood and watir wrot by a relees
Of our trespacys, and for ful confidence
With hym to regne in his eternal pees.

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[1] This poem, by the well-known monk of Bury, John Lydgate, appears to have been composed during the negotiations for peace between England and France in the latter part of the year 1443. It is printed from a nearly contemporary copy in MS. Harl. No. 2255, fol. 21, r°.

In inward pees ther is eek of the herte
Which callid is a pees of conscience;
A pees set outward, which that doth averte
To worldly tresours with to gret dilligence;
Glad pees in povert, groundid on pacience,
Professyd to which was Diogences,
Which gruchyd nevir for noon indigence,
Such as God sent, content in werre and pees.

Ther is also a pees contemplatif,
Of parfiht men in ther professioun;
As some that leede a solitary lif,
In fastyng, prayng, and devout orisoun;
Visite the poore, and of compassioun,
Nakyd and needy, and hungry socourlees,
And poore in spirit, which shal have ther guerdoun,
With Crist to regne in his eternal pees.

Pees is a princesse, doubtir to Charité,
Kepyng in reste cités and roial touns,
Folk that be froward, set in tranquyllité,
Monarchies and famous regiouns;
Pees preservyth them from divisiouns;
As with the philisophre callid Socrates,
Among alle vertues makith a discripcioun,
He moost comendith this verth callid pees.

Pees is a vertu pacient and tretable,
Set in quyet discoord of neihboures,
Froward cheerys, pees makith amyable
Of thorny roseers pees gadrith out the floures,
Makith the sword to rust of conquerours,
Provided by poetys nat slouh nor reklees,
And mediacioun of wise pubassitours,
The spere maad blont, bioulit in love and pees.

And who that list plenté of pees possede,
Live in quyete fro slaundre and diffame,
Our Lord Jhesus he muste love and drede,
Which shal preserve hym fro worldly trouble and shame.
This woord Jhesus in Nazareth took his name,
Brouht by an angil, which put hym silf in prees;
Whan Gabriel cam, the gospeleer seith the same,
Brouht gladdest tydynges that evir was of pees.

And in rejoisshyng of this glad tydyng,
Angelis song devoutly in the ayr
Gloria in excelsis, at comyng of this kyng;
And thre kynges havyng ther repayr,
With a sterre that shoon so briht and fayr,
Brouht hem to Bedleem, a place that they cheos,
Of ther viage brouht out of despayr,
Where poorly loggyd they fond the kyng of pees.

Briht was the sterre ovir the dongoun moost,
Wher the hevenly queen lay poorly in jesyne,
With the seven doulitren of the Hooly Goost
On hire awaytyng, moodir and virgine;
Tefore whos face lowly they did enclyne,
Song *Loudes Deo* pastores doutlees,
Fyl down to ground, bowyd bak and chyne,
And of ther song the refreit was of pees.

Of this seven doulitren of the Hooly Goost,
Caritas in love buente briht as levene,
And for bicause that she lovyd moost,
Hir contemplacioun rauht up to the heyene.
The next sustir in ordre, as I can nevene,
Was Pacience, which put hir silf in prees,
And moost was besy of alle the sustryn sevene,
Folk at discord to settyn hem in pees.

Gaudium in spiritu to rejoisshe every wrong,
Ffor Cristes comyng, among hir sustrys alle,
With a glad spirit this was hir newe song,
Gaudete in Domino, born in an oxis stalle;
A new myracle in Bedleem is now falle,
Kyng Davidis heir, mong prophetis perlees,
Shal at Jerusalem, in that royal halle,
As lord of lordys, callyd sovereyn lord of pees.

In thes seven sustryn was no divisioun;
Cheef of ther consayl was *Humilitas*;
Content with litel was Discrecioun;
Moost meke of alle was *Leta-paupertas*;
Alle of accord, cause that *Benignitas*
Set governaunce that noon was rekless.
Of cardinal vertues *Perfecta-societas*,
What evir they wrouhte, concludid upon pees.

Thes sustryn alle, pacient and pesible,
Lyk ther princesse moost fayr, moost gracious,
Callyd Maria, as ferre as was posible,
Ffulfilled with vertues she was moos plentevous,
Queen of hevene, lay in a symple hous,
A poore stable, mong beestys rowleless,
An oxe, an asse, no courseers costious,
In a streiht rakke lay ther the kyng of pees.

At Cristes birthe, as I reherse can,
This pees cam in, almoost at mork mydnyht,
Tymo of thempyre of Octovian,
Whan Cibile cast hir look upriht
Toward the Orient, and sauh an auhteer briht,
Callyd *ara cœli*, of beute peerlees;
Theron an empresse moost fayr of face and siht,
A child in hir armys callyd cheef lord of pees.

The pees of grace long while did endure,
  Tyme that iij. kynges wer conveyd with the sterre,
Tyl Herodes of froward aventure
  Geyn Jhesus by malys gan a werre,
  Sent his knyhtes both nyh and ferre,
Slouh innocentys of malys giltlees,
  In Bedleem boundys this tyraunt list so erre
Ageyn the prynce callyd soverayn lord of pees.

This Herodis tiraunt ful of pryde,
  In his malys surquedous and cruel,
Thoruh alle the citees that stood there besyde
  Slouh alle the childre, geyn Crist he was so fel
  Of compassioun moost pitously Rachel
Wepte, whan she sauh the knyhtes mercilees
  Slouh so hir childre born in Israel,
Ffor his sake, sovereyn lord of pees.

Then be figures dolorous of pité,
  Of fals tyrauntes vengable to do wraak;
Caym slouh Abel for his great equité;
  Attwen Ismael was stryff and Isaak;
  Esaw wolde have founde a laak,
Cause that Jacob was put out of prees;
  By Rebecca a while set abaak,
Atwen the brethre tyl ther wer maad a pees.

The Apocalips remembryd of seyn Johan,
  In his avisiouns the ewangelist took heede,
With a sharp swerd he sauh ridyng oon,
  Ffers and proudly, upon a poleyn steede,
  Of colour reed, his journé for to speede,
By his array vengable and reklees;
  Whos power was bothe in lengthe and breede,
To make werre, and distroye pees.

His sword wex bloody in the mortal werre
  Attween Grekys and them of Troye toun,
Gan spreede abrood bothe nyh and ferre,
  Thebes aforn brouht to destruccioun;
Kyng Alisaundre put Darye doun
In Perce and Meede, the crowne whan he chees;
  Vowes of the Pecok the Ffrenssh makith mencioun,
Pryde of the werrys, moost contrary unto pees.

Othir werrys that were of latter age,
  Afftir Jerusalem and gret Babiloon,
Werrys attween Roome and Cartage,
  Of thre Scipiouns, moost sovereyn of renoun;
Rekne Hanybal, the proude champioun,
Brak Rome wallys, furious and reklees,
  At the laste, stranglyd with poisoun,
Of marcial ire koude lyve nevir in pees.

At werrys dreedful vertuous pees is good;
  Striff is hatful, pees douhtir of plesaunce.
In Charlys tyme ther was shad gret blood;
  God sende us pees twen Ynglond and Ffraunce!
  Werre causith povert, pees causith habundaunce,
And attween bothen, for ther moor encrees,
  Withoute feynyng, fraude, or varyaunce,
Twen al cristene Crist Jhesu send us pees.

The ffifte Herry, preevyd a good knyht
  By his prowesse and noble chivalrye,
Sparyd nat to pursue his riht,
  His title of Ffraunce and of Normandye,
  Deyed in his conquest, and we shal alle dye.
God graunt us alle, now aftir his dissees,
  To sende us grace, attween ech partye,
By love and charyté to live in parfiht pees.

Criste cam with pees at his nativité,
  Pees songe of angelis for gladnesse in Bedleem;
And of his mercy to make us alle frc,
  He suffryd deth at Jerusaleem.
  The day wex dirk, the sonne lost his beem;
The theef to paradyse by mercy gan in prees;
  Gladdest kalendis to every cristen reem,
Ffor us to come to evirlastyng pees.

Explicit quod Lydgate.

On the Truce of 1444.[1]

Sum man goth stille of wysdam and resoun
  Aforn provided can kepe weel scilence;
Fful offte it noyeth, be recoord of Catoun,
  Large language concludyng off no sentence;
  Speche is but fooly and sugryd elloquence
Medlyd with language wheer men have noght to don;
  An old proverbe groundid on sapience,
Alle goo we stille, the cok hath lowe schoon.

To thynke mochyl, and seyn but smal,
  Yiff thow art feerffulle to ottre thy language,
It is no wisdam a man to seyn out al;
  Sum bird can synge merily in his cage.
  The stare wyl chatre and speke of long usage,
Though in his speche ther be no greet resoun;
  Kepe ay thy tounge fro surfeet and outrage;
Alle go we stille, the cok hath lowe shoon.

[1] This poem, also by Lydgate, appears to have been occasioned by the truce concluded by the earl of Suffolk in 1444, and the treaty of marriage between Henry VI. and Margaret of Anjou. It is printed, like the preceding, from MS. Harl. No. 2255, fol. 181, v°.

Unavised speke no thyng toforn,
  Nor of thy tounge be nat rekkelees,
Uttre nevir no darnel with good corn,
  Begyn no trouble whan men trete of pees;
  Scilence is good, and in every prees,
Which of debate yevith noon occasyoun;
  Pacience preysed of prudent Socratees;
Alle go we stille, the cok hath lowe shoon.

Comoun astrologeer, as folk expert weel knowe,
  To kepe the howrys and tydis of the nyght,
Sumtyme hih and sumtyme he syngith lowe;
  Dam Pertelot sit with hire brood doun right;
  The fox comyth neer withoute candellyght
To trete of pees, meňyng no tresoun,
  To avoyde as gile and ffraude he hath behight,
Alle go we stille, the cok hath lowe shoon.

Undir fals pees ther may be covert ffraude;
  Good cheer outward, with face of innocence;
Ffeyned flaterye, with language of greet laude;
  But what is wers than shynyng apparence,
  Whan it is provyd ffals in existence?
Al is dul shadwe whan Phebus is doun goon,
  Berkyng behynde, ffawnyng in presence;
Alle go we stille, the cok hath lowe shoon.

The royalle egle, with his ffetherys dunne,
  Of nature so hih takith his flyght,
No bakke of kynde may looke ageyn the sunne,
  Of ffrowardnesse yit wyl he fleen be nyght
  And quenche laumpys, though they brenne bright.
Thynges contrarye may nevir accorde in oon;
  A fowle glooweim in dirknesse shewith a lyght;
Alle go we stille, the cok hath lowe shoon.

The wourld is tournyd almoost up-so-doun,
  Undir prynces ther dar noon officeer,
Peyne of his lyff, do noon extorcioun;
  Ffreery$ dar nat fflatere, nor no pardowneer,
Where evir he walke al the longe yeer,
  Awtentyk his seelys everychoon,
  Up peyne of cursyng, I dar remembre heer,
Alle goo we stille, the cok hath lowe shoon,

Alle estatys of good condicioun
  Wille noon of them offende his conscience,
Bysshoppis, prelatys, of oon affeccioun
  Kepe ther chargys of entieer dilligence;
  Avaunsyd persownys holde residence
Among ther parysshens, make a departysoun
  Of ther tresours to folk in indigence;
Alle goo we stille, the cok hath lowe shoon.

I saugh a kevello, corpulent of stature,
  Lyk a materas redlyd was his coote,
And theron was sowyd this scripture,
  A good be stille is weel wourth a groote.
  It costith nat mekyl to behoote,
And paye ryght nought whan the feyre is doon
  Suych labourerys synge may be roote,
Alle goo we stille, the' cok hath lowe shoon.

Atwen a shipe with a large seyl
  And a cokboot that goth in Tempse lowe,
The toon hath oorys, to his greet avayl,
  To spede his passage whan the wynd doth blowe,
  A blynd maryneer, that doth no sterre knowe,
His loodmannage to conveye doun;
  A ffressh comparisoun, a goshawk and a crowe;
Allo go wo stille, tho cok hath lowe shoon.

The royalle egle, with his fetherys dunne,
  Whoos eyen been so cleer and so bryght
Off nature, he perce may the sunne;
  The owgly bakke wyl gladly fleen be nyght
  Dirk cressetys and laumpys that been lyght;
The egle aloffte, tho snayl goth lowe doun,
  Darythe in his shelle, yit may he se no sight;
Alle go we stille, the cok hath lowe shoon.

The peeok hath ffetherys bryght and sheno;
  The corneraunt wyl daryn in tho lake;
Popyngayes froo Paradys comyn al greno;
  Nyghtynggales al nyght syngen and wake,
  For longe absence and wantyng of his make;
Withoute avys make no comparysoun
  Atween a laumperey and a shynyng snake;
Alle go we stille, tho cok hath lowe shoon.

Where is also a thyng incomparable,
  By cleer repoort, in al the wourld thorugh right;
The ryche preferryd, the poore is ay cowpable,
  In ony quarelle gold hath ay moost myght.
  Evir in dirknesse the owle takith his flight;
It were a straunge unkouth devisyoun,
  Tersites wrechyd, Ector moost wourthy knyght;
Alle goo we stille, the cok hath lowe shoon.

Is noon so proude, pompous in dignyté,
  As he that is so sodeynly preferryd
To hih estant, and out of poverté;
  Draco volans on nyght his tayl is sterryd;
  Stellæ erraticæ nat flix, for they been erryd;
Stable in the eyr is noon impressioun;
  This would wer stable, yif it were nat worryd;
Alle goo we stille, tho cok hath lowe shoon.

Among estatys whoo hath moost quiete?
Hih lordshippes be vexid with batayllo;
Tylthe of ploughmen ther labour wyl nat lete;
Geyn Phebus uprist syngen wyl the quaylle;
The amerous larke of nature wyl not faylle
Ageyn Aurora synge with hire mery sown;
No laboureer wyl nat for his travaylle;
Alle goo we stille, the cok hath lowe shoon.

Foo unto hevys and enemy is the drane;
Men with a tabour may lyghtly cacche an hare;
Bosard with botirflyes makith beytis for a crane;
Brechelees beerys be betyn on the bare;
Houndys for favour wyl nat spare
To pynche his pylche with greet noyse and soun;
Clepith he merye that slombryth with greet care;
Alle goo we stille, the cok hath lowe shoon.

I sauh a krevys, with his klawes longe,
Pursewe a snayl, poore and impotent;
Hows of this snayl, the wallys wer nat stronge,
A slender shelle, the sydes al torent.
Whoo hath no goold, his tresour soone spent;
The snaylis castel but a sklendir coote;
Whoo seith trouthe, offte he shalle be shent;
A good be stille is offte weel wourth a groote.

Whoo hath noon hors on a staff may ryde;
Who hath no bed, may slepyn in his hood;
Whoo hath no dyneer, at leyser must abyde,
To staunche his hungir abyde upon his ffood.
A beggers appetight is alwey ffressh and good,
With voyde walet, whan al his stuff is doon,
Ffor fawte of vitaylle may knele afore the skood;
Alle goo we stille, the cok hath lowe shoon.

The ryche man sit stuffyd at his stable;
  The poore man start hungry at the gate,
Of remossaylles he wolde be partable;
  The awmeneer seyth he cam to late.
  Off poore men doolys is no sekir date,
Smal or ryght nought whan the feeste is doon.
  He may weel grucche and with his toungo prate;
Alle goo we stille, the cok hath lowe shoon.

A good be stille is weel wourth a grooto;
  Large language causith repentaunce;
The kevel wroot in his rydlyd coote,
  Out with al this marke in your remembraunce.
  Whoo cast his journé in Yngelond or in Ffraunce,
With gallyd hakeneys, whan men have moost to doon,
  A ffool presumptuous, to cacche hym acqueyntaunce;
Alle goo we stille, the cok hath lowe shoon.

Whoo that is hungry, and hath no thyng but boonys
  To staunche his apetyght, is a froward foode;
Among an hundryd oon chose out for the noonys
  To dygestioun repastys be nat goode.
  To chese suych vitaylles ther braynes wer to woode.
That lyoun is gredy that stranglith goos or capoun;
  Fox and ffulmard, togidre whan they stoode,
Sang, be stille, the cok hath lowe shoon.

Here al thyng and kepe thy pacience;
  Take no quarelle, thynk mekyl and sey nought;
A good be stille, with discreet seilence
  For a good grote may not wel be bought.
  Keep cloos thy tounge, men sey that free is thought,
A thyng seid oonys, outhir late or soon,
  Tyl it be loost, stoole thyng is nat sought;
Alle goo we stille, the cok hath lowe shoon.

Explicit quod Lydgate.

On the Popular Discontent at the Disasters in France.[1]

(Written about 1449.)

Bedforde.[2] Gloucetter.[3]
The Rote is ded, the Swanne is goone,
Excetter.[4]
The firy Cressett hath lost his lyght;
Therfore Inglond may make gret mone,
Were not the helpe of Godde almyght.
Roone.[5]
The castelle is wonne where care begowne,
Somerset.[6]
The Portecolys is leyde adowne;
Cardinalle.[7]
Iclosid we have oure welevette hatte,
That keveryd us from mony stormys browne.

---

[1] The various events alluded to in these curious verses, such as the deaths of the dukes of Gloucester and Exeter and of cardinal Beaufort, which occurred in 1447, and especially the loss of Rouen, which was surrendered to the French in that year, seem to fix their composition to the year following, or at latest to 1449. They are preserved in the Cotton. Rolls, ii. 23, in the British Museum. This was one of the songs which paved the way for the popularity of the house of York.

[2] John Plantagenet, duke of Bedford, third son of king Henry IV., and regent of France, had died in 1435.

[3] Humphrey Plantagenet, duke of Gloucester, fourth son of Henry IV., died under arrest at Bury St. Edmunds in 1446, and is believed to have been murdered.

[4] John Holland, duke of Exeter, who died on the 5th of August 1446.

[5] Rouen was surrendered to the French in 1447.

[6] Edmund Beaufort, earl of Somerset, under which title he was made regent of France on the recall of the duke of York in 1445, and created duke of Somerset on the 31st of March 1448. After the loss of Rouen and Caen, he was recalled from his command in France, and had to encounter great unpopularity, both for his mismanagement in France, and because he was one of the court favourites.

[7] Cardinal Beaufort died on the 11th of April 1447.

Northfolke.[1]
The White Lioun is leyde to slepe,
Southfolk.
Thorou3 the envy of the Ape clogge;
And he is bownden that oure dore shuld kepe,
That is Talbott oure goode dogge.[2]
Fawkenberge.[3]
The Fisshere hathe lost his hangulhooke;
Gete theym agayne whon it wolle be.
Wylloby.[4]
Oure Mylle-saylle wille not abowte,
Hit hath so longe goone emptye.
Warwik.[5]
The Bere is bound that was so wild,
Ffor he hath lost his ragged staffe.
Bokyngham.[6]
The Carte nathe is spokeles,
For the counseille that he gaffe.
Danyelle.[7]
The Lily is both faire and grene;
Norreys.[8]
The Coundite rennyth not, as I wene.

---

[1] John de Mowbray, duke of Norfolk. The reference is probably to the duke who died in 1432, and who had distinguished himself in the French wars under Henry V.

[2] The great warrior John Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, who had been recalled from active service in France.

[3] William Neville lord Fauconberg, one of the distinguished heroes of the French wars.

[4] Robert lord Willoughby, another of the heroes of the French wars.

[5] Richard Neville, created earl of Warwick on the 4th of May 1442. He espoused the party of the duke of York, and was taken and beheaded at the battle of Wakefield. He was the father of the king-maker.

[6] Humphrey de Stafford, created duke of Buckingham on the 14th of September 1444. He was killed in the battle of Northampton, in 1460.

[7] Thomas Daniel, "armiger," or esquier, was one of the unpopular courtiers, who appears in this same Cottonian Roll, ii. 23, as one of those indicted at Rochester on the feast of the Assumption of the Virgin, 29th Hen. VI. (August 15, 1451).

[8] John Norris, one of the officers of the household to Henry VI.

Trevilian.[1]
The Cornysshe Chowgh offt with his trayne
Rex.
Hath made oure Egulle blyndo.
Arundelle.[2]
The White Harde is put out of mynde,
Because he wolle not to hem consent;
Therfore the commyns saith is both trew and kynde
Bothe in Southesex and in Kent.
Bowser.[3]
The Water-Bowge and the Wyne-Botelle,
Prior of Saint Johanis.
With the Vetturlockes cheyne bene fast.
Excettur.
The Whete-yere wolle theym susteyne
As longe as he may endure and last.
Devynshire.[4]
The Boore is farre into the west,
That shold us helpe with shilde and spere;
Yorke.[5]
The Fawkoun fleyth, and hath no rest,
Tille he witte whore to bigge his nest.

[1] Daniel Trevilian, included in the articles against the duke of Suffolk. A John Trevylian is enumerated among the persons indicted at Rochester in 1451, as "nuper de "London, armiger."

[2] William Fitz-Alan, earl of Arundel.

[3] Henry lord Bourchier, whose arms were argent, a cross ingrailed gules, between four water-bougets, sable. The wine-bottle may perhaps refer to James Butler, created earl of Wiltshire in 1449.

[4] Thomas Courtenay, earl of Devon, one of the heroes of the French wars, and a staunch supporter of the Lancastrian cause.

[5] The duke of York had at this time retired to his government in Ireland.

On the Arrest of the Duke of Suffolk.[1]

Now is the Fox[2] drevin to hole; hoo to hym, hoo! hoo!
Ffor and he crepe out, he wille yow alle undo.
Now ye han founde parfite, love welle your game;
For and ye renne countre themne be ye to blame.
Sum of yow holdith with the Fox, and rennythe hare;
But he that tiede Talbot oure doge, evylle mot he fare!
Ffor now we mys the black doge withe the wide mouthe;
Ffor he wolde have ronnen welle at the Fox of the southe.
And alle gooth bacwarde, and Donne is in the myre;
As they han deservede, so pay they ther hire.
Now is tyme of Lent, the Fox is in the Towre;
Therfore sende hym Salesbury to be his confessoure.[3]
Many mo ther bene, and we kowde hem knowe;
But wonne most begynne the daunce, and alle come arowe.
Loke that your hunte blowe welle thy chase;
But he do welle is part, I beshrew is face!
This Fox at Bury slowe oure grete gandere;[4]
Therfore at Tyborne mony monne one hym wondere.
Jack Napys, with his clogge,
Hath tiede Talbot oure gentille dogge.

---

[1] From the Cotton. Rolls, ii. 23.

[2] The duke of Suffolk, who was accused, among other crimes, of having promoted the murder of the duke of Gloucester.

[3] Richard Neville, earl of Salisbury, was one of the great political opponents of the duke of Suffolk.

[4] The duke of Gloucester, who was accused and arrested when attending the parliament held at Bury St. Edmunds in 1446.

Wherfore Beamownt,[1] that gentille rache,
Hath brought Jack Napis in an eville cache.
Be ware, al menne, of that blame,
And namly ye of greto fame,
Spiritualle and temperalle, be ware of this,
Or els hit wille not be welle, iwis.
Gave save the kynge, and God forbede
That he suche apes any mo fede.
And of the perille that may befalle
Be ware, dukes, erles, and barons alle.

Gens erit australis rector regni generalis,
Et regit injuste, periet quoque postea juste.

He is wise that is wode, he is riche that hase no goode;
He is blynde that may se, he is riche that shalle never ithe;
He is fledde that is not ferde, and he abideth that maketh alle your berdes.

On Bishop Boothe.[2]

Boothe, be ware, bisshoppe[3] thoughe thou be,
Sithe that Symoun hym selff set the in thy sete,
Petur his pagent pleyed not with the;
Caro and *Sanguis* did pryvely plete;
Thy goode and thy catelle made the to mete
With the churche of Chester, whiche crieth, alas!
That to suche a mafflarde marryede she was.

---

[1] John lord Beaumont, lord constable of England, who in that capacity arrested the duke of Suffolk.

[2] From the Cotton. Rolls, ii. 23. It was evidently written in the middle of the excitement against the duke of Suffolk.

[3] William Boothe, made bishop of Coventry and Lichfield in 1447, was promoted to the archbishopric of York in 1453. This see was, during several centuries after the Norman conquest, called popularly the bishopric of Chester.

Prese not to practise on the priveté
  Of princes powere, but pluk at the ploughe;
Clayme thou a Carter crafty to be;
  Medille the no ferthere, for that is ynoughe.
  Thow hast getyne gret goode, thou wost welle how.
By symoni and usure bilde is thy bothe;
Alle the worlde wote welle this sawys be sothe.

The psalmus of the sawter, or Salamonis boke,
  Austyne or Ambrose, or othere tretyes ther are,
But litelle on the lessons lust the to loke.
  Be not to bolde, but be thou wel ware.
  The wit of this worlde wantonly ware,
And likenyde to lewdenes lorne in my lore;
Shame sewith sone, whenne syn gooth byfore.

Sum servyne silver, and sorow they doone seche;
  Synne is ther soveraigne, so what I say.
Loke on this lessoun, and lerne of a leche,
  Thy soule for to save with *miserere mei*.
  The printe of a palsy wisith the thy way,
And shewith by thy semblant to sey the ther sothe,
That tyme is to course hens, and breke up the bothe.

Cast in thy conciens clerkly to knowe,
  Publique and privathe is alle one;
Tullius hit tellith fulle trewly y trowe,
  The regentes of Rome mony day gone,
  In honours and havour lile hem allone,
And of the wide worlde worthiest they were,
To the commyne thynge in charité they kere.

But whenne they begane godes to encrese,
  To prevat persons sorow and shame,
Dishonoure, dispite, rebuke dide in prese,
  With alle maner myscheff disserityng ther fame;
  Lost alle ther lose of ther nobille name,
Disperpiled theyme in warde, and put theyme to declyne;
Remembre now how Rome felle to a ruyne.

Justice ne was egaly execute,
Fredome was forfarene for lak of liberté,
Right was repraysede and founde for no repute,
They were punysshede and tokyne in gré.
Rigour of lawe hit wolle no better be;
Dethe thoghe hit were, they myȝt no better escape,
But the grete and the goldede they made but a jape,

And lepe over lawe at ther owne lust;
Ffavour and favelle, foulle faille they ferys,
Broghte forthe avarice fast by the fiste.
* * * * *
These were the rasours and the sharpe sheres,
These were the same that Rome overthrewe;
Wittenes of writyng alle this is trewe.

These made ther enmyes thenne to summyse,
And put fro ther powere with shenshippe and shame;
Cronicols thise causis craftly canne devise,
And tellene how trechery brought in the blame.
Hit is not in Englonde now the selff same;
Discusse it with diligens, and telle iff hit be,
This pagent is pringnant, sir Pilat, pardé.

And ye in youre olde age put in pres,
And pecus the parlious youre parfettes to play,
And pray for the party to make his pees,
That alle the worlde crieth oute on, sotly to say.
The voyse of the pepille is clepede *vox Dei;*
It is agayns grace and a gret griff
To maynetayne a mater of suche myscheffe.

Vox oppressorum one the prince playnyth,
And one the priste eke, be warre yow off wreche;
Juggement and justice tho that theym waynyth,
Serche out and se welle, sorow they seche.
The juge that is unjuste is a shrewede leche;
Tent to the tale of Treviliane,
And ffynde by his falsed what worshippe he wan.

Be ware of this warnyng, and wayte welle aboute,
I counselle the corse not, ne blame not the bille,

* * * * *

Yt is mychc lesse harme to bylle thanne to kylle.
Be no more blynde, but weynyth youre wille,
To set yow in sewrté holde up youre honde,
God save the kyng, his lawe, and his londe.

Men seyne that youre secte is opynly knowyne and asspiede,
Concludede in conciens wonne of the tweyne,
That ye be ychone with tresoun aliede,
Or els hit is lucre that maketh you to leyne.
Pité for to here the people complayne,
And riken up the ragmanne of the hole rowte,
That servyth silvyre and levyth the law oute.

So alle the set that for the swayne sewe,
Whether mony or mede make yow to mewe,
Try out the trouthe, myght he be trewe,
That covetise hath causede this grot myscheff.
By rapyne of richesse put this in prefe;
Muse one this mater, and be no more blynde;
Be faithcffulle and feynte not fawtus to fynde.

God kepe oure kyng ay, and gide hym by grace,
Save hym fro Southefolkes, and fromc his foois alle;
The Pole is so parlyus men for to passe,
That fewe can ascape hit of the banck rialle.
But set under suger he shewithe hem galle;
Witnes of Humfrey, Henry, and Johan,[1]
Whiche late were one lyve, and now be they goon.
And mony other that nedith not to telle,
Sum beno ago, and summe abidene here;
Hit is a shrewde polo, poundo, or a welle,

[1] Humphrey Plantagenet, duke of Gloucester; Henry Beaufort, cardinal of Winchester; and John duke of Bedford.

That drownythe the dowghty, and bryngethe hem abeere.
And alle is for the lordane lovithe no pere.
Practyse his preff of alle that I sey,
God kepe oure kyng, and hym to convey.

Bridelle yow, bysshoppe, and be not to bolde,
And biddeth yowre beawperes se to the same;
Cast awey covetyse now be ye bolde,
This is alle ernest that ye calle game.
The beelesire ye be, the more is youne blame.
Trowthe tellithe the tale, and wille it not hide;
Your laboure for lucre is playnly aspiede.
God, for his mercy alle this reme gyde.

A Warning to King Henry.[1]

Ye that have the kyng to demene,
And ffraunchcses gif theyme ageyne,
Or els I rede ye fle;
Ffor ye have made the kyng so pore,
That now he beggeth fro dore to dore;
Alas, hit shuld so be.

Tome of Say[2] and Danielle bothe,
To begyn be not to lothe;
Then shalle ye have no shame.
Who wille not, he shalle not chese,
And his life he shalle lese,
No resoun wille us blame.

---

[1] From the Cotton. Charters, ii. 23.

[2] James Fienes, lord Saye and Sele, lord treasurer, was one of the unpopular statesmen of the day, and having been, as a matter of policy, committed to the Tower, he was dragged thence by the mob in Jack Cade's rebellion, and was beheaded by them on the 4th of July 1451. This song was written apparently before this nobleman was thrown into the Tower.

Trowthe and pore men ben appressede,
And myscheff is nothyng redressede;
The kyng knowith not alle.
Thorowout alle Englonde,
On tho that holdene the fals bonde
Vengeaunce wille cry and calle.

The traytours wone they bone so sly,
That no mane can hem aspy;
We cane do theme no griffe.
We swere by hym that hairwede helle
They shalle no lenger in eresy dwelle,
Ne in ther fals beleve.

So pore a kyng was never seene,
Nor richere lordes alle bydene;
The communes may no more.
The lorde Say biddeth holde hem downe,
That worthy dastarde of renowne,
He techithe a fals loore.

Suffolk Normandy hath swolde,
To gete hyt agayne he is bolde,
How acordeth these to in one;
And he wenythe, withouten drede,
To make the kyng to avowe his dede,
And calle hit no tresoun.

We trow the kyng be to leere,
To selle bothe menne and lond in feere;
Hit is agayne resoun.
But yef the commyns of Englonde
Helpe the kynge in his fonde,
Suffolk wolle bere the crowne.

Be ware, kynge Henré, how thou doos;
Let no lenger thy traitours go loos;
They wille never be trewe.
The traytours are sworne alle togedere
To holde fast as they were brother;
Let hem drynk as they hanne browe.

The chaunselere that last was hath staffes take,
Blanke charters, to done us wrake,
No nombre of them, hit is ferde.
He wolle not suffre the clerkes preche;
Trowthe in no wise he wille not teche;
He is the devels sheparde.

This bille is trewe; who wille say nay,
In Smythfelde synge he a day,
And the helpe of the rode;
That traitours shalle provide;
More resoun canne not be mevide;
Ther shalle hit be made goode.

O rex, si rex es, rege te, vel eris sine re rex;
Nomen habes sine re, nisi te recte regas.

Verses against the Duke of Suffolk.[1]

Ffor feer or for favour of ony fals mane,
Loose not the love of alle the commynalté;
Be ware and sey, by seint Juliane,
Duke, jwge, baroun, archebisshope and he be,
He wolle repent it within this monthes thre.
Let ffolke accused excuse theym selff, and they cane;
Reseyve no goode, let soche bribry be;
Support not theyme this wo bygane,
And let theym suche clothis as they spane,
And take from theym ther wages and ther fee,
or, by God and seint Anne!
Som must go hens, hit may none othere weys be,
And els is lost alle this lond and we;
Hong up suche menne to oure soverayne lorde,
That ever counselde hym with fals men to be acorde.

Anno milleno Domini centumque quaterno
L. simplex pleno caveat omnis homo.

[1] From the Cottonian Rolls, ii. 23

On the Death of the Duke of Suffolk.[1]

May 3, 1450.

In the monethe of May, when gresse groweth grene,
  Flagrant in her floures, with swete savour,
Jac Napes wolde one the see a maryner to ben,
  With his cloge and his cheyn, to seke more tresour.
  Suyche a payn prikkede hym, he asked a confessour.
Nicolas[2] said, "I am redi thi confessour to be;"
  He was holden so that he ne passede that hour.
For Jac Napes soule *Placebo* and *Dirige*.

Who shalle execute his exequies with a solempnité?
  Bisshopes and lordes, as grete reson is;
Monkes, chanons, prestes, and other clergie,
  Pray for this dukes soule that it might come to blis;
  And let never suyche another come after this;
His interfectours blessed might thei be,
  And graunte them for ther dede to regne with angelis;
And for Jac Nape soule *Placebo* and *Dirige*.

"*Placebo*," begynnethe the bisshop of Herforde.[3]
  "*Dilexi*, for myn avaunceement," saithe the bisshop of Chestre.[4]
"*Heu mei*," saith Salisbury,[5] "this gothe to ferre forthe."
  "*Ad Dominum cum tribulaver*," ssaith the abbot of Glouccstre.[6]

---

[1] From MS. Cotton. Vespas. B. xvi. fol. 1, v°.

[2] Nicholas was the name of the ship which arrested the vessel on which the duke of Suffolk was embarked.

[3] Reginald Baker, who had been promoted to this see from the abbacy of Glouccster in 1450.

[4] Boothe, bishop of Coventry and Litchfield. See the note, p. 225.

[5] Richard Beauchamp was elected bishop of Salisbury in 1450.

[6] Reginald, abbot of St. Peter's in Glouccster; he was one of the unpopular courtiers indicted at Rochester in 1451, according to the Cottonian Roll.

"*Dominus custodit,*" saith the abbot of Rouchestre.
"*Levavi oculos,*" saith frere Stanbury, "*volavi.*"
"*Si iniquitates,*" saith the bisshop of Worcetre;[1]
"For Jac Nape soule *de profundis clamavi.*"

"*Opera manuum tuarum,*" seith the cardynal wisely,[2]
That brought forthe *confitebor*, for alle this Napes reson.
"*Audivi vocem,*" songe Allemightty God on hye;
And therfore syng we "*Magnificat anima mea "Dominum.*"
Unto this dirige most we gon and come
This pascalle tyme, to say veryli
Thre psalmes and thre lessouns, that alle is and somme,
For Jac Nape soule, *Placebo* and *Dirige.*

Executors of this office *Dirige* for to synge,
Shalle begyn the bisshop of synt Asse;[3]
"*Verba mea auribus,*" saith abbot of Redynge;
"Alle your joye and hope is come to alasse."
"*Committere, Domine,* yet graunte us grace,"
Saith abbot of synt Albans ful sorily.
The abbot of the Toure hille, with his fat face,
Quaketh and tremuleth for "*Domine, ne in furore.*"

Maister Water Liard[4] shal synge "*Ne quando.*"
The abbot of Westmynstre, "*Domine Deus meus, in "te speravi;*

---

[1] John Carpenter, bishop of Worcester, who was also a great supporter of the high church party, and therefore of the court.

[2] John Kemp, archbishop of York, had been made a cardinal at the close of the year 1439.

[3] Thomas, bishop of St. Asaph, a prelate who appears to have gained no degree of celebrity.

[4] Walter Liard (in the ordinary lists of bishops he is called Hart and Lyhart) was bishop of Norwich from 1445 to 1472. This name also occurs in the list of unpopular courtiers indicted at Rochester.

"*Requiem æternam* graunte them alle to come to."
Therto a pater-noster saith the bisshop of synt Davy[1]
For thes soules that wise were and mighty,
Suffolk, Moleyns, and Roos, thes thre;[2]
And in especial for Jac Napes, that ever was wyly,
For his soule *Placebo* and *Dirige.*

Rise up, Say, rede *parce in Domine,*
"*Nihil enim sunt dies mei,*" thou shalt synge.
The bisshop of Carlyle[3] sing "*Credo*" ful sore.
To suyche fals traitours come foule endynge!
The baron of Dudley with grete mornynge,
Redethe, "*Tedet animam meam vitæ meæ.*"
Who but Danyel *qui Lasarum* shal syng?
For Jac Nape soule *Placebo* and *Dirige,*

John Say[4] redethe, "*Manus tuæ fecerunt me.*"
"*Libera me,*" syngethe Trevilian, "warre the rere,
That thei do no more so, *requiescant in pace.*"
Thus prayes alle Englond ferre and nerre.
Where is Somerset? whi aperes he not here,
To synge "*Dies iræ et miseriæ?*"
God graunte Englond alle in fere
For thes traitours to syng *Placebo* and *Dirige.*

Meny mo ther be behynde, the sothe for to telle,
That shal messes oppon thes do synge.
I pray som man do ryngе the belle,
That these forsaiden may come to the saeryngе;
And that in brief tyme, without more tariengе,
That this messe may be ended in suyche degré;
And that alle Englond joyfullе may syngе
The commendacioun with *Placebo* and *Dirige.*

[1] John Delamere was consecrated bishop of St. David's in 1417.

[2] Lord Hungerford had at this time succeeded, by right of his wife, to the title of lord Molines. He was a partizan of the house of Lancaster. Thomas Lord Ros was also a stanch partizan of the party of Henry VI.

[3] Nicholas Close.

[4] In the Rochester list, John Say is described as "esquire, of London."

On the Corruptions of the Times.[1]

Ffulfyllyd ys the profe[s]y for ay
That Merlyn sayd, and many on mo,
Wysdam ys wel ny away,
No man may knowe hys f[r]end fro foo.
Now gyllorys don gode men gye;
Ryȝt gos redles alle behynde;
Truthe ys turnyd to se trechery;
Ffor now the bysom ledys the blynde.

Now glosery̆s fulle gayly they go;
Pore men be perus of this land;
Sertes sum tyme hyt was not so,
But sekyr alle this ys synnes sonde.
Now maynte[ne]rys be made justys,
And lewde men rewle the lawe of kynde;
Nobulle men be holdyn wyse,
Ffor now the bysom ledys the blynde.

Truthe is set at lytyl prys;
Worschyp fro us longe hath be slawe;
Robberys now rewle ryȝtwysenesse,
And wynnerys with her sothe sawe;
Synne sothfastnesse has slawe;
Myrth ys now out of mannys mynde;
The drede of God ys al todrawe;
Ffor now the bysom ledys the b[l]ynde.

---

[1] From MS. Harl 5396, fol 295, r°. Unfortunately two lines are lost by the close cutting of the bottom of the leaf. An entry on the last page of the manuscript, in the same handwriting as this poem, gives the date of St. Bartholomew's day, in the thirty-fourth year of the reign of Henry VI., *i.e.*, August 24, 1456.

Now brocage ys made offycerys;
And baratur ys made bayly;
Knyȝtus be made custemerys,
* * * *
Flatererys be made kyngus perys;
Lordys be led allo out of kynde;
Pore men ben knyȝtus ferys;
Ffor now the bysom ledys the blynde.

The constery ys combryd with coveytyse,
Ffor trouth his sonkyn undur the grounde;
W[ith] offycyal nor den no favour ther ys,
But if sir symony shewe them sylver rounde.
Ther among sp[irit]ualté it ys foundo,
Ffor peté ys clene out of ther mynde.
Lord, whan thy wylle is, al ys confounde;
Ffor now the bysom ledys the blynde.

He ys lovyd that wele can lye;
And thevys tru men honge;
To God I rede that we cry,
That this lyfe last not longe.
This werld is turnyd up-so-doune among;
For frerys ar confessourys, ageyn a kynde,
To the chefe ladyes of this londe;
Therfor the bysom ledys the blynde.

Lordys the lawe they lere,
* * * *
Japerys syt lordys ful nere;
Now hath the devylle allo hys devys;
Now growyth the grot flour-de-lys;
Wymmonis wyttes are fulle of wynd;
Now ledres ladyn the leward at her delres;
For caus the bysom ledys [the] blynde.

Now prelates don pardon selle,
  And holy chyrche ys chaffare,
Holynes comyth out of helle,
  Ffor absoluciouns waxyn ware.
Gabberys gloson eny whare,
  And gode feyth comys alle byhynde;
Ho shalle be levyd the sothe wylle spare?
  Ffor now the bysom ledys the blynde.

The grete wylle the sothe spare,
  The comonys love not the grete;
Therfor every man may care,
  Lest the wade growe over the whete.
Take hede how synne hath chastysyd Frauns,
  Whan he was in hys fayrest kynde;
How that Flaundrys hath myschannys;
  Ffor cause the bysom ledyth the blynde.

Therfor every lord odur avauns,
  And styfly stond yn ych a stoure;
Among 3ou make no dystaunce,
  But, lordys, buskys 3ou out of boure.
Ffor to hold up this londus honour,
  With strenkyth our enmys for to bynde,
That we may wynne the hevynly tour;
  Ffor here the bysom ledys the blynde.

Explicit.

On the Corruptions of the Times.[1]

How myschaunce regnythe in Ingeland.

Now God, that syttyst an hyghe in trone,
  Help thy peple in here greet nede,
That trowthe and resoun regne may sone,
  For thanne schal they leve owt of drede.
  In that wyse conscience schal hem lede,
Hem to brynge onto good governaunce;
  That yt may sone be doon in dede;
Of alle oure synnys, God, make a delyveraunce.

And men woldo, and take good hede,
  This lond ys now full of inyquyté;
And al that causyth tho maydo Mede,
  The wyche feer bannyd ys from felycyté.
  There that sche regnyth ther ys no prosperyté,
To holy cherche sche doth greet grevaunce;
  For of here apeyryd ys the hyghe dygnyté,
Of al oure synnys, God, make a delyveraunce.

Mede makyth fele men for to weepe,
  Wyth here frendys sche wol abyde,
The wyche cunne here goodys wysely kepe,
  Be manye false weyes here wyttys gyde.
  Untrowthe regnyth in many a syde,
For agayn here ys a greet distaunce,
  That knowen ys ful feer and wyde;
Of al oure synnys, Good, make a delyveraunce.

---

[1] From a MS. in the University Library, Cambridge, Ff. 1. 6, fol. 134, v°, in a handwriting of the reign of Henry VI.

Meed and falscheed assocyed are;
  Trowthe bannyd ys, the blynde may not se;
Manye a man they make fulle bare,
  A strange compleynt ther ys of every degré.
  The way ys now past of tranquyllyté,
The wyche causyth a full greet varyaunce;
  Amange the comunys ther ys no game nor gle;
Of al oure synnys, God, make a delyveraunce.

And men myghte wel the hyghe wey fynde
  Of trowthe and resoune, and where they dwelle;
Meede wyth here help stand scholde behynde,
  In dyspyte of alle the develys of helle.
  Untrowthe wyt many oon scholde no more melle;
Falsehed and sche byn bothe of oon substaunce,
  Alle be they not worth an oyster-schelle;
Of alle oure synnys, God, make a delyveraunce.

Murdre medelythe ful ofte, as men say;
  Usure and rapyne stefly dothe stande,
Here abydynge ys wythe her that goon ful gay;
  For whanne they wele they have hem in hande.
  And thus they regne throughe thys lande;
Ful manye they brynge to myschaunce.
  Wyse men, beholden, be wayr al afore hande;
Of alle oure synnys, God, make a delyveraunce.

Idylnesse and thefte 3yt have they no care,
  Thoughe that thys worlde thus endure ever more;
Oftyn tymes here wyde purse is full bare,
  And other whyles here schoon be al totore;
  The mete that thei ete ys alle forlore;
On the galwys they scholde anhaunse;
  They greve the comunys, and that ryghte sore;
Of alle oure synnys, God, make a delyveraunce.

Slowthe and neclygence ful sore empeche
  Justise, that scholde regne contenually;
Coveytyse causyth that, for he dothe teche
  Of all astatis seme fulle besýly.
  The prosperité of thys land thus they gy
Forthewyth togedere al to the daunce;
  A wronge way to werke alle they be redy;
Of alle oure synnys, God, make a delyveraunce.

Wyght ys blak, as many men seye,
  And blak ys wyght, but summe men sey nay;
Auctoryteys for hem they toleye;
  Large conscience causyth they croked way.
  In thys reame they make a foul aray.
Whanne the dyse renne, ther lakkythe a chaunce;
  Clene conscien bakward goth alway;
Of al oure synnys, God, make a delyveraunce.

Myscheef mengid ys, and that in every syde;
  Dyscord medelythe ful fast amonge;
The gatis of glaterye standen up wyde,
  Hem semythe that al ys ryghte and no wronge.
  Thus endurid they have al to longe;
Crosse and pyle standen in balaunce;
  Trowthe and resoun be no thynge stronge;
Of alle oure synnys, God, make a delyveraunce.

Rychesse renewyd causithe the perdicioun
  Of trowthe, that scholde stande in prosperyté;
Between here and hope ys mayd a devisioun,
  And that ys al for lak of charyté;
  Wherfore ther regnethe no tranquillyté;
Thys mateer causithe the fool ignoraunce,
  That the peple may not in ese be;
Of alle oure synnys, God, make a delyveraunce.

He that hatho tho word at hys owne wylle,
  Helthe, rychesse, and contynual tranquillyté,
Ech mannys hestes ys glad to fulfylle,
  He thenkyth upon noon deversité.
  Ful unsewyr ätte the laste may he be
To sette hys herte in swycho abundaunce;
  Dampnacioun yt schewythe, as thenkythe me;
Of allé oure sennys, God, make a delyveraunce.

Wyghte is wyghte, 3yf yt leyd to blake;
  And soote ys swettere aftur bytternesse;
And falsenèsse ys evere drevene abake,
  Where tho throughte ys rootyd wytheowte dubbilnesse.
  Wytheowte preef may not be sykernesse;
Wherfore trowthe and resoun scholde hem avaunce,
  For to take to hem stedefastnesse.
Of alle oure synnys, God, make a delyveraunce.

That unhappy insacyable simonia
  Now regnethe in Ingeland, and that sore;
He sparithe not for closynge of allelurya;
  Woo worthe the tyme that evere was he bore!
  Unavysyd clerk soone may be forlore
Unto that theef to donne obeysaunce;
  For as afore God they ben forswore;
Of alle oure synnys, God, make a delyveraunce.

Hatrede and praptyk of fals auctorité
  Al good consciencie they putten owte;
Of trowthe and resoun lettynge the prosperyté;
  Wherfore concord ys put feer abowte.
  And 3yf men wolde stonden owt of dowte
Drede of God, with a good atemperaunce
  From these synnys scholde make hem schowte,
And put hem alle to a pleyne delyveraunce.

Vengeaunce and wrathe in an hastyvyté,
  Wyth an unstedefast speryte of indyscrecioun,
Been the cause that men may not yn ese be;
  For here consentynge drawith to confusioun.
  Al londys putten thys land in derisioun.
For thys usyd ys oonly of acustomaunce,
  3yf that day may come of a good conclusioun,
Of alle oure synnys to make a delyveraunce.

Men of holy cheiche, that been ful wyse,
  Scholde meekly preye with good devosioun,
That trowthe and resoun myghte sone aryse,
  For to bryng away thys false tribulacioun;
  And that the heyere heed with good medytacioun
May the pore peple swych wyse avaunce,
  In the drede of God to sette here occupacyoun,
Of al here synnys to make a delyveraunce.

And men wolden weel hem self knowe,
  Grace for to aske in here greet nede,
To God here hertis bowyng ful lowe,
  Almesse doynge weel to taken heede,
  Pylgrimage goyng to gete hem mede,
Prayeng and fastynge with good remembraunce,
  Body and sowle so they may hem lede
Into blysse of eternalle purvyaunce.

Now, God, that art ful of al pleteousnesse,
  Of al vertuys grace and charyté,
Putte from us al thys unsekyrnesse,
  That we stande ynne in grete necessyté,
  That agayn trowthe no varyeng be,
Al tymes that art founteyne of al felycité,
  Of al oure synnys thou make a delyveraunce.

AGAINST THE LOLLARDS.[1]

Lo, he that can be Cristes clerc,
  And knowe the knottes of his crede,
Now may se a wonder werke
  Of harde happes to take goud heede.
  The dome of dethe is hevy diede
For hym that wol not mercy crie;
  Than is my iede, for mucke ne mede
That no man melle of lollardrye.

I sey for meself, yut wist I never
  But now late what hit shuld be,
And, by my trouthe, I have wel lever
  No more kyn than my a, b, c.
  To lolle so hie in suyche degré
Hit is no perfit profecie;
  Sauf seker sample to the and me
To be war of lollardie.

The game is nozt to lolle so hie
  Ther fete failen fondement;
And yut is a moche folie
  For fals beleve to ben brent.
  Ther the Bibelle is al myswent
To jangle of Job or Jeremye,
  That construen hit after her entent
For lewde lust of lollardie.

---

[1] From MS. Cotton. Vespas. B. xvi. fol. 2, v°. I have put together here a few short pieces on the religious disputes of this period. The first belongs, perhaps, to a rather earlier date, as it seems to contain a continuous allusion to the celebrated Sir John Oldcastle, who was put to death in 1418, but all the others belong evidently to the reign of Henry VI.

Hit is unkyndly for a knizt,
That shuld a kynges castel kepe,
To bable the Bibel day and nizt
In restyng tyme when he shuld slepe;
And carefoly awey to crepe,
For alle the chief of chivalrie.
Wel aught hym to waile and wepe,
That suyche lust hath in lollardie.

An old castel, and not repaired,
With wast walles and wowes wide,
The wages ben ful yvel waied
With suiche a capitayn to abide;
That reiethe riot for to ride
Agayns the kynge and his clergie,
With privé peyne and pore pride;
Thei is a poynt of lollardie.

For many a man withyn a while
Shal aby his gult ful sore;
So fele gostes to begile
Hym aught to rue evermore.
For his sorowe shal he never restore
That he venemed with envye;
But ban the burthe that he was of bore,
Or ever had lust in lollardie.

Every shepe that shuld be fed in feldo,
And kepte fro wolfes in her foldo,
Hem nedethe nether spore no shuldo,
Ne in no castel to be withholdo.
For ther the pasture is ful coldo,
In somer sesun when hit is drie;
And namly when the soyle is soldo,
For lewdo lust of lollardie.

An old castel draw al doun,
  Hit is ful hard to rere hit nowe,
With suyche a congregacioun
  That cast hem to be untrewe.
  When beggers mow nether bake ne browe,
Ne have wherwith to borow ne bie,
  Than mot riot robbe or reve,
Unde[r] the colour of lollardie.

That castel is not for a kynge
  That the walles ben overthrowe;
And yut wel wors abidynge
  Whan the captayn away is flowe,
  And forsake spere and bowe,
To crepe fro knyghode into clergie.
  Ther is a bitter blast yblowe,
To be bawde of lollardie.

I trowe ther be no knyght alyve
  That wold have don so open a shame,
For that crafte to studi or strive,
  Hit is no gentel mannes game;
  But if hym lust to have a name
Of pelour under ipocrasie,
  And that were a foule defame
To have suyche lose of lollardie.

And, pardé, lolle thei never so longe,
  Yut wol lawe make hem lowte;
God wol not suffie hem be so stronge
  To bryng her purpos so abowte,
  With saunz faile and saunz doute,
To rere riot and robberie;
  By reson thei shul not long route,
While the taile is docked of lollardie.

Of the hede hit is las charge,
  When grace wol not be his gide,
Ne suffre hym for to lepe at large,
  But hevely his hede to hide.
  Where shuld he other route or ride
Agayns the chief of chivalrie,
  Not hardi in no place to abide,
For alle the sékte of lollardie.

A! God, what unkyndly gost
  Shuld greve that God grucchede nouȝt!
Thes Lollardes that lothen ymages most
  With mannes handes made and wrouȝt,
  And pilgrimages to be souȝt;
Thei seien hit is but mawmentrie.
  He that this lose first up brouȝt,
Had gret lust in lollardie.

He wer ful lewde that wold bylove
  In figure mad of stok or ston,
Yut fourme shulde we none reprove,
  Nether of Marie ne of Jon,
  Petro, Poule, ne other none
Canonised by clergie;
  Than the seyntes everychone
Be litel holde to lollardie.

And namly James among hem alle,
  For he twyes had turnement,
Moche mischaunse mot him befalle
  That last beheded hym in Kent;
  And alle that were of that assent.
To Crist of heven I clepe and crie,
  Sende hem the same jugement,
And alle the sekte of lollardie.

For that vengans agayns kynde
Was a poynt of cowardyse;
And namly suyche on to bote or bynde
That mi3t not stande, set, ne rise.
What dome wold ye hym devyse
By lawe of armes or gentrie,
But serve hym in the same wise,
And alle the sekte of lollardie.

*

When falsnes faileth frele folie,
Pride wol preseyn sone amonge;
Than willerdome with old envy
Can none other way but wronge.
For synne and shame with sorowe stronge,
So overset with avutrie,
That fals beleve is fayn to fonge
The lewde lust of lollardie,

And under colour of suiche lollynge,
To shape sodeyn surreccioun
Agaynst oure liege lord kynge,
With fals ymaginacioun.
And for that corsed conclusion,
By dome of kni3thode and clergie,
Now turneth to confusioun
The sory sekte of lollardie.

For holy writ berithe witnes,
He that fals is to his kynge,
That shamful dethe and hard distres,
Shal be his dome at his endynge.
Than double dethe for suyche lollynge
Is hevy, when we shul hennes hye.
Now, Lord, that madest of nou3t alle thinge,
Defende us alle fro lollardie.

To the King.[1]

O rex Anglorum, quæ sunt jam facta videto,
Dudum gestorum signacula dura timeto.
Quid, rex, est clerum sic per laicos laniari?
Ut fatear verum signat proceres superari.
En, rex, a Græcis bellans fortuna recessit,
Cleri facta necis hujus prognostica gessit.
Signum, Roma, tibi quæ nunc armis viduatur,
Cur? quia clerus ibi nec floret nec dominatur.
En, rex, pro studio per singula regna timeris,
Tu quia de proprio clero responsa moreris.
O rex, tu videas spes hic distantibus an sit,
Ut faculam foveas, scintilla decora remansit.
Rex, si sit per te cleri facies relevata,
Est tibi tunc certe victoria magna parata.
Si fons siccetur, laico régnante furore,
Miles vincetur belli privatus honore.
Tu miles juras cleri defendere jura,
Cur nunc non curas inflicta sibi mala dura.
Rex, princeps, miles, clero rogo consocia te,
Quisquis ad ista siles fugiet decus et vigor a te.
Hæc duo si coeant sociari juncta valore,
Non sunt qui valeant nostros privare vigore.
Hoc scio quod clero miles bonus omnis adhæret,
Solus pro vero falsus sua prospera mœret.
Oxoniæ pereant roves et germina terræ,
Singula te subeant stragos et jurgia guerræ.
O plebs ingrata regi, mala signa parasti,
Dura tibi fata veniant quia tanta patrasti.
O rex, invicte, pueros recolas spoliatos,
Sis rex vindicte revocans terrore fugatos.

[1] From MS. Col. Merton, Oxon. No. 306, fol. 8, r°.

A Political Prophecy.[1]

When Rome is removith into Englonde,
And ilke preest haiit the popeis poure in hande,
Betuene the iij[d] and the sixte, who wold onderstonde,
Moche were and wo schalle arysse in Englonde.
Thayr challe tyde then a stuiffe be the stremis of Hommour,
That a northyne slave schalle follow him for ever,
The iij[d] schalle recuire and rekyn of rulys,
That haiit lywith in Lowthe many longe days.
Than worthe upp, Walis, that vantithe no vylis,
And holpe up thi brother with brithe hardde brandis,
Thi kynnys men of Yrlonde, lordes of honour,
Thy schalle spende ther speres with dentes of dolour.
To bringe owt of brawlis the kynd blod of Brutes,
The whiche schalle lyve on to lyve of landes.

Against the Friars.[2]

Freeres, freeres, wo ȝe be!
ministri malorum,
For many a mannes soule bringe ȝo
ad pœnas infernorum.
Whan seyntes fellə fryst from heveno,
quo prius habitabant,
In erthe leyfft the synnus vil.,
et fratres communicabant.

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[1] From MS. Cotton. Cleopatra C. iv. fol. 81, v°.

[2] From a MS. in Trin. Coll., Cambridge, O. 2, 40, fifteenth cent

Falnes was the ffryst fflaure
quæ fratres pertulerunt;
For falnes and ffals dorei
multi perierunt.
Freeres, ȝe can weyl lye,
ad fallandum gentem;
And weyl can blere a mannus ye
pecunias habentem.
Yf thei may no more geytte,
fruges petunt isti;
For falnes waldo thei not lotte,
qui non sunt de grege Christi.
Lat a freer of sum ordur
tecum pernoctare,
Odur thi wyff or thi doughtour
hic vult violare;
Or thi sun he weyl prefur,
sicut furtam fortis;
God gyffe sycho a freer peyne
in inferni portis!
Thei weyl assaylle boyth Jacke and Gylle,
licet sint prædones;
And parte off pennans take hem tylle,
qui sunt latrones.
Thor may no lordo of this cuntré
sic ædificare,
As may thes freeres, where thei be,
qui vadunt mendicare.
Mony-makers I trow thei be,
regis proditores,
Therfore ylle mowyth thei thee,
falsi deceptores.
Fader fyrst in Trinité,
filius, atque flamen.
Omnes dicant Amen.

On the Corruption of Public Manners.[1]

Yo prowd galonttes hertlesse,
With your hyghe cappis witlesse,
And youre schort gownys thriftlesse,
Have brought this londe in gret hevynesse.

With youre longe peked schone,
Therfor your thrifte is almost don,
And with youre long here into your eyen,
Han brought this lond to gret pyne.

Yo poopeholy prestis fulle of presomcioun,
With your wyde furryd hodes voyd of discrecioun,
Unto your owyn prechyng of contrary condicioun,
Whiche causithe the people to have lesse devocioun.

Avauncid by symony in cetees and townys,
Make schorter youre taylis and broder your crounys;
Leve your schort stuffide dowbelettes and your pleytid gownys,
And kepe your owyn howsyng, and passe not your boundis.

Repreve non other men, I schalle telle you whye,
Ye be so lewyd youer selfe, there settithe no man you bye,
It is not but a schame y[e] wold be callyd holly,
And worse dysposyd people levythe not undir the skye.

Ffirst make fre your selfe, that now to syne be bounde,
Leve syne, and dredo it, than may ye take on hand
Othir to repreve, and that I undirstonde,
Ye may amende alle othor and bryng pese to londe.

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[1] From MS. Harl. No. 372, fol. 113, r°, of the time of Henry VI.

Epigrams on the Public Extravagance.[1]

Luffe, luffe, where is thi reste?
Of Englond I am oute keste,
Thurgh sir Envye.
Thise longe berdes to middis the breste
Has putt luffe oute of his neste,
Thurgh felonye.

Fleshly lustes and festes,
Furres of ferly bestes,
Costefulle croupores with crestes,
Fules that it first fonde;
Robes made of serdes,
Grisely othes and grete medes,
Flaterers and false dedes,
Has schent Englond.

On the Times.[2]

Now ys Yngland alle in fyght;
Moche peple of consyens lyght;
Many knyghtes, and lytyl of myght;
Many lawys, and lytylle ryght;
Many actes of parlyhent,
And few kept wyth tru entent;
Lytylle charyté, and fayne to plese;
Many a galant penyles;

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[1] From a MS. in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, No. 274, fol. 155.

[2] From a MS. in Corp. Chr. Col., Oxford, No. 237, fol. 236, v°.

And many a wondurfulle dysgyzyng,
By unprudent and myssavyzyng;
Greto countenanse, and smallo wages;
Many gentyllemen, and few pages;
Wyde gownys, and large slevys;
Wele besene, and strong thevys;
Moch bost of there clothys,
But wele I wot they lake none othys.

On the Times.[1]

De miserrima responsione populi quæ jam instat.

Proh dolor! o crudi gestus sparsim juvenescunt,
Rarescunt ludi, solatia cuncta senescunt.
Crimen avaritiæ dominatur ubique locorum,
Quæ quasi blanditiæ tollit terras miserorum.
Dormit militia vitiata cupidine rerum,
Pro quibus in vitia jam pugnat amor mulierum.
Clerus decrescit, vestitu vulgus olescit,
Curia ditescit, virtus in vilia cessit.
Heu! ratio moritur, pretio judex hebetescit,
Fraude fides premitur, pietas cum lege recessit.
Secta quidem consci perit entia pseudo-coloris;
Inde sumus consi querula quocunque doloris:
Dico parum prodest pro jure tribunal adire,
Dum ratio vivat quæ jus faciet revenire.

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[1] From a MS. in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, Bodl. 832, fol. 177, r°.

On the Procession to St. Paul's of the Reconciled Parties.[1]

(March 25, 1458.)

Whan charité is chosen with states to stonde
  Stedfas and skillo without distaunce,
Than wrathe may be exiledo out of this londe,
  And God oure gide to have the governaunce.
  Wisdom and wellthe, with alle plesaunce,
May rightful regne, and prosperité;
  For love hath underlaide wratheful venjaunce,
Rejoise, Anglonde, oure lordes acordedo to be.

Rejose, and thanke God for evermore,
  For now shal encrese thi consolacion;
Oure enemyes quaken and dredon ful sore,
  That peas is made ther was division.
  Whiche to them is a grot confusion,
And to us joy and felicité.
  God hold hem longe in every season,
That Anglonde may rejoise concord and unité.

Now is sorowe with shame fled into Fraunce,
  As a felon that hathe forsworn this londe;
Love hath put out malicious governaunce,
  In every place bothe fre and bondo.
  In Yorke, in Somerset, as I understondo,
In Warrewike, is love and charité,
  In Sarisbury eke, and in Northumbrelando,
That every man may rejoise concord and unité.

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[1] From MS. Cotton. Vespas. B. xvi. fol. 4, r°.

Egremown and Clifford, with other forsaide,
  Ben set in the same opynyon.
In every quarter love is thus laide;
  Grace and wisdom hathe thus the dominacion.
  Awake, welthe, and walke in this region,
Rounde aboute in toun and cité;
  And thanke them that brought hit to this conclusion;
Rejoise, Anglond, to concord and unité.

At Poules in Londoun, with gret renoun,
  On oure Ladi day in Lent this peas was wrought;
The kyng, the quene, with lordes many oone,
  To worship that virgine as thei ought,
  Wenten a procession, and spariden right nought,
In sighte of alle the comynalté,
  In token that love was in herte and thought;
Rejose, Anglond, in concorde and unité.

Ther was bytwyn hem lovely countynaunce,
  Whiche was gret joy to alle that ther were;
That long tyme hadden be in variaunce,
  As frendes for ever that had be in fere.
  Thei wenten togeder and made goud chire.
France and Britayn repente shul thei;
  For the bargayn shul thei abye ful dere;
Rejose, Anglond, in concorde and unité.

Oure soveraigne lord kynge God kepe alwey,
  The quene, and the archebisshope of Canterbury,
And the bisshop of Wynchestre, chaneller of Anglonde,
  And other that han labured to this love-day;
  God preserve hem, we pray hertly,
  And Londoun, for thei ful diligently
Kepton the peas in trowbel and adversité,
  To bryng in reste thei labured ful truly;
Rejoise, Anglond, in concorde and unité.

Of thre thynges I praise the worshipful cité;
The first, the true faithe that thei have to the kynge;
The secondo, of love to the comynalté;
The thrid, goud rule for evermore kepyngo;
The whiche God *mayntayn* evermore *duryngo*,
And save the maier and alle the worthi cité;
And that is anys God bryngo to amendyngo,
That Anglond may rejoise to concordo and unité.

Epitaph for Richard Duke of York.[1]

A remembrer à tous cours de noblesse
Que ycy gist la fleur de gentillesse,
Le puissant duc d'York, Rychart ot nom,
Prince royal, proudommo de renom,
Saige, vaillant, vertueux en sa vie,
Qui bien ama loyauté sans envie,
Droyt heritier, prouvé en mainte terre,
Des couronnez de France et d'Engleterre.
Ou *parlement* tenu à Vestmestre,
Bien fut congneu et trouvé vray heir estre.

[Translation.]

Let it be remembered by all noble hearts—that here lies the flower of gentility,—the powerful duke of York, Richard was his name,—a royal prince, a gentleman of renown,—wise, valiant, virtuous in his life,—who loved well loyally without envy,—the right heir, proved in many a land,—of the crowns of France and England.—In the parliament held at Westminster—he was fully acknowledged and found to be

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[1] From MS. Harl. No. 48, fol. 81, v°.

Sy fut roygent et gouverneur de France,
Normandie il garda d'encombrance,
Sur Pontaysse la ryviere passa,
Le roy Francoyez et son doulfin chassa.
En Erllande mist tel gouvernement,
Tout le pais rygla paisiblement.
D'Engleterre fut long temps prottetur,
Le peuple ama, et fut leur deffendeur.
Noble lygne et d'enfans, que Dieu garde.
Dont l'aysné fylz est nomé Edouarde,
Qui est vray roy, et son droit conquessta,
Par grant labeur qu'il en prinst l'aqueta,
Il est regnant solitaire ou jour d'uy,
Dieu et ses sainz sy le gardent d'enuy!
Ce noble duc à Wacquefylde mourut,
Doux paix traitant force sur luy courut,
L'an soixnte, le xxx^e de Decembre,
Cinquante ans et d'age, comme on remembre,
En priant Dieu et la tresbelle dame
Qu'en Paradiz puist reposser son ame!
Amen. *Chester le II^e.*

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the right heir.—And he was regent and governor of France, —Normandy he guarded from danger,—he passed the river at Pontoise,—and drove away the French king and his dauphin.—In Ireland he established such government,—that he ruled all the country peaceably.—Of England he was long protector,—he loved the people, and was their defender.—He had a noble lineage of children, whom may God have in his keeping.—The eldest of whom is named Edward,—who is true king, and conquered his right,—he purchased it by great labour which he bestowed upon it,—he is reigning singly at the present day,—God and his saints preserve him from injury!—This noble duke died at Wakefield,—while treating of sweet peace, force rushed upon him, —the year sixty, the thirtieth of December,—he was fifty years of age, as people remember,—Praying God and the very fair lady—that his soul may repose in Paradise!—Amen. Chester the Herald.

On the Civil Wars.[1]

Processus sub brevibus in metro belli illius primi quod actum erat apud villam Sancti Albani temporibus regis Henrici sexti.

Martia splendiferum regerent cum sidera lucem,
Aspicerentque foros torvis aspectibus Anglos,
Albani villam tranquilla pace vigentem
Fœdarunt multo violenter sanguine fuso.
Rex aderat præsens, secumque cohors satis ingens
De dominis regni; contrarius his Eboraci
Duxque duo comites Warwici et Sarsburiensis
Venerunt; media fit grandis pugna platea,
In qua corruerant qui nobilitate vigebant
De patria Boreæ, comes insignis dominusque,
Corruit ac ipse qui belli causa fuisse
Fertur, dux magnus de Somerseth vocitatus,
Ac alii plures; satis aspera sors fuit ipsis.
Multi fugerunt, aliter se non properarunt
Quam faciunt trepidæ nisum fugiendo columbæ,
Insultumve canis damus, lepus, aut fera quævis
Dum fugiunt, nemora petierunt sive frutecta;
In quibus, ut pueri virgam metuendo magistri,
Se pudet id ferre, vecorditer occubuere.
Qui fuerant nostra propius penetralia tecta
Ad nos fugerunt, sub stallis et latuerunt,
Aut infra latebras; timor ingens duxerat ipsos.

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[1] This piece, written by the well-known monk of St. Alban's, John de Whethamstede, was evidently composed immediately after the decisive and sanguinary battle of Towton, which is mentioned in it. The author seems to be chiefly desirous of recording the ill-treatment which the abbey of St. Alban's received from the northern partizans of the house of Lancaster. It is printed from a manuscript in the Bodleian Library, MS. Laud. No. 697, fol. 29, r°.

Sic imbecillis torgum dedit hostibus hostis,
Non sine dedecore, nec nominis absque rubore.
Mors est, non vita, sub turpi vivere fama.
Et patet in paucis sors belli quæ fuit hujus,
Qualis et eventus domini ducis et comitatus.

Ter deno trino domini regis fuit anno
Henrici sexti, facies hæc obvia cœli,
In Maio mense bis dena bis quoque luce.

Providentia Dei misericordis mediatione martyris sui Albani actum esse credimus, ut rex ad villam cum accideret diverteret se a monasterio ac ad villæ medium properaret, unde quia tam tanta tam gratuita quæ fuerant mediatione sui martyris in salvationem suæ ecclesiæ misericordia domini plasmatoris, ideo in laudem et gloriam utriusque scribitur ulterius de hac materia metrice sub his verbis.

Dum Maius nadidi flos floruit imbribus Austri,
Mollibus et Zephyrus refoveret flatibus arvos,
Flora volut riguos herbis ditaverat hortos,
Post glacies inopes hos fecerat et locupletes,
Sic rapidis Stilbon prædonibus undique regnum
Repleratque nimis, sic lato sparserat ipsos,
Ut villam tandem tantus pervaderet istam
Illorum numerus, ut vix evaderet unus
Quin spolium lucret, spoliantes vel trepidaret.
Accidit ex causa spoliatio tam gravis ista;
Mars cœli dominus fuerat tunc, et soror ejus
In terris domina belli Bellona vocata,
Unde malum multum signantor partibus istis
Contigit, et bellum fuit istis grande peractum,
Sanguis et effusus multus, dux et jugulatus
Illius pugnæ qui fertur causa fuisse.
Bello finito, strepitu quoque pacificato,
Indultum est prædæ, prædones quippe fuere

Victores omnes, nulli quasi compatientes.
Tunc rex, tunc proceres, tunc villani quoque plures,
Ac alii varii, fuerant rebus spoliati.
Attamen ecclesia simul ecclesiæ bona cuncta,
Infra quæ fuerant sub clausuraque jacebant,
Manserunt salva, nec ei res defuit ulla.
Laus igitur Domino, laus in specieque patrono,
Cujus per media stabant sua singula salva,
Salvus et a cunctis simul abbas, frater, et omnes.
Spiritus ille bonus sine fallo, spiritus almus,
Ad villam regem qui direxit venientem
Illius ad medium, nec tunc permiserat ipsum
Ecclesiam petere, conservavit sua quæque.
Sed patronus erat qui pro monachis mediarat,
A raptore locumque suum servavit, et omnem
Ipsius ornatum, fœdari nec tulit ipsum.
Si rex intrasset, secumque ducem sociasset,
Valvas ecclesiæ, paruissent cuncta rapinæ,
Nec poterat furias quisquam compescere plebis.
Laus igitur Domino rursus rursusque patrono!
Stat locus isto suo salvus munimine solo,
Salvaque supposita, sua salvaque prædia cuncta.
Tempore dilapso miracula plura patrono
Concessum facere fuit, utique ab omnipotente
Laude celebrandum pro cunctis creditur unum,
Quod dum prædator stabat pro tempore liber,
Et raperet varia, bene servavit sua cuncta,
Flere nec ecclesiam rem raptam pertulit ullam.

Nota de bello apud Wacfeld habito.

Anno milleno centum quater, x. quoque seno,
Terdenoque die duodeno mense Decembre,
Infra Eboracensem juxta Vacfeld comitatum,
Dux dominus villæ fertur pugnans habuisse
Conflictum grandem contra gentem borealem
Ac proceres plures præerant qui gentibus ipsis;

Quo docuit quin sors quod res fortuna secundas
Vitat habere moras, cecidit dux, natus et ejus,
Ac comes insignis, sors belli sors fuit ipsis
Obvia, sicque satis regni fuerat brevis hæres,
Omen et id lætum tulerat mutamine mœstum,
Deflendum multis; jus regni jus fuit ejus.

Processus belli illius sive prælii secundi sub metrico stylo, quod inter Australes et Boreales commissum fuerat infra et extra villam Sancti Albani.

M. semel x. seno centum quater et simul uno,
Cum lux septena fuerat mensis quoque dena,
Numinis illius venerantur quod morientes,
Inter Solares pugnantes et Boreales
Magna cohors cecidit, duo milia plebs numeravit,
Sors apud Albani villam protomartyris almi
Et pugnæ campum cæsis dedit et tumulatum,
Quod dolet ac doluit annis multisque dolebit
Villicus ac monachus prope eos habitator et omnis.
Principio pugnæ potiores marte fuere
Australes, tandem vicit Borealsque triumphum
Abstulerat secum, stat sors mox versa retrorsum
Martis, ut eventum fore scires sic dubiosum.
Ut veniunt cinifes, culices, bruciquo, locustæ,
Ac vastant segetes, alio musca quoque multo,
Sic advenerunt similes illis Borealos
Ac vastaverunt segetes et opes populares
Austri totius; his judex sit Radamantus,
Et Minos Cretæ conjunctus eis Æacusque,
Atque modum pœnæ pensent seu demeruere.
Vix infernalis pro pœna sufficit ipsis
Aut focus aut furiæ, licet essent agmine mille.
Gens est Cerberea, gens Sphyngea, gens Briarea,
Latratu, raptu, spolii prædaeque voratu,
Laus hæc, laus Boreæ, laus est hæc laus sine laudo.

*Nunc quia * de viris Borealibus sit sæpe et sæpius mentio in præmissis, ideo de eorum moribus et conditionibus scribitur hic ulterius metrice sub his verbis.*

Qui mores plebis agnoscere vis borealis,
Perlege, pange metra, tibi dicent nil nisi vera.
Gens Boreæ, gens Tisiphonæ, gens alta Megæræ,
Gens lactata Styge, potataque plebs Acheronte,
Sævit in Australes, stimularet seu furor omnes,
Non vigor attrahere victus, non visve moveret,
Est furor aut furia quicquid gens egerit ista
Gens Boreæ, gens Cerbereæ linguæque loquelæ,
Latrat et elatrat et verba rudissima tractat.
Proditor est quisque vir nobilis ejus in ore,
Presbyter et monachus, puer et vir, sexus et omnis,
Fœmineæ sive probri quod possit vilius edi,
Semper ut inficiat vir vilis vilia tracta.
Gens Boreæ gens proluvie fœdissima de se
Harpyiis similis violando vasa liquoris,
Ac mensas hominum, tabulatas ac mulierum.
Fœdior est fatu, bis turpior est modoratu,
Nescit honesta loqui vir fœdæ progenici.
Gens Boriæ gens perfidiæ, gens prompta rapinæ,
Gens est centimano raptu similis Briareæ,
Et Tityo jecore, Sisypho saxoque ruente;
Et licet ulterius societur Tantalus istis,
Non portat metrum, mos est his pejor eorum,
Diripiunt, rapiunt, post se vix saxa relinquit
Gens Boreæ, gens nequitiæ, gens absque pietate,
Et sine lege veris vindex, sine judice juris.
Decisor quia vi vult cuncta regi gladiali,
Moreve barbarico, licitum foret in spoliando,
Ut fierent propriæ per raptum res alienæ.
Friguit aut caluit nimis id quod tollere nollet.
Gens Boreæ, gens viperæ pollis generisque,

Mordet et omordet, rodit, corrodit, et urget
Matris ad interitum, malo sicut tendat ad orbum.
Devorat ad patriam quæ sæpe cibaverat ipsum,
Per matrisque modum dederat sibi 'lac ad edendum,
Et linguæ stimulo noceat caudæque veneno
Australi populo sibi res et opes rapiendo,
Austiterat præda raptrix Boreasque rapina.
Hinc gens, gens ista quia fertur tam vitiosa,
Quod mihi, si centum linguæ sint oraque centum,
Ferrea vox, et item vix singula dicere possem.
Hanc cantaream sibi quæsivit propriandam,
Extinctis cereis sonituque nolæque libellis,
Et pro perpetuo maledicta sit Arctos ab Austro.

Processus sub brevibus sub forma et modo quibus comes Marchiæ, filius et hæres domini ducis Eboraci interfecti, audita fama de morte sui patris, mox associata sibi non parua multitudine plebis, ad partes Boreales secessit contra proceres et alios rebelles pugnaturos, ideo scribitur hic ulterius sub breviloquio stylo metrico sub his verbis.

X. numero seni lapsi sunt circiter anni,
Postquam successit rex juris jurove rexit
Anglorum regnum, vis non jus rexerat ipsum;
Jam nova progenies quia cœlo venit ab alto.
Saturni soboles qui nomine dicitur altro,
Edwardus quartus, Ricardo sanguine junctus.
Creditur a multis redient Saturnia nostris
Temporibus secla; lis, visque, nefas simul una
Deperient; jura, lex, et pax sint reditura;
Fraus etiamque dolus cessabunt, ac violentus
Raptus avaritiæ subeunt verumque fidesque.
Hæc spes plebis erat, cleri chorus hæcque putabat
Det seu speratur regnum Deus ut statuatur,
Et plebs tranquillo vivat clerusque quiete.

Deinde de tempore illius belli quo domiti stubant Borealcs, et predomiti, pro excessibus patratis in patria australi, ulterius metrice sic scribens inquit.

M. semel x. terno centum quaterni simul uno,
In Martis menso ter dena denique luce,
In patria Boreæ Ferebrius prope jugera villæ
Pugna fuit plebis acris nimis et satis atrox.
Vicerat Arctos in bello martius heros
Junior Edwardus, Hector novus, alter Achilles,
Prostravit multos; Austro tunc cessorat Arctos,
Et doluit casum supra x. bis millia, quorum
Quamplures domini, plures et erant generosi.
Illius patriæ flos et sors tunc cecidere,
Et merito, quoniam spoliarunt nequiter Austrum.
Laus igitur Domino, sit honor, sit gloria Christo!
Cessat nunc flatus grandis Boreæque boatus,
Inquo Austrum rediit, Æolus ventum variavit.
Est Boreas mordens et valde ventus adurens;
Est Auster justus, vult morsu rodere morsus,
Et male mordentem vere vires tollere eidem;
Est Zephyrus placidus, est suavis frater et ejus;
Hinc Boreasque Aquilo pro tunc clauduntur in antro.

Quia in pramissis sit mentio de titulis utriusque jam dicti regis, ideo in recensionem et recitationis recordationem scribitur hic ulterius de utrisque metrice sub horum verborum tenore.

In sibi conjunctis Edwardi semine natis
Ortus erat primo Lionellus, Johannesque secundo;
Cedat lex regni vult junior ut seniori.
Attamen Henricus hæres genitusque Johannis,
Per vim sceptrigerum regimen tuleratque coronam,
Et tenuit multis sed non sine viribus annis.

Illi successit rex, qui si non caruisset
Justitiæ titulo, non Hector dignior ipso,
Non judex Æacus, non ore politus Ulixes.
Ipso defuncto successit filius, in quo
Stirps ea cessavit ; hæres rectus remeavit;
Scilicet Edwardus Leonelli proximus hæres.
Hic petiit regimen, rex obstat datque negamen.
Res agitur belli, vicit sanguis Leonelli
Et palmam tulerat, Henricus rex fugiebat.
Bello finito, multo quoque sanguine fuso,
Cum victor secum palmam ferretque triumphum,
Vendicat hoc iterum, plebs applaudabat eidem,
Clamabatque sibi, vivat felicior omni
Rege vel Augusto, melior regat Octaviano.
Hæc vox cunctorum clamor fuit ac populorum.
Rex igitur factus, rex in solioque levatus,
Quod fractum fuerat iterum bene consolidabat,
Jureque quo potuit vim pressit, jus renovavit.
Sic vetus id dictum fuerat bene verificatum,
De male quæsitis vix gaudet tertius hæres,
Stare diuque nequit mala quicquid vis stabilivit ;
Jus nescitque mori, valeat licet ense ferire;
Ex bene patratis bene crescit honos quoque virtus.
O rota versatilis nimis oque rotabilis axis,
Sorte noverçante fatoque modum variante,
Corruit Henricus isto sub nomine sextus,
Et casum tulerat, titulus sibi deficiebat,
Defecitque bonus, heus ! pro moderamine sensus,
Proque bono campi cor defuit Herculis illi.
Matris non patris fuit ortus filius excors,
Matrem nec coluit, nimis a patre degeneravit,
Quo melior miles non Teucer erat vel Atrides,
Sive timor Phrygiis Ajax robustus in armis.
Hic fuit in verbis rex mitis, rex pietatis,
Attamen in factis nimio vir simplicitatis.
Hinc postquam triginta novem rex præfuit annis,
Cæca suam fortuna rotam, quasi fortis in armis,

Volverat, et regimen rapiebat regis, eundem
Compulit ac subito sic dicere, "sum sine regno."
O sors prosperior, o gratia sorteque major,
Qui diuturna nimis fuit expectatio plebis,
Sed mittendus erat, jam dante Deo veniebat.
Hic Martis soboles et nomine martius heros,
Marte triumphante jus sceptri jusque coronæ
Ut decuit sumpsit, ut debuit ac sibi junxit.
Tunc bona spes fuerat sors prospera quod reveniret,
Lætaque pro voto coleret plebs secla sub ipso.
Det Deus ac faciat bona ne spes irrita fiat!
Qui veteres recolis veteranaque gesta revolvis,
Ferreque scis si vis thoro quis fuit ac pater ejus,
Dic si legisti, legisseve te meministi,
Quenquam decrepitum qui cesserat opilionem,
Et steterat multis absens in partibus annis,
Rursus gestantem baculum baculoque regentem
Conventum pecorum concordi voce legentum.
Res hæc rata satis, nec contingens retroactis
Temporibus multis, nostris tamen accidit annis.
In patre qui sextus fuit ordine primo Johannis,
Sed post octavus bis præfuerat quia dictus,
Hoc duplex nomen sibi vendicat unus et idem;
Deque loco segetis pater est cognomine dictus,
Hac nunc in decade numerus qui dicitur esse,
In qua totius residet perfectio legis,
Scriba suo calamo pausam finemque libello
Imposuit fessus, senio morboque repressus,
Cæcutiens steterat, auditus deficiebat,
Contractique manus digiti fuerant simul omnes,
Semper et ad valvas stabat mors improba pulsans;
Dixit et ecclesiæ, dispone tuo, moriere.
Hac igitur causa scriptor nihil addidit ultra;
Addere nec poterat, quia visus deficiebat,
Idem scribendi sibi finis eratque videndi.

Explicit, expliciunt qualia scripta ferunt.

A Political Retrospect.[1]

To have in mynde callyng to remembraunce
  The gret wrongys doon of oold antiquité,
Unrightful heyres by wrong alyaunce
  Usurpyng this royaume caused gret adversité;
  Kyng Richard the secounde, highe of dignytee,
Whiche of Ingeland was rightful enheritoure,
  In whos tyme ther was habundaunce with plentee
Of welthe and erthely joye, without langoure.

Than cam Henry of Derby, by force and myght,
  And yndir the colour of fals perjury,
He toke this rightwys kyng, Goddes trew knyght,
  And hym in prison put perpetuelly,
  Pyned to dethe, alas! ful pyteuxly;
Holy bisshop Scrope, the blyssed confessour,
  In that quarel toke hys dethe ful paciently,
That allo the world spak of that gret langoure.

Whos dethe ys a very trew evidence
  To allo Ingeland for the just title and lyne,
Whiche for the trowthe by tyranny and violence
  Was put doune and suspect holde venyrsyne;
  Many a trew lord then put to mortel fyne;
Alway they have ben aboute withe rigoure
  The lynaige of kyng Richard to undirmyne,
That longe have lyved in gret langoure.

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[1] This poem, which appears to have been composed in 1462 or 1463, is preserved in a contemporary manuscript in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries, *No.* 101, fol. 98, r°.

God smote the said Henry, for hys gret fersnesse,
With a lepre holdyng hym to hys ende fynally.
Next hym Henry the fyfte, of knyghtly prowésse,
Named the best of that lyne and progeny,
How be it he regned unrightfully,
Yit he upheld in Ingeland the honnour;
Henry hys sone of Wy[n]desore, by gret foly,
Alle hathe retourned unto huge langoure.

Callyng to mynde the fals engendred treson
And myschyefz that were in hys dayes regnyng;
The good duc of Gloucestre, in the season
Of the parlement at Bury beyng,
Was put to dethe; and ay sithe gret mornyng
Hathe ben in Ingeland, with many a scharp schoure,
Falshode, myschyef, secret synne upholdyng,
Whiche hathe caused in Engeland endelez langoure.

Noo mervail though Engeland hathe ben unhappy,
Whiche hathe be mysrewled 3erys sertayne;
Scripture saithe heritage holdyn wrongfully
Schal never cheve no with the thred heyre remayne,
As hathe be verified late ful playne,
Where as iij. kynges have regned by errour,
The thred put ou3te, and the right brought agayne,
Whos absence hathe caused endlez langoure.

Also scripture saithe, woo be to that regyon
Where ys a kyng unwyse or innocent;
Moreovyr it ys right a gret abusion,
A womman of a land to be a regent,
Qwene Margrete I mene, that ever hathe ment
To governe alle Engeland with myght and poure,
And to destroye the ryght lyne was here entent,
Wherfore sche hathe a fal, to here gret langoure.

And now sche no rought, so that sche myght attayne,
  Though alle Engeland wore brought to confusyon,
Sche and here wykked affynité certayne
  Entende uttyrly to destroye thys regioun;
  For with theym ys but dethe and distrucciom,
Robberye and vengeaunce, with alle rygour,
  Therfore alle that holde of that oppynioun,
God sende hem a schort ende with meche langour.

O it ys gretly agayne kynde and nature,
  An Englysche man to corrumpe hys owne nacion,
Willyng straungiers for to recure,
  And in Engeland to have the domynacioun,
  Wenyng thanne to bé gret of reputacion;
For sothe they that soo hope, least schal be theyre
    pour;
  He that woold be high schal be undir subjeciom,
And the fyrst that schal repente the langoure.

Wherfore I lykken England to a gardayne,
  Whiche that hathe ben overgrowen many yere
Withe wedys, whiche must be mowen doune playne,
  And than schul the pleasant swete herbes appere.
  Wherfore alle trewe Englysche peuple, pray yn fere
For kyng Edward of Rouen, oure comfortoure,
  That he kepe justice and make wedis clere,
Avoydyng the blak cloudys of langoure.

A gret signe it ys that God lovythe that knyght,
  For alle thoo that woold have destroyed hym utterly,
Alle they ar myschyeved and put to flyght.
  Than remembre hys fortune with chevalry·
  Whiche at Northamptoun gate the victory,
And at Mortimers Crosse he had the honnour;
  On Palme Sonday he wan the palme of glorye,
And put hys enemyes to endelez langour.

And drave hys adversary ouȝt of the lande;
  Aftyr cam to Londun and was crouned kyng.
Ryght late God ȝaf hym grace to undirstonde
  The fals traytours agayne hym ymagynyngo.
The prophecie saithe, there schal dere hym noo thinge,
  He it ys that schal wynne castelle, toune, and toure;
  Alle rebellyous undyr he schal hem bryngo,
Willyng to hys highenesse any langoure.

Richard the erl of Warwyk, of knyghthode
  Lodesterre, borne of a stok that evyr schal be trewe,
Havyng the name of prowes and manhoode,
  Hathe ay ben redy to helpe and resskewe
  Kyng Edward, in hys right hym to endewe;
The commens therto have redy every houre;
  The voyx of the peuple, the voix of Jhesu,
Who kepe and preserve hȳm from alle langoure.

Now blyssed saint George, pray the vierge immaculat
  To be good mediatrix, praying her sonne
That Edward of Rouen may be victorieux and fortunat,
  Withe alle the trew lordes of hys regioun,
  That they may se a good way and directioun
To make peas in Engeland, that riche and pouer
  May joyfully synge at the conclusyon,
Welcom everlastyng joye, and farewal langoure.

On the Recovery of the Throne by Edward IV.[1]

Remembyr with reverens the Maker of mankynde,
How myȝty, how mercyfulle, how glorius he is,
Alle erthly creaturus in thayre reasonys byn blynde,
Whan they compar with his power thay do alle amys.
Agaynste his power no thynge impossible is;
Wherefore lett us say in wele and in woo
Good Lorde, evermore thy wille be doo.

How mervelous to man, how dowtfulle to drede,
How far paste mannys resoun and mynde hath it bee,
The comyng of kynge Edwarde, and his good spede,
Owte of Docholonde into Englonde over the salte see.
In what parell and trowbill, in what payne was hee!
Whan the salte water and tempest wrought hym gret woo;
But in adversité and over, Lorde, thy wille be doo.

His knyȝtehode, his power, his ordinance, his ryȝte,
Agaynst this trowblis tempest avaylid hym no thynge.
What may manhode do agaynst Goddes myȝte?
The wynde, the water spareth nodyr priynce no kyng.
Haply that trowbill was for wickyd lyvyng;
God wolde every creature his Maker shulde know,
Wherefore, good Lorde, ever more thy wille be doo.

[1] From MS. Reg. 17 D. xv. fol. 327. r°.

Lordo, the unkyndnes was shewid to kyngo Edward
that day!
At his londyng in Holdyrnes he had grett payne;
His subjectes and people woldo not hym obey,
Off hym and his people thay had grett disdayne.
There schewid hym unkyndnes, and answerid hym
playne,
As for kynge he shulde not londe there for wele ne woo;
Yett londid that gentill prynce, the will of God was soo.

To Yorke this nobille prynce and his popull did passe,
Magré his enmyes, no man hym lett myȝte;
At wiche cité trowbelid the ryalle prynce was,
Yett into the cité he enterid be Goddes power and
myȝte;
And whan the popull of his persone had a verroy syȝte,
Thayre malice was quenchid, were they never so woo.
Wherefore, good Lordo, ever more thy wille be doo.

That shortly to ride that nobill prynce was redy,
By Pomfrett castell he paste, his enmys not with-
stondyng.
Marques Mountigow of that passage was verrey hevy,
Wyth the prynce he durste not mete, but ther lay
the mornyng;
His tresoun in his myndo before done was remiyng,
Supposyng that kyng Edwarde remembryd it also.
Wherefore, good Lordo, ever more thy wille be doo.

At Covyntré that gentill prynce was trowblid mer-
velously,
Wyth the scourge of God thus betyn was hee.
Mete, dryncke, and logynge his populle lackyd certaynly,
Yett he pight his feldo in placis thre,
To fyght with Warwicke and all his meny.
But he was affrayed, and his people also.
In every thynge, Lord, thy wille be doo.

O glorius God, how thou haste assigned
  Hertes disceveryd to be stablisshyd ayone,
In love of matremonye thou haste hem joynyd,
  Kyng Edwarde and the duke of Clarunse gret honour to attayne.
  Thay were dysceveryd by a sottell meane;
Nature hath compellid hem agayne togere go;
Thus in every thyng, Lorde, thy wille be doo.

At Warwicke the knot was knytt agayne,
  Unknowyng to many a man in this londe;
God sent his grace by a sovereyne meane,
  Yett the populle ben blynde, they will not understonde.
  Stryve not with the peopull, ne the werkys of his honde,
And thoncke hym hertely it plesith hym so to do;
And lett us say, "Good Lorde, over thy wille be doo."

Longe lay the kyng there, away wolde not hee,
  Dayly he prophered batayle, his enmys durst not fyghte;
Lacke of logynge and vitayle, it was gretl pité,
  Causid the gentill prynce to remove, suche was Goddes myzte.
  Lowe how the good Lorde his owne gentill knyzte,
Because he shulde remembir hym in wele and in woo.
Thus in every thyng, Lorde, thy wille be doo.

As the priynce passid to Londone, God shewid ryghte
  Secrett thyng to hym, tokyn of victory;
In presence of the same priynce, by Goddes powere and myzte,
  And ymage wiche was closid brake opyn sodenly.
  God sheid hym this comforte in the abbey of Deyntré,

Because he shulde be stidfast in wele and in woo;
The ymage was of saynte Anne, God wolde it shuldo
be so.

The gentill priynce and his pepull to Londone did passe,
Into the cité he enterid with a company of men trew.
For the wiche his enmys cryed, "Owte and alas!"
Thayre red colowrus chaungid to pale hewe.
Than the nobill prynce began werkys new.
He toke prisoners a kyng and a clerke, loo,
How the will of God in every thynge is doo.

To Westmynster the kyng be water did glide,
Worshypfully resayvid with processioun in ffeet,
Resayvid with reverence, his dewté not denye;
The cardenall uppone his hede the crowne did sett,
The septure in his honde, withowte intrumpcioun or
lett.
Then to seynt Edwardes shryne the priynce did goo,
Thus in every thyng the wille of God is doo.

The kyng comforlid the quene, and öther ladyes eke;
His swete babis full tendurly he did kys;
The yonge priynce he beheldo, and in his armys did bere.
Thus his bale turnyd hym to blis;
Aftur sorow joy, the course of the worlde is.
The sizte of his babis relesid parte of his woo;
Thus the wille of God in every thyng is doo.

How sodenly that tymo he was compellid to parte
To the felde of Barnet with his enmys to fyghte.
God lett never prynce be so hevy in his herte
As kynge Edwarde was all that hole nyzte.
And aftur that shone a ster over his hede full
bryzte,
The syght of the wiche made his enmys woo;
It was a tokyn of victory, Goddis will was soo.

This prynce it perceyvid, and he let it passe and goo,
That was to Cryst his creature he did calle,
To oure lady and to saynt George, and other seyntes
moo;
Then sodenly uppone his knes the prynce did falle,
Besechyng the good Lorde and his seyntes allo
His ryght hym to sende, and defende hym of his foo,
And said ever, "Good Lorde, thy wille be doo."

Thow knowyst my ryȝte, Lorde, and other men also;
As it is my ryȝte, Lorde, so thou me defende,
And the quarell that is wronge it may be overthrow,
And to ryght parte the victory thou sende,
And I promesse the, good Lorde, my lyffe to amende,
I knolege me a synner wrappid in woo.
And all said with one voyse, "Lorde, thy will be
doo"

His meditacioun thus made, his herte hovy,
Yet his hede he up lyfte with a mery chere,
And said, "Frendis, to this jorney it is tyme we hye;
"Latt us all call to Cryst and his seyntes in fere,
"As he uppone a crosse boght us ayght dere.
"I knolege me a synner wrappid in woo;
"In this adversité evir, Lorde, thy wille be doo."

"Avaunce, baner," quod the kyng, "passe forthe anone,
"In the name of the Trinyté and oure Lady
bryghte,
"Seynt Edward, seynt Anne, and swete seynt Johan,
"And in the name of seynt George, oure ladis
"knyȝte,
"This day shew thy grett power and thy gret
"myȝte,
"And brynge thy trew subjectes owte of payne and
"woo;
"And as thy wille is, Lorde, thys jorney be doo."

There was shotyng of gonnys and arows plenté;
  There was showtyng and crying that the orth did quake;
There was hewyng of haines, peté was to see;
  For fere of that fray many man did shake.
  There was tremelyng and turnyng thayre woo did wake.
There was hewyng of helmettes and salettes also;
Hit plesid God that seasoun it shulde be soo.

There was jollyng, ther was rennyng for the sovereynté,
  There was roiynge and rumbelynge, peté to here;
Fayne was the waykyer away for to flee.
  That day many a stowte man was ded there;
  Warwicke and Mowntegew were slayne in fere,
Knyȝtes and gentilmen and other men moo.
In all thynges, good Lorde, every thy wille be doo.

There was rydynge and rennyng; sum cryed, "Wayle-away!"
  Unknowyng to many man who the better hadde.
Sum souȝte thayre maysters, sum hit thaym that day,
  Sum ran here and there like men that were madde;
  Sum were ryght hevy and harde bestadde,
Ryght besy in thayre wittes away to goo.
Alle was for the best, oure Lorde wold it shulde be so.

Kynge Edward and his brothere, dowtyng no fere,
  Lordis and other gentilmen in the kynges ryȝte,
Stidfastyly and worshypfully thayre parte did there,
  Manly and freshely that day did thay fyȝte.
  To kynge Edwarde fille the victorye, throw Goddes myȝte.
Many one whan thay wist thay were ryȝte woo.
Hit bootid hem not to stryve, the wille of God was soo.

To London com the kyng whan the batell was doo,
  Levyng behynde hym many a dede man;
Sum hurte, sum slayne, sum cryinge "Alas!"
  Gretter multitude than I con telle.
  Sum waloyng in blood, sum pale, sum wan.
Sum sekyng thayre frendis in care and in woo.
In every thynge, Lord, thy wille be doo.

In Sothwerke, at Bambere heth, and Kyngston eke,
  The bastarde and his meané in the contré abowte,
Many grett men in London they made seke,
  Man, wyff, ne childe there durst non rowte.
  Oxin, shepe, and vetayle, withowtyn any dowte,
Thay stale away and carrid ever to and froo.
God suffirs moche thyng, his wille to be doo.

Moche sorow and shame the wrecchis thay wroughte,
  Fayre placis thay brend on the water side.
Thayre myschevus dedis avaylid ham noughte,
  Schamfully thay wrougte, and so thaym betyd.
  Thay wolde not leve ther malice, but therin abyde,
Thay cryed kynge Edward and Warwicke also.
Thus the wille of God in every thynge is doo.

At Londone brygge thay made asawte, sham to see,
  The utter gate on the brygge thay sett on fyre;
Into Londone shott arows withowte pité.
  With gunnus thay were bett that sum lay in the myre.
  Thay askyd wage of the brygge, thay paid them thayre hire.
Ever amonge thay had the worse, then wakynd thaire woo.
False men most be poyneshyd, the will of God is soo.

At Loudone brige anodyr sawte thay made agayne,
Wyth gunpowdir and wildefire and straw eke;
Fro the gate to the drawbrygge thay brent down playne,
That x myle men myȝte se the smeke.
Thay were not of thayre entent the nere of a leke,
For into the cité thay myȝte not com for welo no for woo;
God restid thayre malice, the wille of hym was soo.

At Algate thay sawtid in an ill seasoun;
Thay brente fayre howsis, peté was to se.
Thus these false men did opyne tresoun,
Supposynge evermore to enture into cité.
God and good seyntes thereof had pité.
Thayre malice was sesid and turned hem to woo.
Thus in every thynge, Lorde, thy will be doo.

The erle of Esex, and also the aldurmen,
At Bysshopus gate togedder thay motte,
And owte therat sewde like manly men.
Thay bete hem down, no man myȝte hem lett;
Freshely on thayre enmyes that day did thay fyȝte.
Thayre false treson brouȝte theym in woo;
Thus in every thynge, Lorde, thy wille be doo.

The erle Revers, that gentill knyȝte,
Blessid be the tym that he borne was!
By the power of God and his grett myȝte,
Throw his enmyes that day did he passe.
The maryners weie kellid, thay cryed "Alas!"
Thayre false tresoun brouȝte hem in woo,
Thus in every thynge, Lorde, thy wille be doo.

There aventurid the erle then into the hondo,
Contravelde the welefaire of London that day;
When the comens the skomfertour did understonde,

Thay seuyd owte freshly, thay kepud none araye;
Glad with the Kentyschmen thay were for to fraye.
Thay were kyllid down, away thay myȝte not goo.
Thus the wille of God is evermore doo.

God wolde the erle Revers there shulde be;
  He purchesid grett love of the comyns that seasoun;
Lovyngly the cetysens and hee
  Pursuyd thayre enmyes, it was but reason,
  And kyllid the peple for thayre false tresoun,
Or the chase were do, ee and moo.
Thus in every thynge, Lorde, thy will be do.

When the Kentyschmen herd of that fraye,
  Like maysterles men away thay wente,
Erly in the mornyng, or it were day,
  Throw halkys and hegges resortid into Kent.
  Thay vanysshyd away as thayre tayles had be brente,
Remembrynge thayre false tresoun, in hertes woo.
Thus in every thynge, Lorde, thy will be doo.

O glorius God, what vexacioun was then
  To the quene and the lordis and other ladies eke,
To the mayre, and the comens, and the aldurmen;
  Thay nedid no fere ne sorow to seke.
  Then aftur kynge Edwarde thay cryed and did wepe;
The lacke of his presence made the pepull woo.
Thus the wille of God in every thynge is doo.

O that nobill prynce and emperour flouere,
  To sitt at Londone resorte he than;
Nothur Alisaunder ne Artur, ne no conqueroure
  No better were acompenyd with nobill men.
  Like none of the roundo tabulle were beseyn,
Ryally horsid and aparelde in the fere of thayre foo.
Thus victoriusly he come, Goddes wille was soo.

The duke of Glocetter, that nobill prynce,
Yonge of age and victorius in batayle,
To the honoure of Ectour that he myȝte comens,
Grace hym folowith, fortune, and good spede.
I suppose hes the same that clerkis of rede,
Fortune hathe hym chosyn, and forthe wyth hym will goo,
Her husbonde to be, the wille of God is soo.

In the kynges forwarde the prynce did ride,
Withe nobill lordis of grett renowne;
The erle of Penbroke, the lorde chamberlayne be his side;
Many other knyȝtes and yomen of the crowne;
With tru[m]ppus and clarions thay rode to Londone.
In the kynges forwarde were viij. m^{l} and moo.
Thus in every thynge the wille of God is doo.

The lorde chambirlayne, that gentill knyȝte,
Whiche failid his mayster nother in stoune ne stoure;
Off goodly men he had a faire syȝte,
Wiche rode afore the kynge to his honoure.
He hathe deservid thancke amonge other paramour,
In Dochelonde, in Englonde, in wele and in woo;
He hath beddyn with his kynge, the wille of God is soo.

Then the glorius prynce, victorius and ryalle,
Kynge Edwarde the iiij^{the}, I wille ye undurstonde,
Viij. aldermen of Londone, I wille ye undyrstonde,
In the felde he dubbid thaym knyȝtes, and bade them up stonde,
Fulle nobille and worshypfully with his honde.
Wyth reverence and worshyp thay thanckyd hym also;
He remembride thayre trew hertes, God woldo soo.

The duke of Claranse, that honorabill knyȝte,
Can alowe the cité notabully.
Hym to beholde it was a goodly syȝte,
He is an excellent prynce certaynly.
He thonckyd the cetisence of thayre fidelité
Done to the kynge, it plesid hym soo.
Thus in every thynge the wille of God is doo.

Then to the gate the kynge did ride,
His brethir and his lordis in ordre, a good siȝte to see.
iiij. m[l] harnessid men the kynge did abide,
And worshypfully resayvid hym into the cité.
Cryste preserve the pepull, for his grett pité!
xx m[l], I suppose, and many one moo,
Welcomyd kyng Edward, the will of God was soo.

Throw the cité to Poulus thai did ride;
He was resayvid with prosessioun solemply;
His brether and his lordis knelyng hym beside,
Thayre offeryng thay made devoutly,
Lovyng and thonckyng God of his victory.
His brether and his lordis said the same also.
Thus in every thynge, Lorde, thy wille be doo.

O quene Elizabeth, o blessid creature,
O glorius God, what payne had sche?
What langowr and angwiche did sche endure?
When hir lorde and sovereyn was in adversité.
To here of hir wepyng it was grett pité,
When sche remembirde the kynge, sche was woo.
Thus in every thynge the wille of God is doo.

Here aftir, good lady, in youre felicité,
Remembir olde trowblis and thynges paste,
And thyncke that Cryste hym selfe is hee
That is kynge of kynges, and ever shall laste.
Knytt it in youre herte suerly and faste,
And thyncke he hathe delyveryd you owte of woo;
Hertly thoncke hym, hit plesith hym so to doo.

And ever, good lady, for the love of Jhesu,
And his blessid modir in any wise,
Remembir suche personus as have be trewe,
Helpe every man to have justice.
And thes that wille othir maner maters device,
Thay love not the kynge, I dar say soo,
Besechyng ever God that his wille be doo.

Explicit the balet off the kynge.

On England's Commercial Policy.[1]

Anglia, propter tuas naves et lanas, omnia regna te salutare deberent.

Goo forth, lybell, and mekly schew thy face
Afore my lordes, with humble countenaunss,
And pray theym all to take the to grace,
In appoysaylle and in cherysehyng the to avaunce.

Ffor thow mayst expertly be provyd by prudence,
Among alle discrete men havyng sapyence,
Ffor oone of the best that may be thought
Ffor the welth of Ynglond, yf it be well sowthe.

Ffor ther ys no reme in no maner degree,
Butt they have nede to oure Englysshe commodyté;
And the cawse theroff I wylle to yow expresse,
The wiche ys soth as the gospelle of the masse.

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[1] This poem was written to enforce the same principles as those contained in the larger tract of an earlier date, the Libel of English Policy, of which it is partly a sort of abstract adapted to the time. It is taken from a manuscript in the British Museum, MS. Lansdowne, No. 796, fol. 2, v°, of about the reign of Edward IV., at which period it appears to have been composed.

Ther ys noothir pope, emperowre, nor kyng,
Bysschop, cardynal, or any man levyng,
Of what condicion or what maner degree,
Duryng theyre levyng thei must have thynges iij.

Mete, drynk, and cloth, to every mannes sustynaunce,
They leng allo iij., withowtt varyaunce.
Ffor who so lackyth any of thyse iij. thynges,
Be the popys or emperowrs, or soo royall kynges,

Yt may not stonde with theym in any prosperyté;
Ffor who so lackythe any of thyse, he suffiyd
adversyté;
Wilys this ys soth be yowre wyttes dysceme,
Of alle the remes in the worldo this beryth the
lanteme.

Ffor of everyche of thyse iij. by Goddes ordynaunce,
Wee have suffycyenly unto oure sustynaunce,
And with the supplusage of oone of thyse iij. thynges,
We myȝgth rewle and governe alle crystyn kynges.

And paynymys also we myȝthe mak theym ful tame,
Ffor the cause we take no hed we be mykylle to
blame;
For of alle the popylle that be lyvyng on grounde
To praye and to please God we be most bownde.

Ffor thow thei have met, drynke, in every kynggos
londe,
Yet they lacke clothe, as y undyrstonde;
And for to determyn that the trouthe ys soo,
Lestyn wel to me, and ye moste acord therto.

Ffor the marchauntes commo oure wollys for to bye,
Or elles the cloth that is made theroff sykyrly,
Oute of dyverse londes fer byyond the soo,
To have thyse merchaundyss into theyr contré.

Ffiom Arteyse, Pekardy, Henaude, and Normandy,
Bretayne, Fraunse, Petowe, and Barry,
Gasscoyne, Gyon, and also Aragun,
Portyngale, Spayne, and Naverun.

Castyle, Cesyle, Coleyn, and Swethyn,
Pruse-londe, Florence, Venyse, and Jene,
Melane, Catelony, and alle Ytally,
Bewme, Hungry, Greke, and gret Tuky.

And many moo londes that I can not nevene,
But y dar sey alle that be unther hevyne,
Bothe crystyn [and] hethyn of alle maner degreys,
They have nede to oure Englysshe commodyteis.

Therfor let not owre woole be sold for nowȝte,
Neyther oure clothe, for they must be sowth;
And in especyalle restrayne strayttly the wool,
That the comyns of thys land may wyrke at the
fulle

And yf any wooll be sowlde of thys londe,
Lete yt be of the worst bothe to ffre and bonde,
And noone other in [no] maner wyse,
Ffor many dyverse cawsys, as y can devyse.

Yf the woole be corse, the cloth is mykyll the worse,
Yet into lytylle thei putt owte of purse,
As mychе for gardyng, spynnyng, and wevyng,
Ffullyng, rowyng, dyyng, and scherying.

And yet when suche clothe ys alle ywrowte,
To the maker it waylyth lytylle or nowȝtte,
The pryce ys sympylle, the cost ys never the lesse,
They that wyrkkyd socho wooll in wytte be lyke an
asse.

The costes into lytyll trewly at the fulle
Ys as myche as yt were maad of the fyne woll,
Yet a ȝerde of that oon ys worth v. of that other;
Bettyr can not I seye, thow yt were to my brother.

Take hed to my lessoun that y have schewyd here,
Ffor yt ys necessary to every clothyer,
And the most prevayle to theym that may be fownde,
Yf they wylle take hede therto and yt undyrstonde.

A ordynaunce wolde be maad for the poore porayle,
That in thyse dayes have but lytyll avayle,
That is to sey for spynneis, cardeis, weveis also,
Ffor toukers, dyers, and schermyn thereto.

For in thyse dayes ther is a hewsaunce,
That puttyth the pore pepylle to grett hynderaunce,
By a strange mene that is late in londe
Bygun and usyd as y undyrstonde

By merchaundes and cloth-makeis, for Godys sake
take kepe,
The wyche makythe the poreylle to morne and wepe;
Lytyll thei take for theyre labur, yet halff ys mer-
chaundyse;
Alas! for rewthe, yt ys gret pyté.

That they take for vj^{d}, yt ys deie ynow of iij.,
And thus thei be defrawdyd in every contré,
The pore have the labur, the ryche the wynnyng;
This acoidythe nowȝte, it is a hevy parlyng.

Butt to voyde fraude, and sett egallyté,
That syche wyrfolk be payd in good moné,
Ffrom this tyme forthe by suffycyent ordynaunce
That the poreylle no more be putte to suche gre-
vaunce.

For and ye knew the sorow and hevyness
Of the pore popyll levyng in dystress,
How thei be oppressyd in alle maner of thyng,
In yevyng theym to myche weythe into the spynnyng.

Ffor ix^{h} I wene they schalle take xij.,
This is very trewthe, as y know my selff;
Theyre wages be batyd, theyre weyte ys encresyd,
Thus the spynners and cardeis avaylys be alle seasyd.

Yt were profytabyl also and exspedyent for oure kyng,
And a gret awawntage of myche wynnyng,
And a gret enscheiychyng to alle the comynalté,
That dwelle abowte ther that the mynys be,

The wyche have lyt in usage
To myne in the erthe to gete theyre sustynaunce,
Ther myght be had x. tymys more wynnyng
Than ys now adayes with good governyng.

For and ther wore a myntte ordeynyd ny therby,
And a ordynaunce maad therto sykyrly,
That alle the sylver, whan yt fynyd were,
Thether schold be brozttbe and yconyd there.

And mony to be caryyd into another place,
But oonly to be coynyd in a schort space,
Wherby that the wyrkfolk myghte trewly be payd,
Then I dar sey yt wold not be denayyd,

But ayenst oon man then schuld ye have x.,
For the good payment of the wyrkmen;
And the moe peopyll that wyrk in the mynys,
The more sylver schuld be had up at alle tymys.

And thus the kyng schold be enrychyd for his parte,
More than he is now, I dare playnly joparte,
After the rate of theyre gret wynnyng,
The wiche schold be to hym a profytable thyng.

And thus this lond may be enrychyd ageyne,
The kyng, the lordes, and alle maner of men,
Knyghtis, squyers, and alle the comynalté,
They may playnly voyd alle poverté.

And so to contynow owtt of hevyness,
Fro penowry and nede, and to be put owt of dystress;
And for to cawse owre enmyss be this ordynaunss
To seke love and pese withowtt varyaunss

And ffulle fayne that they may be subyet to this lond,
Yf we kepe the woollys straytly owt of theyre hond;
For by the endraperyng theroff they have theyre
sustynaunce,
And thus owre enmys be supportyd to owre gret
hynderaunce.

And therfor, for the love of God in trinyté,
Conceyve welle these matoirs, and scherysshe the
comynalté,
That theyre pover levyng synfulle and adversyté
May be altratyd unto welth, rychess, and prosperyté.

Here endythe the boke of Ynglysshe polysye,
That may cause alle the worlde yt to obeye;
Ther may no man denye but that it ys sothe,
For every man must have met, drynk, and clothe.

THE END.

GLOSSARY AND INDEX OF MEDIEVAL LATIN WORDS.

VOL. II.

GLOSSARY AND INDEX OF MEDIEVAL LATIN WORDS.

A.

accidia, i. 175 ; sloth, listless melancholy.

acroma, i. 118, for *acroama ;* a concert of music.

adamas, i. 286 ; the diamond.

adunare, i. 259 ; to unite, to bring together in one.

affugere, i. 37 ; to fly from, to escape.

aldiimannus, i. 284 ; an alderman.

allo, i. 33.

alpha theos, i. 120.

ambassiator, i. 441 ; an ambassador.

amodo, i. 104 ; henceforth.

ancillare, i. 227 ; to bring into subjection.

anigerulus, i. 285 ; an error for *avigerulus ;* a dealer in birds.

antos, i. 43.

applaudare, ii. 265 ; to applaud.

arcta, ii. 157 ; the straits, between Dover and Calais.

arestasio, i. 143 ; an arrest.

argumentare, i. 260 ; to argue, to dispute.

armiger, i. 138 ; an esquire.

ars, i. 284, 287, &c. ; a trade, a trading corporation.

artifex, i. 287 ; an artizan, a member of a guild or company.

apothecarius, i. 284 , a dealer in drugs, an apothecary.

applicare, i. 160 ; to apply one thing to another.

assisæ, i. 194 ; the assizes.

B.

baga, i. 185 ; a ring, a jewel.

balearea, ii. 150 ; shots from an arbalest or military machine.

balearis, ii. 150 ; an arbalest, or other military machine for throwing missiles.

ballivus, i. 141 ; a bailif.

bannire, i. 135 ; to banish, to put under ban.

bannitio, i. 136 ; ban, banishment.

baro, i. 110, 196, ii. 3 ; a baron.

barra, i. 294 ; a bar.

barridus, i. 176, 177, 194, 196 ; strong, powerful, proud.

barrus, i. 196 ; an elephant.

bastardus, i. 108 ; a bastard.

bipartitus, i. 287 ; party-coloured.

bladum, i. 175 ; wheat, *blé.*

bombinare, i. 183, 184 ; crepitum edere.
bombus, i. 184 ; crepitus ventris.
brucus, i. 44 ; a sort of locust which devours the vegetation.
bubo, i. 194 ; *a camp-follower, a scamp.*
bumbardus, ii. 150 ; a gun, a cannon.
burgensis, i. 166 ; a burgher, a burgess.
bursista, i. 285 ; a maker of purses.

C.

caballus, i. 288 ; a horse, *cheval.*
calamizare, i. 192, 193 ; to sing joyfully.
calippus, i. 27.
camerarius, i. 461 ; a chamberlain.
cancellarius, i. 228 ; a chancellor.
candelarius, i. 285 ; a maker of *candles.*
cantarea, ii. 263 ; a chantry.
capellare, i. 227 ; to put a hat on.
capitalis, i. 120 ; put to death.
capito, i. 194 ; a fish, the gurnard.
capitulum, i. 257 ; a chapter or meeting of the monks.
capucium, i. 243 ; a capuce.
carbunculus, i. 286 ; a carbuncle, the precious stone.
catalla, i. 418 ; chattels.
caudare, ii. 128 ; to give a tail to.
ceranius, i. 285 ; a maker of wax tapers.
certificare, i. 105 ; to certify, to give information of.
cervicatus, ii. 119 ; proud, overbearing.
ceses, i. 117.
chekmat, i. 29 ; a term in the game of chess—checkmate.
chronica, i. 362 ; a chronicle. This was the most common form of the word in mediæval Latin.
cirothecarius, i. 285 ; a glover.
cissura, i. 205 ; for *scissura.*
cistula, i. 293 ; a musical instrument.
clepere, i. 203 ; to steal.
cleptes, i. 201 ; a thief, a bandit.
climat, i. 29 ; apparently a term in chess.
clunagitare, i. 159, 160, 171 ; futuere.
coir, i. 28.
coliberti, i. 95, 121 ; the free companions, or freebooters, who, under Duguesclin and other chiefs, ravaged the provinces of France. It is an unusual sense of the word.
collistrigium, i. 230 ; the pillory.
comes, passim ; an earl.
comitissa, i. 461 ; a countess.
compotus, i. 33 ; an account, reckoning.
conjectuari, i. 124 ; to conjecture, to divine.
consi, ii. 253 ; perhaps for *consciî,* but the line appears to be corrupt.
conventiculum, i. 299 ; a conventicle, an assembly in secret.
counare, i. 29 ; to collect, to amass.
crustum, i. 190 ; a crust of bread.
cullus, i. 176, for *culus.*
curtus, i. 201, ii. 127; shortcy, i. 36.

D.

damus, ii. 258 ; for *dama.*
dextrarius, i. 286, 288 ; a war-horse, *destrier.*
distractus, i. 134; drawn ; *distractus et suspensus*, drawn and hanged.
ducissa, i. 460 ; a duchess.
duellum, i. 111 ; a single combat.
duplare, i. 282 ; to double.
dux, *passim ;* a duke.

E.

ethelinga, i. 98 ; a *prince.*
exactivus, i. 39 ; exigent, one who exacts.
excillare, i. 159, 171; manere cum uxore propria.

F.

fallare, ii. 250 ; to deceive.
fatare, i. 36; to be fated.
favissor, i. 195 ; a favourer or maintainer.
feodum, i. 31 ; homage.
feriare, i. 95 ; apparently for *ferire*, to strike.
finis, i. 188 ; a fine.
firet, i. 29 ; apparently a term in the game of chess.
fortunium, i. 30 ; fortune; *fortunia dura*, misfortunes.
furire, i. 118 ; to be mad with rage.

G.

garcio, i. 227 ; a lad, a camp-follower ?
gardianus, i. 257 ; the guardian.
gaudiosus, i. 192, 212 ; full of joy.
generosus, i. 125 ; *vir generosus*, a gentleman, an esquire.
genulos, i. 120.
girfalco, i. 45 ; a large species of falcon, a gerfalcon.
gith, i. 101; a plant, the corn-cockle.
glabrio, i. 173, 174 ; a beardless man.
glomerare, i. 285 ; to assemble in a cluster round anything.
gluto, i. 116, 118 ; a glutton, a loose fellow, a ribald.
griseus, i. 256; grey.
guerra, *passim;* war.

H.

hogge, i. 35 ; a sort of ship, perhaps the same word as the modern *hoy.*

I.

igris, i. 33.
immo, i. 99, &c. ; the usual mediæval form of *imo.*
impetuensis, i. 204, 205 ; impetuous.
improperare, i. 177 ; to reproach, to abuse.

improperium, i. 177; reproach, abuse, insult.
ingratuitas, i. 230; ingratitude.
ingrediens, ii. 173; an ingredient (in medicine).
insubjicibilis, ii. 165; insubmissive, ungovernable.
intrusor, i. 114; a usurper.

J.

jocari, i. 444; to rejoice, to be glad and joyful.
jubilus, i. 40, 253; a joyful shout.
junctor, i. 285; a joiner (the trade).
justitia, i. 172; a just claim, or right.

K.

koghe, i. 35; a sort of ship, usually interpreted a cock-boat.

L.

laboritium, i. 259; properly, agricultural labour.
lapides, i. 160; testiculi.
latrones, i. 116; the free companies.
ligures, i. 116; ribalds, camp-followers, plunderers.
lista, i. 192; the border or list, in cloth.
livarot, i. 29; apparently an old term in the game of chess.
lorinarius, i. 285; more correctly *lormarius*, a maker of horses' bits.

M.

magistrari, i. 258; to take the degree of master of arts.
maleys, i. 27; an Anglo-Norman word, signifying uncomfortable.
maligni, i. 436; the malignants, a term applied to the court party in the reign of Richard II. It reminds us of the term as used by the puritans at a later period.
mannus, i. 169; a horse, a palfrey.
marcha, i. 156; a mark (the coin).
marescallus, i. 106; a marshal.
mediola, i. 247.
megarus, i. 194; a mackarel.
memorammen, ii. 129; a memorial, a record.
mendicantes, i. 255; the mendicant friars.
metrista, ii. 150; a versifier.
millus, i. 194, 196; for *mullus*, a mullet (the fish).
minores, i. 256; the minorites, or friars minors.
ministrallus, i. 143; a minstrel.
miseron, ii. 114; a misery.
missa, i. 114; the service of the mass.
monacordium, i. 293; a musical instrument with one string, more usually written *monochordum*.
monacornus, i. 294; a unicorn.
mortificare, i. 95; to kill.
morus, i. 194; a haddock (the fish).

moys, i. 180, 182; water.
multare, i. 184; for *mulctare*.
multo, i. 126, 162, &c.; *a sheep, mouton.*

N.

nablum, i. 293; a musical instrument.
nobile, i. 139, ii. 159; a noble, the name of a coin struck first in the 18th Ed. III.
notus, i. 94; for *nothus*, a bastard.
novalia, i. 236; some sort of tax exacted by the church.
novercare, ii. 265; to play the stepmother, to treat with cruelty.

O.

obstringillis, i. 176, 177; it appears by the context to mean obstructed, but according to Ducange *obstringilli* was a word signifying a sort of loose shoes.
opponere, i. 124; to subscribe.
otiva, i. 226.

P.

palafridus, i. 169, palefridus, i. 289; a palfrey.
panoratiatus, i. 161; punished, tormented.
pandoxator, i. 285; a brewer.
pares, i. 57; the peers.
pellicia, i. 256; a fur cloak, or mantle.
penna, i. 346; a pen.
phy, i. 27; an exclamation of disgust.
pilatus, i. 260; wearing a hat, the mark of an academic degree.
pir, i. 180, 182; fire.
pirata, i. 194; a robber on the sea.
pirgus, i. 28; a way, a road.
pisticus, i. 30; pure, unadulterated.
plagare, i. 109; to wound.
pomilio, i. 285; a fruiterer.
pos cy pes cy, i. 36.
possessionatus, i. 255; endowed, having possessions.
pour est ny, i. 36.
præminentia, ii. 115; prerogative or privilege.
prætendere, i. 124; to assert, to declare.
propiare, i. 288; to approach.
propriare, ii. 263; to appropriate.
provisores, i. 280; provisioners?
pugnalea, i. 56.

Q.

quietare, i. 124; to satisfy.
quietatio, i. 160; inactivity.

R.

rato, i. 43, 162; a rat.
recepta, ii. 173; a receipt.
rectores, i. 250; ecclesiastical dignitaries.
reserare, i. 125, 126; to interpret, reveal.
reseratio, i. 127; an interpretation.

rosum, i. 118; for *roseum*, red.
rumbus, i. 194; a kind of fish, the sturgeon.
rumphea, i. 37, 39; a javelin, a dart.

S.

saligia, i. 173; a factitious word, explained in the text.
scacci, i. 46; the game of chess.
scannum, i. 183, 186; for *scamnum*.
scortum, i. 140; *in scortis*, in fornication; *scorta*, fornication.
scutifer, i. 138; a knight.
scutum, i. 137, 139; a coin, called in English a noble, in French an *écu*.
secta, i. 285; a suit, uniformity of dress, livery.
sednus, i. 183, 185; one who lisps, and cannot pronounce the letter *s* properly.
seneschallus, i. 106; a seneschal, or steward.
seon, i. 29.
shopa, i. 254; a shop.
siba, i. 48.
singlaris, i. 28, 33; a wild boar, *sanglier*.
situla, i. 293; a musical instrument.
sotilaris, i. 233; a shoe.
spata, i. 119; a sword, *épée*.
statutum, i. 273; a statute.
staurum, i. 30, 47, 137, &c.; provisions of all kind, stores.
strata, i. 288; a street.
stréparius, i. 285; a maker of stirrups.
subarratus, i. 102; engaged, bound by duty?
summare, i. 117; to count, reckon.
suffragia, i. 257; suffragies, explained in the text.
supponere, i. 126; to be put in the place of something, to represent.
supponere, i. 171, 172; to support.
supponere, i. 248; to suppose.
supponere, i. 160; futuere.

T.

tantomodo, i. 259; to such a degree.
taxa, i. 143; a tax.
taxare, i. 143; to levy a tax.
temerare, i. 27; to occupy by violence, to usurp.
temptare, i. 132; the medieval form of *tentare*, to attempt.
tenementum, i. 191; landed property.
terminare, i. 140; to decide.
terminus, i. 125, 127; a term, or appellation.
tiro, tyro, i. 110, 115; a youth not yet experienced in military affairs.
tractatus, i. 450; treated.
tractatus, ii. 129; a treaty.
treuga, i. 37, 39; *et passim*; used generally in the plural, *treugæ*; a truce.
triphones, i. 48.
trulla, i. 184; occipitus ventris.
turmosus, i. 174; belonging to the mob, or to the lower classes.

U.

unus, *passim;* used for the indefinite article *a*, Fr. *un.*

V.

vendicare, ii. 265; to claim; *vendicare sibi*, i. 133.
venerinus, i. 102; adulterine; *fratres venerini*, illegitimate brothers.
vespilio, i. 194; a thief, a robber.
veteratus, i. 206; antiquated.
vicarii, i. 280; vicars, in the ecclesiastical sense of the word.
viella, i. 293; a fiddle, a violin.
villagium, i. 241; a village.
villanus, i. 140; a villain, a rustic.
vincops, ii. 150.

Y.

ymas, i. 44.
ymon, i. 228.
ypotarus, i. 194; *a kind of fish*; perhaps for *ypotamus*, which is found in the medieval glossaries in the sense of a sea-horse.

Z.

zelotopatus, i. 204; struck with jealousy.

GLOSSARY AND INDEX OF OBSOLETE ENGLISH WORDS.

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[As the letters *i* and *y* are so continually interchanged in English words of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, it has been thought better to class them together in the following Glossary, except in particular cases where *y* only is correct, and where it commences a word. *G* and ȝ are also classed together.]

A.

a, ii. 43 ; on ; *leyen hem a water*, put them on water, or, as we should say, to sea, *i.e.*, overthrow them.
a, i. 70 ; at, *a half eb*, at half ebb.
abate, i. 76 ; to reduce, put down.
abateth, i. 408 ; lowers, diminishes.
abated, ii. 14 ; diminished.
abeere, ii. 229 ; to their bier.
abide, ii. 281 ; to wait for.
abyde, ii. 191 ; to endure, to suffer.
abidyng, ii. 245 ; dwelling place.
abit, ii. 12 ; remains, endures.
abite, ii. 67 ; a habit.
aby, ii. 244 ; to be punished for, to pay for.
a-cale, i. 305 ; cold.
achieved, ii. 5, 7 ; obtained, succeeded.
acombrede, i. 38, 415, 416 ; encumbered, confused.
acountid, i. 399 ; reckoned, put to account.
acresith, ii. 105 ; increaseth.
acustomaunce, ii. 242 ; habit, custom.
adoune, i. 378 ; down.
adrad, ii. 6 ; in fear, in alarm.
afefe, ii. 51 ; to enfeof, to give in feof.
affermc, ii. 6 ; to strengthen, to consolidate.
afforse, i. 413 ; by force, by necessity.
affraye, ii. 181 ; fright, alarm.
afore, ii. 241 ; before.
afraie, i. 329 ; to frighten.
agadred, i. 344 ; assembled.
against, i. 318 ; contrary to.
aȝenward, ii. 66 ; back.
agilte, i. 343 ; to offend against.
agoo, i. 404 ; gone.
agramed, i. 313 ; angered, displeased.
agrise, i. 314, 329 ; to be terrified.
aie, i. 330 ; an egg.
aielle, ii. 138 ; an ancestor.
ailed, i. 85 ; perhaps used in the sense of diseased. *Ailed unsele*, in a bad or unfortunate condition of health.
aken, ii. 11 ; ache.
alblast, i. 69 ; an arbalest, or cross-bow.

alee, i. 416; to the lee-ward.
algate, ii. 11; nevertheless.
alie, i. 392; an ally.
alle, ii. 65; of all, *plural*.
alls, i. 60; also.
almesse, i. 319; alms.
alowe, ii. 281; to approve.
als, *passim*; as.
als, i. 337; also.
also, *passim*; as.
alsone, i. 251; as soon as.
altratyd, ii. 287; altered.
alumners, ii. 110; disciples.
alweldand, i. 75; all ruling.
amarride, i. 369; marred.
ambassiatours, ii. 202; ambassadors.
amenusith, ii. 105; diminishes.
amorwe, i. 414; on the next day.
amounteth, ii. 91; is, what it amounteth to.
an, ii. 124; on; *an hy*, on high.
anerès, ii. 64; anachorites.
ane, *passim*; one.
anet, ii. 50; dill (the plant)
anewe, i. 392; to renew, to make new.
angerliche, i. 323; in anger.
anhaunse, ii. 239; be raised up.
annuels, i. 267; payment for saying anniversary masses for the dead.
annuellers, i. 80, 95; priests employed to sing anniversary masses for the dead.
apaid, ii. 23; *apaied*, ii. 31; satisfied.
aparte, i. 316; openly.
apechyng, ii. 46; impeaching, accusing.
apeire, i. 372, 384; to impair.
apend, i. 323; belong.
aperid, i. 377; decayed, failed.
apertli, ii. 68; openly.
apis, ii. 76; apo's.
aplace, ii. 5; into place; *is come aplace*, has taken the place of heathenism.
appoysaylle, ii. 282; inquiry, question.
appreffe, ii. 167; contrivance.
apprisist, ii. 113; settest value on.
araie, i. 326; array, dress.
are, i. 78; formerly, ere.
are, ii. 186; the hare.
areche, i. 412; to reach, to attain.
archebere, ii. 183; an archpirate.
aredy, i. 387; ready.
arere, i. 397; back.
aresoneth, ii. 40; argues against.
arith, i. 397; aright.
arountid, i. 403; driven away?
arowe, ii. 146; on a row.
arseworde, ii. 64; backwards.
astate, ii. 137; estate.
aschen, ii. 172; ashes.
aschonne, i. 390; to avoid.
ascry, i. 67; to proclaim or cry, to report.
askapid, ii. 156; escaped.
aspie, ii. 68; a spy, a scout.
assaute, ii. 195; assault.
assay, ii. 196; trial, proof; *of beste assay*, of the best description; *at assay*, i. 215, when brought to trial; *of gode assayes*, ii. 186, proved to be good.
assoye, ii. 41; inquire.
assised, ii. 11; judged, regulated.
assoille, ii. 131; absolve, pardon; assoiled, ii. 32; absolved.
assoiled, ii. 38, 118; answered or solved a question.
astonye, ii. 51; to astonish, to confound.

astonyed, i. 380 ; astounded, stunned, confounded.
atamed, i. 392 ; tamed, disciplined.
atasten, ii. 90 ; to taste.
ataunt, ii. 171 ; so much.
atcheved, ii. 5, 7 ; succeeded.
ate, ii. 6 ; at the.
atempre, ii. 139 ; temperate.
atrete, i. 217 ; distinctly, positively.
attemperance, atemperaunce, ii. 143, 241 ; moderation.
atwen, ii. 213 ; between.
auters, ii. 42 ; altars.
autorise, ii. 80 ; to allege authority for.
availe, ii. 140 ; to descend. to go down.
avayle, ii. 285 ; advantage, profit ; *avaylys*, 286 ; profits.
availed, ii. ; profited, with advantage.
avant, ii. 124 ; forward.
avaunt, iis 156 ; a boast.
avys, avyse, i. 277, ii. 190 ; advice, council, deliberation.
avysemente, ii. 187 ; counsel, deliberation.
avisifenesse, ii. 200 ; good counsel.
avisy, ii. 137 ; advised, cautious.
avow, ii. 11 ; to vow, to take a vow.
avowries, ii. 35 ; patrons, protectors.
avutrie, ii. 247 ; adultery.
awgrym, i. 414 ; aritlmetic.
awmeneer, ii. 220 ; an almoner.
awne, i. 331 ; own.
axe, i. 381 ; to ask.
axist, ii. 69 ; thou askest.
ay, i. 267 ; always.
ayenst, i. 325 ; against.

B.

bable, ii. 244 ; to talk childishly.
bablid, i. 395, 415 ; chattered.
baffyng, ii. 53 ; barking.
baighteth, i. 323 ; baited.
bakke, ii. 216, 218 ; a bat.
baldely, i. 71 ; boldly.
bale, i. 58, 74, 75 ; evil, mischief, sorrow ; *to brewe bale*, to breed mischief.
baleys, ii. 176 ; a rod.
ballid, i. 415 ; bald.
ban, i. 83, ii. 244 ; curse.
band, i. 72, 73 ; a bond.
bar, i. 216 ; bore.
baratur, ii. 236 ; a contentious person.
bare, i. 74, 77 ; a boar.
bargenyng, ii. 77 ; contending.
baselarde, i. 331 ; a long dagger.
basonet, ii. 125 ; a bassenet, or light helmet.
bastarde, ii. 160 ; a sort of wine brought from Spain, mentioned not unfrequently in old writers.
batail, i. 82 ; an army.
batailed, ii. 9 ; warred upon.
bated, i. 389 ; fluttered.
baterid, i. 388 ; battered.
batyd, ii. 286 ; abated, diminished.
battis, i. 409 ; bats, cudgels.
baudrike, i. 331 ; the sword-belt.
bawtid, i. 380 ; abated?
bay, ii. 90 ; *brynge 3ou til a bay*, bring you to bay (as in hunting).
bayed, i. 404 ; barked.
beawpores, ii. 229 ; companions.
beddyn, ii. 280 ; remained.
bede, ii. 103 ; a prayer.

bede, i. 62 ; to proffer.
bede, i. 71 ; to abide.
bedred, ii. 22 ; bed-ridden.
been, ii. 17 ; to be.
beelsire, ii. 229 ; literally, fair lord.
beerys, ii. 219 ; bears.
behest, ii. 5 ; promise ; behestes, ii. 145 ; promises.
behote, i. 416 ; promised.
behoten, ii. 33 ; they promise.
behoveli, ii. 12 ; necessary.
beytis, ii. 219 ; baits.
beld, i. 75 ; protection, refuge.
belde, i. 379 ; to protect, to bring help.
beldid, ii. 77 ; built.
beleft, i. 381 ; left behind.
belyffe, ii. 207 ; immediately.
ben, i. 218 ; be.
bende, i. 275 ; a band.
bendes, i. 319 ; bonds.
bene, ii. 179 ; we are.
benyme, i. 372 ; to take from.
benysoun, ii. 113 ; a blessing.
benome, ii. 159 ; taken away.
bent, ii. 127 ; a field, a plain.
bent, ii. 125 ; indented.
beo, i. 216 ; by.
beo, i. 215 ; they are.
beoth, i. 218 ; are.
berde, i. 69 ; *keped hym in the berde*, a phrase which perhaps signifies to keep within bounds. The Promptorium has the word *berde* in the sense of margin or brink.
bere, i. 78 ; a bier.
bere-bag, i. 62, 84 ; a bag carrier. An injurious word, applied to the Scots, who carried their provisions, consisting of oatmeal, in bags on their backs.
bereft, ii. 179 ; taken from.
bereved, i. 387 ; deprived of.
bereward, i. 364 ; a bear-ward, or keeper of a bear.
berkyne, ii. 169 ; beer, ale.
berkyng, ii. 216 ; barking.
berlingis, i. 396 ; young bears.
berne, i. 373 ; man.
beside, ii. 19 ; aside.
besinesse, ii. 203 ; activity, earnestness ; *with besinesse*, busily.
beste, i. 371 ; beast, *i.e.*, my cattle.
bestad, ii. 6 ; arranged.
bete, ii. 125 ; to strike.
bete, i. 62 ; to amend or relieve ; *bete their bale*, to bring them relief from misfortune.
bete, i. 62 ; to walk up and down ; bete ham, ii. 94 ; to address themselves.
betid, ii. 198 ; happened.
betydyth, i. 384 ; it happens, it betides.
bett, i. 226 ; beat.
beu, i. 390 ; fine, handsome.
bid, i. 58 ; ask.
biddon, ii. 48 ; to pray.
bide, i. 68, ii. 185 ; to remain, dwell.
bydo, i. 216 ; to support, bear.
bydo, ii. 126 ; prayed.
bydene, i. 366 ; immediately ; *at bidene*, forthwith, at once.
bye, ii. 160 ; to buy.
bye, i. 269 ; to aby, to make amends for.
bien, ii. 177 ; they buy.
byfalle, i. 269 ; to befall ; *faire mot byfalle*, may they have good luck ; *foule mote him befall*, i. 304 ; may he have bad luck or fortune.
biforn, i. 66 ; before.

big, i. 80; to take up one's dwelling.
big, i. 77; prepared.
bigge, ii. 223; to build.
biging, i. 62; a dwelling.
higly, ii. 57; strongly, boldly.
byheste, ii. 204; promise.
biker, i. 71; to skirmish, to fight.
bylefe, i, 269; belief.
bilevid, i. 64; *remained.*
bylle, ii. 228; to write a bill against, to libel.
bylle, i. 274; to bell.
birde, i. 333; a girl, young woman.
bysom, ii. 235; blind.
bysyde, ii. 187; beside; *to leve bysyde*, to abandon.
bit, ii. 85; biddeth.
bitake, ii. 114; give, abandon to, commit to.
bithoght, i. 74; bethought.
bitid, i. 61; befallen.
blaunchid, i. 50; blanched, whitened.
blaw, i. 69; to blow.
ble, i. 269; colour, hue.
blent, i. 327; blinded.
blere, ii. 172; to blear, to dim one's sight.
blernyed, i. 389.
bleuz, i. 217; blew.
blynne, i. 266; blin, i. 72, 74; to cease, to desist.
blith, i. 78; joyful.
blythid, i. 396; made joyful, gave joy to.
blonder, i. 268; bustle, disturbance.
blwun, i. 225.
bod, ii. 165.; remained.
bodden, ii. 23; bidden.
boisteous, ii. 195; boistous, i. 307, 335; threatening, fearful, turbulent, rude.

bokeramo, ii. 171; buckram.
boldid, i. 379; emboldened.
bole, ii. 84; a bull.
bolgit, ii. 155; bulged.
bolle, ii. 140; a bull.
bondo, i. 216; bonds, fetters.
boudus, i. 225; bondsmen, serfs.
bone, i. 68; a petition, prayer.
bone, i. 58; *a boon, a favour.*
bonet, i. 415; a supplementary or additional sail in a ship, fastened with lacings to the feet of courses or lower sails, in moderate or fair winds, and the operation of applying it is still termed *bending*.
bonus, i. 277; bones.
boote, ii. 155; remedy.
bootid, ii. 276; availed, helped.
bore, i. 72; a boar.
borowe, i. 415; a borough.
bosard, ii. 219; a buzzard, a kind of moth.
bosse, i. 396.
bost, i. 218; to boast.
bot, *passim*; but.
bot, i. 62, &c.; without.
bote, i. 68, 218, 365; remedy, help, compensation.
bote, i. 65; a boat.
boterasse, ii. 187; a buttress.
bothe, ii. 226; a booth.
botirflyes, ii. 219; butterflies.
bougeth, ii. 161.
boun, i. 90; ready, going to do anything.
bown, i. 268; ready.
bountevous, ii. 145; bountiful.
boure, i. 81; bour, i. 265; a chamber.
bown, ii. 154; ready.
boxomnesse, ii. 44; obedience.
boy, i. 272; a serving lad.

boynard, i. 389 ; boynardis, i. 379 ; a low fellow.
brade, i. 71 ; broad.
brayd, i. 217 ; a stroke.
brnste, i. 396 ; burst.
bredd, i, 387 ; a bird.
bredder, i. 275 ; broader.
brede, i. 369 ; breadth.
bremé, i. 411 ; proud, haughty,
bremme, i. 384, 387 ; proud, swaggering.
bremli, ii. 52 ; fiercely.
brems, i. 72; (or brenis) corslets.
brenc, i. 73, ii. 153 ; to burn.
brent, i. 269 ; brente, ii. 278 ; burnt.
brere, i. 78; a briar, bush. brers, i. 395; briars.
brese, ii. 54 ; gadflies.
brest, i. 407 ; burst.
bretylle, ii. 182 ; brittle.
bribith, ii. 40 ; begs, robs. The word is used in both senses.
brid, i. 78 ; bryd, i. 364 ; a bird.
brid, i. 61 ; a lady, a bride.
brig, i. 77 ; a bridge.
brim, i. 71 ; sea, flood.
brymme, ii. 109; fierce.
brin, i. 64 ; burn.
brodid, i. 387 ; spread.
braylist, ii. 61 ; bringest up confusedly, blunderest.
bromes, i. 391 ; brooms.
broud, i. 396; a bond (?).
bround, ii. 52 ; a firebrand.
brounte, i. 380 ; brought.
browet, i. 382 ; broth.
bud, i. 71; behoved, must,
ad, i. 85; made, compelled.
ugee, i. 265; a sort of cloth.
uystousnesse, ii. 99; boisterousness.
urgase, i. 70 ; the burghers.
burne. i. 400, 401 ; a man; burnes, i. 379; men, fellows, barons.
burnesse, i. 404 ; burgage, nobility.
burnished, i. 395 ; smoothed (?).
burthe, ii. 244 ; a birth, the act of being born.
buserde, ii. 98 ; the buzzard, a kind of large moth.
busk, i. 62 : to go rapidly. busked, i. 395 ; hurried. buskys, ii. 287; haste you
busshe, i. 382; to but, to push, to busk.
busshinge, i. 378; busking, pushing.
bute, i. 58, 70 ; compensation (for bote).
byse, i. 265; a fine description of silk.
by, *passim*, for be.

C.

caeche, ii. 67 ; catch.
cakked, ii. 170 ; cacaverunt.
calkyn, ii. 61 ; to calculate.
can, i. 269, ii. 131, know, knows.
can, i. 226 ; began. Used with a verb to form a sort of imperfect tense. *Can schowte*, they shouted, or were shouting—literally, they began to shout.
canst, i. 334 ; knowest thou.
cant, i. 78 ; brisk, courageous.
cantly, i. 71 ; briskly, courageously.
carecke, i. 320 ; figures, characters.
cared, ii. 4 ; been in care, or trouble.
carikkys, ii. 199 ; large ships.
carke, i. 310 ; to care.
carpe, i. 381 ; to talk, to converse. carpist, ii. 68 ; talkest carpynge, ii. 198 ; talking.

carpe, i. 414; talk, conversation.
carreys, ii. 180; carracks, or large ships.
carris, ii. 181; carts.
casse, i. 364; case.
cast, ii. 90; contrived, formed a design.
castis, i. 396; contrivances, machinations.
cataile, i. 84; goods.
catel, i. 217; chattels.
cautelle, i. 394; craft.
cautell, ii. 32; a stratagem, trick.
corteyne, ii. 177; *to corteyne*, to a limit; *for a certeyn bi 3ere*, for so much a year.
cesse, ii. 6; to cause to cease, to put a stop to.
cetisones, ii. 281; citizens.
chaffare, ii. 160; merchandize.
chaffren, i. 307; to barter.
chafyr, ii. 110; to trade.
chalengen, ii. 44; claim.
challe, i. 249; shall.
chapitle, ii. 160; a chapter.
chargeaunt, ii. 106; burthensome, chargeable.
chefare, ii. 180; merchandize.
cheff, i. 402; cheffe, ii. 201; head, chief.
chekonys, i. 387; chickens.
chele, i. 387; cold.
chepe, i. 247; to purchase.
cherichen, i. 387; cherish.
cherliche, i. 402; dearly.
chese, i. 252; ches, ii. 5; to choose.
chesse, i. 378; chose.
chevalleris, i. 413; knights.
cheve, ii. 268; to flourish, to succeed.
chevith, ii. 132; bringeth to a successful issue, achieveth.
chevesaunce, ii. 169; bargain, agreement.
chevetan, i. 225; chieftain, captain.
chevytoyns, i. 378; chieftains.
chief, ii. 147; head.
chire, ii. 225; cheer.
chyteryng, ii. 40; chattering.
chowȝe, ii. 40; a chough (the bird).
christened, i. 306; a Christian.
churliche, i. 335; clownish, churlish.
cisme, ii. 41; schism.
clappid, i. 416; talked.
clatterers, i. 271; chatterers.
clatrist, ii. 60; chatterist.
clatrid, ii. 76; talked loudly.
claude, ii. 203; clothed, clad.
cleete, i. 217; a piece of wood (?).
clekkid, ii. 95.
cleme, i. 313; to claim.
clepe, ii. 32; call; cleped, i. 368, 395, called. clepest, ii. 148; callest. clepen, i. 309; called. clepen, i. 325; they call.
clip, i. 73; to embrace.
cliper, i. 215, 252; slippery.
clogge, ii. 222, 224, 232; a clog of wood at the end of a chain or rope.
cofren, i. 306; to put in coffers.
coyffes, i. 409; coifs.
coile, i. 402; choose (?).
cokil, ii. 143; the weed in corn.
colectis, ii. 88; collections.
coleres, i. 275; collars.
colys, i. 382; coals.
colis, i. 413.
colloure, ii. 186; protence.
combraunce, ii. 65; trouble.

combred, i. 377; confused.
combrouseli, ii. 104; troublesomely.
come, i. 415; arrival, coming.
comens, ii. 280; to commence.
comyne, i. 416; the comunalty.
comynliche, i. 378; commonly.
comliche, i. 413; in an elegant manner, comely.
comonde, ii. 165; communed, conversed.
comonté, ii. 178, 186; commonalty.
comsith, i. 401; begins, commences, *comsid*, i. 413; began.
comuynes, i. 250; the commons.
con, i. 250; can.
concludist, ii. 86; refutest.
confect, ii. 108; made, composed.
conyes, ii. 186; rabbits.
conig, i. 82; a rabbit.
conne, ii. 4; fire acquainted with.
constory, ii. 236; the consistory court.
construen, ii. 243; interpret.
construwe, i. 378; to construe.
contyitaunce, i. 264, ii. 204; behaviour, appearance.
contrarie, ii. 62; to act contrary to.
contravelde, ii. 278; laboured with (?).
cordoweyne, ii. 163; Spanish leather, brought from Cordova.
coroune, i. 86; a crown.
coroun, ii. 67; the priest's tonsure.
correcte, ii. 173.
corette, i. 371; to correct.
corrumpe, ii. 269; to corrupt.
orsed, ii. 247; cursed.
rvysers, ii. 109; shoemakers.
ste, ii. 179.
steued, i. 400; cost.
ostes, ii. 184; expenses.
ostious, ii. 212; costly.
costis, i. 385, 390; regions.
cot-armers, ii. 126; men in coat-armour.
cotis, i. 401; coats.
coude, i. 396; knew.
cougioun, i. 393; perhaps *congioun*, a coward.
coupthe, i. 371; knew how, could.
countred, ii. 154; encountered.
countenance, ii. 253; appearance, ostentation.
countours, i. 328; arithmeticians.
courseers, ii. 212; highbred horses.
covetise, ii. 78; covaitise, i. 84; covetousness.
covent, i. 225; assemblage.
covent, i. 68; convent. coventis, ii. 64; convents.
covetour, i. 306; a coverture.
crallit, i. 308.
crasid, i. 373, 377; crushed, broken.
creaunce, i. 374; credit.
crepit, ii. 51; creeps.
cressetes, ii. 153, 218, cressets, frames at the ends of poles in which fires were lighted.
cresté-clothe, ii. 164; a sort of fine linen.
croys, i. 269; a cross.
croisery, i. 317.
crok, ii. 206; to bend.
crokettes, i. 312; locks of hair.
crokk, i. 382; a pot, a pitcher.
cropun, ii. 47; crept (?).
croucho, i. 332; a cross.
crouperes, ii. 252; cruppers.
cuynde, i. 251; kind, nature.
culleth, i. 311, 321, 344; to cherish; to enforce.
culoum, i. 372, 415; the conclusion of a narrative.

cumberd, i. 78; cumbred, i. 252; troubled, encumbered, entangled.
cumen, i. 63; come.
cumly, i. 66; comely.
cunne, i. 218; can.
cure, ii. 199; care.
cure, ii. 206; service.
cure, ii. 187; remedy.
custumale, ii. 71; accustomed.
cutted, i. 332; jagged, alluding to *an extravagant fashion prevalent* in the reign of Richard II.

D.

dagges, i. 401; slips, shreds, the cuts in the fashionable dress.
dale, i. 87.
dalliaunce, ii. 111; tittle-tattle.
dare, i. 59, 250; to stare, to be terrified, to be scared.
darcand, i. 59; *staring.*
dased, i. 344; confused, dazzled.
daunger, ii. 191; lordship or dominion.
dawe, ii. 44; day, daylight.
dawe, i. 323; dawis, i. 377; days.
debres, ii. 236.
ded, i. 80; deed.
dedde, i. 308; death.
dede, i. 74; death.
dede, ii. 189; dead.
dees, i. 374.
deyȝede, i. 218; died.
deyntis, i. 406; dainties.
del, i. 251; dele, i. 64; part, share.
dele, ii. 31; parts, *a thousand dele*, a thousand times.
deleated, ii. 14; delayed.
delid, i. 79; dealt.
delith, ii. 110; distribute.
delle, i. 371; part, deal.
deme, ii. 57; to judge.
demene, ii. 229; to direct, or lead.
demer, i. 383; a judge, one who demes.
demin, i. 319; they judge.
den, ii. 236; a dean.
denayyd, ii. 286; denied.
dene, i. 73; a den, or habitation.
denyene, ii. 180; to deny.
dent, ii. 126; a blow.
departe, ii. 183; to share.
departyspun, ii. 217; a distribution, a sharing.
dere, ii. 270; to injure.
dere, i. 78; dear.
derei, ii. 250; confusion, noise, disturbance.
derid, i. 386; injured, hurt, harmed.
derklich, i. 394; obscurely.
dern, i. 59; cruel, severe.
derne, i. 376, 377; secret.
derrere, ii. 89; dearer.
destric, ii. 47; to destroy.
detecte, ii. 189; exposed, made evident.
dever, ii. 73, 98; duty.
devorsité, ii. 241; change of fortune.
dewe, i. 394; due, legitimate.
diagredie, ii. 173.
dight, i. 70; prepared, made ready.
dyȝght, i. 226; arranged.
dighte, i. 76; to prepare oneself; dighteth, i. 333; arranges, prepares.
digness, i. 398; worthiness.
diking, i. 335; making ditches.

dilacioun, ii. 145 ; delay.
dyme, i. 412 ; a tenth.
dimmuir, i. 216 ; demure, quiet.
dyne, ii. 180; to dye.
dineth, i. 394; gives to dinner, feeds.
dint, i. 73; a blow; dyntes, ii. 126; blows.
dirk, ii. 218; dark.
diselaunder, i. 336; to slander.
diseryve, i. 374 ; to describe.
discured, ii. 174 ; discovered.
disert, ii. 64 ; a desert.
disperpiled, ii. 226 ; scattered.
dissese, i. 383; uneasiness.
dyssevable, ii. 173 ; deceptive.
distance, i. 83 ; distaunce, i. 339, ii. 254 ; debate or discord.
doe, ii. 31 ; done.
dokkist, ii. 27 ; curtailest.
dole, i. 79, 80 ; in the latter instance it means sorrow, grief; in the former, perhaps, a portion, from A. S. dælan.
dolfyne, ii. 124; dolphyn, ii. 133; the dauphin of France.
dolosité, ii. 111 ; deceit.
dome, i. 309 ; judged, condemned.
dome, i. 308 ; judgment ; *at dome*, i. 327 ; in judgment.
domes cart, i. 398; the executioner's cart.
domes-day, i. 72 ; day of judgment.
domp, i. 88 ; to plunge, to tumble.
dongen, i. 77 ; struck.
dongeon, ii. 152 ; the keep or main tower of a castle; dángoun, ii. 211; where it is applied to the place in which Christ was born.
doris, ii. 220 ; doles, shares.
dren, ii. 107 ; dare.
doth, ii. 7 ; causeth, maketh.
dotyn, ii. 188 ; dote.
douȝteth, i. 399 ; feareth.
dout, i. 73 ; to fear.
dout, i. 69, 324 ; fear, doubt.
dowtes, i. 368 ; doubts.
dowtfulle, ii. 271 ; fearful.
drad, i. 213 ; dradde, i. 417 ; feared.
draffe, ii. 84 ; dregs, refuse.
draggee, ii. 72 ; a draught (?).
drane, ii. 219; a drone.
dray, i. 81 ; noise, tumult.
draped, ii. 162 ; made into cloth.
drapere, ii. 168 ; to make cloth.
drave, ii. 270 ; drove.
drawte, i. 403 ; draught, shot.
dresse, i. 58 ; set right ?
dressen, i. 314 ; they prepare.
drewris, i. 78 ; jewels, valuable things.
dride, i. 374 ; dread, fear.
drye, ii. 64 ; to suffer; to undergo.
drive, i. 71 ; to go quickly.
dromons, ii. 199 ; ships of war.
droupe, i. 250 ; to droop.
drouping, i. 344 ; drooping.
drowȝe, i. 225 ; drew, dragged.
dryȝe, i. 216 ; dry.
dubby, ii. 57 ;
dud, i. 225 ; did.
dude, i. 361 ; did.
dulfulle, ii. 206 ; grievous, doleful.
dure, i. 215 ; to endure, last.

E.

eddor, i. 392 ; a snake, an adder.
eeche, ii. 133.
eeris, i. 394 ; ears.
efte, ii. 179 ; again.

eftsoone, i. 322 ; soon again.
egallyté, ii. 285 ; equality, fairness.
egge, i. 306 ; to urge.
eghen, i. 77 ; eyes.
eyere, i. 388.
eiȝe, i. 250 ; eyes.
eylid, i. 382 ; gilded.
eyne, i. 387 ; eyes.
eyre, ii. 195 ; air.
eyren, i. 393 ; eggs.
eyrer, i. 363 ; a brood of swans.
eyris, ii. 86 ; heirs (?).
eirsyng, ii. 81 ;
elde, i. 372 ; old age.
eldernе, i. 377 ; of the elders, of the men of old.
eliche, i. 377 ; alike, equally.
enbassitoures, ii. 210 ; ambassadors.
enbatailid, ii. 57 ; formed in order of battle.
encensen, ii. 14 ; to cense, to perfume with or offer incense.
eneres, ii. 9; increase.
endauntid, i. 398 ; feared (?).
endely, ii. 201 ; final.
endraperyng, ii. 287 ; making into cloth.
enhaunsid, ii. 41 ; raised.
enmysse, ii. 182 ; enemies.
enoignt, ii. 12 ; anointed.
enpechest, ii. 82 ; accused.
enplede, i. 326 ; to implead.
enquere, ii. 203 ; to seek.
ensample, ii. 6 ; an example.
enscherychyng, ii. 286; a cherishing.
enserche, ii. 203 ; to seek.
enserchise, ii. 195 ; inquiry.
ensise, i. 322 ; quality (?).
entendement, ii. 13 ; meaning.
entent, i. 372, ii. 199 ; intention, design.
entreconon, ii. 202 ; to hold intercourse, to intercommunicate.
environ, ii. 157 ; round about
eorthe, i. 251 ; earth.
er, i. 266 ; before.
er, i. 59 ; are.
eron, i. 364 ; an eagle.
erste, ii. 124 ; first, before, formerly.
ert, i. 266, ii. 113 ; art.
ertou, i. 78 ; art thou.
es, *passim* ; is.
ese, i. 382 ; ease.
eth, i. 71 ; easy.
euforbe, ii. 173; a plant, spurge.
evangely, i. 306 ; the gospel.
even, ii. 39; equal ; *her even Christian*, their fellow Christian.
evene, ii. 8 ; level; *in evene*, on a firm footing ; *al in evene*, i. 11, all straight with one another.
everich, ii. 6 ; every one, *everich on live*, everybody alive.
everichone, ii. 137 ; every one.
expoune, ii. 182 ; explain, expound.
extente, ii. 193 ; stretched out, held forth.

F.

fade, ii. 7 ; sad.
fught, i. 81 ; fought.
fay, i. 215 ; faie, i. 330 ; faith.
failed, i. 395 ; deserted, abandoned.
failen, ii. 243 ; want.
fain, i. 64 ; fayn, ii. 155 ; glad.
faitours, i. 307 ; flatterers, deceivers.
faldynge, ii. 186 ; a sort of rough cloth.
fally, ii. 103 ; falsely.

falnes, ii. 250; falseness, deceit.
famed, i. 313; defamed.
famen, i. 74; foe-men.
fand, i. 73; to try.
fare, i. 59; to go; *foule fare*, i. 25; to go ill, to misbehave, to fare foully; 251, to be ruined.
fare, i. 73; *frankis fare*, the distribution of your money (?).
fare, i. 59; going, expedition.
fare, i. 325; business, affair (?).
fauȝte, i. 386; fault, want.
faukyn, i. 388; fawcon, 389; a ffalcon.
fawtis, i. 372; faults.
feblen, i. 391; become feeble.
federed, ii. 125; feathered, i. 9; pierced with arrows, the feathers of which appeared without.
fedrin, fedris, i. 388; feathers.
feer, ii. 241; far; *feer aboute*, far out of the way.
feet, ii, 182; deed, fact.
feet, i. 398; fetched.
feyned, i. 269; feigned, pretended.
feynt, ii. 152; to become weak.
felde, *passim*; a field.
felde, ii. 165; felt.
fele, i. 63; many.
fell, i. 61, 70; cruel.
fell, i. 77; to strike down.
felle whare, i. 399; fel-ware, feltry, skins of wild animals.
felle, i. 391; the skin. felles, ii. 168; skins.
fellich, i. 389; cruelly.
felliest, ii. 17; most cruel.
fende, i. 252; the fiend, the devil. fendes, ii. 184; devils.
feole, i. 250; many.
fer, i. 269; far.
fer, i. 71, 81; fur, further.
ferd, i. 68; afraid.
ferde, i. 67; fear.
ferde, i. 376; went.
fere, i. 73; a companion, a fellow.
fere, i. 310; company.
fere, i. 77; to frighten.
ferkyd, i. 396; hastened. *ffer kyd hem ffor th*, they rushed forwards.
ferly, ii. 252; strange.
ferone, i. 68; fern.
ferli, ii. 51; wonderfully.
ferme, ii. 44; to strengthen.
ferme, i. 313; farm.
ferre, ii. 194; fear.
ferrum, i. 77; *o ferrum*, afar.
fers, ii. 125; fierce.
fersnesse, ii. 268; cruelty.
ferthe, ii. 4, 56; fourth.
festne, i. 269; to fasten.
fete, ii. 196; feet.
fete, ii. 248; feet.
fetely, ii. 172; cleverly, neatly.
ffeul, ii. 82; fickle.
fyght, ii. 252; *in fyght*, engaged in fighting, in strife (?).
file, i. 79, 81; a worthless fellow, a coward.
ffilowyng, ii. 133; following.
fyn, ii. 91; the end. *a fyn*, in the end.
fyne, ii. 134; to conclude, to put an end to.
fyne, ii. 132; end, result.
fyne, ii. 187; to refine. fynyd, ii. 286; refined.
finding, i. 327; board, living.
fyndyth, i. 414; support, keep, provide for.
figre, ii. 112; of figs. *figre-tree*, a fig-tree.

fyth, i. 364 ; to fight.
flagrant, ii. 232 ; fragrant.
flauré, ii. 250 ;
fle, i. 394 ; to fly.
fleand, i. 77 ; flying.
fleen, i. 64 ; fly.
flemed, ii. 40 ; flemid, i. 60 ; banished.
flex, ii. 171 ; flax.
flit, i. 88 ; to remove.
floter, i. 389 ; to flutter.
flour, i. 216 ; ii. 7 ; a flower.
flusshe, i. 389 ; to hop as a bird.
fode, i. 389 ; a child.
fodid, i. 387 ; fodid, ii. 12 ; cherished, bred up, fostered, fed.
fodith, i. 394 ; cherishes, feeds.
fode, i. 386 ; food.
fode, i. 74 ; a youth, a person.
foyne, i. 399 ; a polecat.
fold, i. 81 ; the earth, the world.
folyn, ii. 188 ; go mad, or foolish.
folthed, i. 380 ; folly (?).
folus, i. 225 ; fools.
fomen, i. 218 ; foes.
fond, ii. 230 ; a dilemma (?).
fondo, i. 84 ; to endeavour, to attempt.
fonde, i. 266 ; invented.
fonde, ii. 252 ; found.
fondement, ii. 243 ; foundation.
fone, fume, i. 62 ; foes.
fong, ii. 247 ; to take, embrace. fongen, i. 414 ; we take. fongeth, i. 383 ; they take.
fonnedli, ii. 97 ; foolishly.
fonnest, ii. 85 ; becomest foolish.
foode, ii. 220 ; a young man, a fellow : foodis, i. 398 ; fodis, 405 ; youths.
foole, i. 395 ; fowls.
foon, ii. 127 ; foes.
forbode, i. 344 ; a forbidding.
for-by, ii. 158 ; near, past.
forekis, i. 379 ; the gallows.
fordyd, i. 371 ; apparently an error for *fondid*, endeavoured.
fordone, i, 322, ii. 39 ; destroyed, abolished, overthrown.
fordoth, i. 398 ; undoeth, ruineth, destroyeth.
foreyns, ii. 143 ; strangers, interlopers.
forewitte, ii. 200 ; foreknowledge.
forfarene ; gone into exile.
forgaid, i. 344.
forgone, i. 86 ; lost.
forgrowe, i. 363 ; overgrown.
forhele, ii. 45 ; conceal, or, perhaps, withhold.
forjugid, ii. 79 ; judged to death.
forlith, ii. 7 ; violates.
forlorne, i. 365 ; lost, spoilt.
forloie, ii. 241 ; ruined, lost in a moral sense.
formed, i. 415 ; informed.
formere, ii. 42 ; informer, teacher.
formyng, ii. 42 ; informing, information.
forsings, i. 331 ; ruins by singing, sings to ruin.
forslokend, ii. 40 ; smothered, stifled.
forswore, ii. 241 ; perjured.
forthi, i. 77 ; therefore.
forthinken, ii. 73 ; repent.
forthren, i. 336 ; to further, to promote.
forward, i. 86 ; an engagement, promise.
forwarde, ii. 280 ; the front or vanguard of an army.

forweyned, i. 374; wenned badly, corrupted in the wenning.
forwrithen, ii. 45; twisted, tortuous.
foryete, i. 317, 325; forget.
fosse, ii. 191; foes.
fostrid, i. 387; fostered.
foule, ii. 126; a fowl.
foulen, i. 330; defoul.
foulyd, i. 388; fowled, hunted birds.
foundament, ii. 9; foundation.
founded, i. 59; tried.
fournures, ii. 113; informers.
fra; from.
fray, ii. 279; to fight.
fraine, ii. 38; to interrogate.
frankis, i. 73; francs, French money (?).
fre, i. 67, 395; free, of gentle birth.
freyneth, ii. 42; inquireth, questioneth.
frek, i. 59, 68; eager.
frele, ii. 247; frail.
frely, i. 74; of gentle blood.
frelle, i. 373; frail.
frentike, ii. 85; frenetic, frantic.
frers, i. 263; friars.
freted, i. 387; eat.
fretyd, ii. 41.
fryst, ii. 249; first.
frith, i. 63, 389; a low wood.
fuge, ii. 198; flight.
fuyre, i. 305; fire.
fules, ii. 252; fools.
fullefille, i. 370; to fill full.
fulmard, ii. 220; a polecat.
fumose, ii. 162; smoky (?).
fun, i. 83; found.
funden, i. 81; found.

G. ȝ.

gabbe, i. 269; to jest, to make jest of.
gabberys, ii. 237; jesters.
gadering, i. 326; gathering.
gaf, i. 69; gave.
gaglide, i. 396; gaggled.
gayes, i. 385;
gayne, ii. 207; kind, generous.
galaye, i. 64; a galley.
galiote, i. 65; a name of a particular sort of ship, a small galley.
gale, i. 74; song, noise (?).
gayned, i. 68; *gayned hym*, he got.
galontes, ii. 251; gallants.
galpen, ii. 100; to yawn.
galwys, ii. 239; the gallows.
gardyng, ii. 281; carding (of wool)
gardoun, ii. 112; reward.
garnement, ii. 70; garment.
garner, ii. 99; a store-room.
gate, i. 267, way; *so gates*, in that manner; *went my gate*, i. 268, went my way, went away.
gate, ii. 269; obtained.
gate, ii. 146;
gaudes, i. 61, 62; tricks.
geete, i. 216; to get.
geftes, ii. 178; gifts.
geyn, ii. 213; against.
gent, ii. 125; gentle, noble.
ger, i. 76; to make, to cause.
ȝerde, ii. 285; a yard.
ȝere, i. 79;
ȝerne, i. 267; earnestly.
ȝers, i. 264; years.
gert, i. 64; caused.

gery, i. 398 ; changeable, giddy.
gest, i. 326 ; a guest ; gestes, i. 90, guests.
get, i. 62, gain (?) ; *bot get*, may perhaps mean without any gain (by their treachery). Ritson explains it as "an interjection of contempt."
ȝeven, ii. 67 ; to give.
gy, ii. 240 ; rule, guide.
gie, i. 406 ; gye, i. 370 ; to guide, to direct, to rule.
ȝyf, ȝif, *passim* ; if.
gigges, i. 326 ; loose women.
gild, ii. 244 ; beguiled.
gildyn, ii. 50 ; gilt.
gyle, i. 395 ; guile.
gyloun, i. 374 ; a deceiver, a beguiler.
gyllorys, ii. 235 ; guilers.
gyn, i. 79 ; a trap.
gynne, ii. 141 ; begin.
gynning, ii. 143 ; beginning.
gioure, i. 370 ; giour, ii. 109 ; a ruler, leader, guide.
gyside, i. 399 ; disguised (?).
ȝiste, i. 385 ;
ȝit, i. 79 ; yet.
gyuleris, i. 398 ; guilers.
glade, i. 71 ; to gladden.
glasen, ii. 100 ; made of glass.
glaterye, ii. 240 ; flattery (?).
gle, i. 64, 68, ii. 239 ; game, mirth, gladness.
gledo, i. 344 ; a kite (the bird).
gledre, ii. 173.
glee, i. 406 ; joy, pleasure.
glose, ii. 40 ; flattery.
glosinge, i. 414 ; flattering.
god, ii. 152 ; goods, property.
goldede, ii. 227 ; possessed of gold, wealthy.
gome, i. 400, 401 ; a man ; gomes, i. 388 ; men.
gong, i. 307 ; gonge, ii. 72, a privy.
gonnes, ii. 198 ; gonnys, 276 ; gunnus, 277 ; guns, cannons.
gospeleer, ii. 211 ; the evangelist.
gost, i. 370, 373 ; spirit. gostes, ii. 244 ; spirits.
gotefel, ii. 150 ; goat's hides.
governaile, i. 336 ; helm, rudder
ȝovun, ii. 98 ; given.
gowe, i. 48.
grans, i. 251 ; grace.
grayn, ii. 208 ; a scarlet dye ; *clothes in grayn*, scarlet cloth.
graythest, i. 76 ; readiest, quickest.
grame, i. 70 ; grief, harm.
grame, i. 370 ; to be angry.
gras, i. 252 ; grace.
greable, ii. 112 ; agreeable.
gree, i. 313 ; pleasure.
grees, ii. 140 ; degrees.
grey, ii. 171 ; badger skins or fur (?).
grennes, i. 390 ; interpreted in the margin as meaning greyhounds.
grete, ii. 125 ; a cry.
grete, i. 90 ; to greet, to salute.
grette, i. 377 ; great.
greves, i. 388 ; griefs.
griff, ii. 227 ; grief.
gryse, i. 250 ; to be terrified.
gryse, i. 265 ; a species of cloth.
groche, i. 339 ; to grudge.
gromys, i. 272 ; grooms.
gromes, i. 377 ; men.
gronde, i. 87 ; ground ; *in the see gronde* ; at the bottom of the sea.
groote, ii. 219 ; a groat, fourpence.
grost, ii. 47 ;

grott, i. 370 ; a groat.
grotus, i. 395 ; grouts.
grucche, ii. 76 ; grudge.
gruechen, i. 370 ; to grudge.
grw, ii. 91 ; Greek.
gult, ii. 244 ; guilt.

H.

habilements, ii. 196 ; accoutrements.
haburjouns, ii. 54 ; brenstplates.
hacchen, i. 387 ; hatch.
hay, i. 48 ;
haiit,.ii. 249 ; has, possesses.
hayme, i. 266 ; them.
hairwede, ii. 230 ; harrowed, sacked.
halde, i. 74 ; to hold or keep a promise.
hale, ii. 169 ; to hawl.
halely, i. 69 ; wholly.
hales, i. 403 ; tents.
half-delle, i. 403 ; one half part.
halk, i. 318 ; a corner. halkys, ii. 279 ; corners.
halow, i. 311 ; bless, consecrate.
halowed, ii. 50 ; consecrated.
halowid, i. 403 ; halooed at, hooted.
halteth, ii. 159 ; goes lamely, totters.
ham, i, 266 ; them.
han, i. 273 ; they have.
hangulhooke, ii. 222 ; a hook for angling, a fish-hook.
hansell, i. 416 ; the first use.
happid, ii. 44 ; wrapped, covered.
haras, i. 392 ; a stud of colts.
harborow, ii. 97 ; lodging.
hardi, ii. 246 ; courageous, bold.
harys, ii. 171 ; hares.
harlotte, i. 313 ; a scamp, a vagabond. It was a term applied properly to men. *harlotes*, ii. 89.
harlotrie, ii. 99 ; ribaldry.
hassellis, i. 381 ; hasels (?).
hastyvyté, ii. 242 ; rashness, hastiness.
hat, i. 69 ; hate, i. 317 ; is called.
hauntlere, i. 387 ; antlered, or superior deer.
hauteyn, i. 268 ; high, proud, haughty.
hautesse, i. 391 ; highness.
hawed, i. 85 ; had.
haves, i, 86 ; has.
hąvour, ii. 226 ; wealth.
hawys, ii. 191.
hed, ii. 283 ; heed, care.
heed, i. 386 ; head.
heerdes, i. 313 ; herds, keepers.
hegges, ii. 279 ; hedges.
hegh, i. 269 ; high.
heyer, i. 395 ;
heyere, ii. 242 ; higher.
heih, i. 215 ; heiȝe, i. 218 ; high.
heipeth, i. 393 ; lays (?).
heire, ii. 20 ; to hire.
heyres, ii. 267 ; heirs.
heyres, i. 193 ; eggs.
hele, i. 73, ii. 69 ; to cover, to conceal.
hele, i. 372 ; health, prosperous condition.
hele, i. 392, ii. 13 ; salvation.
helys, i. 275 ; heels.
heliples, ii. 11 ; helpless.
hende, i. 388 ; gentle.
hende, i. 73; hinde, i. 85 ; gentlemanly.
hens, hennes, hennys, *passim* ; hence.
hent, i. 320 ; taken.

hente, i. 382 ; henten, i. 411 ; took, caught.
heore, i. 215 ; their.
herbegage, ii. 94 ; lodging.
herborowe, i. 403 ; to lodge, to give lodging, to harbour.
here, i. 73 ; to hear.
heres, i. 80 ; hear, listen to.
here, ii. 251 ; hair.
herie, 76 ; to spoil, to ravage.
hern, i. 318. herne, i. 402 ; a corner.
hernes, i. 64 ; brains.
herre, ii. 9 ; a hinge ; *out of herre*, out of hinge, unsettled.
herres, ii. 186 ; theirs.
hertis, i. 380. hertys, ii. 186 ; harts, deer.
hertly, ii. 355 ; heartily.
hestes, i. 322 ; commandments.
hete, i. 74 ; to promise. hetes, i. 62 ; promises.
hetith, i. 393 ; warmth.
heve and hale, i. 330 ; a phrase equivalent to might and main.
heved, i. 64 ; head. heydles, i. 65 ; headless.
heved, ii. 85 ; to behead.
hevyheed, i. 394 ; heavy-head, dull-head.
hevys, ii. 219 ;
hewen, ii. 42 ; to labour.
hewsaunce, ii. 285 ; a usance, a custom.
hyand, i. 269 ; going, hieing.
hickel, i. 394 ; a familiar appellation of contempt.
hide—at hide, i. 69 ; secretly.
hye, ii. 247 ; go.
hied, i. 398 ; raised up high.
hiede, ii. 6 ; heed.
hyeghe go by, ii. 155 ; apparently a similar phrase to the modern heigh-go-mad.
hieles, ii. 7 ; heels.
hyen, ii. 86 ; to raise up.
hiere, ii. 5 ; here,
hiere, ii. 7 ; to hear.
hight, i. 75 ; was called.
hille, i. 409 : to cover.
hillyng, ii. 77 ; covering, roof.
hynderynge, ii. 181 ; hindrance.
hirte, i. 396 ; hurt.
hit, ii. 131; and *passim*, the original and correct form of *it*.
ho, i. 276 ; who.
hobbis, i. 378 ; clowns (?).
hobblid, i. 381 ; hobbled, gone.
hoblid, i. 391 ; hobbled.
hoby, ii. 155 ; a small kind of horse.
hode, i. 266 ; a hood.
hodove, i. 196 ; a whale.
hog-hyerd, i. 269 ; a hog-herd, a driver of pigs.
hold, ii. 23 ; holden, held.
hold, i. 317 ; a fortress, whence the word *stronghold*.
holde, ii. 4; held.
hole, i. 326 ; whole.
holy, ii. 131 ; wholly.
holl, i. 88 ; a hole (?).
holly, i. 215 ; wholly. hollichc, i. 218.
holpen, i. 267 ; helped.
holsume, i. 402 ; wholesome.
holte, i. 391 ; holtes, i. 381 ; a wood.
hone, i. 409 ;
hongen, i. 331 ; they hang.
hongen, ii. 11 ; hung.
honsalle, i. 224 ; hansel.
hoole, i. 370 ; whole.

hoot, ii. 69; hot.
hope, ii. 199; expect, suppose, guess.
hope, i. 218; to expect.
hoppen, i. 330; they hop.
hor, i. 225; their.
hore, i. 307; a whore.
horow, i. 337; hoar, mouldy.
hortyng, i. 275; hurting.
hosel, ii. 46; to administer the eucharist.
hosyn, i. 275; hose (in the plural).
houselin, i. 340; to administer the eucharist.
houton, i. 330; they hoot.
hovyn, i. 388; to hover. hoved, i. 66; hovered, halted. hoveth, i. 393; hovereth.
howsyng, ii. 251; houses.
hue, i. 393.
hund, i. 82; a dog.
hunte, ii. 224; a hunter.
hurdis, i. 88; ropes.
hure, ii. 145; *goode hure*, represents the French word *bonheur*, happiness, prosperity.
hurle, i. 392; to jostle.

I.

ieast, i. 217; east.
ich, i. 216; I.
ich, i. 372; iche, i. 400; each.
ielepid, i. 305; called.
ideo, ii. 198; done.
idraue, ii. 182; drawn.
iȝen, ii. 55; eyes.
ileyd, i. 217; laid down.
ilka, i. 59; each, every.
ilkone, i. 82; each one, every one.
impe, i. 218; a sprout, sprig, shoot.
ine, i. 81, 96; a lodging.
ine, i. 77; eyes.
infortune, ii. 5; misfortune.
inne, i. 264; in, *the adverb*.
inne, i. 333; lodging.
inoȝe, i. 225; enough.
inomen, i. 335; taken, obtained.
insaumpulle, ii. 205; example.
interfectours, ii. 232; slayers.
intrikid, ii. 55; interlaced.
interumpeioun, ii. 274; interruption.
ipainted, i. 307; painted.
ipearled, i. 308; adorned with pearls.
ipent, i. 332; pinned.
iradicate, ii. 204; rooted.
irk, ii. 153; slow.
iseiȝe, i. 215; seen.
itho, ii. 161; thrive.
ivel, i. 313; evil.
iwis, i. 64; iwys, ii. 162; truly, surely.
iyȝe, i. 330; eyes.
iyrne, ii. 153; iron.

J.

jaces, i. 398; flinges (?).
jake, i. 271; a jack, a defensive coat.
jangle, i. 327, ii. 243; to prate. jangelist, ii. 104; pratest.
jangeler, ii. 86; a prater.
jape, ii. 227; a joke.
japes, i. 67, 265, ii. 172; jeers, tricks, buffooneries (?).
jape, i. 270; futuere.

japid, ii. 75 ; mocked, deceived.
japorys, ii. 236 ; jesters.
jawdewyne, ii. 86, 101 ; a term of reproach.
jerorys, i. 273 ; jurors.
jesine, ii. 213 ; childbed.
jette, i. 399 ; fashion.
jewis, i. 410 ; justice.
jogulours, ii. 89 ; minstrels, jugglers.
joied, i. 399 ; rejoiced.
jolité, i. 250, 251 ; joy, mirth.
jollyng, ii. 276 ; people coming into collision with one another.
joparte, ii. 286; jeopard, risk, make a wager.
jornay, i. 64 ; a voyage.
jorney, ii. 275 ; properly a day, or a day's work, but usually applied to a battle.
jospinel, ii. 105 ; a term of reproach.
Juylle, ii. 139 ; Juyl, 151 ; July.
juperdye, ii. 132; jeopardy.
juparte, ii. 183 ; to jeopard, to put in risk.

K.

kayes, i. 83 ; the keys.
kayser, i. 163 ; an emperor.
kaysseeris, i. 378 ; emperors.
kare, i. 225 ; care, trouble.
karekkys, ii. 172 ; carricks or carracks, large ships, galeons.
kareyne, i. 390 ; carrion.
kembe, i. 312 ; to comb
ken, i. 73 ; to know.
ken, i. 8 ; to teach, to make to know.
kend, i. 85 ; kendo, i. 318 ; taught.
kendly, ii. 65 ; kindly, naturally.
kenned, i. 390 ; know.
kepe, ii. 285; *take kepe*, pay attention.
kepud, ii. 279 ; kept.
kepen, ii. 65 ; keep, dwell.
kere, ii. 226.
kest, i. 226. keste, ii. 252 ; cast.
ketlord, i. 363 ; diminished.
kevelle, ii. 217;
kevere, i. 391, 393 ; to discover.
keveréth, ii. 71 ; covers.
kew-kaw, i. 407 ; away.
kid, i. 61 ; known.
kydefel, ii. 160 ; kid leather.
kime, i. 324 ; a simpleton.
kyn, ii. 243 ; know.
kynde, i. 380 ; nature.
kynde, i. 394 ; natural.
kynrede, ii. 141 ; kindred.
kirtell, i. 82 ; kyrtelle, i. 265 ; a kirtle, a sort of cloak thrown over the shoulders.
kith, i. 71 ; to make known, to show.
kith, i. 218 ; a region.
knave, ii. 76 ; a serving lad.
knelys, i. 275 ; kneel.
knokelys, i. 276 ; knuckled, with knuckles.
knowlechen, ii. 43 ; acknowledge.
kogge, i. 72 ; a cock-boat.
konne, i. 393 ; to come to life, to be hatched.
kouth, i. 71 ; knew.
kowth, ii. 144 ; known, celebrated.
krevys, ii. 219 ; a crab.
kud, i. 218 ; known, celebrated.

kuyttes, i. 388 ; kites (the bird).
kun, i. 83 ; can, knows how.
kunnynge, i. 384 ; knowledge.

L

lank, ii. 213 ; a lack, a fault (?).
lacchide, i. 377 ; blamed.
ladde, i. 377 ; led.
ladde, i. 399 ; lad, people.
laddys, i. 225 , lads.
lade, i. 264 ; a load.
ladyn, ii. 236 ;
lafte, i. 395 ; left, deserted.
layke, i. 64 ; a game, play.
lake, ii. 177 ; lack.
langour, ii. 267 ; faintness.
lare, i. 70*; teaching.
lasse, ii. 7, 45; less.
late, ii. 148 ; let.
late, ii. 83 ; leave.
lath, ii. 6 ; loath, hateful.
latte, i. 317 ; left.
lauzte, i. 388 ; caught.
laurere, ii. 141 ; laurel.
law, i. 78 ; low.
leaud, i. 307, ii. 25 ; lowd, unlearned.
leauté, i. 269 ; loyalty.
leche, ii. 226 ; a physician.
leddere, i. 90 ; a ladder.
leddyn, i. 373 ; led.
lede, i. 382 ; people.
ledeing, i. 82 ; *at his ledeing*, at his rule, at his book.
ledres, ii. 236.
leef, i. 373 ; dear, to be desired.
leef, i. 251 ; believe.
leere, ii. 230 ; empty.
lees, ii. 161 ; lies ; *wythowght lees*, truly.
lesinge, i. 399 ; falsehood.
leete, ii. 192 ; to abandon, to lose.
leggaunce, i. 217 ; allegiance.
leggen, i. 252 ; to lie down.
leggist, ii. 41 ; allegest.
leginnce, i. 374 ; allegiance.
leyfft, ii. 249 ; left.
leyne, i. 387 ; laid.
leyne, ii. 228 ; to lie (?).
leisere, ii. 170 ; leisure.
lele, i. 326 ; loyal.
lele, i. 64 ; legal.
lely, i. 77 ; faithfully, truly.
lely, i. 89 ; the lily.
lelley, i. 383 ; loyally, faithfully.
lemed, ii. 52 ; shone.
lemes, i. 388 ; rays of brightness.
lemman, i. 313, 330 ; a concubine.
len, i. 90 ; lend, give.
lend, i. 63 ; remained, dwelt.
lended, i. 81 ; remained.
lendys, i. 391 ; loins.
lene, i. 218 ; grant.
leode, i. 405 ; man, person.
leodis, i. 379 ; people, lads
leof, i. 215 ; dear.
lere, i. 70 ; to teach.
lered, i. 326. lerid, ii. 25 ; learned, educated.
lese, i. 386 ; a leash.
lese, ii. 6 ; to lose.
lesynges, ii. 40 ; falsehoods.
lesse, ii. 189 ; lose.
lesse, ii. 189 ; loss.
let, ii. 31 ; hinder. let, i, 251 ; prevented, hindered.
lete, i. 215, 217 ; to leave, to abandon, to fail.
lete, i. 217 ; to care.

letherin, i. 90 ; made of leather.
lett, i. 64, &c. ; to prevent, to put a stop to.
lette, i. 384 ; to fail.
letto, i. 383 ; hindered, prevented.
letterqun, ii. 78 ; a lectern, or reading-stand.
leud, i. 326 ; uneducated, ignorant.
leuté, i. 269 ; loyalty.
leve, i. 66, 69 ; to believe.
levé, i. 392 ; to live.
leven, i. 331 ; to believe.
leven, ii. 67 ; leavé.
levene, ii. 211 ; lightning.
leverey, i. 379 ; leveré, 381 ; leverez, 383 ; livery.
levest, i. 388 ; dearest.
leved, i. 394 ; lived ?
levid, i. 60 ; left.
levyn, ii. 198 ; live.
leveste, i. 372 ; most willingly, especially.
leward, ii. 236.
lewde, i. 382 ; uneducated, ignorant.
lewdely, ii. 193 ; vilely, ill-advisedly.
lewidheed, ii. 75 ; ignorance.
libel, ii. 157, 282 ; a little book, a *pamphlet*.
liche, ii. 142, *et passim* ; like.
lichesse, ii. 108 ; similitude, semblance.
liene, ii. 14 ; place.
lifes, i. 66 ; lives.
liflode, i. 366 ; lyflode, i. 405 ; food, sustenance.
lig, i. 77 ; to lie.
ligand, i. 82 ; lying.
lyȝe, i. 250 ; to lie.
ligeaunce, ii. 187 ; allegiance.
liggen, ii. 19 ; laid.
ligges, i. 65 ; lies.
lightly, ii. 10 ; lyghtlye, ii. 174 ; liȝtly, ii. 43 ; lyghtlich, i. 378 ; easily.
liȝtles, ii. 43 ; without light, in the dark.
lyke, i. 269 ; to please ; *that lyked me*, it pleased me. liketh, ii. 113 ; it pleases ; *how hem lhith*, how it pleases them. likyde, i. 399 ; pleased. lykynge, ii. 173 ; pleasing.
lykyng, i. 267, 392 ; pleasure, lust.
likne, i. 217, 343 ; to compare, to liken. likynest, ii. 89 ; comparest. lykken, ii. 269 ; compare.
lile, ii. 226 ;
lymitour, i. 265 ; limitors, ii. 21 ; friars licensed to beg within certain limits.
list, ii. 141 ; likes, pleases.
list, i. 73 ; cunning, artifice (?).
liste, i. 392 ; to desire.
liţe, i. 325, 369 ; little.
lith, i. 218 ; limb.
lithes, i. 58 ; listen.
livelich, i. 218 ; lively, vigorous.
lywith, ii. 249 ; lived.
loby, i. 389 ; a lubber.
loonge, ii. 14 ; praise.
loȝe, i. 225 ; laughed.
logges, ii. 50 ;
loggid, ii. 211 ; lodged.
lolle, ii. 243 ; to profess the doctrines of religious reform, to be a lollard ; literally, to idle about.
lollers, i. 305 ; vagabonds.
londlese, i. 305 ; people without settled abode.
longe, i. 217 ; to belong to. longid, i. 389 ; belonged. longeth, i. 338 ; longith, 393 ; belongs. longynge, ii. 196 ; belonging.

lonyd, i. 408 ;
loodmannage, ii. 217 ; pilotage.
loode-sterre, ii. 178 ; lodestorre, ii. 270 ; the polar star.
lordane, ii. 229 ; an idle lout.
lordyns, i. 383 ; lords, a form of familiarity.
lore, i. 325 ; lost.
lore, i. 252, 401 ; teaching, doctrine, lesson.
lorell, i. 314, 338, 389 ; a scoundrel.
lorn, i. 69 ; lost.
los, i. 218 ; lose, ii. 245 ; praise, repute.
lorell, i. 342 ; a scoundrel.
losengerie, i. 322 ; losengery, ii. 27 ; lying and flattery.
loste, ii. 167 ; ruined.
lotby, ii. 102 ; a concubine.
lothen, ii. 246 ; hate.
loure, i. 266, 377 ; to look discontented or cross.
lousid, ii. 56 ; let loose.
lout, i. 73, 78 ; loute, i. 308 ; to stoop, to bend, to bow, to make obeisance.
love-daies, ii. 52, 255 ; meetings for arranging disputes amicably.
lovyng, ii. 281 ; praising.
lowede, ii. 165 ; loved.
lowte, i. 226 ; lowth, ii. 153 ; to bow.
luf, i. 79 ; luffe, ii. 252 ; love.
lurker, i. 394 ; an intruder (?).
lusscheburne, i. 140 ; a debased foreign coin, so named from Luxemburgh, whence they were brought.
luste, i. 393 ; to desire. lust, ii. 149 ; pleases.

M.

ma, *passim* ; more.
maddid, i. 376, 387 ; drove mad.
mafey, ii. 75 ; my faith ! (an exclamation).
mafflarde, ii. 225 ; a fool.
mafflid, i. 415 ; stammered.
magré, ii. 272 ; in spite of.
maine, i. 74 ; strength, force.
maistership, i. 338 ; office of authority.
maisterfully, i. 323 ; authoritatively, by force.
maistrie, i. 338 ; authority.
male, i. 307 ; a box, a chest.
malisoun, ii. 112 ; curse.
mals, i. 379 ;
manasinge, i. 60 ; a threat.
maniple, ii. 98 ; the purveyor of provisions, or clerk of the kitchen.
mane, i. 65 ; moan, lament.
maners, i. 225 ; manors, mansion houses.
manslaught, i. 278 ; manslaughter.
marcerye, i. 264 ; mercery.
marchandes, ii. 160 ; merchants.
marchandy, ii. 160 ; merchandise.
marches, ii. 12 ; borders, border districts.
mare, i. 80 ; more.
markes, i. 267 ; marks (money).
merkis, i. 384 ; marks, signs, badges.
market-beaters, i. 380 ; swaggerers.
marmusettes, ii. 172 ; monkeys.
marren, ii. 72 ; to mar.
marternus, ii. 186 ; furs of the marten.
martis, ii. 179 ; marts, or fairs.
mase, i. 81 ; makes.
mastling, i. 308 ; mixed metal.

mastry, i. 328; authority, force.
matyn, ii. 50; to confound.
mater, i. 273; matter.
materas, ii. 217; a mattress.
mawfesours, ii. 85; evil-doers.
maugré, i, 330; in spite of.
mawgré, i. 60, ii. 112; bad comfort, spite, displeasure.
mawmentrie, ii. 246; idolatry.
mecho, ii. 42; much.
mede, i. 71, 332; reward, bribe.
  medes, ii. 252; bribes.
medled, ii. 74; mixed.
megre, i. 264; meagre, thin.
meyné, ii. 196; attendants, company.
meyntenourz, i. 405; maintainers.
mekill, i. 63; much.
mele, i. 250; to meddle, to treat.
mell, i. 329; melle, ii. 243; to *meddle*.
mellid, i. 388; mixed.
memoriable, ii. 194; to be remembered, memorable.
mendis, i. 376, 381; amends.
mené, i. 403; household, retinue.
menzé, i. 61, 66; retinue.
menged, ii. 161; mixed.
mengid, ii. 99; reminded.
menid, i. 70; meant, intended.
meny, ii. 167; people, *mainé*.
menys, ii. 190; means.
mente, ii. 50; mint (the plant).
menuse, ii. 53; to diminish, to detract from.
menusynge, ii. 85; detracting from.
mere, ii. 68; a mare.
merk, ii. 212; dark.
merke, i. 84; a mark.
meschef, i. 48, ii. 7; mishap, misfortune.
messe, ii. 93; the mass.
messes, i. 327; dishes at table.
mete, ii. 86; boundary.
meteles, i. 264; without meat.
meuve, i. 370; move.
meve, i. 378; move.
mewe, ii. 170; a close place; strictly speaking, the place where falcons were put to moult.
mewe, ii. 228; to moult.
mych, i. 278; mychc, ii. 187; much.
michel, ii. 45; great.
middis, ii. 252; the midst, the middle of.
midel-erd, i. 58; the earth, the world.
mylne, ii. 53; a mill.
mynged, i. 379; meddled, mixed; though it may be an error for *mynded*.
myngit, ii. 51; *mixes*.
mynys, ii. 286; mines.
mynoth, ii. 58; undermines.
mynusshyth, ii. 189; diminishes.
myry, ii. 72; pleasant, merry.
mis, i. 252; error, wrong.
myschevyd, i. 272, ii. 269; plagued, injured, brought into misfortune.
miscreantz, ii. 12; unbelievers, infidels.
misfare, i. 89; to mischance, mishap.
misqueme, i. 323; to displease.
missaverynge, ii. 53; misunderstanding (?).
myssavyzyng, ii. 253; bad counsel.
myssetyme, ii. 58; to err.
myste, i. 378; might.
mistere, i. 309; need.
mystir, i. 409;
myswent, ii. 243; gone wrong, fallen into abuse.

mytird, ii. 146; mitred, had their mitres on.
myth, i. 364; mythe, ii. 187; might.
moche, ii. 243; great.
mochel, i. 268; much.
mode, i. 74; mod, ii. 7; mind, spirit.
mody, i. 71; highminded, brave.
mold, i. 80; molde, i. 391; i. 408; earth, world.
molde, i. 388;
mon, i. 251; man.
mone, ii. 208; lamentation.
moné, i. 64; money.
monest, ii. 104; lamentest, monnest.
monkynde, i. 250; mankind.
mony, i. 252; many.
moo, ii. 188; more.
moppis, i. 406; fools.
more, ii. 21; greater.
more, i. 83; a moor.
mornynge, ii. 76; mourning.
mot, i. 59; may.
mote, i. 218; might.
moule, i. 342; to become mouldy.
moun, i. 400; may.
mousde, i. 396; mused.
mowe, i. 327; may.
mowen, ii. 269; mowed.
mowyth, ii. 250; may.
mowtynge, i. 380; moulting.
mucke, ii. 243; used commonly as a contemptuous term for *money*, or wealth.
multiphny, ii. 181; multifarious.
mun, i. 73; may.
muse, i. 372; reflect, brood over.
mutt, ii. 188; might.

N.

naker, i. 69; a musical instrument, a cornet or brass horn.
nay, ii. 126; *this is no nay*, this admits of no denial
nayt, ii. 62; naught.
nale, i. 330; the ale.
namely, ii. 92; especially.
nathe, ii. 222; the nave of a cart.
neany, ii. 156; none, not any.
nee, i. 274; the neck.
neft, i. 376;
neghe, i. 267; closely. "The land is so closely sought by the friars, that the secular priests can hardly get any employment."
nelde, i. 327; a needle.
nempne, i. 376; to name, to mention, to tell; nempned, i. 408; called.
ner, *passim*; nor.
nere, i. 403; nearer.
nere, i. 330; for *ne were*, were not.
neres, i. 264; kidneys (?).
nevene, ii. 211, 284; name.
newe, ii. 49; anew, again.
newed, i. 373, 412; renowed.
neweth, i. 372; annoyeth.
ny, i. 392; near.
nyeth, i. 393; approacheth. *nyhed*, i. 403; approached.
niffes, ii. 172; trifles, nicknacks.
nigges, i. 326; niggards.
nyghed, i. 380; approached.
nil, i. 313; contracted from *ne will*, will not.
nis, i. 216; nys, 370; contraction of *ne is*, is not.
nyseté, i. 399; delicacy, nicety.
nyst, i. 415; know not, for *ne wist*.

noble, ii. 159; the name of a coin minted under Edward III.
nodyr, ii. 271; neither.
nodur, i. 365; *no nodur*, for *non odur*, none other.
noy, *ii.* 182; *injury*. *noyes*, *i.* 372; injuries, griefs, annoyances.
noien, ii. 56; to injure.
nokes, i. 75; corners, nooks.
nold, i. 325; for *ne wold*, would not.
nolle, i. 374; the head, noddle.
nomen, i. 86; took.
not, i. 393;
nother, *i.* 392; neither.
nouther, i. 216; neither.
nowmgis, i. 412; nonages.

O.

obeysaunt, i. 308; making obeisance.
obeisaunte, ii. 189; obedient.
obout, i. 61; about.
odur, ii. 250; or.
ogayn, i. 59; again. ogayne, i. 64; against.
ogaines, i. 59; against.
oghne, ii. 9; own.
oght, i. 267; aught.
oilles, i. 401;
ok, i. 216; oak.
olive, i. 71; alive.
onde, i. 84; an error of the press for *londe*.
one, i. 82; only.
onys, i. 371; once.
onthryfty, i. 272; that which counteracts or destroys thrift.
oo, i. 278; one.
oon, ii. 137; one.
oore, ii. 186; ore.
opon, i. 70; upon.
opposaile, ii. 204; question, inquiry, argument, for *apposaile*.
or, *i.* 397; before.
ore, ii. 197; an oar.
osey, ii. 163; a sort of wine.
osmonde, ii. 171; a sort of iron.
oste, ii. 177, 178, for *hoste*; to take up lodgings (?).
ostentacioun, ii. 190; appearances, demonstration.
otere, *ii.* 186; *the otter*.
ottre, ii. 215; to utter.
ouches, i. 331, 334; jewels.
ouris, ii. 68; ours.
outraye, i. 216; to outrage, to injure.
outrayeng, ii. 143; erasing, expelling.
overeledynge, ii. 195; oppression.
oversene, ii. 205; overlooked, read through.
overthwarte, ii. 190; to cross, to embarras.
overwacche, i. 406; sitting up over late.
oway, i. 78; away.
owgly, ii. 218; ugly.
owyn, i. 273; own.

P

paien, ii. 46; pay.
paiene, ii. 5; pagan.
paynen, i. 311; to labour.
paynymes, ii. 65; paynymys, ii. 283; pagans.

paishens, ii. 87; parishioners.
pales, ii. 205; a palace.
palet, i. 79; the head, the pate.
pall, i. 78; fine cloth.
panne, i. 376, 391, 409; pannes, i. 409; the skull, the head.
pans, ii. 66; peace.
paueris, i. 390; nets, snares.
paragals, i. 377; peers, companions.
parage, i. 218; peerage (?).
par-amour, ii. 280; by or for love (used adverbially).
parbrake, ii. 63; to vomit.
parceit, i. 369; perception.
pardé, *passim*; an exclamation, literally *by God*.
pardonystres, ii. 78; pardoners.
parfettes, ii. 227.
parfit, ii. 9; the rule, the exemplar.
parfite, ii. 224.
paryformytee, ii. 193; similitude.
parishen, i. 327; a parishioner.
paryasshens, ii. 217; parishioners.
parle, i. 414; to talk.
parlious, ii. 227; perilous.
paroche, ii. 72; a parish.
partable, ii. 220; sharing in.
parten, ii. 98; to give a share of.
pavys, ii. 152; a sort of large shield.
ponse, i. 339; a pea.
pecus, ii. 227.
peedougré, ii. 131; a pedigree.
peere, i. 372; a pear.
peynys, i. 272; punishment.
peynte, ii. 181; to paint.
peise, ii. 8; to weigh, to deliberate.
peked, ii. 251; peaked.
pelers, i. 62; pillars.
pelour, ii. 246; a plunderer, a peltre-ware, ii. 171; raw hides, perhaps more especially of wild beasts.
pelure, i. 265; fur.
penceil, i. 76; a streamer, or ornamental flag.
pende, i. 323; to confine.
penshe, i. 398; want of money.
peraunter, ii. 60; peradventure, perhaps.
perdé, ii. 125; an exclamation of affirmation, *par Dieu*.
perdurable, ii. 14; endurable, everlasting.
pere, ii. 201; a peer.
pere, i. 59; a pear.
perfit, ii. 243; perfect.
perles, i. 375; pearls.
permagall, i. 307; probably a misprint for *peregal*, equal.
perrie, i. 308; precious stones.
person, ii. 81; pierce.
persons, ii. 30; personnys, ii. 217; parsons, parish priests.
perswyannce, ii. 242; continuation (?).
pertli, ii. 61; openly, plainly, for *apertli*.
pes, ii. 5; peace.
pese, ii. 251; peace.
pesinge, i. 400; piecing, joining the pieces together.
pité, *passim*; pity.
piement, i. 316; a sort of mixed drink.
piereles, ii. 13; peerless, without equal.
pight, i. 390; pyzte, ii. 152; raised, fixed, pitched.
piken, ii. 66; to steal.

pylche, ii. 219 ; a leathern coat.
pyle, ii. 240 ; the obverse side of a coin, the other side having a cross. Hence the game of *crosse and pyle* was equivalent to our "heads and tails."
pill, i. 314 ; to plunder.
pillynge, i. 374 ; plundering.
pillour, i. 306 ; a pillow.
pine, i. 77, ii. 251 ; pain, punishment.
pined, i. 318 ; pynod, ii. 267 ; pynnyd, i. 389 ; tormented, punished.
pipoudris, i. 409 ; courts of pipoudere held at fairs and markets for the speedy trial of offences occurring there.
pirith, i. 393 ; peeps, watches.
pistles, ii. 63 ; epistles.
pitaile, i. 76 ; foot soldiers.
piteouse, pitevous, ii. 189 ; lamentable.
pyteuxly, ii. 267 ; piteously.
playn, ii. 152, 269 ; even, level.
plain, ii. 13 ; simple, candid.
playne, i. 64 ; abundant (?).
plasmacion, i. 275 ; make, formation.
plate, i. 76 ; mail, armour.
pleasaunce, ii. 254 ; pleasure.
pleigne, ii. 8 ; pleyn, *i.* 77 ; *pleyne*, i. 376 ; to complain.
pleysaunce, ii. 184 ; pleasure, *thynges of pleysaunce*, ornamental objects.
plenili, ii. 89 ; fully.
plesand, i. 265 ; pleasing, agreeable.
plentevous, plenteouse, ii. 188, 212 ; productive, producing plenty, abundant.
plentevousnesse, ii. 242 ; abundance.
plete, i. 305, 410 ; to plead, to argue.
plewme, i. 389 ; plume.
plit, ii. 13 ; plight.
plytes, i. 399 ; pleats.
plomayle, i. 381 ; feathers, plumage.
poeys, ii. 139 ;
poynt-makers, ii. 160 ; makers of the points, or laces, with which the hose were fastened.
pokes, i. 332 ; sleeves.
pol, i. 389 ; the head.
poleyn, ii. 213 ; *a poleyn steede*, may mean either a young steed, or a Polish steed.
polled, i. 79 ; shorn, shaved.
poopeholy, ii. 251, pretending to great holiness.
porayle, ii. 285 ; the poor classes of society.
port, i. 329; bearing.
portred, i. 307; pictured.
possessioners, i. 267; persons endowed with land, referring here apparently to the monks, in contradistinction to the friars.
postilles, ii. 44; apostles.
pouge, i. 276; a pouch.
poure, ii. 249, power.
poure, i. 372 ; to pore.
pover, i. 66 ; poor.
povert, i. 270 ; poverty.
powch, i. 274 ; a purse, a pouch.
powchers, ii. 109 ; makers of pouches.
power, ii. 25 ; poor.
praptyk, ii. 241 ; perhaps for *practyk*, or practice.
pray, i. 314 ; prey (?).
prease, ii. 38 ; to urge, to press.
prease, i. 305; prison (?).
preith, i. 393 ; presseth.

prefle, ii. 161; proof.
preifls, i. 369; proofs, experience.
preysing, i. 374; appraising, fixing a value on.
presciousitee, ii. 68; value, preciousness.
presse, i. 61; press, crowd.
preseyn, ii. 247; press (?).
presse, i. 401; to push.
presse, i. 250.
prest, i. 226, 326; ready.
prest, i. 71; pressed, in haste.
prevayle, ii. 285 (?).
prevy, ii. 285; private.
prove, i. 372; to prove.
price, ii. 198; a prize.
prike, i. 62; pryke, ii. 208; to ride.
pringnant, ii. 227; pregnant (?).
pryate, i. 385; impression (?).
prise, i. 59; ii. 14, 63; praise, value.
privyng, ii. 85; depriving.
privyté, ii. 75; privacy.
procuratour, i. 326; a proctor, an attorney.
procure, ii. 84; to act by procuration.
proesce, ii. 200; prowess.
prophete, i. 412; profit.
propurtés, i. 394; peculiarities, characteristics.
prove, i. 76; to try.
puissaunce, ii. 181; power.
puit, i. 215; put.
pultor, i. 389; poultry (?).
puple, ii. 41; people.
pure, i. 391; poor.
purraile, i. 389; the common people, the poor.
putree, i. 312; whoredom.
puttocke, i. 344; a kite (the bird).

Q.

queint, i. 334; ingenious, quaint.
queintise, i. 322; cunning.
quemo, i. 400; qweme, ii. 142; to please.
quentise, i. 385, 100; cunning, artfulness.
querele, ii. 14; the complaint.
quie, ii. 74; alive.
quicke, i. 326; alive.
quite, ii. 12; requite.
quite, i. 78; quit, relieved of.
quok, i. 251; quaked.
quell, qwell, i. 61, 70; to kill.
qwen, i. 275; when.
qweie, i. 273; wate, beware of.
qwere, i. 274; where.

R.

raveyn, i. 388; rapine.
reche, ii. 225; a scenting hound.
recheshede, ii. 187; carelessness. Apparently miswritten by the scribe for *racheleshede*.
rad, ii. 132; read (part.)
rafte, i. 373; taken from you, reft.
ragmanne, ii. 228; a catalogue or inventory.
ray, i. 398; array.
rayed, i. 397; arrayed.
rayke, i. 264; to wander about.
railed, i. 69; set, placed.
ranes, ii. 65; snot.
rape, i. 82; a rope.
rapely, i. 74, 369; quickly, hastily,

rascaile, i. 386; rasskayle, 387; raskalle, *ib.*; the lower orders.
rasyd, ii. 108; erased, diminished.
rasith, ii. 92; eraseth, defaceth.
ratele, ii. 64; to rattle out, to talk loudly and inconsiderately.
rathly, i. 77; speedily.
ratyn, ii. 110.
rauht, ii. 211; reached.
raunsound, i. 323; ransomed, fleeced.
ravinour, i. 326; a plunderer.
raw, i. 69; a row, a rank.
realles, i. 378; royals (*regales*).
reamys, ii. 132; realms.
rebellyous, ii. 270; rebels.
recchith, i. 397; care, reck.
recheless, ii. 133; reckless
reclayme, i. 390; brought back, a term in falconry.
recuire, ii. 249; recover.
recure, ii. 269; to recover.
red, rede, i. 218, 252; to counsel, to advise.
rede, ii. 8; a reed.
rede, i. 63; counsel.
redeles, i. 373; counsel-less, unadvised.
redely, i. 371, 383; readily.
redles, i. 73; unadvised, foolish.
redlyd, ii. 217; twisted.
reden, i. 376; rode.
reede, i. 398; counsel.
reevelle, i. 413; revel.
refreit, ii. 211; the burthen of a song.
regalielie, ii. 196; royally.
regalie, ii. 4; regalye, ii. 142; royalty, royal position.
reght, i. 74; right.
regne, i. 266; to reign.
regne, ii. 157; a kingdom.
reyke, ii. 73; course, fling.
reynebowe, i. 404; the rainbow.
reys, ii. 175.
reisin, ii. 109; raise.
rejoise, ii. 254; to enjoy; rejoisyng, ii. 144; enjoying.
reles, ii. 47; release.
reme, ii. 282; realm.
rememoraunce, ii. 242; remembrance, mindfulness.
remene, i. 216; to call to mind (?).
remevyd, ii. 123; removed.
remossaylles, ii. 220; remnants.
ren, i. 73; to run.
renyd, ii. 77; ruined.
renk, i. 381; a man.
renne, i. 383; to run; ii. 132; run (participle). rennen, ii. 74; they run. rennyng, ii. 276; running.
renomed, ii. 133; renowned.
rent, i. 73.
renue, ii. 75; be restored
reot, i. 413; riot, disorder.
repreff, i. 371; reproof.
reprove, i. 402; to reprove.
rere, ii. 245; to raise.
reremys, i. 406; bats.
rereth, ii. 244; raiseth.
rerewarde, ii. 57; the rear-guard of an army.
resayvid, ii. 274; received.
reseeyte, i. 385; receipt.
reso, i. 76; halting (?).
reste, ii. 252; dwelling place.
restoined, ii. 14; retained (?). Perhaps it should be read *reserved*.
restid, ii. 278; arrested.
restore, i. 390;
retch, ii. 33; care, reck.
retourned, ii. 268; brought back again.

reve, ii. 51; to deprive, take from.
reve, ii. 245; to plunder. reved, i. 66; plundered, robbed.
reveree, i. 265; a term in dress-making.
revers, ii. 164; sea-robbers, pirates.
reward, i. 218, ii. 134; regard.
rewe, i. 373; to rue.
rewis, i. 371; rows, lines, or couplets.
rewleless, ii. 212; without rule, ungoverned.
rewme, i. 378, 398; a realm.
rewth, i. 369; ruth.
riallo, i. 398; royal.
rialle, ii. 207; royally, like a king or queen.
rybawdus, i. 225; ribawdes, ii. 152; ribalds, a low class of medieval society.
ribaudery, i. 263; ribaldry.
richen, i. 326; to enrich.
ryff, i. 380; rife, frequent.
ryffled, i. 374; rifled.
rifild, i. 62; plundered, rifled.
rig, i. 77; rigge, i. 407; the back.
ri3tyn, i. 369; to correct, to set right.
rightwys, ii. 267; rightwise, i. 314; righteous.
rightwisenesse, ii. 8; righteousness.
riken, ii. 228; reckon.
riot, ii. 244; tumult.
riote, i. 263, 373; riot; riotous living.
riotours, i. 314; people who live in extravagance and riot.
rith, i. 369; right.
riveling, i. 62; a rough shoe formerly worn by the Scots.
rode, i. 74, 89; a cross.
rofe, ii. 126; clove, split.
roff, i. 404; roof, vault.
romee, ii. 90; roar (?).
romon, i. 364; run.
rood, i. 314; roode, ii. 127; a cross.
roother, i. 216; a rudder.
rosers, ii. 210; rose trees.
rote, ii. 221; a musical instrument resembling the hurdy-gurdy.
rotus, i. 387; roots.
rought, ii. 269; reeked, cared.
rou3t, i. 366;
rou3te, i. 396; rout.
roune, i. 380; to whisper.
route, ii. 246; to go in company on foot.
route, ii. 167; assemble.
routus, i. 374; rowts.
roven, i. 343; riven, separated.
rovers, ii. 164; robbers on the sea, pirates.
rowyng, ii. 284;
rownde, ii. 193; encircling. *This rounde see*, this sea round us.
rowners, i. 271; whisperers.
rowte, i. 225, ii. 180; a company, a crowd.
rugh-fute, i. 62; rough-footed.
rumbelynge, ii. 276; tumult.

S.

sacrynge, ii. 234; the consecration of the host.
sadde, ii. 47; serious.
sadly, ii. 38; seriously.
saff, i. 373; safe.
saff, i. 374; save.
saylo, i. 216; to assail.
saino, i. 61; to say.

sakles, i. 61; blameless, guiltless.
sale, i. 75; shall.
sale, i. 307;
sall, i. 73; shall.
saltou, i. 88; shalt thou.
salve, i. 70; to save.
sample, ii. 243; example.
sand, ii. 6; the act of sending, a message.
sape, i. 265; soap.
sare, i. 59; sore.
sary, i. 60; sore.
sarri, i. 218;
satyllyn, ii. 81; settle (?).
savere, i. 371; know (?).
sauf, ii. 243; save.
sauf, ii. 8; saved, safe.
sauf, ii. 6; safe, possessing safety.
saul, i. 63; saule, i. 266; the soul.
sawd, ii. 94; payment, hire.
sawe, i. 70, 86, ii. 182; a saying, a report. sawis, i. 402, ii. 401; sayings.
sawte, ii. 277, 278; an assault.
sawtid, ii. 278; assaulted.
scant, ii. 189; to become scanty, to fail.
scaplerie, ii. 19; a scapulary, part of the ecclesiastic dress.
scathe, i. 265; loss.
schac, i. 67; to shake.
schad, ii. 7; shed.
schawes, i. 89; woods.
sched, i. 252; the division of the hair on the top of the head.
schedde, ii. 8; shed.
scheltron, i. 71; schilteroun, i. 72; a squadron or division of soldiers.
schende, i. 73; to destroy.
schene, i. 71; bright.
schent, i. 225; ruined, destroyed.
schermyn, ii. 285; shear-men, those who shear the cloth.
schew, i. 415; show.
schewe, i. 394, 413; appear.
schides, ii. 53; planks.
schiperd, i. 84; shepherd.
schone, ii. 251; shoes.
schope, ii. 63; created.
schoppe, i. 403; to chop.
schorned, i. 404; scorned.
schour, i. 216; shower.
schour, ii. 268; schowre, i. 85; battle, conflict.
schrapid, i. 394; scraped, scratched.
schrevys, i. 413; sheriffs.
schrewed, i. 392; cursed.
schrive, i. 88; confess thyself.
schroff, i. 388;
schroup, i. 388;
scole, ii. 43; school.
scomferture, ii. 278; discomfiture.
scorte, i. 401; scorn.
scredes, ii. 252; shreds, alluding to the cutting and jagging of the cloth in dresses of that period.
scrowe, ii. 165, 192; a writing, a scroll.
se, i. 63; the sea.
se, i. 378; a seat, a see.
seche, i. 392; to seek.
see, i. 410; a seat.
seggist, ii. 72; speakest.
sey, ii. 124; saw.
seie, i. 215; to say.
seye, i. 215; seen.
seiȝe, i. 216; seen..
seimtis, i. 398; girdles.
seyn, ii. 17, 181; they say
seyne, ii. 179; to see.
seist, ii. 49; speakest.
seke, ii. 125; sick.

soker, i. 321; sure.
sekir, ii. 248; sure, certain.
selcouthe, i. 368; strange, wonderful.
sele, ii. 125; time.
seldo; i. 394; seldom.
sely, ii. 109; simple.
selle, ii. 185;
sembland, i. 78; like.
semblé, ii. 125; an assembly, a meeting together (here, in shock of battle).
sembled, i. 369; assembled.
sen, i. 60; since.
sen, ii. 9; see.
sencores, ii. 42; censors.
sendal, ii. 68; a sort of valuable cloth or silk.
seng, ii. 133; see.
senin, i. 86; since, afterwards.
seo, i. 250, &c.; see.
sere, i. 365; dry, withered.
sere, i. 86; several.
sergantes, i. 70; servants.
serpentli, ii. 49; treacherously, like a serpent.
serteyne, ii. 152; certain; *a serteyne*, in certain, for certain.
served, ii. 12; preserved.
servid, i. 381; deserved.
sesid, ii. 278; stopped.
sesse, ii. 104; cease.
severe, ii. 209; to separate.
sewde, ii. 278; seuyd, ii. 279; issued.
sewe, ii. 228; sue.
sewis, i. 310; follows.
shadwe, ii. 216; shade, shadow.
shede, i. 311; separate.
shende, i. 344, ii. 183; to ruin, to destroy.
shendship, ii. 45; shenshepe, i. 405; shenshippe, ii. 227; ruin, destruction.
shene, ii. 218; bright, shining.
shent, i. 269; shente, ii. 187; ruined, destroyed, lost.
shepen, ii. 76; a sheep-cot.
sherish, ii. 188; shires.
shewyng, ii. 109; offering.
shipun, ii. 72; a sheep-cot.
shone, i. 266; shoes.
show, i. 317; a shoe.
shryfe, i. 265; to shrive.
shryffe, ii. 207; confess.
shrift, ii. 22; confession.
shrift-fathers, ii. 22; confessors.
shulde, ii. 244; shield.
sibbe, ii. 70; kindred.
sibbe, i. 392; kin, relation.
sicerly, ii. 49; surely.
sicche, ii. 67; such.
sydus, i. 277; sides.
sie, i. 327; to see.
sigh, ii. 146; saw.
signement, ii. 147; assignment, assignation.
syked, ii. 205; sighed.
siker, i. 217; sure, secure.
sykerliche, i. 252; surely.
sykernesse, ii. 241; certainty.
sympylle, ii. 284; in the sense of small.
synder, i. 216; sunder; *in synder*, asunder.
syngyn, i. 270; to sing.
sir, i. 378, 379; a lord.
sit, ii. 5; becomes.
sitee, ii. 187; situation (?).
sytes, i. 268; sits.
sitzh, i. 374; a sight.
sith, ii. 22; since.

sythenne, i. 225; since, afterwards.
sitte, ii. 5; becomes.
sitting, i. 393; incubation.
skall, i. 311; scab.
skamonye, ii. 173; scammony, a plant used in medicine.
skathed, i. 385; injured.
skere, i. 333.
skylle, i. 385, ii. 188. skil, ii. 42; reason, knowledge; *can thereone no skylle*, are quite ignorant in the matter.
sklendir, ii. 219; slender.
skood, ii. 219.
skry, ii. 154; cry.
skrith, i. 71; to escape (?).
slake, ii. 206; to desist, to cease.
slake, ii. 10; to be extinguished.
slaken, i. 86; to assuage, to quench.
slaveyn, i. 404; a sort of mantle.
slawe, ii. 235; slain.
sleen, ii. 134; to slay.
sleight, ii. 13; trickery, deception.
slen, ii. 10; to slay.
slent, ii. 112; slunk.
sleth, ii, 7; slayeth.
slew, i. 345; probably a misprint of the black-letter edition for *flew*, i.e. put them to flight.
slewys, i. 273; sleeves.
slyndynge, ii. 182; slipping.
slike, i. 59, 60; such.
slite, i. 335.
slode, i. 404; slided.
slogh, i. 64; slo3e, i. 225; slou3, i. 216; slow.
sloughe, sloughte, ii. 187; sloth.
slouh, ii. 13; he slow.
slowe, ii. 8; slew.
slugly, ii. 203; sluggishly.
smacchith, ii. 64; smacks, tastes of.
smere, i. 325; to smear, to daub over.
smorthering, ii. 54; smothering. Perhaps a mere error of the scribe.
snaper, i. 88; to stumble.
snarre, ii. 55; to ensnare.
snek-drawers, ii. 98; lifters of latches.
snell, i. 70; quick.
snowerie, ii. 111.
soeffrin, ii. 10; suffer.
sofferen, ii. 206; sovereign.
softe, ii. 8; mild.
soget, i. 272, ii. 192; subject.
soile, ii. 38; to assoil, to absolve.
sojournant, i. 327; a sojourner.
soleyne, i. 415; sullen, or solemn.
somen, ii. 89; to summon.
somere, i. 380; summer.
sompne, i. 330; to summon.
sompnour, i, 313; the officer who cited offenders before the consistory court.
sonde, i. 370, ii. 202; that which is sent, a message. sondis, i. 413; messages.
sonder, i. 268; to separate; *make hem to sonder*, disperse them.
sondrid, i. 388; separated.
song, i. 267; singing.
songen, i. 79; sung.
sonne, ii. 178, 196; the sun.
sool, ii. 103; soole, ii. 190; sole, single.
sore, ii. 190; sorrow.
sorowen, ii. 7; lament over.
sorwynge, ii. 40; lamenting.
sotelté, ii. 175; subtlety.
sothe, i. 266; truth.
sotil, ii. 85; subtle.

sottell, ii. 273 ; subtle.
soukoth, ii. 174 ; sucks.
soukle, i. 304; *to absorb moisture(?)*, said of bad seed
soule, i. 376.
soun, ii. 219 ; sound, voice.
soupe, i. 337 ; sup.
sourdid, i. 368 ; proceeded.
soure, i. 269 ; sourly.
sowed, i. 70 ; repented (?).
sowkid, i. 412 ; sucked, drunk in.
sowters, ii. 109 ; cobblers.
sowth, ii. 284 ; sought.
spairis, ii. 77 ; rafters, beams.
spas, i. 252 ; space.
specialis, i. 276 ; sweethearts.
specionus, ii. 98 ; beautiful.
spyse, i. 265; spice.
spokeles, ii. 222 ; destitute of spokes.
spone, i. 273; spun.
sporys, i. 275 ; spurs.
stable, ii. 8 ; to strengthen.
stable, i. 373, 404; to become strong, or firm.
stakerth, ii. 40 ; staggers.
stalle, i. 389 ; stole,
standen, ii. 202 ; to be arrested, to become stationary, not progressing.
stane, i. 62 ; stone.
stant, *passim*, stands.
stappis, ii. 102 ; steps.
stare, ii. 215 ; the starling.
staround, i. 64 ; *staring*.
sted, i. 252 ; stede, i. 63, 76; ii. 14; steedes, i. 304 ; place.
steeris, i. 405 ; oxen.
stelly, ii. 239 ; stiffly, firmly.
steken, ii. 97 ; to bar the door, to shut out.
stelén, i. 386 ; stole.
stonded, ii. 80 ; stinted, limited.
stoneling, ii. 50 ; *starching*.
store, ii. 6, 170 ; to stir.
store, ii. 10 ; a steersman.
stere, ii. 125 ; stout, strong.
steren, i. 62 ; stern.
sterynge, ii. 185 ; stirring.
steyn, i. 64 ; a star.
sterne, i. 304 ; fierce.
styde, i. 365 ; place.
stiede, ii. 204 ; mounted.
stiel, ii. 133 ; style.
stiere, ii. 10 ; to steer.
stiere, ii. 10 ; a steersman.
stif, i. 398 ; firm, strong.
styffe, i. 394 ; to become strong, or firm.
styffnesse, i. 405 ; strength, rigidity.
stigh, ii. 9 ; mounted, ascended.
stile, ii. 171 ; steel.
stille, i. 269 ; quietly.
stint, i. 71 ; put an end to.
stynted, i. 386; desisted, ceased.
stirid, i. 379 ; stirred.
stirt, i. 90 ; started, rushed.
stonde, ii. 111 ; stoned.
stonden, ii. 241 ; to stand.
stony, ii. 200; am astonished, am confounded.
stonyed, i. 386 ; astonished.
stont, i. 365 ; stands.
stopene, ii. 178 ; stop, hinder.
stound, i. 72, 304 ; *a moment, a* period of time ; *in a stound*, at once.
stour, 216 ; battle.
stoute, ii. 196 ; strongly, powerfully.
stownde, ii. 125 ; time, moment.

stowre, i. 61 ; fight, battle.
strayth, i. 275 ; straight, tight.
strake, i. 416 ; a stroke.
strate, i. 74 ; street or road (?).
streche, ii. 180 ; to go, to hasten.
strenkith, i. 89 ; strength,
strenuité, ii. 200 ; courage, force of character.
strevyn, i. 83 ; striven.
strie, i. 405; to destroy. stried, i. 381; destroyed.
strive, i. 71 ; strife.
stryve, ii. 6 ; to make strife.
stroye, i. 398 ; stroy, i. 64 ; to destroy. stroyed, i. 385 ; destroyed.
stronte, i. 401 ; to rant.
stronters, i. 406 ; ranters.
strountynge, i. 397, 398 ; stroutynge, 400 ; ranting.
strowun, ii. 110 ; strew, scatter,
sturte, i. 330 ; struggle (?).
subdite, ii. 197; subjected.
subies, ii. 196 ; subjects.
subjit, ii. 9 ; subject.
sufferayn, ii. 208 ; sovereign.
sugre, ii. 145 ; to sugar, to sweeten.
suld, i. 63 ; should.
summyse, ii. 227 ; subject.
superfluo, ii. 70 ; superfluous.
supplusage, ii. 283 ; surplus.
surquedous, ii. 213; arrogant.
surreccioun, ii. 247 ; insurrection.
sustryn, ii. 209 ; sisters.
suwit, ii. 107 ; follows.
swa, i. 266 ; so.
swage, i. 218 ; to diminish.
swayne, ii. 228 ; swan (?).
swche, i. 278 ; such.
swelt, i. 89 ; died.
swych, *passim* ; such.
swink, i. 69 ; swynk, ii, 154 ; to labour.
swire, i. 82, 341; neck.
swith, i. 71 ; quick.
swythe, i. 394 ; quickly, immediately.
swoch, i. 271 ; such.
swolde, ii. 230 ; sold,
swot, ii. 51 ; sweet.

T.

tabide, i. 327 ; to abide.
tables, ii. 24 ; tablets, table-books.
tabuins, i. 87 ; tabors, drums.
taille, ii. 70 ; cutting, fashion.
take, i. 314 ; to give.
tale, ii. 73 ; count.
talinge, ii. 79 ; the king's tax.
tappe, ii. 95 ; to draw and sell ale.
tapsteres, ii. 95 ; ale-wives.
tarage, ii. 141 ; the flavour or character of a thing.
tarette, i. 65 ; a sort of ship, perhaps a large vessel with a tower.
targe, i. 217 ; a shield.
tary, ii. 166 ; delay.
telde, i. 388 ; told.
tempred, ii. 5 ; moderated, tempered.
tene, i. 71 ; ii. 125 ; grief, sorrow, affliction.
tene, i. 224 ; to afflict, to grieve. tenet, afflicts. tenyd, i. 395 ; injured, hurt.
tent, ii. 227 ; attend to, pay attention to.
tent, i. 384 ; tente, 385 ; entent.

tents, i. 339 ; tonths, tithes.
tentze, ii. 12 ; the game of tennis.
termyne, ii. 144 ; to end, to determine.
terre, ii. 171 ; tar.
teschue, ii. 6 ; to eschue.
thanne, ii. 41 ; *not far thanne*, nevertheless.
the, *passim;* for they.
the, ii. 159 ; to flourish, to thrive.
thee, i. 313, ii. 180 ; *to thrive, to flourish.*
thefly, ii. 60, by theft.
thenayle, ii. 182 (?).
thende, ii. 12 ; the end.
thenke, i. 216, 268 ; to seem, to appear ; *me thenkes*, it seems to me.
there, *passim;* their.
thilke, ii. 37 ; that.
thynchith, i. 397 ; appears ; *me thynchith*, it seems to me.
thir ; those.
thof, i. 265 ; though.
tholde, ii. 9 ; the old.
thonckyd, ii. 281 ; thinked.
thorowghe, ii. 194 ; *through.*
thorwe, i. 364 ; through.
thought, ii. 182 ; tough.
thred, ii. 268 ; third.
three, i. 252 ; three.
throff, i. 398 ; threve.
throughte, ii. 241 ; truth.
throwe, ii. 159 ; space of time.
thurgh, ii. 5 ; through.
tyde, i. 59, 269 ; time.
tyde, ii. 249 ; happen.
tiffelers, i. 309 ; busybodies.
tight, i. 72 ; turned (?).
til, i. 260 ; tyll, i. 58 ; tille, i. 264 ; to.
tille, ii. 83 ; to entice, to draw.
tillers, i. 376 ; tillers, husbandmen.
timber, i. 72 ; destruction.
tymed, i. 395.
tyne, i. 88 ; to lose.
tint, i. 79 ; lost.
tynie, i. 48.
tithandes, i. 64 ; tidings.
tytheth, ii. 50 ; taketh tithes.
tobarst, i. 251 ; burst to pieces.
tobrake, ii. 10 ; broken.
tobroke, ii. 10 ; broken to pieces.
todongin, i. 79 ; knocked to pieces.
todrawe, i. 341, ii. 235, torn to pieces.
tofalle, ii. 7 ; cuts off, crops (?).
tofore, ii. 10 ; before.
toforne, ii. 137 ; before.
toke, i. 268, ii. 165 ; gave ; *toke ham to the devel ychone*, gave them all to the devil.
tole, i. 314 ; toll.
tole, i. 331 ; a tool, an instrument.
toleye, ii. 240 ; to put forward.
tolled, i. 395 ; collected, took toll of (?).
too, ii. 158, *et passim ;* two.
toon, ii. 106 ; the one.
toothir, ii. 147 ; the other.
topull, i. 308 ; pull to pieces.
tornee, i. 342 ; annihilate (?).
torent, ii. 219 ; rent to pieces, or greatly rent.
torne, ii. 162 ; turn.
tosced, ii. 161 ; picked, pulled, as wool, &c. A term used among clothiers.
tote, i. 305 ; to spy.
totere, i. 311 ; to tear to pieces.
tothrete, i, 218 ; to threaten violently.

totore, ii. 239 ; torn to pieces.
tourne, i. 340 ; to turn.
toukers, ii. 285 ; a class of dyers.
tray, i. 322 ; to betray.
tray, i. 72, ii. 125 ; grief, sorrow.
traylid, i. 376 ; trellis-worked (?).
traine, i. 322 ; they betray.
trais, i. 79 ; betray.
traiste, i. 68 ; to trust.
traitorie, ii. 28 ; treason.
trantes, i. 265 ; tricks, stratagems.
travayle, i. 218 ; to labour.
travailen, i. 385; laboured.
traveile, i. 371 ; to labour.
travell, ii. 23 ; labour.
travell, ii. 27 ; to labour.
trefte, i. 376.
treget, i. 79 ; deceit, imposition.
tremelyng, ii. 276 ; trembling.
trentall, ii. 21, trentel, 81 ; a service of thirty masses for the dead.
trest, i. 79 ; trust.
tretes, i. 307 ; treats (?).
trey, i. 72 ; vexation.
triacle, i. 388 ; a remedy, medicine.
trifflour, i. 397 ; a trifler (?).
tristi, i. 385 ; trusty.
tristith, i. 404 ; trust.
trompes, i. 87 ; trumpets.
troper, ii. 43 ; one of the service books, the *tropanius*.
trouble, ii. 131 ; troubled, disturbed.
trought, ii. 163, 195 ; truth.
trowist, ii. 68 ; believest thou.
trowyth, i. 271 ; truth.
trumpe, i. 69 ; a trumpet.
trumpe, i. 70 ; to blow the trumpet.
trusse, i. 264, 326 ; to pack up and depart, to pack off.
turbit, ii. 173.
turmentour, i. 397 ; an executioner.
twen, ii. 214 ; between.
twye, twey, ii. 42 ; two.
twynned, i. 404 ; parted, separated.
twynte, i. 395 ; a jot.

U.

uch, i. 216 ; each.
umset, i. 77; surrounded.
umstride, i. 68 ; to encircle with the legs.
unability, ii. 134 ; inability, incapacity.
unboxom, ii. 42 ; disobedient.
uncod, i. 364 ; unknown.
underfongen, ii. 11 ; undertaken.
underlaide, ii. 254 ; to lay under foot, to tread down.
undermyn, ii. 84 ; undermine.
undernome, ii. 22 ; to take up, to take to task.
undernomen, ii. 85 ; examined, accused.
understont, i. 327 ; understands.
unfraught, ii. 191 ; want of freight.
unhale, i. 74 ; diseased.
unhold, i. 317 ; faithless.
unkyndly, ii. 244 ; unnatural, contrary to the nature or profession of any one.
unkunning, ii. 36 ; want of knowledge. Used as an adjective on the next page.
unmightie, ii. 37 ; wanting power.
unnethe, i. 215 ; hardly.
unpower, ii. 36 ; want of power.

unsekyrnesse, ii. 242; insecurity, uncertainty.
unsele, i. 85; unfortunate.
unsewyr, ii. 241; insecure, uncertain.
unsikor, ii. 78; unsure.
unwmenesse, ii. 190; want of caution, imprudence.
up-so-down, ii. 217, 236; upside-down. This latter is apparently only a corruption of the older phrase.
ur, i. 215; our.
urniall, i. 313.
uttere, i. 403; further out.
utterne, ii. 175; they utter.
utterwarde, ii. 157; externally.
uvel, i. 225; evil.

V.

vailable, ii. 8; profitable.
vaire, i. 265; a sort of fur.
vantith, ii. 249; boasts, vaunts.
varioure, ii. 132; a warrior.
vauwarde, ii. 57; the van of an army.
venemed, ii. 244; poisoned.
venerye, ii. 186; game, animals which were hunted.
vengeable, i. 328; revengeful.
venym, ii. 74; poison.
venyrsyne, ii. 267.
verrei, *ii. 65; true,*
verrie, ii. 167; for *werrie*, make war.
vierge, ii. 270; virgin.
vylis, ii. 249.
vys, i. 278; vice.
voyd, ii. 287; avoid.
voidli, ii. 103; vainly.

W.

wadmole, ii. 160; a coarse woollen cloth.
waffere, ii. 174; a wasp (?).
wagingo, ii. 50; wagging, turning round.
wayke, i. 264; weak.
waykyer, ii. 276; the weaker.
waylyth, ii. 284; availeth.
waynyth, ii. 227; think, suppose (?).
wait, i. 60; to await (?).
wayt, ii. 127; watch.
waite, i. 371, 372; to watch, to consider or think on, to pay attention to.
waited, ii. 10; watched, served.
wayve, i. 378; to remove (their fears).
wake, ii. 276; to awake.
wakkin, i. 72, 86; to awaken.
waleway, i. 48; alas!
wall, i. 312; a well.
walmed, i. 397; properly boiled up, agitated.
waltred, i. 390; weltered.
walwed, i. 374; wallowed.
wane, i. 65; plenty, frequency.
waniand, i. 70, 84, 87; the wane of the moon.
wan, i. 264, 377; won, redeemed.
wapin, i. 71; a weapon.
wapind, i. 67; armed, provided with weapons.
war, i. 59; were.
ware, i. 277. Perhaps *on ware* should be printed *onware*, in the sense of unawares.
ware, i. 275; to beware.

wared, ii. 244 ; expended.
warened, ii. 192 ; warned.
warie, i. 399 ; to curse.
warned, i. 404 ; forbade. warned, ii. 4 ; refused.
wast, ii. 244 ; ruined.
wastable, ii. 173 ; subject to waste.
wate, i. 268 ; know.
wate, ii. 153 ; to watch.
wattis, i. 414 ; men of importance.
waves, i. 216 ; waves.
wawlis, ii. 109 ; perhaps for waves.
waxen, i. 268 ; grown.
waxus, i. 365 ; waxes, grows.
weddis, i. 408 ; pledges.
wede, i. 71, 85 ; apparel, dress.
wede, i. 269 ; to go mad.
wederes, ii. 44 ; has perhaps here the sense of tempests.
wedir, i. 387 ; weather.
wedo, i. 397 ; dross.
weet, ii. 17 ; know.
wegges, ii. 171 ; wedges.
weie, ii. 6 ; weighed.
weythe, ii. 286 ; weight.
welde, i. 306 ; to govern, to wield.
welders, ii. 78 ; possessors.
wele, i. 63 ; weal, prosperity.
wele, i. 62 ; well.
weleaway, ii. 112 ; an exclamation of lamentation.
weleful, i. 81 ; prosperous.
wely, i. 267 ; prosperous, in good condition.
welldith, i. 407 ; possesseth.
welle, i. 218 ; a fountain.
wenen, i. 267 ; suppose, think. wened, i. 64 ; though, expected. wenynge, ii. 166 ; supposing.
went, i. 271 ; gone.
weole, i. 250 ; weal, prosperity.
weor, i. 218 ; were.
wepeand, i. 82 ; weeping.
were, ii. 44 ; to defend, to protect.
were, i. 59 ; to make war.
were, i. 77, 86 ; war ; *were man*, a man of war.
were, i. 215 ; to wear.
weryne, ii. 152 ; were.
wermode, ii. 52 ; wormwood.
werned, ii. 5 ; refused.
werre, ii. 194 ; spring, for *verre*.
werred, ii. 189 ; expended.
werrid, i. 369 ; made war.
werrynge, ii. 183 ; making war.
werroles, ii. 203 ; without war.
werryours, ii. 183 ; warriors.
werroure, ii. 199 ; a warrior.
wescheth, ii. 53 ; screameth (?).
wesshe, i. 387 ; to wash.
weten, i. 329 ; they know.
wex, ii. 163 ; wax.
wexynge, ii. 143 ; growing.
whore, i. 387 ; were.
whete-yere, ii. 223 ; the wheaten.
white, ii. 148 ; blame.
whote, i. 89 ; knowest.
wlate, i. 337 ; to loathe.
wlysp, i. 185 ; to lisp.
wy, i. 407 ; a man.
wickett, i. 404 ; the gate.
wiel, ii. 7 ; well.
wyenges, i. 269 ; wings.
wyght, i. 407 ; creature, wight.
wight, i. 69, 85 ; active, nimble.
wyghte, ii. 241 ; white.
wyghtly, i. 268 ; nimbly, quickly.
wiht, i. 250 ; a creature.
wyle, i. 369 ; while.
wyle, i. 278 ; will.
wylis, i. 386 ; wiles, tricks.
willerdome, ii. 247 ; wilfulness (?).

wilne, i. 306 ; to wish, to desire.
wynne, i. 266 ; to gain access to.
wynt, i. 216 ; wind.
wirche, ii. 4 ; *to work*, *wirching*, ii. 134 ; working.
wyrfolk, ii. 285 ; workmen, workfolk (?).
wyrkkyd, ii. 284 ; worked.
wyrlynge, ii. 187 ;
wysely, ii. 183 ; prudent.
wisith, ii. 226 ; shows, points out.
wisse, i. 310 ; warn.
wissen, i. 370 ; to teach, to warn.
wishen, i. 322 ; they knew.
wit, i. 70 ; to know.
wite, ii. 148 ; wyte, ii. 208 ; blame.
wyth, i. 364 ; for *wight*, active.
withholde, ii. 244 ; defended, protected against.
wythoutene, ii. 202 ; without (the prep.).
withsay, i. 321 ; to deny.
wytte, i. 377 ; *to blame*, *to lay to one's blame*.
witterly, i. 370, ii. 82 ; truly, certainly.
woday, i. 48 ; a day of woe (?).
wode, i. 74, ii. 167 ; mad, furious.
wolde, i. 218 ; to hold (?).
wolle, i. 273 ; wool. wollys, ii. 283 ; wools.
woltow, ii. 148 ; for *wilt thou*.
wombis, i. 391 ; bellies.
won, ii. 87 ; wone, ii. 196 ; custom.
wonand, i. 74 ; dwelling, residing.
wonde, i. 84 ; stop, stay.
wonde, i. 216. If this be the correct reading, it may mean a club.
Wonder, i. 250 ; wonderful.
wonder, i. 251 ; wonderfully.
wonen, i. 77 ; won.
wones, i. 266 ; dwellings, residence.
woneth, i. 377 ; dwell.
woning, i. 66, 89 ; dwelling, residence.
wonne, ii. 224 ; one.
wonnen, i. 267 ; to dwell. wonne, i. 388.
wonnen, i. 71 ; won, gained.
wonnynges, i. 270 ; *dwelling places*.
woo, i. 364 ; sorrow, sorrowful.
wood, i. 312 ; mad.
woode, ii. 180 ; wond.
woodnesse, ii. 55 ; madness.
woost, ii. 104 ; knowest.
worth, i. 62 ; ii. 249 ; be, become.
worthli, i. 71 ; *worthy*.
wost, i. 370 ; knew.
woves, i. 390 ; waves.
wowes, ii. 244 ; walls, more especially the walls of houses.
wox, i. 251 ; waxed, grow.
wrake, i. 252, 375 ; ii. 53 ; wrank, ii. 213 ; *ruin*, *destruction*, vengeance.
wrall, i. 314 ;
wreche, ii. 227 ; wreke, i. 89 ; revenge.
wrenchis, ii. 48 ; stratagems, frauds.
wryo, i. 384 ; go aside.
wrynkels, ii. 45.
writhyn, ii. 90 ; to twist, wriggle.
writte, i. 370 ; a letter.
wro, i. 305 ; a corner.
wroken, i. 61 ; revenged.
wrote, i. 73 ; to root up, to overthrow.
wrowght, ii, 205 ; made, created.
wullus, i. 412 ; wools.
wun, i. 79 ; won.
wust, i. 337 ; protected (?).

Y.

Y, *passim*; I.
y, i. 365; high (?).
y, i. 276; they.
yafe, i. 324; gave.
yall, i. 315, 345; to yell.
yarne, i. 387; to desire eagerly.
yates, i. 305; gates.
yeve, ii. 25; to give.
yblowe, ii. 245; blown.
ycharchid, i. 403; charged.
ychone, i. 267; everyone.
yconyd, ii. 286; coined.
ydemed, i. 403; judged.
ydo, i. 391; done.
ydountid, i. 375; feared.
yef, i. 333; give.
yefts, ii. 27; gifts.
yeme, i. 378; to guide or rule.
yerles, ii. 197; earles.
yever, ii. 25; a giver.
yfeyned, i. 371; feigned.
yfourmed, ii. 43; informed.
ygon, i. 385; gone.
ygrave, i. 375; engraved, sculptured.
yheeded, i. 380; horned, headed.
yhelid, i. 402; covered, roofed.
yhotte, i. 403; bidden.
ykende, i. 319; known.
ykep, i. 365; kept.
yeveth, ii. 24; giveth.
ylafte, i. 413; left.
ylauȝte, i. 309, 409; caught.
ylyste, i. 373; listed, taken.
yloke, i. 375; locked.
yluggyd, i. 409; pulled or lugged about.
ymagynynge, ii. 270; plotting.
ympe, i. 218; a sprout, a young sprig, a graft.
ympnise, ii. 152.
ymummyd, i. 410; compelled to keep silence (?).
ynned, i. 398; harvested, brought in.
ynnere, i. 401; further in.
ynowe, i. 386; enough.
yois, i. 272; pleasure, enjoyment.
yoven, ii. 140; given.
ypynned, i. 388; fledged, penned.
ypassid, i. 381; past.
yrent, i. 311; torn.
ysoupid, i. 414; supped.
ytakyn, i. 387; taken, caught.
ytemprid, i. 374; mixed, tempered.
ytoren, i. 366; torn.
ywys, i. 365; truely, surely.
yworewid, i. 395; worried.
ywounded, i. 403; wrapped, enveloped.
ywrowte, ii. 284; made.

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