

Thomas Hoccleve

The Regiment of Princes

Edited by
Charles R. Blyth

Published for TEAMS
(The Consortium for the Teaching of the Middle Ages)
in Association with the University of Rochester

by

Medieval Institute Publications

WESTERN MICHIGAN UNIVERSITY

Kalamazoo, Michigan — 1999

The Regiment of Princes

Introduction

I: Poem, Poet, Context, Sources

Reputation

Since the 1970s, Hoccleve's *Regiment of Princes* has received a degree of attention it had not had since the century in which the poem was written. While the 43 surviving manuscripts, all written between the poem's composition in 1410–11 and the end of that century, attest to its notability, William Caxton did not choose to print it, and as against the frequent salutes to the trinity of Chaucer, Gower, and Lydgate in the poetry of the later fifteenth and early sixteenth century, Hoccleve receives just one mention. In the short poem known as "Caxton's Book of Courtesy," addressed to "Lytle John," the unnamed disciple of Lydgate recommends to this "child" a course of improving reading. After four stanzas on Gower and six on Chaucer, and before eight stanzas on his master Lydgate, he devotes two stanzas to Hoccleve's "translacion / In goodly langage and sentence passyng wyse," in which "by his wrytynge playne" he directed his Prince to "vertu apperteynyng to nobles [the nobility] / Of a prynce."¹ George Ashby's poetry of the 1460s and 70s shows he has read Hoccleve, but he mentions by name only "Maisters Gower, Chaucer & Lydgate, / Primier poetes of this nacion."² From the sixteenth century to the end of the nineteenth century, when first Thomas Wright and then Frederick Furnivall edited it, the *Regiment* was largely neglected.

The rest of Hoccleve's poetry fared scarcely better. Early in the seventeenth century William Browne, a minor poet, adapted the "Tale of Jonathas" from his *Series*, and much later George Mason, a scholar-collector, at the end of the eighteenth century published poems from a manuscript in his possession. But for the most part all of Hoccleve's poetry was either neglected or regarded as part of the large body of undistinguished English poetry written in the shadow of Chaucer. To be sure, historians cited colorful passages of autobiographical writing

¹ Caxton's Book of Courtesy, ed. Frederick J. Furnivall, EETS o.s. 3 (London: H. Milford/Oxford University Press, 1868), lines 351–52, 360, and 361–62.

² George Ashby, "Active Policy of a Prince," in George Ashby's Poems, ed. Mary Bateson, EETS o.s. 76 (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1899), lines 1–2.

The Regiment of Princes

for their documentary charm, and literary historians cited the several passages in which Hoccleve pays homage to Chaucer. W. J. Courthope in his *A History of English Poetry* makes perceptive remarks, but the critical assessment of G. Gregory Smith in 1900 best reflects the prevailing literary judgment. Hoccleve, Smith writes, "could never have dreamt himself out of a respectable mediocrity," and in his "jolting verse" there is "the pathological interest of the inability of the changing medium to yield the music of which Chaucer in rather happier circumstance and by dint of genius proved himself the master."¹ And in the preface to his Early English Text Society edition of Hoccleve's other poems which preceded his *Regiment* edition for that series, Furnivall writes: "We wish he had been a better poet and a manlier fellow; but all of those who've made fools of themselves, more or less, in their youth, will feel for the poor old versifier."² A more positive assessment is offered by Eleanor Prescott Hammond in her valuable 1927 volume *English Verse between Chaucer and Surrey*, but in the dominant view obtaining until well into the second half of the present century, Hoccleve's poetry belonged to no canon which students of English literature should be asked to study, let alone take pleasure in.

The recent rehabilitation of Hoccleve's poetry is largely owing to three distinct developments. First, Hoccleve, like other writers of the generation after the great Ricardians (Chaucer, Langland, the Gawain poet, and Gower), has benefited from the recent move to "open up the canon," to see the literature written between Chaucer and Spenser as important in understanding what has come to be called, no longer a terminally ailing "late Middle Ages" but the early modern period. Second, beginning in the 1970s and 1980s a few discerning scholars began to discover in Hoccleve's poetry a level of accomplishment at odds with the older assessment, so that there were reasons besides the historical ones for reading it. In particular the British scholars Derek Pearsall (a brief hint as early as 1966, the year after Jerome Mitchell's subsequently published dissertation), A. C. Spearing (1985), and above all John Burrow (beginning in 1977) wrote perceptively about some of Hoccleve's poetry, though they dwelled on poems other than the overtly didactic and political *Regiment*. The latest critical development has brought together the literary critical and the cultural historian that is evident in work on the *Regiment* by such scholars as David Lawton, Larry Scanlon, and Antony Hasler. Third, the very autobiographical passages which made Furnivall wish Hoccleve had been "a manlier fellow" and which institutional historians such as T. F. Tout have drawn on for documentation have attracted the interest of critics interested in studying the formations of subjectivity in early

¹ G. Gregory Smith, *The Transition Period* (Edinburgh: W. Blackwood & Sons, 1900), pp. 17–18.

² Thomas Hoccleve, *Hoccleve's Works: The Minor Poems*, ed. Frederick J. Furnivall, EETS o.s. 61 (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1892), p. xxxviii.

Introduction

modern literature, for which purpose Hoccleve joins the unlikely company of Margery Kempe. The interest in Hoccleve encouraged by these recent scholars as well as the inadequacy and relative inaccessibility of the century-old Furnivall edition are the principal reasons why a new edition of the *Regiment* is needed.

Author and Date of Composition

While most of the manuscripts of the *Regiment* in typical medieval fashion neither begin nor end with the identification of the name of its author, the fact that Hoccleve introduces his own name as a principal character in the poem ("What shal I calle thee, what is thy name?"/ "Hoccleve, fadir myn, men clepen me"— lines 1863–64) has eliminated any question about authorship. We know a good deal about Thomas Hoccleve, both his career as clerk in the government office of the Privy Seal and his career as poet, from three sources. Documents principally from the Exchequer recording payments for his work as clerk establish the chronology of his professional career, from his early years at the Privy Seal office to the year of his death. These documents by themselves would tell us nothing about his career as poet but for a second source, Hoccleve's occasional references in his poetry to his own chronology and to approximately or precisely datable external events. Taking these autobiographical references together with the documentary evidence allows us to establish an approximately accurate chronology of his life and work. Though contributing imperfectly to that chronology, the survival of manuscripts written by Hoccleve, as poet, as government clerk, and as scribe, add importantly to our understanding of his career. The paleographical work of H. C. Schulz established that nearly all of Hoccleve's other poems, though not the *Regiment*, survive in three manuscripts written in his own hand, and the content and structure of these holographs provide insight into his career as poet. Also surviving, and a key to Schulz's argument, is the large *Formulary* which Hoccleve wrote out towards the end of his life, containing model letters, petitions, and other documents in French or Latin, of the sort that a Privy Seal clerk would have to produce.

Recognition that there is a closer connection than one might expect between the government clerk and the poet is one of the many contributions of John Burrow to Hoccleve studies. In his excellent monograph on Hoccleve, Burrow notes the affinity between what he calls Hoccleve's petitionary poetry and the presence of petitionary documents in the *Formulary*. In the course of another remarkable paleographical essay, A. I. Doyle and Malcolm Parkes have identified one other activity of the poet-scribe, Hoccleve's short contribution as scribe to a manuscript of Gower's *Confessio Amantis* written by several hands (including the scribe of the Hengwrt and Ellesmere manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales*). In addition to demonstrating Hoccleve's "hands-on" connection with another major English poet besides Chaucer, and which very likely put him in touch with the most important scribe of Chaucer's greatest poem, the passage

The Regiment of Princes

of 415 lines which he copied (*Confessio Amantis* V, 7083–7498), whether by design or chance, begins with the foundationally literary story of the Judgment of Paris and the events leading up to the Trojan War. Yet more, the documents contain a single item pertaining to Hoccleve's library; in 1392 he was bequeathed a book on the Trojan War. Thus the surviving documentary evidence itself invites us to investigate the poet who himself, in his frequent autobiographical pose, solicits our attention.

If Hoccleve inevitably fits Paul Strohm's idea of "the narrowing of the 'Chaucer tradition'" in the fifteenth century, an assessment well presented long ago by Eleanor Hammond, he nonetheless does so in a much more positive way than Hammond or Strohm argue, for precisely in Hoccleve's "narrowness" lies his greatest strength, which manifests itself in his creation of an early modern subjectivity, in his distinctive observations of his time, and in his self-critical awareness of the limits imposed on a poet writing in the wake of Chaucer.

Burrow's monograph provides a clear and full chronology, complete with all the supporting documents, and the briefest summary here will have to suffice. Hoccleve was born about 1367, entered the government office of the Privy Seal about 1387, completed his earliest datable poem, the *Epistle of Cupid* (a free translation of Christine de Pisan's 1399 "Epistre au Dieu d'Amours") in 1402, wrote the best known of his shorter works, *La Male Regle*, about 1405, and between then and the *Regiment* wrote a few occasional poems that can be dated between 1405 and 1409. After the *Regiment*, he continued working in the Privy Seal until 1426, interrupted only by a period of mental illness which is an important part of the subject of his later *Complaint* and *Dialogue with a Friend* — the first two sections of the five-part work known as Hoccleve's *Series*. He continued as clerk until close to the time of his death in 1426. To return to the *Regiment*, since so many of the principal concerns of the poem connect so closely with its date of composition, its chronology is best viewed in relation to its historical context.

Historical Context

The approximate date of composition of the *Regiment* is largely determined by two dates: early in the poem (lines 281 ff.) Hoccleve refers to the burning of the Lollard John Badby, which took place in March 1410; and the poem's dedicatee, Prince Henry, ceased to be a prince when he ascended the throne March 21, 1413, as Henry V. The fact that the poem was written in part to remind the Prince of delinquent payments due him and the evidence for the delay of payments recorded in the documents permit us to narrow the date of composition to 1411, a date corresponding to Hoccleve's assertion that he is writing the poem when he has been twenty-four years in the office of the Privy Seal (lines 804–05). To these indications of *termini prior* and *post quem* for the poem's composition, we should add a few other dates pertinent to the poem's concerns: 1399, the date of Henry IV's usurpation of the throne; 1400,

Introduction

the death of Chaucer; and 1408, the death of Gower and the year when the Prince replaced Archbishop Arundel as head of the king's council until his dismissal in 1411. Taken together, these dates and the themes immediately associated with them define a good part of the literary and historical significance of the *Regiment*.

Hoccleve's poem was written at a time when England was still feeling the consequences of the deposition of Richard II, which haunted the usurper's reign by raising questions about the legitimacy of the Lancastrian line. The effort to assert its legitimacy was a constant concern of the Crown and is exemplified in the *Regiment* by two flattering references to the Prince's grandfather, John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, who had died in February of 1399 (lines 512–20 and the Latin gloss at line 3347), and one to Henry, John's father-in-law and the first of the Plantagenet dukes of Lancaster (lines 2647–53). Moreover, the theme of the importance of a king's councilors, a fundamental motif in the popular medieval genre of *Fürstenspiegel*, had a quite specific significance in the England of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, among other instances manifesting itself in the Prince's active and controversial role during the reign of his father in the years immediately leading up to the poem. In their need for authoritative support, the Lancastrians were diligent in supporting issues of concern to the church. Prominent among these was the Lollard heresy. Introduced early in the poem in the reference to the burning of Badby, the anti-Lollard theme is implicit elsewhere, and resurfaces near the end in a defense of icons in churches — a major object of Lollard attack.

That passage comes immediately after the passage in which Hoccleve causes an illuminated portrait of Chaucer to be inserted in his poem so that readers who have not known, or have forgotten, what Chaucer looked like may have "remembrance" of him. The placement of this third and (because of the portrait) most prominent of the poem's three salutes to Chaucer as "The firste fyndere of our fair langage" (line 4978) immediately before the anti-Lollard passage defending icons suggests that the presence of Chaucer in the poem is not simply a reverential expression of personal loss and poetic debt but also part of its thematic program, which may include, according to the argument of John Fisher, a specifically Lancastrian endorsement of English as the national language. These are a few of the issues with which recent writing on the *Regiment* has dealt. One of the challenges the poem presents to the reader is understanding how the poem's political and historical theographies interact with its identity as literary artifact.

Structure and Sources

It is not surprising that a poem addressed to a prince on the subject of his governance begins with a prologue; what is so unusual about the *Regiment* is that in this poem of over 5000 lines the Prologue occupies more than 2000 lines. Understanding this seeming imbalance is another of the issues which critics have variously addressed. Given the complex codicological history

The Regiment of Princes

of many medieval poems, it is important to recognize that there is virtually unanimous manuscript support for this two-part structure of Prologue and what I shall call the "Regiment proper" as integral.¹ After the Prologue and the formal address to the Prince, most manuscripts give a rubric which both defines the division and names the work. Thus, to cite British Library MS Arundel 38: "Explicit prologus de principum regimine, incipiendo de fide observanda" ("The prologue of *The Regiment of Princes* ends here; and the beginning [of the first section of the *Regiment* proper] on keeping faith").

The Prologue begins with the lament of a speaker who is unable to sleep because of anxiety about instability in the world in general and his own finances in particular. The night passes, he arises, and hastens outside. In his walk he soon encounters an old man whose polite greeting he scornfully rejects. C. S. Lewis recognized long ago in his *Allegory of Love* that the situation of the speaker is a powerfully effective variation of the opening situation of many medieval dream-vision poems. The gesture of arising in the morning and hastening "[i]nto the field" (line 117) belongs exactly to that tradition. But the speaker's thoughts also connect with another, even more pervasive medieval tradition, one that derives from Boethius' enormously influential *Consolation of Philosophy*; if the references to the instability of Fortune and the echo of Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde* were not sufficient to recall that source, Hoccleve, in the first of the Latin glosses inserted in the margin of the poem, cites Boethius' work (lines 50 ff.). The prevalence of Boethius in Hoccleve's England is underscored by the fact that John Walton translated the *Consolation of Philosophy* in 1410, a poem surviving in a number of manuscripts, including two in which it is accompanied by the *Regiment*. The ensuing dialogue between the speaker and the old man (misleadingly called the Old Beggar by Furnivall and hence by many subsequent critics) belongs to the Boethian tradition in which Lady Philosophy (or Dante's Virgil, or his Beatrice, or the Pearl maiden, or Gower's Genius) tries to educate the speaker as to the groundlessness and moral error inherent in his complaint.

The speaker's rudeness and self-pity are countered by the old man's offer to cure him by attending to his spiritual ills. Though in a secular sense and context, the old man urges him to confess: "Right so, if thee list have a remedie / Of thy annoy that prikkith thee so smerte, / The verray cause of thy hid maladie / Thow moot deskevere and telle out al thyn herte" (lines 260–63). The old man asks him if he risks spiritual despair by thinking and worrying about questions which a good Christian knows better than to indulge in. At this point Hoccleve's poem veers from the expected traditional form of Boethian instruction: the old man refers to the recent case of the Lollard John Badby who questioned the church's understanding of the Eucharist and questioned the special spiritual power of priests (lines 281–94). In the ensuing

¹ I accept the traditional label of "Prologue" for the first 2016 (or 2156) lines of the poem. However, those manuscripts providing rubrics intend *Prologus* to refer only to Hoccleve's address to the Prince (lines 2017–56). See the explanatory note to line 2017.

Introduction

four stanzas Hoccleve quickly shifts from the doctrinal to the political, for the real story here is not the heretical belief of one individual but Prince Henry's presence at the examination of Badby and his unsuccessful effort to persuade him to renounce his beliefs. Thus early in the prologue to a poem addressed to his prince, Hoccleve introduces him and represents him as at once an upholder of the church's opposition to Lollardy, and as a compassionate leader who tries to save a soul.

The old man reverts to examining the speaker and proceeds to describe his own situation as embodying moral virtue clad in a poor dress. Reference to his poor "habit" leads to a long digression on contemporary social conditions in which too many courtiers are wastefully dressed in fashionable attire inappropriate to what they can afford and need in order to perform their functions in society (lines 421–553). Whatever the accuracy of its contemporary reference, recalling the abortive sumptuary legislation of 1363, this passage on clothing abuse in courts by those who strive to gain favors by appearance and flattery derives from a tradition common in the literature of satire and to which the poem will occasionally return. The old man asserts the wisdom he has gained in age, and proceeds to tell a story of his own extravagantly ill-spent youth from which he has suffered and for which he has sought repentance (lines 610–749). For the student of Hoccleve, this passage has the additional interest that it recalls the story of misspent youth Hoccleve tells of himself in his earlier *Male Regle*.

It is only after the old man's story that the identity of the speaker of the Prologue begins to emerge. In answer to the old man's question, he says that he is employed in the office of the Privy Seal and has been there for twenty-four years (lines 802–05). Hoccleve proceeds to explain his financial worry in some detail, inflating his concern in a restatement of unreconstructed Boethian lament ("Welthe is ful slipir; be waer lest thou fallie," line 903). He describes his labor as a writer in the Privy Seal office and reiterates his financial worry, to which the old man replies by offering traditional wisdom (from Augustine, Bernard, and Seneca) on the advantages of poverty. Here Hoccleve inserts the first of the exempla from ancient history whose source we will presently examine. The old man says that Hoccleve is better off than he claims, to which Hoccleve hints that he has greater needs because, having failed in his hope of getting a benefice, he has married. A passage on the games that the lord's men play on poor clerks, a passage of skillful satirical writing made the more poignant from its autobiographical reference, highlights the travails of his professional life (lines 1485–1547). The old man's recognition of Hoccleve's married state leads to a long digressive passage on love, lust, adultery, and procreation (lines 1555–1764).

For the remainder of the Prologue, Hoccleve and the old man direct their attention to Hoccleve's financial needs and the possible help available to him. Since Prince Henry is his lord, the old man recommends that Hoccleve appeal to Henry by writing. It is at this point that, in answer to the old man's question, Hoccleve states his name (lines 1864–65), which immediately leads to the poem's first mention of Chaucer: "Sone, I have herd of this men speke of thee; / Thow were aqweyntid with Chaucer, pardee" (lines 1866–67). After some

The Regiment of Princes

hesitation, and modification of the old man's suggestions, Hoccleve agrees to write. In the first of the poem's three passages on Chaucer, he laments his death and absence as an instructor (lines 1958–74) before turning to address the Prince.

What is notable about the Prologue is its departure from the lofty and learned tradition of Boethian dialogue with which it begins. The old man merely makes sure that Hoccleve is utterly orthodox in his religious views; his instruction effects no real change in the speaker's moral self-understanding. Furthermore, the poem includes extensive passages on topics drawn from traditional satire and other passages which take us into the real world in which the historical Hoccleve lives and works. In other words, the lofty themes associated with the literary tradition on which Hoccleve draws are finally reduced to the articulation of an immediate socio-economic situation, to which the old man ultimately supplies the solution. The redefinition of Boethian dialogue as begging poem — a genre to which much of Hoccleve's earlier poetry belongs — contributes to this lowering of expectations, and it also creates a potential ethical problem for the didactic treatise on princely rule which it introduces. Thus Hoccleve's poem, in addition to joining the sizeable body of late medieval poetry which exhibits generic instability, also raises fundamental questions about tone: just how is the Prince to take this poem, and how are we? There follows an address to the Prince in an appropriately elevated style (lines 2017 ff.) in which he names the three principal sources of his work, pauses once again to lament Chaucer's absence (lines 2077–2107), and proceeds with his poem.

As noted earlier, all of the *Regiment* manuscripts recognize the division between Prologue (almost always including the address to the Prince) and the *Regiment* proper, as well as the subdivisions of the latter, most of them marked by rubrication and, in the more elaborate manuscripts, by illumination. The fourteen or fifteen sections (the manuscripts show understandable uncertainty about the division within the first two sections) concern the vices and virtues a prince must avoid or observe. These include: (1) on the dignity of a king (lines 2164–91); (2) on a king's keeping his coronation oaths, and on truth and cautious speech (lines 2192–2464); (3) on justice (lines 2465–2772); (4) on observing laws (lines 2773–2996); (5) on pity (lines 2997–3311); (6) on mercy (lines 3312–3458); (7) on patience (lines 3459–3626); (8) on chastity (lines 3627–3899); (9) on the magnanimity of a king (lines 3900–4004); (10) that a king must not base his happiness on riches (lines 4005–4123); (11) on the virtue of generosity and the vice of prodigality (lines 4124–4473); (12) on the vice of avarice (lines 4474–4746); (13) on a king's prudence (lines 4747–4858); (14) on keeping counsel in all situations (lines 4859–5019); and (15) on peace (lines 5020–5439). There follows an envoi consisting of three 8-line stanzas (lines 5440–63).

Unlike Chaucer, Hoccleve is quite candid about his sources for the *Regiment* proper. In the address to the Prince which immediately precedes these sections, Hoccleve identifies three sources. The first of these cited, the apocryphal letter of Aristotle to Alexander the Great known as the *Secreta Secretorum*, identifies the literary form in which a philosopher or scholar or clerk instructs a ruler to whom he is necessarily subordinate. This work was widely known

Introduction

throughout the Middle Ages; of the two basic versions of the Latin translation of the Arabic original, over 500 manuscripts survive, and the work was translated from Latin into many vernacular languages. Twelve versions survive in Middle English prose, all later than Hoccleve's, though Hoccleve's use of the work is preceded in English poetry by John Gower, the fifth book of whose *Confessio Amantis* belongs to this genre. Though the *Secreta* contains sections on such topics as diet and astrology, Hoccleve like Gower draws only on those sections offering specific moral and political advice to a ruler, and some of this material ultimately derives from genuine Aristotle. While Hoccleve from time to time translates from the *Secreta* (these passages are identified in the Notes), the key value of this source is the structural relationship it sets up between poet and prince — a relationship which Hoccleve explores and exploits in unexpected ways.

Hoccleve's second source, the *De regimine principum* of Egidius Romanus (c. 1247–1316), also known as Egidius Colonna or Giles of Rome, is the work of an intellectual who contributed importantly to political and church theory. His *De regimine* was written for the son of Philip III of France, whose tutor he was. The work's divisions into topical sections doubtless influenced the topical structure of Hoccleve's work, and it supplied his poem with a title, such that the rubrics and explicits of many of the manuscripts imply or state that the entire poem is a translation of Egidius' treatise, an error repeated by some early scholars. The work was translated into Middle English by the prominent translator John Trevisa before 1402. An edition of the single surviving manuscript was recently published, and, in the Notes to the passages taken from Egidius, I have included page references to this translation for comparison.

After Hoccleve identifies these two sources (lines 2038–53), and before he introduces his third source, he inserts a digression of over fifty lines (lines 2054–2107) which addresses some of the questions of his intent with regard to sources and structure. He is the "plotmeel" ("poeccemeal," line 2053) translator of those two sources. The word is evidently Hoccleve's invention, and in context suggests casual, undisciplined work. In the lines following, Hoccleve invokes the modesty *topos*, apologizing to his Prince for his "dul conceit" (line 2057) and immaturity. His work furthermore has "[n]oon ordre" (line 2061) and is a "pamfilet" (line 2060) — something smaller in size and consequence than a book. Though the modesty *topos* is a tiresomely familiar feature in late medieval poetry, there is plainly a sense in which modesty is not inappropriate when one has just invoked a work ascribed to Aristotle and a second work written by an intellectual heavy-weight.

It is in this context of modesty that Hoccleve offers the second of the poem's three passages on Chaucer, lamenting his death ("My deere maistir, God his soule qwyte, / And fadir, Chaucer, fayn wolde han me taght, / But I was dul and lerned lyte or naught," lines 2077–79). However, when Hoccleve turns back to his task and the identification of his third source, there is a notable change of tone. The description of Jacob de Cessolis as "a worthy man" (line 2110) suggests an author and work less daunting than his other two sources. Hoccleve wittily puns on the language of chess, indicating that he no longer feels out of his element. And while

The Regiment of Princes

he will "compyle" (line 2132) his work based on passages "scattered fer in brede" ("scattered all about," line 2135) in his three sources, the tone continues as witty. Recent scholarship has shown that "compile" and "compilation," far from having a pejorative connotation, define an important concept of medieval literary structure which is at work in Gower's *Confessio* and Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* as well as Hoccleve's later *Series*.⁷ The term returns in the rubric at the end of the poem introducing the envoi, where nearly all of the manuscripts that have not lost their endings read: "Verba compilatoris ad librum" ("Words of the compiler to his book"). Finally, the Prince does not really need Hoccleve's instruction; he has doubtless read the sources, but the *Regiment* offers a good digest of stories and instruction, in fact a good bedtime read: "At hardest, whan yee been in chambree at eeve, / They been good for to dryve foorth the nyght" (lines 2140–41).

Following upon this light-hearted passage, Hoccleve completes the identification of his sources by naming Jacob de Cessolis' *Chessbook*. Like the *Secreta*, and more so than Egidius' treatise, the *Chessbook* was one of the most popular didactic works in the later Middle Ages, surviving in a very large number of Latin manuscripts, and translated into many vernacular languages. Drawing on contemporary interest in the game of chess and its moralization, Jacob wrote a treatise in which the pieces and moves of the game are interpreted to comment upon the estates of society, beginning with the king. Hoccleve makes no use of the chess metaphor beyond the stanza of punning wit. The work has been classified as estates satire, but it equally belongs with the *Secreta* and Egidius' *De regime* as a work dealing with the theme of a ruler's obligations. The principal value of the work to Hoccleve was that it provided him with close to fifty exempla to insert in his poem, ranging from epigram-length stories to one of nearly two hundred lines.

While the exempla often serve the purpose of entertainment to which Hoccleve alludes, they have a more interesting function, which the important recent work of Larry Scanlon has explored. For while the entire *Regiment* proper, with its topical structure of vices and virtues, draws (loosely) on the structure of a *Fürstenspiegel* such as Egidius', to which it occasionally refers and from which it occasionally quotes, the dominant character of the central sections (sections 1 through 11) is largely determined by its use of exempla through all these subdivisions, a feature almost entirely absent from Egidius' work. Jacob drew these exempla from a variety of sources of history and legend — John of Salisbury's *Policraticus*, the

⁷ See Alastair J. Minnis, "Late-Medieval Discussions of *Compilatio* and The Role of the Compilator," *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 101 (1979), 385–91; and *Medieval Theory of Authority: Scholastic Literary Attitudes in the Later Middle Ages* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988), pp. 194–200. See also Kurt Olsson, *John Gower and the Structures of Conversion: A Reading of the *Confessio Amantis** (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1992), pp. 1–15, and A.S. G. Edwards, "Selection and Subversion in Gower's *Confessio Amantis*," in *Re-Visioning Gower*, ed. R. F. Yeager (Asheville, NC: Pegasus Press, 1998), pp. 257–68.

Introduction

collections of Valerius Maximus, and diverse collections prepared for the use of preachers in their sermons. The very diversity of the sources creates the possibility that the exemplum will take on a life of its own, apart from and at times in seeming conflict with the context in which it is introduced. The best illustration of this tendency is Gower's *Confessio Amantis*, a work about which scholars and critics continue to disagree concerning the fit of particular exempla to the frame narrative of the poem. Scanlon in his readings of the exemplum of Lycurgus and his Laws (lines 2950–89) and that of the tyrant with the brazen bull (lines 3004–38) reveals the complex political implications of these narratives as they relate to the larger political themes of the poems.⁷

That the exempla are an integral part of the design of the whole *Regiment* is revealed in what is by far the longest of these, the exemplum of John of Canace, where the punch-line of the story (a story of a foolish Lear-like father with greedy children) connects directly with the Prologue. At the conclusion of the story, the daughters and their husbands are disappointed to find a stern moral message in place of the money they expect. In the very next stanza, Hoccleve reintroduces the Hoccleve persona of the Prologue and reintroduces his name ("I, Hoccleve, in swich cas am guilty; this me touchith," line 4360) for the first time in over 2000 lines. He thus forces a connection between the Prologue and the *Regiment* proper, and in so doing implies that the entire work needs to be seen as a series of interactions — between Prologue and *Regiment*, between poet's mirror (self-portrayal) and prince's mirror (as in *Fürstenspiegel*), between private and public. In its way the Prologue is just as didactic as the *Regiment* proper and the latter just as subjective. Against the static linear structure of a Prologue followed by the *Regiment* proper is the dynamic impulse whereby the two read against each other, and whereby individual inserted exempla animate and complicate what otherwise might seem a discourse of bland platitudes.

The Glosses and Other Sources

In addition to the three named sources, most of the manuscripts of the *Regiment* contain over one hundred glosses, nearly all of them in Latin and usually placed in the margins of the text. While some of these come in the Prologue, beginning with a quotation from Boethius' *Consolatio* very early in the work, by far the greater number of them come in the *Regiment* proper and point to additional sources Hoccleve has used. Some of them provide all or part of a text which he translates in the adjacent passage of his poem, some of them merely name the source of a passage, and some of them indicate the subject of a passage of narrative (this last

⁷ Larry Scanlon, *Narrative, Authority, and Power: The Medieval Exemplum and the Chaucerian Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 316–18.

The Regiment of Princes

especially for the *Chessbook* exempla). The glosses have limited value as indication of Hoccleve's sources and do not suggest that he was widely read. It is not surprising that one third of the glosses are from the Vulgate Bible, ranging from Genesis to Paul's Epistles. While Genesis, Kings, and Matthew provide sources for biblical narrative, it is significant that over twenty glosses cite Proverbs and the other books associated with the name of Solomon. The biblical glosses are approximately accurate and usually correctly identified. That Hoccleve had access to a biblical commentary (or Bible with commentary) is indicated in the text, where he names and paraphrases Nicholas of Lyra (line 1725).

A much smaller number of glosses comes from classical authors, including Seneca, Sallust, Martial, and Quintilian, as well as Isidore and Boethius. All but two of the several Seneca citations are spurious; otherwise, these classical glosses (often roughly correct) are most likely traceable not to manuscripts of classical authors but to the popular medieval collections of such passages called *florilegia*. A third, less expected group of glosses comes from Gratian's *Decretum*, the great collection of canon law put together in the twelfth century, giving authoritative weight to the moral injunctions of the poem. However, in general the glosses common to the majority of manuscripts of the *Regiment* do not reveal much about the poem. Whether or not the learning they provided was felt to be useful to the reader, their principal value was surely to give the poem an aura of authority.

Literary Associations: Hoccleve and Chaucer

As noted earlier, Hoccleve's first datable work is an adaptation of a poem by Christine de Pisan, his only contribution to the courtly poetry associated with the Ricardian age. John Burrow (1982) has noted that, given Hoccleve's familiarity with French in his daily work at the Privy Seal, it would be surprising if he were not familiar with the *dits* and begging poems of a poet such as Deschamps. And the gathering of poems in the two Huntington holographs and the structuring of the Durham holograph as a book (better, a work in progress) have parallels and antecedents in fourteenth-century French poetry. While the subject deserves more attention than it has received, one may doubt that there is much in the way of close intertextual relationships, and in particular one may doubt the particular influence of French poetry on the *Regiment*. It is similarly difficult to find much evidence for the influence of English poetry on Hoccleve outside of Chaucer. As noted before, he was familiar with at least part of Gower's *Confessio*, but even the exempla common to Gower's fifth book and the *Regiment* do not establish beyond doubt that Hoccleve was in these instances influenced by the older poet, and Gower's plain style does not lend itself to recognizable imitation.

The same cannot be said for Chaucer; and given the prominence of Chaucer in the structuring of the Prologue, it is necessary to take a brief look at the influence of Hoccleve's "master." The relation of Hoccleve to Chaucer embraces four issues which have received

Introduction

attention by critics. First and least interesting is the biographical question. In his 1968 book *Thomas Hoccleve: A Study in Early Fifteenth-Century English Poetic* and in his brief essay "Hoccleve's Supposed Friendship with Chaucer," Jerome Mitchell is so taken with the then current interest in literary convention that he regards the passages on the older poet as more convention than autobiography. While the matter cannot be proven, not only the distinctly personal tone of the passages lamenting the loss of Chaucer as teacher, but the geographical and cultural proximity of these two government employees makes the autobiographical claim difficult to discredit.

Least controversial is Chaucer's demonstrable influence on Hoccleve's poetry, beginning with the rhyme-royal stanzaic form which Chaucer introduced into English poetry and extending to a number of unmistakable echoes and allusions: at various points in his work, Hoccleve echoes the Pardoner, names the Wife of Bath, alludes to *The Book of the Duchess* and *The Legend of Good Women*, and (grotesquely) echoes a passage in *The Knight's Tale*. As Derek Pearsall has noted, "There is a colloquial ring about his dialogue, a sense of the speaking voice, which makes Hoccleve the only inheritor of Chaucer's well-bred low vernacular."⁶ In short, Chaucer's influence on Hoccleve's poetry is immense.

However, neither that literary fact nor the likelihood of a biographical fact prepares us for the prominent presence of Chaucer in the very structure of the *Regiment*. (1) When the old man asks Hoccleve what his name is and he replies, the old man immediately remarks "Thow were aqweyntid with Chaucer, pardee — / God have his soule, best of any wight!" (lines 1867–68). (2) At the end of the Prologue, having agreed to the old man's suggestion and immediately before he addresses the Prince, in the place where a classical poet would invoke a muse, Hoccleve invokes Chaucer and the absence of his "conseil and reed" (line 1960; see lines 1958–74). (3) As noted earlier, in the address to the Prince, in the interval between the identification of his first two sources and his identification of the *Chessbook*, Hoccleve invokes Chaucer again, this time in a more rhetorically elevated style — once again lamenting the absence of his influence as instructor in poetry (lines 2077–2107). (4) Finally, at the end of the next to last section of the *Regiment* proper, immediately after the topical advice to refrain from holding councils on holidays, Chaucer is invoked as "the first fyndere of our fair langage" who is said to have written better on this topic. There follows the remarkable stanza on the inclusion of a memorial portrait of Chaucer (lines 4992–98), and that stanza is immediately followed by the stanza defending the use of images in churches.

This sequence of passages has invited diverse interpretations. From what was said about Chaucer's actual influence on Hoccleve, it is not implausible to argue that these passages are simply a personal expression acknowledging that influence and expressing his sense of loss.

⁶Derek Pearsall, "The English Chaucerians," in *Chaucer and Chaucerians: Critical Studies in Middle English Literature*, ed. D. S. Brewer (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, Ltd., 1966), p. 224.

The Regiment of Princes

A rather more cynical interpretation, especially supported by (1), is that Hoccleve is exploiting the name and fame of Chaucer to his own advantage. Yet another interpretation emphasizes Chaucer's use to the Lancastrian monarchy; it is not simply to Hoccleve's advantage but to Henry's to appropriate this cultural figure at a time when Henry, as Fisher has argued, was interested in promoting the use of English rather than French. The juxtaposition of the last passage on Chaucer with its reference to his religious poetry and the portrait with the anti-Lollard passage suggests that Chaucer is being enlisted in the assertion of Lancastrian religious orthodoxy. The very diversity of these interpretations, all plausible and none mutually exclusive, nicely fits a poem in which the personal or private and the political are so often in touch with each other. A fourth Chaucerian connection, the allusion to his poetry in Hoccleve's later *Series*, and the inclusion of some of Hoccleve's poems in early editions of Chaucer, raises other questions about the fifteenth-century use of Chaucer which lie outside the immediate concerns of this edition.

II. Manuscripts and the Rationale for this Edition

The Regiment Manuscripts and Earlier Editions

As indicated at the beginning of this Introduction, the student of Hoccleve has an especially rich array of manuscripts with which to work, and in particular the editor of the *Regiment* has, not counting a fragment of two leaves, forty-three complete or nearly complete or at any rate substantial copies of the poem. Forty-two manuscripts are described by M. C. Seymour in an essential bibliographical article, which is supplemented by the description of a forty-third manuscript by A. S. G. Edwards. The manuscript evidence demonstrates the identity and coherence of *The Regiment of Princes* as a single integral work. Indeed the largest group consists of twenty-five manuscripts which contain only the *Regiment*, and with a single exception which is best explained as loss of leaves rather than exclusion, all contain or originally contained the entire poem. Another five manuscripts contain the *Regiment* combined with Hoccleve's later *Series*, four of these oddly including also Lydgate's "Dance of Death." Two more manuscripts bring together the *Regiment* with, in one case, two parts of the *Series*, and in the other case, within a large compilation, works of Chaucer and Mandeville's *Travels*, the entire *Series*, and Lydgate's "Dance." Another eight manuscripts bring together the *Regiment* with one or two or three other long poems, either by Lydgate, or Walton's translation of Boethius. In all of these cases the *Regiment* is presented as an integral poem, with the recognizable structure of Prologue and *Regiment*, and with the sections of the *Regiment* usually marked by rubric, by large capitals with or without ornament, and in some cases by both. In appearance, the manuscripts range from deluxe ornamented parchment products made

Introduction

for luxury consumption (at least six fit this description) to scrappily penned copies on paper, with the largest number falling in between.

Though not offered as a critical edition, this edition is based on a comprehensive study and full collation of all the extant manuscripts of the *Regiment* and so departs from the two previous printed editions of the poem, which are principally based on just two manuscripts. The first of these, Thomas Wright's 1860 edition for the Roxburgh Club, is based on British Library MS Royal 17 D. vi, an extensively ornamented parchment manuscript written towards the middle of the fifteenth century, and containing not only the *Regiment* but also the last three parts of the five-part *Series*. It is an interesting manuscript and one of the very few to contain a version of the Chaucer portrait which Hoccleve's text calls for, as well as a presentation miniature at the end of the Prologue. However, the quality of these portraits is poor, and so is the text if compared with that offered in at least half a dozen other manuscripts. Like other publications of the Roxburgh Club, Wright's edition was a luxury product with a very limited circulation, and Frederick Furnivall, who had edited the poems of two of Hoccleve's holograph manuscripts for the Early English Text Society in 1892 (e.s. 61), produced an edition of the *Regiment* for the series in 1897 (e.s. 72), basing his text on British Library MS Harley 4866, though using Wright's Royal manuscript where Harley is wanting leaves or seemingly in need of correction. Furnivall chose Harley in part "because it has the best portrait of Chaucer" as well as providing "some older readings."⁶ It was a good choice because, of the forty-three surviving manuscripts, Harley is one of only two to date from the time of the poem's completion in 1411. The second of these manuscripts is British Library MS Arundel 38, and comparison with Harley reveals a more carefully written and corrected manuscript which was therefore Seymour's choice for copy text in the original plan for this edition, and is used for the excerpts of the *Regiment* in his *Selections from Hoccleve*. Arundel and Harley have the closest imaginable relationship apart from the fact that they were written by two distinct scribes with two distinct habits of writing and spelling. Both are vellum manuscripts containing only Hoccleve's poem presented as a deluxe book with an intended but not always achievable plan of four rhyme-royal stanzas to the page. Both are virtually identical in size; different amounts of trimming have rendered their present dimensions distinct, but both are 185 mm. in width, Harley's length from trimming 25 mm. shorter than Arundel, and the frame around the writing area similar: Arundel 185 x 92 mm., Harley 175 x 97 mm. Both manuscripts have, page for page, an identical textual format: when one manuscript departs from the norm of four complete stanzas to the page, so does the other one. The main cause of these occasional irregularities is the introduction of decorative ornament at the beginning of each section of the *Regiment* proper, and the layout and style of this ornament, whether by a

⁶ Thomas Hoccleve, *Hoccleve's Works: The Regiment of Princes*, ed. Frederick J. Furnivall, EETS e.s. 72 (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1897), p. xvii.

The Regiment of Princes

single hand or, more likely, two, is exceedingly close. Both manuscripts originally contained two miniature illuminations, one a scene in which the manuscript is presented to its dedicatee, the other the portrait of Chaucer which Hoccleve had inserted to recall the poet to mind. However, both manuscripts have suffered for their elegance: the leaf containing the Chaucer portrait has been cut out of Arundel, and the leaf containing the presentation scene has been cut out of Harley. Harley also lacks its first leaf, which was ornamented and likely included heraldry, and so lacks the first fifty-six lines of the poem as well as the last twenty-nine lines. Because of the close relationship between the two manuscripts, either one becomes the best source for replacing text missing from the other.

To the demonstrable excellence of these two manuscripts is added the strong probability that they were executed with some degree of supervision by Hoccleve himself. This edition frankly privileges these two relatively "authorized" manuscripts and corrects them where they evidently err. But it is necessary to say something about the other forty-one manuscripts. A new edition of the *Regiment* must correct the errors of the old editions, in part by making use of the evidence provided by manuscripts which Fumivall did not consult. M. C. Seymour, the originator of the project which ultimately turned into the present edition, in a note to his edition of *Selections*, advises that "a full collation of all manuscripts will appear" in the new edition.¹⁰ But my completion of that "full collation" convinced me that there was no justification for recording such a mass of trivial data, even in a critical edition (which the present edition plainly is not). With the *Regiment*, unlike the situation of the B-text of *Piers Plowman*, or indeed any of the versions of that poem, we have two copies made with the probable supervision of the poet. In addition, even if we did not have the authority of those early manuscripts, any one of over half a dozen of the later manuscripts would make a very good copy-text. In short there is a conservative stability in the *Regiment* manuscripts resulting in a relatively small amount of substantive variation.

On the other hand, one may disagree with Seymour that the priority of the two patronal copies eliminates the value of readings from later manuscripts. Not only is it well established that "better" readings are often preserved in otherwise inferior later manuscripts, but also in the particular case of Hoccleve, we have evidence that there were originally not two but at least five copies produced for patrons, and manuscripts deriving from those other copies can preserve earlier readings. The Royal manuscript which Wright edited contains a fuller amount of Latin glossing than Arundel or Harley, implying a different, perhaps no less authoritative exemplar. There is evidence that another Royal manuscript, British Library MS Royal 17 D. xviii, derives ultimately from a copy written in Hoccleve's hand (see Marzec and the introduction to Pryor's edition of the *Series*). More than any other scribal copy, it preserves

¹⁰ Thomas Hoccleve, *Selections from Hoccleve*, ed. M. C. Seymour (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), p. xxxv.

Introduction

some of Hoccleve's characteristic spellings, and as a manuscript not closely related to the family of manuscripts of which Arundel and Harley are the best examples, this Royal manuscript often serves as a relatively independent witness confirming their readings. Thus, while Arundel and Harley are the most reliable sources for the text of this edition, when one or a group of these later witnesses gives an arguably better reading, or calls attention to an error in Arundel, I do not hesitate to adopt it.

The Edition and the Holograph Manuscripts

In addition to the expected use of *Regiment* manuscripts described above, this edition takes the unexpected step of turning to another manuscript resource, that embodied in the Hoccleve holographs. Over twenty years ago, Seymour, in the preface to the first volume of the edition of Trevisa's *On the Properties of Things*, of which he was the general editor, in a footnote remarked that "[t]he necessary procedures" for recovering "much of Trevisa's spelling habits" are "tested, in a forthcoming edition, on Hoccleve's *Regiment* against the extant holographs of his minor poems."¹⁰ Nothing came of Seymour's forecast until, nearly a decade later, David Greetham, who replaced Seymour as general editor of the *Regiment*, after initially taking a traditional approach to editing the poem, presented a concerted defense and methodology for an edition of the non-holograph *Regiment* making use of the authorial spellings recoverable from the holographs. Greetham published two papers on the subject, and began supervising the preparation of a text by a team of editors, to which the present editor was a relatively late addition. Greetham began by noting a broad general distinction between editions of early texts (classical and medieval), which are typically concerned with reconstructing the archetype of extant manuscripts and are thus involved with the genealogy of texts, often employing Lachmannian stemmatics; and editions of post-Gutenberg texts, in which considerable attention is paid not merely to substantives but to accidentals — that is, to authorial preference in spelling, punctuation, and the like. Hoccleve's *Regiment* then is offered to test the possibility of combining in one edition a classical, Lachmannian construction of the poem's substantive readings, with a reconstruction of authorial accidentals which goes beyond those of the archetype (the antecedent of the early Arundel and Harley manuscripts) to authorial practice as revealed in the holographs. The results of stemmatic analysis are reported in Marzec and in Greetham (1987).

In these terms, Greetham offered a felicitous solution to the theoretical possibility he had raised, but that solution in turn raises a few practical questions: (1) to what extent is it easily

¹⁰ John Trevisa, *On the Properties of Things*, ed. M. C. Seymour, vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975), p. xii, n. 1.

The Regiment of Princes

possible to recover authorial usage from the holographs — in short, what is recoverable and with what degree of success? and (2) what in fact is the benefit of such a procedure to the edition which is its product?

The desirability of approximating authorial usage has often been cited by editors — most often in the context of selecting a copy text from available manuscripts felt to come closest to that usage. The usual difficulty is that of establishing authorial usage, and the usual solution is to rely on such more general features as dialect and date. However, with Hoccleve authorial usage is extensively documented by the holograph manuscripts. These provide a rare instance of a medieval English author writing out his own verse, and the characteristics of that verse have the greatest relevance to the non-holograph *Regiment*. Apart from the *Formulary* and a few prose passages in the Durham manuscript, the holographs are in verse, so that one is not attempting to apply the language of a will or of a body of personal letters to the editing of a poem. Furthermore, it is highly compatible verse; apart from a group of religious poems, there is remarkable overlap between the poetry of the holographs and that of the *Regiment*. There are passages in Hoccleve's first-person autobiographical mode, passages of social and political observation, and passages of moral instruction. At the more local level, the *Regiment* is written, but for its short envoi, entirely in rhyme-royal stanzas; nearly all of the poems in the holographs are either in rhyme royal or in the 8-line stanza of Chaucer's The Monk's Tale. At the still more local level which addresses the practical issue of the recovery of authorial practice most directly, the holographs exhibit a high degree of regularity in two areas: in habits of spelling, and in metrical practice. In both areas it is possible to establish Hocclevean patterns of usage.

Though by modern standards Hoccleve is not a consistent speller, by the standards of his time — by comparison with any of the forty-three scribes copying the *Regiment* — he is an exceptionally regular speller. The great majority of words in his lexicon have a single spelling. "Thow" and "yow" are always spelled with a *w*, never a *u*. The past tense of the verb to "think" is always, all thirty-three times, spelled "thoghte," clearly distinguishing it from the spelling without -e which indicates either the noun (twenty-one times) or the past participle (five times). There is plainly no difficulty in transferring such spellings to the forms which appear in the copy made by the Arundel scribe. In addition, a large percentage of common words are spelled the same in the holographs and in Arundel, so that scribal form duplicates authorial form. Two more problematic categories of words remain: those for which there is more than a single holograph spelling, and those words in the *Regiment* that do not occur in the holographs. In the first category, for example, "deeth" occurs one hundred and twenty-four times, as against "deth," which occurs only twice, and with no justification such as rhyme position. This exception, and others like it, does not prevent us from speaking confidently of a preferred spelling. But there are also cases such as the spelling of the noun "estat" with one *a* in non-rhyme position, twice, against "estaat" with double *a* in non-rhyme position, three times, where one cannot with certainty identify a single Hocclevean form. However, provided

Introduction

that these variations are recognized and made use of, rather than regularized out of existence, in the "translation" from scribal form to holograph form, one is still working with Hocclevean forms. The fact that there is not 100% regularity does not mean that we should not make use of such regularity as there is.

As to the second category of problematic words, those that do not appear in the holographs, most can be reconstructed by analogy to holograph forms. For instance, the first line of the poem contains the adjective "restless." The holographs have the noun "reste" (ten occurrences), and they also have the suffix -less attached to other nouns: fifty-one times it is spelled with double e (-lees), twice (again the minor variant) it is spelled with single e (-les.) Thus it is readily possible to construct a form beginning *rest-* and ending -lees. But will there be an e in the middle? There is a definite answer, provided by analogy from the holographs, and it points ahead to the second major instrument which the holographs provide the editor. The structurally similar adjective "comfortless" occurs twice in the holographs, but in two distinct spellings: "confortlees" and "confortlees." Nor is there anything capricious about the variation here; the metrical pattern, soon to be discussed, calls for a three-syllable word in one case, and a four-syllable word in the other. In the first line of the *Regiment*, we need two-syllable "restlees," not three-syllable "restelee." Thus access to the holographs and the principle of analogy deliver the word "restlees," which in this case happens to be the spelling the Arundel scribe uses. But even though we use Arundel as base text, we would justify that spelling not because it is the Arundel scribe's spelling — what Greg refers to as the tyranny of copy-text — but because it is the undocumented yet authentic Hocclevean form. In the very few cases where no clear analogy is provided by the holograph evidence (many of them proper nouns of place and person), there is no alternative to accepting the form provided by Arundel, or Arundel's form modified by the elimination of that scribe's nearly unique (among *Regiment* scribes) use of ȝ(yogh) for y or g or gh ("ȝyft," "knyȝt") — a modification which the practice of the Middle English Text Series would in any case make. Hoccleve uses yogh only for the sound of z ("sany," "mayed") which is here represented by z. Hoccleve's use of y for the velar fricative ("yates," "yift") is here represented by g ("gates," "gift").

The preceding examples illustrate the results of applying the method laid out by Greetham. By this method it is quite possible largely to construct Hocclevean usage and apply it to the text of the *Regiment*. But this still leaves unanswered the question, why one might want to do so, other than the always problematic wish to return to authorial intention. In order to reach a satisfying answer to that question, it helps to clear away a false answer. The false answer is that in employing the holographs we are getting back to the poem that left Hoccleve's hands in 1411. In the case of Hoccleve, it is not necessary to engage in a theoretical discussion of the possibility of such a goal for the facts of history rule it out. The Durham holograph dates from about ten years after the completion of the *Regiment*, and thus about ten years after the writing of the two earliest scribal copies; the Huntington holographs are a few years earlier. Scribal habits change in time — as recognized and accepted, for instance, in the consensus view that

The Regiment of Princes

the Ellesmere and Hengwrt manuscripts of the *Canterbury Tales* are the work of the same scribe. The same point is observable if we compare the two different copies of Hoccleve's *Lerne to Die* preserved, one in the Durham manuscript, the other in a Huntington manuscript. John Bowers has written interestingly about the differences between the two copies, among other points calling attention to orthographic differences and their implications for textual theory and editorial practice. If we had a Hoccleve holograph of the *Regiment* from the time of the poem's completion, it surely would not be identical to a copy of the poem he could have written out a decade later — the time of the surviving Durham holograph. The differences are minor and the sense of regularity in Hoccleve's spellings remains, but the reconstruction of spellings must be viewed as approximate and probable, not an assured path to authorial intent. Nor is it yet clear why the approximate recovery of spellings is in itself an important editorial achievement.

However, the holographs provide a second kind of evidence which not only largely escapes the shortcomings in spelling recovery but also much more important, gives value to the recovery of spelling and provides a crucially important instrument for presenting Hoccleve's poem: the evidence for his metrical practice. Though spelling habits can change, at least in Hoccleve's case the evidence of the holographs suggests that metrical habits did not change. The same practice is observable in copies of poems he wrote as early as the 1402 *Epistle of Cupid* and in the *Complaint* and *Dialogue* of the early 1420s. The metrical practice common to poems earlier and later than the *Regiment* may be fairly taken into account in editing that poem.

The earliest investigation of the holographs concentrated on spelling practice, but in 1985 Judith Jefferson presented her essay (published in 1987) on the holographs in which she demonstrated the regularity of Hoccleve's metrical practice. What she discovered was the extraordinary syllabic regularity of Hoccleve's lines of verse. She showed the many ways in which Hoccleve employed variant forms and structures to achieve a decasyllabic line. She demonstrated that, in the first place, final -e when not followed by a word beginning with a vowel or h- plus a vowel, is always pronounced. In the second place, Hoccleve uses an entire arsenal of variant forms — for instance, the pleonastic "that" which she illustrates by this pair of lines from the Durham *Lerne to Die*: "And now as fissahe been with hookes kaght / And as that briddes been take in a snare" (lines 246–47). The lines are identical in the Huntington holograph, with the minor spelling variant "caught" for "kaght." The key point is that the variants in syntax and in spelling offer alternate syllabic counts — disyllabic "hennes" versus monosyllabic "hens," disyllabic "thanne" (when not followed by a word beginning with a vowel) versus monosyllabic "than," disyllabic "hadde" versus monosyllabic "had." Chaucer too employs such variants for metrical purpose ("what that" or "as that" or "sith that" versus "whan" or "as" or "sith"), but one quickly sees that Hoccleve uses these devices far more frequently. The statistics supporting decasyllabic regularity are impressive. To cite but one telling statistic Jefferson provides: if one examines all the lines in the holographs which do not

Introduction

have an internal final -e — that is, if one eliminates lines which raise the question of whether or not to pronounce final -e within the line — one finds that 98% of the lines have ten syllables. And if one assumes (correctly) that internal final -e is to be pronounced, then 96% of the lines are decasyllabic. These results argue for a metrical regularity even more notable than Hoccleve's fairly regular spelling practice, and they also show how Hoccleve's spellings support the syllabic regularity.

That syllabic regularity was exemplified in the earlier illustration of the two spellings of "comfort(e)lees" to fit two different metrical needs. By rewriting the Arundel scribe's text of the *Regiment* using the spellings of the holographs, many metrically irregular lines become regular and thus reveal Hoccleve's likely intent; at the same time, in many cases the changed line is a notably better line. Since part of the renewal of interest in Hoccleve has involved recognition that he is a better poet than earlier scholars had thought, it was judged important to make use of an editorial procedure which produced a text making the best case for that poetry.

Consider the first stanza of the poem, first as presented in Furnivall's edition, and then as given in Seymour's *Selections* based on Arundel:

Mysyng vpon the restles bisynesse
Whiche that this troublous world hath ay on honde,
That oþer thyng than fruyt of byttermesse
Ne yeldeth nouȝt, as I can vndirstonde,
At Chestre ynnē, right fast be the stronde,
As I lay in my bed vp-on a nyght,
Thought me bereft of sleep with [the] force and myght.

Musyng vpon the restles bisynesse
Whyche that thys troublous world hab̄ ay on honde,
That oþer thyng than fruyt of byttermesse
Ne ȝyldeth nouȝt as I can vnderstonde,
At Chestres Yn ryst fast by the Stronde
As I lay in my bedde vpon a nyȝt.
Thoght me bereft of slepe the force and myȝt.

The original first leaf of Furnivall's Harley source is missing, replaced by an eighteenth-century hand copying from another manuscript. In a footnote to the last line, he gives the variant (and correct) reading "the" from Wright's Royal manuscript. The stanza is apparently an unexceptionable example of decasyllabic verse — in fact, of iambic pentameter — with first foot inversions in the first and seventh lines. For the fifth line, Furnivall reads: "At Chestre ynnē, right fast be the stronde." It is of course Furnivall, in one of his rather annoying

The Regiment of Princes

orthographic interventions, who puts the dieresis over the final -e of "ynne," and the result is a regular, but also ungainly, iambic pentameter line. Seymour in his *Selections* records Arundel exactly: "At Chestres Yn ryȝt fast by the Stronde." The line thereby loses a syllable. Consultation of the sheet of variants for this line shows that the great majority of manuscripts give the spelling *fast*. However, in the holographs Hoccleve uses that adverb twenty-eight times, in every case spelling it with a final -e. If from the twenty-eight occurrences we eliminate cases where the word occurs either at the end of a line or elided with a following vowel, we are left with seven instances, all of which call for the sounding of the final -e: "I am ny goon, as faste passe y shal" or "And to bryngit abouthe he faste wroghte," and so on. Chaucer too always intended this adverb to be spelled with a sounded final -e in the same situations: "That highte the Tabard, faste by the Belle" (*CT* II[A]719); or "This Nicholas his dore faste shette" (*CT* II[A]3499).

In addition to this evidence in support of an original reading "faste," the holographs provide the small fact that, on the five occasions when Hoccleve uses the noun "inn," it is spelt "in," never "inne" or "ynne." From these two pieces of information we are in a position to recover authorial practice, and in so doing recreate the stanza Hoccleve wrote. For, as with his later *Complaint*, Hoccleve's *Regiment* begins with a powerfully effective stanza. The iambic first line, with its first-foot inversion, initiates a main clause, which is followed by a subordinate clause in the second line, which in turn is followed by two lines of, in effect, parenthetical subordination. It is only with the fifth line that the opening clause is returned to and developed, in a return from digressive subordination to the main issue, the speaker's here-and-now. This return to the main clause calls for, and in Hoccleve's spelling receives, the feeling of return conveyed by a completely regular iambic pentameter line. This line in turn leads, via the subordinate clause of the sixth line, to the powerfully condensed last line, with its first-foot inversion echoing that of the first line. Though Hoccleve is not always a careful poet, especially given his old reputation, it is important to pay attention to small matters which make the difference between poetic skill and poetic incompetence. This demonstration illustrates the nature of the contribution the holographs typically make — not big moves, but ones which give a better sense of what Hoccleve wrote.

While metrical "improvements" are best shown in the context of the surrounding stanza, or at least of surrounding lines, as the examination of the poem's first stanza demonstrated, the following additional examples illustrate how attention to Hoccleve's spellings, especially as they affect final e, alters the following lines of the Arundel manuscript: "Al ys in veyne, thy myȝt may nōt atteyne" (line 181) edited: "Al is in veyn; thy might may nat atteyne." "Now goode thrifte come unto the, sone dere" (line 386) edited: "Now good thrift come unto thee, sone deere." "He no price settith by mesourys lawe" (line 500) edited: "He no grys settith by mesures lawe." "What, sone myn, good hert take unto the" (line 1886) where I would normally have edited to read: "What, sone myn, good herte take unto thee." I have left as in the manuscript "unto the" since the phrase rhymes with "in soothe," a feminine rhyme not

Introduction

uncommon in Chaucer. Arundel loses that distinctive rhythm, in its spelling of the word for "heart," for Hoccleve always spells that word *herfe*, reserving the spelling without -e for "hart" (deer).

Following authorial spelling and the closely related phenomenon of syllabic regularity thus affects the very movement of the verse. Once one has decided to observe spellings that preserve (or reconstruct) authorial versification, it follows that one will also preserve spellings that do not have that function. That procedure pretty well defines the scope and limits of the use of authorial orthography offered in this edition. An unintended additional benefit of this procedure is that a version of the *Regiment* edited according to Hoccleve's practice makes for an easier reading experience than does the Arundel text, with its less regular spellings and its prolific use of yogh and the vowel y.

Another feature of Arundel and Harley sets them apart from many of the better later manuscripts. In the holographs Hoccleve makes extensive use of the virgule as well as other forms of punctuation, often for the purpose of indicating a pause or clarifying syntax. Both the Arundel and Harley scribes are light in their pointing, but some of the other scribes employ pointing in a way that is more in keeping with Hoccleve's practice. Recalling the evidence suggesting that British Library MS Royal 17 D. xviii ultimately derives from a copy of the poem in Hoccleve's hand, one may suspect that the practice of that scribe, and some others, accurately reflects authorial practice. Though in this edition, in accordance with the policy of the series, I offer a thoroughly modern punctuation, the understanding of the text on which that punctuation is based has been influenced by what the pointing in some of the scribal copies reveals.

One particular use of the virgule requires notice, for it explains a small number of lines which appear to be irregular, either a syllable short, or in seeming neglect of a requisite elision. Though the Arundel scribe uses pointing less frequently than do many other scribes, at line 1775 he writes: "Now sone / and thogh I longe have byden." Normally, one would elide "sone" with "and" as well as "longe" with "have," resulting in a four-stress, nine-syllable line. But the virgule after "sone" here serves as a pause, and the -e is to be pronounced. And so it is in the edited text ("Now, sone, and thogh I longe have abiden"), where the emended form of the past participle merely adds another elision. In some cases the requirements of modern punctuation have prevented me from indicating the suppression of an elision.

Language, Versification, and Style

Discussion of use of the holographs has already touched on matters of language and versification. The reader of the *Regiment* coming to it after experience with the language of Chaucer will have little difficulty, for the English of London and Westminster is the language common to both poets, and, even in the absence of the glossing provided in the edition, the

The Regiment of Princes

reader with access to a good Chaucer glossary would not need much additional help. According to METS practice, harder words and phrases are glossed in the margins, and those in the first few hundred lines are glossed generously. Less difficult than Hoccleve's vocabulary is his syntax, where unexpected word order arising from the stanzaic form as well as from the decasyllabic requirement can make some passages seem more obscure than they really are. Some further discussion of Hoccleve's versification is therefore in order.

Hoccleve never attempted the decasyllabic or "heroic" couplets of the great majority of Chaucer's later works. Instead, apart from a few short lyrics, in his principal and longer works he chose either the 8-line stanza of Chaucer's "ABC" and *The Monk's Tale* (as in *La Male Regle*, the *Remonstrance against Oldcastle*, and also used in the three-stanza envois to the *Regiment*), or the 7-line "rhyme royal" stanza of Chaucer's *The Parliament of Fowls*, *Troilus and Criseyde*, and, of the *Canterbury Tales*, the tales of the Man of Law, the Clerk, the Prioress, and the Second Nun. To what extent the (in most cases) early, and in all cases moralistic and conservative character of the rhyme-royal tales defined a *genèse* with which Hoccleve identified is difficult to say. At any rate, Hoccleve employed rhyme royal in his earliest datable poem, the *Epistle of Cupid*, in the *Regiment*, and throughout his last poems in the *Series*.

It is of course the skill with which Chaucer used the rhyme-royal stanza he introduced into English poetry that has been a standard against which to point out the deficiencies of Chaucer's fifteenth-century followers. Certainly no poet before Henryson could approach Chaucer's command of the form, but a number of recent critics have noted Hoccleve's considerable, if inconsistently realized, accomplishment. Judith Jefferson in the essay discussed above deliberately confined her attention to the syllabic system of Hoccleve's verse, leaving aside, or deferring to a later study, a discussion of stress patterns. It is the seeming irregularities in the latter, the apparent subordination of the rhythm and stress of speech to the syllabic requirement, that is at the heart of older criticisms of Hoccleve's metrics, and while the issue cannot be adequately dealt with here, it needs a few comments.

As a starting point, consider the following stanza as a successful example of Hoccleve the metrist:

Whan to the thoghtful wight is told a tale,
He herith it as though he thennes were;
His hevy thoghtes him so plukke and hale
Hidir and thidir, and him gréeve and dére.
That his éres availle him nót a péré;
He undirstandith nöthyng whát men seye,
So bén his wittes fér goon hem to pléye. (lines 99-105)

Introduction

All seven lines are decasyllabic, not counting an unstressed eleventh syllable (the final -e) at the end of each line, a feature very familiar to the reader of Chaucer's poetry. The words ending in -es which in modern English would be monosyllabic ("thence," "thoughts," "ears," "wits") are all disyllabic. The basic rhythmic pattern is iambic pentameter, with stressed and unstressed syllables alternating. However, to give a better idea of the expressive naturalness of this language, I have distinguished between strongly stressed syllables (marked with an acute accent over the vowel) and secondarily stressed syllables (marked with a grave accent). The normal iambic pattern of unstressed syllable followed by stressed syllable is inverted in "Whan to" and "Hidir" and "eres." Lines can be end-stopped, as are the first two and the last four, or run-on, as is the third line.

By no means are all stanzas as uncomplicated as this one, but variations (welcome and unwelcome) should be understood against the principles at work in this stanza. The success of this particular stanza is revealed in the way the meter supports the spoken language: in the strongly stressed "thernes," in the physically forceful pair "plukke" and "hale," immediately followed by the rhythmical variation at "Hidir and thidir," and in the strongly accented "nothyng." The felt presence of this very idiomatic and natural use of stress is plainly more important than any attention to syllable counting.

Thus the very feature of syllabic regularity which Jefferson has documented and which I have discussed with regard to editorial procedure should not be regarded as a key to reading Hoccleve's verse. The consistent decasyllabic line is a given, but what Hoccleve does with it is what matters. Here is an example of a less felicitous stanza, to point up some of the characteristics the reader sometimes must deal with:

Whan reuled wit and manly hardynesse
Been knyt togidere as yok of mariage,
Ther folwith of victorie the swetnesse;
For to sette on him whettith his corage,
And wit restreyne his wil can and asswage
In tyme due and in covenable;
And thus tho two joynt been ful profitable. (lines 3991-97)

The problem here is the awkward word order: the natural order would be "swetnesse of victorie" and "wit can restreyne and asswage his wil" and "in due and covenable tyme." Somewhat less bothersome but scarcely admirable is the redundancy that is contained in this syntax: "due" and "covenable," "restreyne" and "asswage." These features are not entirely absent from Chaucer's rhyme-royal stanzas, but there they are less bothersome. When unnatural word order and redundancy are combined with figurative language, the result makes for a greater sense of difficulty than the content warrants. Typically, these irregularities come not in passages of narrative or dialogue but in passages of moral discourse where it is difficult

The Regiment of Princes

for Hoccleve's characteristic colloquial speaking voice to sound. One suspects that in such passages Hoccleve is struggling to transfer or translate a prose passage into verse, and when one recalls such passages as Troilus' agonizing inner debate about free will, it is clear that Hoccleve is not the only one having difficulty with such translation. And yet, even in this denser mode, Hoccleve can write with considerable vigor, as in this passage on avarice, which also counters the impression that his moralizing verse is uninterestingly bland:

Weesest thow that thou doost nat wikkidly
That so many a mannes sustenanc
Thyself withholdist soul? Yis, hardilie,
Thow that of richeisse hast geet habundance
And to the needy gevest no pitance,
No lesse offendist thow than he that shakith
Men out of hir good and from hem it takith. (lines 4509-15)

The stanza begins with a first-foot inversion, and the regular second line culminates in the forceful and rightly stressed "Thyself withholdist soul." The tone at the question mark, and after two gentle iambs, leads to the first-foot inversion with which the fourth line begins. The regularity of the fifth and sixth lines ends with the strikingly placed "shakith," which itself "shakes up" the final line, where syntactic regularity is unavoidably and properly disturbed in its rush of monosyllabic functional words which demand to be read rapidly almost as prose. In this case one could even say that the fact that the line is regularly decasyllabic (the final -ith a common variant) is here something of a triumph. In short, Hoccleve's verse, uneven as it can be, at its best needs no apology. As in most successful poetry, it is the speaking voice which matters most, and Hoccleve's frequently effective realization (in both senses) of this principle is what sets him apart from his prolific contemporary Lydgate, and what makes him often a pleasure to read.

Final Notes on the Edition

The text offered in this edition gives a corrected (that is, where necessary emended) version of the text supplied by Arundel (or, where Arundel is lacking, Harley), with orthographic or spelling forms taken from the corpus of Hoccleve holographs, with the modifications noted on page 19. Nearly every word in the text is either (1) a word where the Arundel form is the same as the holograph form, (2) the form (and where there is more than one holograph-supported possibility, a form) used in the holographs, or (3) a form not found in the holographs but constructed by analogy with closely similar holograph forms. As noted earlier, words not

Introduction

found in the holographs necessarily use the Arundel (or Harley) form, modified by the series' practice of modernizing thorn (þ) and yogh (ȝ), and expanding abbreviations.

None of the procedures just described is recorded in the Textual Notes. The Textual Notes identify various decisions that I have made in emending the manuscript. The emendations are for the most part restricted to clarification of sense but also report syllabic or metrical variation in special cases where the usual procedure of orthographic substitution is not straightforward. At an earlier stage of this edition David Greetham proposed documenting holographic forms so that the reader would know whether a particular Hoccleve form occurred only once in the holographs, or fifty times, or three times against a variant form occurring two times, and so on. I have judged this an unsuitable procedure for this edition, and it would result in an ungainly text to read. Similarly, the inclusion of a complete glossary of Hoccleve forms, though of great interest, would take up more space than the editors of this series would like. The edition also includes Explanatory Notes which comment on sources and literary ideas in the poem. The marginal Latin glosses (MLG), identified in the text by a ⁴⁸, are transcribed and translated in these notes. It is important that the reader refer regularly to the marginal Latin text in that Hoccleve uses it as a learned voice to help pace his argument.

A new edition by John Burrow of the *Series for the Early English Text Society* is forthcoming, and it will include an attempt similar to that in this edition to reconstruct Hocclevean forms for that part of the Durham *Sermon* manuscript where the holograph original is missing. A concordance of Hoccleve's holographs would be most useful.

Select Bibliography

The increasing number of studies of Hoccleve since the late 1970s, the very large quantity of important historical writing on the period, and the abundance of recent theoretical writing on the editing of Middle English texts, could easily result in a bibliography of monograph length. In the present select bibliography I include works cited in the edition's Introduction and Notes, together with a few additional secondary studies of special value to the student of the *Regiment*.

Bibliography of Manuscripts and Manuscript Studies

Burrow, John. *Thomas Hoccleve*. Authors of the Middle Ages 4. Gen. ed. M. C. Seymour. Aldershot, Hants, UK: Variorum, 1994. [An essential resource.]

Edwards, A. S. G. "Hoccleve's *Regiment of Princes*: A Further Manuscript." Edinburgh Bibliographical Society Transactions. Vol. 5, part 1 (1978), 32. [A supplement to Seymour's descriptive catalogue.]

The Regiment of Princes

Green, R. F. "Notes on Some Manuscripts of Hoccleve's *Regiment of Princes*." *The British Library Journal* 4 (1978), 37–41. [Fragments from another manuscript.]

Matthews, William. "Thomas Hoccleve." In *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English*. Ed. A. E. Hartung. Vol. 3. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972. Pp. 746–56; 903–08.

Scott, Kathleen. *Later Gothic Manuscripts, 1390–1490. A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles*. Gen. ed. J. J. G. Alexander. 2 vols. London: Harvey Miller, 1996. [Describes and illustrates the two early *Regiment* manuscripts which serve as copy texts for this edition.]

Seymour, M. C. "Manuscripts of Hoccleve's *Regiment of Princes*." *Edinburgh Bibliographical Transactions* Vol. 4, part 7 (1974), 253–97. [Describes all the extant manuscripts save those described by Edwards and Green above.]

Manuscripts of *The Regiment of Princes*

London, British Library MS Arundel 38. [The copy text of this edition except where wanting leaves.]

London, British Library MS Harley 4866. [The copy text where Arundel is wanting leaves.]

[While I have consulted and directly or indirectly used all manuscripts of the *Regiment*, because these are described in Seymour's bibliographical essay and listed in Burrow's monograph, I here list only the three additional manuscripts that are referred to in the Introduction and Explanatory Notes.]

London, British Library MS Royal 17 D. vi. [The manuscript edited by Wright. A relatively deluxe manuscript including, besides the *Regiment*, the last three parts of the five-part *Series*.]

London, British Library MS Royal 17 D. xvii. [A manuscript arguably deriving from a Hoccleve holograph.]

London, British Library MS Additional 18632. [A superior manuscript, in text and production, containing also Lydgate's *Siege of Thebes*.]

Introduction

Holograph Manuscripts

Durham, England, Durham University Library MS Cosin V, iii. 9. [Hoccleve's Series.]

San Marino, California, Huntington Library MS HM 111. [Hoccleve miscellany including *La Male Regle*, *The Remonstrance against Olcastle*, and the envoi to the *Regiment*.]

San Marino, California, Huntington Library MS HM 744. [Hoccleve miscellany including *Epistle of Cupid* and the second, incomplete version of *Lerne to Die* from the Series.]

Cambridge, Trinity College MS R.3.2 fols. 82-84. [Hoccleve's contribution as scribe to Gower's *Confessio Amantis*.]

Editions of Primary Texts and of Secondary Sources

Ambrosius Autpertus. *Expositio in Apocalypsin*. Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis, Vol. 27. Turnholti: Brepols, 1975.

Ashby, George. *George Ashby's Poems*. Ed. Mary Bateson. EETS o.s. 76. London: K. Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1899.

Bacon, Roger. *Secretum Secretorum cum Glossis et Notulis . . .* Ed. Robert Steele. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1920.

Boethius. *Consolation of Philosophy*. Ed. H. F. Stewart and E. K. Rand. Trans. S. J. Fester. Rev. ed. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1973.

Bridget of Sweden, St. *The Liber Celestis of St. Bridget of Sweden*. Ed. Roger Ellis. Vol. 1. EETS o.s. 291. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987.

Caxton, William. Caxton's *Game and Playe of the Chesse*, 1474. Intro. William E. A. Axon. London: Elliot Stock, 1883. [A "verbatim reprint of the first edition."]

Chaucer, Geoffrey. *The Riverside Chaucer*. Ed. Larry D. Benson. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1987.

———. *A Glossarial Concordance to the Riverside Chaucer*. Ed. Larry D. Benson. 2 vols. New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1993.

The Regiment of Princes

Gower, John. *The English Works of John Gower*. Ed. G. C. Macaulay. 2 vols. EETS e.s. 81, 82. London: K. Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1900–01. Rpt. 1957.

Hamesse, Jacqueline, ed. *Les Auctoritates Aristotelis: Un Florilège Médiéval: Étude Historique et Édition Critique*. Philosophes Médiévaux v. XVII. Louvain: Publications Universitaires, 1974. [The source of several glosses not in the *Patrologia Latina*; an example of the *florilegia* from which medieval writers derived many of their "authoritative" quotations.]

Hoccleve, Thomas. *De Regimine Principum, a Poem by Thomas Hoccleve*. Ed. Thomas Wright. London: Roxburghe Club, 1860. [A deluxe, limited edition based on British Library MS Royal 17 D. vi, a relatively deluxe manuscript providing an inferior text to that of Arundel or Harley 4866, and including the last three parts of the five-part *Series*.]

———. *Hoccleve's Works: The Minor Poems*. Ed. Frederick J. Furnivall and I. Gollancz. EETS e.s. 61, 73. London: K. Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1892, 1925. Rev. ed. Jerome Mitchell and A. I. Doyle, 1970. [All of Hoccleve's poetry exclusive of the *Regiment*.]

———. *Hoccleve's Works: The Regement of Princes*. Ed. Frederick J. Furnivall. EETS e.s. 72. London: K. Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1897.

———. *Thomas Hoccleve's Series: An Edition of MS Durham Cosin VIII 9*. Ed. Mary Ruth Pryor. Ph.D. Diss. University of California, Los Angeles, 1968. [Uneven but still valuable Introduction.]

———. *Selections from Hoccleve*. Ed. M. C. Seymour. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981. [Contains an excellent Introduction and Notes.]

Hudson, Anne, ed. *Selections from English Wyclifite Writings*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978.

Jacob de Cessolis. *A Critical Edition of Le Jeu des Eschés, Moralisé translated by Jehan de Vignay*. Ed. Carol S. Fuller. Ph.D. Diss. Catholic University of America, 1974. [One of Hoccleve's sources for his *Chessbook exempla*.]

———. *Libellus de Moribus Hominum et Officis Nobilium ac Popularium super Ludo Scachorum*. Ed. Sister Marie Anita Burt. Ph.D. Diss. University of Texas, Austin 1957. [Currently the most accessible edition of the Latin text of Hoccleve's source.]

Introduction

———. *Caxton's Book of Corteys*. Ed. Frederick J. Furnivall. EETS o.s. 3. London: H. Milford/Oxford University Press, 1868.

Jacob of Voragine. *Jacobi a Voragine Legenda aurea*. Ed. Th. Graesse. Third ed. 1890; rpt. Osnabrück: Otto Zeller, 1965.

———. *The Golden Legend of Jacobus de Voragine*. Trans. Granger Ryan and Helmut Ripperger. Part 1. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1941.

Langland, William. *Piers the Plowman: A Parallel Text Edition of the A, B, C and Z Versions*. Ed. A. V. C. Schmidt. Volume I: text. London: Longman, 1995.

Migne, J.-P. *Patrologiae cursus completus . . . Series [Latina]*. 221 vols. Paris 1844–82. [Though most of the texts in this famous series are available in much better, more recent editions, I have cited this edition for most of the Latin marginal glosses to the *Regiment*, because of the availability of this series in major libraries and on line, and because the immediate textual source of the glosses is not at issue. The texts are identified by author's name, the abbreviation *PL*, the volume number, the column number, and where available the location within the column (A–D).]

Mure and the Sothebys. Ed. Mabel Day and Robert Steele. EETS o.s. 199. London: H. Milford/Oxford University Press, 1936.

Mustanoja, Tauno F. *A Middle English Syntax*. Part 1. Helsinki: Société Néophilologique, 1960.

Nicholas of Lyra. *Biblio Latina cum postillis Nicolai de Lyra et expositonibus Guillelmi Britonis in omnes prologos S. Hieronymi et additionibus Pauli Burgensis replicisque Matthiae Doering*. 4 vols. Venice: Octavianus Scotus, 1489. [Hoccleve's explicit reference establishes that he had access to a Bible with Nicholas' commentary.]

Quintilian. *The Institutio Oratoria of Quintilian*. Ed. and trans. H. E. Butler. 4 vols. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1958–60.

Sallust. *The War with Catiline*. Ed. and trans. J. C. Rolfe. Rev. ed. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Library, 1931.

Seneca. *Moral Essays*. Ed. John W. Basore. 3 vols. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1964–70.

The Regiment of Princes

Trevisa, John. *On the Properties of Things: John Trevisa's Translation of "Bartholomaeus Anglicus De Proprietatibus Rerum."* Gen. ed. M. C. Seymour. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975. [Valuable as an encyclopedia and as a source of the language of science and medicine contemporary with Hoccleve.]

———. *The Governance of Kings and Princes: John Trevisa's Middle English Translation of the De Regimine Principum of Aegidius Romanus.* Ed. David C. Fowler, Charles F. Briggs, and Paul G. Remley. New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1997. [Unlike his translation of Bartholomaeus, this translation survives in a single manuscript. The Introduction and Notes are forthcoming in a second volume.]

Walther, Hans. *Proverbia Sententiaeque Latinitatis Medii Aevi, Lateinische Sprichwörter und Sentenzen des Mittelalters, Carmina Medii Aevi Posterioris Latina 2.1–5.* Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1963–69. [The standard collection of medieval Latin proverbs.]

Whiting, Bartlett Jere, and Helen Westcott Whiting. *Proverbs, Sentences, and Proverbial Phrases from English Writings Mainly Before 1500.* Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1968.

Historical Background

Aston, Margaret. *Lollards and Reformers: Images and Literacy in Late Medieval Religion.* London: The Hambledon Press, 1984. ["Lollards and Images," pp. 135–92.]

Brown, A. L. "The Privy Seal Clerks in the Early Fifteenth Century." In *The Study of Medieval Records: Essays in Honour of Kathleen Major*, Ed. D. A. Bullough and R. L. Story. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971. Pp. 260–81.

Harriss, G. L., ed. *Henry V: The Practice of Kingship.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985. [Valuable, concise collection of papers by diverse scholars on the various aspects of Henry's reign.]

Hudson, Anne. *The Premature Reformation: Wyclifite Texts and Lollard History.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988. [The standard, best account of Lollardy.]

Jacob, E. F. *The Fifteenth Century 1399–1485.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961.

McFarlane, K. B. *Lancastrian Kings and Lollard Knights.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972.

Introduction

McNiven, Peter. *Heresy and Politics in the Reign of Henry IV: The Burning of John Badby*. Suffolk: Boydell Press, 1987. [A thorough contextualization of this event.]

Myers, A. R. *England in the Late Middle Ages (1307–1536)*. The Pelican History of England. Vol. 4. Second ed. Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1963. [A good short survey, including a more skeptical view of Henry V than that held by his historian admirers.]

Rashdall, Hastings. *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*. Vol. 3. Ed. F. M. Powicke and A. B. Emden. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1936.

Strohm, Paul. *England's Empty Throne: Usurpation and the Language of Legitimation, 1399–1422*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998.

Tout, T. F. *Chapters in the Administrative History of Medieval England: The Wardrobe, the Chamber, and the Small Seals*. Vols. 1 and 5. Manchester: The University Press, 1930.

Criticism — Textual, Historical, Literary

Aster, Friedrich. *Das Verhältniss des altenglischen Gedichtes "De Regimine Principum" von Thomas Hoccleve zu seinen Quellen nebst einer Einleitung über Leben und Werke des Dichters*. Diss. Leipzig, 1888.

Batt, Catherine. "Hoccleve and . . . Feminism? Negotiating Meaning in *The Regiment of Princes*." In *Essays on Thomas Hoccleve*. Ed. Catherine Batt. London: Centre for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, Queen Mary and Westfield College, University of London, 1996. Pp. 55–84.

Blyth, Charles. "Thomas Hoccleve's Other Master." *Mediaevalia* 16 (1993), 349–59.

_____. "Editing *The Regiment of Princes*." In *Essays on Thomas Hoccleve*. Ed. Catherine Batt. London: Centre for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, Queen Mary and Westfield College, University of London, 1996. Pp. 11–28.

Bornstein, Diane. "Anti-Feminism in Thomas Hoccleve's Translation of Christine de Pizan's *Epistre au dieu d'amours*." *English Language Notes* 19 (1981–82), 7–14.

Bowers, John M. "Hoccleve's Two Copies of *Lerne to Dye*: Implications for Textual Critics." *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 83 (1989), 437–72.

The Regiment of Princes

- Barrow, John, ed. *English Verse 1300–1500*. London: Longman, 1977. [Extract from the *Complaint* and Burrow's first critical remarks on Hoccleve.]
- . "The Poet as Petitioner." *Studies in the Age of Chaucer* 3 (1981), 61–75. Rpt. in John Burrow, *Essays on Medieval Literature*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984. Pp. 161–76.
- . "Autobiographical Poetry in the Middle Ages: The Case of Thomas Hoccleve." *Proceedings of the British Academy* 68 (1982), 389–412.
- . *The Ages of Man*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988.
- . "Hoccleve and Chaucer." In *Chaucer Tradition: Studies in Honour of Derek Brewer*. Ed. Ruth Morse and Barry Windeatt. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990. Pp. 54–61.
- . "Hoccleve and the Middle French Poets." In *The Long Fifteenth-Century: Essays for Douglas Gray*. Ed. Helen Cooper and Sally Mapstone. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997. Pp. 35–49.
- Carlson, David R. "Thomas Hoccleve and the Chaucer Portrait." *Huntington Library Quarterly* 54 (1991), 283–300.
- Courthope, W. J. *A History of English Poetry*. Vol. 1. London: MacMillan and Co., 1911.
- Doyle, A. I., and Malcolm B. Parkes. "The Production of Copies of the *Canterbury Tales* and the *Confessio Amantis* in the Early Fifteenth Century." In *Medieval Scribes, Manuscripts and Libraries: Essays Presented to N. R. Ker*. Ed. M. B. Parkes and A. G. Watson. London: Scolar Press, 1978. Pp. 163–210.
- Edwards, A. S. G., and Derek Pearsall. "The Manuscripts of the Major English Poetic Texts." In *Book Production and Publishing in Britain 1375–1475*. Ed. Jeremy Griffiths and Derek Pearsall. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989. Pp. 257–78.
- Ellis, Roger. "'Flores ad Fabricandam . . . Coronam': An Investigation into the Uses of Revelations of St. Bridget of Sweden in Fifteenth-Century England." *Medium Aevum* 51 (1982), 163–86.
- Ferster, Judith. *Fictions of Advice: The Literature and Politics of Counsel in Late Medieval England*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996.

Introduction

- Fisher, John. "A Language Policy for Lancastrian England." *PMLA* 107 (1992), 1168–80.
- Green, Richard Firth. *Poets and Princepleasers: Literature and the English Court in the Late Middle Ages*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980. [Especially chapter 5, "An Adviser to Princes," pp. 135–67.]
- Greetham, D. C. "Normalisation of Accidentals in Middle English Texts: The Paradox of Thomas Hoccleve." *Studies in Bibliography* 38 (1985), 121–50.
- _____. "Challenges of Theory and Practice in the Editing of Hoccleve's *Regement of Princes*." In *Manuscripts and Texts: Editorial Problems in Later Middle English Literature*. Ed. Derek Pearsall. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1987. Pp. 60–86.
- Hammond, Eleanor Prescott. *English Verse between Chaucer and Surrey*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1927; rpt. New York: Octagon Books, Inc., 1969. [Though the Hoccleve selections and notes are brief, this is the outstanding scholarly work in the first half and more of the twentieth century.]
- Harris, Kate. "The Patron of British Library MS. Arundel 38." *Notes and Queries* n.s. 31 (1984), 462–63.
- Hasler, Antony J. "Hoccleve's Unregimented Body." *Paragraph* 13 (1990), 164–83.
- Jefferson, Judith A. "The Hoccleve Holographs and Hoccleve's Metrical Practice." In *Manuscripts and Texts: Editorial Problems in Later Middle English Literature*. Ed. Derek Pearsall. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1987. Pp. 95–109.
- Knapp, Ethan. "Bureaucratic Identity and the Construction of the Self in Hoccleve's *Formulary* and *La male regle*." *Speculum* 74 (1999), 357–76.
- Krochalis, Jeanne. "Hoccleve's Chaucer Portrait." *Chaucer Review* 21 (1986), 234–45.
- Lawton, David. "Dullness and the Fifteenth Century." *ELH* 54 (1987), 761–90.
- Lewis, C. S. *The Allegory of Love: A Study of Medieval Tradition*. London: Oxford University Press, 1936. [See pp. 238–39 for discussion of *Regiment*.]
- Marzec, Marcia Smith. "The Latin Marginalia of the *Regiment of Princes* as an Aid to Stemmatic Analysis." *Text* 3 (1987), 269–84.

The Regiment of Princes

- McLeod, Glenda. "A Case of faux semblans: 'L'Epistre au dieu d'amours and the Letter of Cupid.'" In *The Reception of Christine de Pizan from the Fifteenth through the Nineteenth Centuries: Visitors to the City*. Ed. Glenda McLeod. Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 1991. Pp. 11-24.
- Mitchell, Jerome. "Hoccleve's Supposed Friendship with Chaucer." *English Language Notes* 4 (1966), 9-12.
- . *Thomas Hoccleve: A Study in Early Fifteenth-Century English Poetic*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1968. [The revision of a 1965 dissertation, and the first book-length critical study of Hoccleve. Useful for reference, but see the reviews by Edward Wilson in *Medium Aevum* 38 (1969), 331-33; Derek Pearsall in *Speculum* 44 (1969), 480-81; and M. C. Seymour in *Review of English Studies* n.s. 20 (1969), 482-85.]
- . "Hoccleve Studies, 1965-1981." In *Fifteenth-Century Studies: Recent Essays*. Ed. Robert F. Yeager. Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1984. Pp. 49-64.
- Mosher, Joseph A. *The Exemplum in the Early Religious and Didactic Literature of England*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1911; rpt. New York: AMS Press, Inc., 1966. [Compare the criticism and revision of this old account of the genre in Scanlon (1994), especially ch. 2.]
- Parkes, M. B. "The Influence of the Concepts of *Ordinatio* and *Compilatio* on the Development of the Book." In *Medieval Learning and Literature: Essays Presented to Richard William Hunt*. Ed. J. J. G. Alexander and M. T. Gibson. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976. Pp. 115-41.
- Patch, Howard R. *The Goddess Fortuna in Mediaeval Literature*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1927; rpt. New York: Octagon Books, 1967.
- Pearsall, Derek. "The English Chaucerians." In *Chaucer and Chaucerians: Critical Studies in Middle English Literature*. Ed. D. S. Brewer. London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, Ltd., 1966. Pp. 222-25.
- . "Hoccleve's *Regement of Princes*: The Poetics of Royal Self-Representation." *Speculum* 69 (1994), 386-410.
- Reynolds, L. D. "Martial." In *Texts and Transmission: A Survey of the Latin Classics*. Ed. L. D. Reynolds. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983. Pp. 239-44.

Introduction

- Robinson, Ian. *Chaucer's Prosody: A Study of Middle English Verse Tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971. [On Hoccleve's verse, see pp. 190-99.]
- Scanlon, Larry. "The King's Two Voices: Narrative and Power in Hoccleve's *Regement of Princes*." In *Literary Practice and Social Change in Britain, 1380-1530*. Ed. Lee Patterson. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990. Pp. 216-47.
- . *Narrative, Authority, and Power: The Medieval Exemplum and the Chaucerian Tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- Schulz, H. C. "Thomas Hoccleve, Scrbe." *Speculum* 12 (1937), 71-81.
- Simpson, James. "Nobody's Man: Thomas Hoccleve's *Regement of Princes*." In *London and Europe in the Later Middle Ages*. Ed. Julia Booffey and Pamela King. London: Centre for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, Queen Mary and Westfield College, University of London, 1995. Pp. 149-80.
- Smith, G. Gregory. *The Transition Period*. Edinburgh: W. Blackwood & Sons, 1900. [In the first chapter, on the fifteenth-century English Chaucerians, grim assessments.]
- Spearing, A. C. *Medieval to Renaissance in English Poetry*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985. [On Hoccleve, see pp. 110-20.]
- Strohm, Paul. "Chaucer's Fifteenth-Century Audience and the Narrowing of the 'Chaucer Tradition'." *Studies in the Age of Chaucer* 4 (1982), 3-32.
- Torti, Anna. "Specular Narrative: Hoccleve's *Regement of Princes*." In Anna Torti, *The Glass of Form: Mirroring Structures from Chaucer to Skelton*. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1991. Pp. 87-106.
- Utley, Francis Lee. *The Crooked Rib: An Analytical Index to the Argument about Women in English and Scots Literature to the End of the Year 1568*. Columbus: Ohio State University, 1944.
- Winstead, Karen. "'I am al oþer to yow than yee weene': Hoccleve, Women, and the *Series*." *Philological Quarterly* 72 (1993), 143-55.

The Regiment of Princes

[Prologue]

- Musyng upon the restles bysynesse
Which that this troublly world hath ay on honde,
That othir thyngh than fruyt of bittimesse
Ne yldith nyght, as I can undirstonde,
At Chestres In, right faste by the Strand,
As I lay in my bed upon a nyght,
Thoght me byrefte of sleep the force and might.¹
- And many a day and nyght that wikkid hyne
Hadde befoen vexed my poore goost
So grevously that of angwiss and pyne
No rycher man was nowhere in no coost.
This dar I seyn, may no wight make his boast
That he with thoght was bet than I aqweynted,
For to the deeth he wel ny hath me feyned.
- Bysyly in my mynde I gan revolve
The welthe unseur of every creature,
How lightly that Fortune it can dissolve
Whan that hir list that it no lenger dure;
And of the brotilnesse of hir nature
My tremblynge herte so greet gastnesse hadde
That my spritis were of my lyf sadde.
- Me fil to mynde how that nat longe ago
Fortunes strook doum thraste estat rial
Into mescheef, and I took heede also
Of many another lord that hadde a fal.
- restless worry
troubled; always on hand
bitter fruit
Yields nothing; am able to
In; very near to the Strand
- cruel fellow
before that time; spirit
torment
anywhere in any region
say; person; boast
anxiety; better
nearly; exhausted
- turned over
uncertain well-being
easily
it pleases her; no longer lasts
fragility
great terror
weary
- I remembered
thrust down royal estate
disaster

¹ Anxiety deprived me of the efficacy and power of sleep

The Regiment of Princes

	In mene estat eek sikimesse at al Ne saw I noon, but I sy atte laste Wher seuretee for to abyde hir easte.	middling rank also any certainty saw finally security; prepared to dwell
30	In poore estat shee pighte hir pavyloun To kevere hir fro the storm of descendynge. ¹ For shee kneew no lower descencion Sauf oonly deeth, fro which no wight lyvynge Defende him may; and thus in my musynge I destitut was of joic and good hope.	pitched her tent abasement Except; living creature himself
35	And to myn ese nothyng cowde I grope.	for my relief; grasp
40	For right as blyve ran it in my thoght, Thogh poore I be, yit sumwhat leese I may. Than deemed I that seurtee wolde nocht With me abyde; it is nat to hir pay Ther to sojourne as shee descende may. And thus unsakir of my smal lyfode,	just as quickly lose judged; not pleasure dwell unsecure; livelihood imposed; load
45	Thoght leide on me ful many an hevy lode. I thoghte eek, if I into povert creepe, Than am I entred into sikimesse; But swich seurtee mightie l ay waille and weepe. For povert breedith naught but hevynesse. Allas, wher is this worldes stableness? Heer up, heer doun; heer honour, heer repreef;	Then suck; forever wail nothing; oppressiveness world's stability Here; shame healthy; sick, distress
50	Now hool, now seek; now bountee, now mescheef.	
55	And whan I hadde rollid up and doun This worldes storney wawes in my mynde, I sy wel povert was exclusiou Of al welfare regnyng in mankynde; And how in booke thus writen I fynde, "The werste kynde of wrecchidnesse is A man to han be weleful or this."	turned over waves saw; poverty well-being reigning (see MLG) worst to have been happy before this

¹ To cover herself from the storm of descending (i.e., the fall from Fortune's wheel)

The Regiment of Princes

	Allas, thoghte I, what sikernes is that To lyve ay seur of greef and of nusance?	ever certain; annoyance
60	What shal I do? Best is I stryve nat Ageyn the peys of Fortunes balance, For wel I woot that her brotil constance A wight no whyle souffre can sojourne In o plyt; thus nat wiste I how to tourne.	fight Against; weight; scale know: her fragile steadfastness persue; no time at all; remain one state; I did not know; turn
65	For whan man weeneth stonde moost constant, Thasne is he nexte to his overtheowynge; So flittyng is shee and so variant, Ther is no trust upon her fair lawhyng; Aftir glad look, shee shapith hir to stynge.	thinks [to]: steadfast Then shifting; changeful in her; smiling
70	I was adrad so of hir gerynesse That my lyf was but a deedly gladnesse.	cheerful appearance; prepares herself fearful; capriciousness grim rejoicing
75	This ilke nyght I walwid to and fro Seckyng rest, but certeynly shee Appeirid nat, for thoght, my cruel fo, Chaced had hir and sleep away fro me. And for I sholde nat allone be,	same; tassest Chased
	Ageyn my lust wach proffered his servyse, And I admittid him in hevy wyse.	Against my pleasure wakefulness sluggish manner
80	So long a nyght ne felte I nevere noon As was that same, to my jugement. Whoso that thoghty is, is wo begoost, The thoughtfu wight is vessel of torment; Ther mis no greef to him equipollent.	in my opinion anxious
	He graveth deepest of seeknesses alle: Ful wo is him that in swich thoght is falle.	equal in power digs; sicknesses Woeful; suck; fallen
85	What wight that inly pensyf is, I trowe, His moost desir is to be solitarie. That this is sooth, in my persone I knowe, For evere whyl that fretyng adversarie Myn herte made to him tributarie	person; inwardly; believe; (see MLG) greatest true
90	In sowkyng of the fressheste of my blood; To sorwe soul me thoghte it dide me good.	On every occasion; gnawing one who pays tribute sacking; most recently shed grieve alone

The Regiment of Princes

- For the nature of hevynesse is this:
If it habownde greetly in a wight,
The place eschueth he whereas joie is,
95 For joie and he nat mowe accorde aright.
As discordant as day is unto nyght,
And honour adversarie is unto shame,
Is hevynesse so to joie and game.
- Whan to the thoughtfu wight is told a tale,
100 He heerith it as thogh he thennes were;
His hevy thoughtes him so plukke and hale
Hidir and thidir, and him greeve and dere,
That his eres availle him nat a pere;
He understandith nothyng what men seye,
105 So been his wittes fer goon hem to pleye.
- The smert of thought I by experience
Knowe as wel as any man dooth lyvynge.
His frosty swoot and fyry hoot fervence,
And troublly dremes drempet al in wakyng,
110 My mazid heed sleeples han of konnyng
And wit despoillid, and so me bejapid
That aftir deeth ful often have I gapid.
- Passe over; whan this stoomy nyght was goon
And day gan at my wyndowe in to prye,
I roos me up, for boote sond I noon
In myn unresty bed lenger to lye.
Into the feeld I dressid me in hye,
115 And in my wo I herte-deep gan wade,
As he that was bareyne of thoughtes glade.
- By that I walkid hadde a certeyn tyme,
Were it an hour I not, or more or lesse,
A poore old hoor man cam walkynge by me,
And seide, "Good day, sire, and God yow blesse!"
But I no word, for my seekly distresse
120 Forbad myn eres usen hir office,
For which this old man heeld me lewde and nyce,
- abounds
avoids; where
may not agree properly
to
- hears; distant
grave; pull; drag
Hidir; thidir; burden; hart
ears; pear
- gone far off to play (see note)
- sing
- sweat; hot fervency
troubled dreams dreamt
dazed head; has; understanding
intelligence stripped; tricked
longed
- began
arose; advantage (reward)
full of unrest
field; went; haste
in deep sorrow; proceeded
barren; pleasant
- By the time that; period of time
I do not know
gray-haired
- word [spoke]; sickly
ears; their
ignorant and foolish

The Regiment of Princes

- Til he took heede to my drery cheere,
And to my deedly colour pale and wan.
Than thoghte he thus: "This man that I see heere
Al wrong is wrestid, by aght I see can."
He sterte unto me and seide, "Sleepstow, man?"
Awake!" and gan me shake wondir faste,
And with a sigh I answerde atte laste:
- "A, who is there?" "I," quod this olde greye,
"Am heer," and he me tolde the manere
How he spak to me, as yee herde me seye.
"O man," quod I, "for Crystes love deere,
If that thou wilt aght doon at my prayeere,
As go thy way, talke to me no more;
Thy wordes alle annoyen me ful sore.
- "Voide fro me, me list no compaignie,
Encresset nat my greef, I have ynow."
"My sone, hast thou good lust thy sorwe drye
And mayst releaved be? What man art thou?
Wirkē after me: it shal be for thy prow.
Thow nart but yong and hast but litil seen,
And ful selidle is that yong folk wyse been.
- "If that thee lyke to been esid wel,
As suffre me with thee to talke a whyle.
Art thou aght lettred?" "Yee," quod I, "sumdel."
"Blessid be God, than hope I, by Seint Gyle,
That God to thee thy wit shal reconsyle
Which that me thynkith is fer fro thee went
Thurgh the assaut of thy grevous torment.
- 155 "Lettred folk han gretter discrecion
And bet conceyve konse a mannes sawe,
And rather wole applie to reson,
And from folie sonner hem withdrawe,
Than he that neither reson can ne lawe,
Ne lerned hath no maner letterure.
Pfukke up thyne herte — I hope I shal thee cure."
- heede of: sad expression
deedly
twisted; anything
suddenly moved toward; Do you sleep
very vigorously
old man
here
spoke
anything
Then go
Go away; I desire; company
increase; enough
strong desire; to suffer
advantage
are only
seldom
relieved
allow me
at all educated; Yes; somewhat
Saint Giles
restore
for
assault
are able to better comprehend; speech
sooner; conform
sooner withdraw themselves
knows neither reason nor
any sort of learning

The Regiment of Princes

- 165 "Cure, good man? Yee, thow art a fair leech!
 Cure thyself that tremblest as thow goost.
 For al thyn aart wole enden in thy speeche.
 It lyth nat in thy power, poore goost,
 To hele me; thow art as seek almoost
 As I! First on thyself kythe thyn aart,
 And if aght leve, let me thanne have paart.
- likely physician
 yourself /yoɔf/ who; walk
 craft; with your words (i.e., only rhetorics)
 lies; spirit
 heal; almost as sick
 demonstrate
 anything is left
- 170 "Go foorth thy way, I thee peeye, or be stille;
 Thow doost me more annoy than that thow weenest.
 Thow art as ful of clap as is a malle;
 Thow doost naught heer but greevest me and teenest.
 Good man, thow woost but litil what thow meenest.
 In thee lyth naught redresse my nusance,
 And yit thow maist be wel-willid, par chance.
- beseech
 suppose
 noise; mill
 nothing; vex
 know; mean
 lies nothing to set right my trouble
 kindly disposed
- 175 "It muste been a gretter man of might
 Than that thow art that sholde me releeve."
 "What, sone myn, thow feelist nat aright;
 To herkne me, what shal it harme or greeve?"
 180 "Petir, good man, thogh we talke heer til eeve,
 Al is in veyn; thy might may nat atteyne
 To hele me, swich is my woful peyne."
- would have to be
 you do not think properly
 listen to; trouble
 /Saint/ Peter
 succeed
 heal; distress
- 185 "What that I may or can ne woost thow noght.
 Hardily, sone, telle on how it is."
 "Man, at a word, it is encombrous thought
 That causith me thus sorwe and fare amis."
 "Now, sone, and if ther nothyng be but this,
 Do as I shal thee seye, and thyng estat
 Amende I shal but thow be obstinat,
- you do not know
 bravely; recount
 fare badly
 fortune
 Remedy; unless
- 190 "And wilfully rebelle and disobeye,
 And list nat to my lore thee conforme;
 For in swich cas, what sholde I speke or seye,
 Or in my beste wyse thee eniforme?
 If thow it weyve and take another forme,
 195 Afray thy childissh misrulede conceit,
 Thow doost unto thyself harm and deceit.
- do not wish; teaching; adapt yourself
 such case
 as I best case; instruct
 neglect; follow another model
 According to; awryly thought

The Regiment of Princes

	"O thynge seye I, if thou go feerelees Al solitarie and conseil lakke and reed, As me thynkith thy gyse is, doutelees Thow likly art to bere a dotid heed. Whil thou art soul, thought his wastyng seed Sowith in thee, and that in greet foysoun, And thou reedlees nat canst voide his poisoun.	One; without a companion Altogether; lack counsel and advice it seems to me; manner to be an imbecile solitary; decaying Sows; abundance without counsel; cannot discharge
200		
205	"The Book seith thus — I redde it yore agoon: 'Wo be to him that list to been allone, For if he falle, help ne hath he noon To ryse.' This seye I by thy personne; I fond thee soul and thy wittes echone Fer fro thee fled and disparrled ful wyde, Wherfore it seemeth thee needith a gyde,	<i>The Bible; long ago; (see MLG)</i> with respect to you found; alone; all your wits widely scattered guide
210		
215	"Which that thee may unto thy wittes lede. Thow grapsist heer and there as dooth the blynde, And ay misgoost, and yit, have I no drede, If thow receyve wilt into thy mynde My lore and execute it, thow shalt fynde Therin swich ese that thy maladie Abregge it shal and thy malencolie.	may lead you; your wits groping always go astray; doubt teaching comfort Lessen
220		
225	"Ful holsum were it stynten of thy wo And take unto thee spirit of gladnesse. What profyt fyndest thow to mourne so? Salomon seith that sorwe and hevynesse Bones of man drieth by his duresse, And herte glad makith florishyng age; Therfore I rede thow thy wo asswage.	<i>to cease your lamentation</i> sadness (see MLG) dry up by its affliction a joyful heart; vigorous advise; assuage
230	"He seith: 'As mottibes to a clooth armoyen And of his wolle maken it al bare, And also as wormes a tree destroien Thurgh hir percyng, right so sorwe and care Byreven man his helthe and his welfare And his dayes abregge and shorte his lyf.' Lo, what profyt is for to be pensyf?	moths; are harmful (see MLG) its wool By means of their piercing, just so Deprive abridge advantage; sorrowful

The Regiment of Princes

- | | | |
|-----|--|---|
| | "Now, goode sone, telle on thy grevance:
What is thy cause of thought in special?
Haast thou of worldly goodes habundance
And carist how that it ykept be shal?
Or art thou needy and hast nat but smal,
And thristist sore a ryche man to be?
Or lovest hire that nat loveth thee? | <i>anxiety in particular</i>
<i>are concerned; kept</i>
<i>only a little</i>
<i>crave intensely</i>
<i>her who</i> |
| 235 | "I have herd seyn, in keepyng of richesse
Is thought and wo and bisy awayt alway.
The poore and needy eek hath hevynesse,
For to his purpos nat atteyne he may;
The lovere also seen men day by day
Prolle aftir that that he shal nevere fynde;
Thus thought tormentith folk in sundry kynde. | <i>protecting riches</i>
<i>also</i>
<i>men see</i>
<i>Search for that which</i>
<i>different ways</i> |
| 240 | "If thou feele in any of thuse ygreved
Or elles what, telle on, in Goddes name.
Thow seest al day the begger is releaved
That sit and beggith blyd, crookid, and lame,
And why? For he ne lettith for no shame
His harmes and his povert to bywreye
To folk as they goon by him in the weye. | <i>these [respects] oppressed</i>
<i>whatever else</i>
<i>all the time</i>
<i>who sits; crippled</i>
<i>he does not refrain out of any shame</i>
<i>injuries; reveal</i>
<i>walk; on the street</i> |
| 245 | "For and he keepe him cloos and holde his pees,
And nat out shewe how seek he inward is,
He may al day so sitten helpeles;
And, sone myn, althogh he fare amiss
That hydeth so, God woot, the wyt is his;
But this begger his hertes wole nat stèle;
He wole telle al and more — he can naught hele. | <i>if; remains in seclusion; keeps quiet</i>
<i>does not reveal; sick</i>
<i>destitute of help</i>
<i>knows; blame</i>
<i>conceal</i>
<i>hide nothing</i> |
| 250 | "Right so, if thee list have a remedie
Of thy annoy that prikkith thee so smerte.
The verray cause of thy hid maladie
Thow moost deskevere and telle out al thyne herte. | <i>Just so</i>
<i>For your trouble; sting; sharply</i>
<i>true; hidden</i>
<i>must; uncover</i> |

¹ Anxiety, sorrow and restless watchfulness are always present.

The Regiment of Princes

- | | | |
|-----|---|--|
| 265 | If thou it hyde, thou shalt nat asterte
That thou ne falle shalt in sum meschance;
For thy amende thou thy governance. | <i>Therefore; manner of governing yourself</i> |
| | "Be waer of thought, for it is perillous;
He the streight way to desconforte men ledith;
His violence is ful outrageous; | <i>He [Anxiety], leads
very excessive
fears</i> |
| 270 | Unwys is he that busy thought ne dredith.
In whom that he his mortel vnymp shedith,
But if a vomyt aftir folwe blyve,
At the port of desperie he may arryve. | <i>he [Anxiety] pours his deadly poison
Unless; follow quickly after</i> |
| 275 | "Sone, swich thought lurkyng thee withynne,
That huntith aftir thy confusioune,
Hly tyme it is to voide and lat him twynne,
And walke at large out of thy prisoun, | <i>within you
pursues; ruin
Hly; expel, depart</i> |
| | Be waer the feendes sly conclusioune,
For if he may thee unto desperie bryngne,
Thow mourne shalt, and lawhe he wole and synge. | <i>devil's; clever intent
laugh</i> |
| 280 | "Sum man for lak of occupacioun
Musith ferthere than his wit may strecche,
And at the feendes instigacioun
Dampnable errore holdith, and can nat flecche | |
| 285 | For no conseil ne reed, as dide a wrecche
Nat fern ago, which that of heresie
Convict and brent was unto asshen dñe. | <i>maintains; give way
any counsel or advice; a sorry person
long ago, who
Convicted and burned; dry ashes</i> |
| 290 | "The precious body of our Lord Jhesu
In forme of brede he leaved nat at al;
He was in nothyng abassht ne eschu
To seye it was but brede material.
He seide a preestes power was as smal | <i>bread; believed
discomfited nor discredited
only material bread
priest's</i> |
| | As a rakers or swich another wight.
And to make it hadde no getter might. | <i>street-cleaner; person
cause it [transubstantiation]; power</i> |
| 295 | "My lord the Prince — God him save and blesse —
Was at his deedly castigacioun
And of his soule hadde greet tendrenesse. | <i>fatal punishment
compassion</i> |

The Regiment of Princes

- 300 Thristynge sore his sauvacious.
 Greet was his pitous lamentacioun
 Whan that this renegat nat wolde blynne
 Of the styskyng error that he was ynne.
- 305 "This good lord highte him to be swich a mene
 To his fadir, our lige lord sovereyn,
 If he renounce wolde his error clene
 And come unto our good byleve ageyn,
 He sholde of his lyf seur been and certain;
 And souffissant lyfplode eek sholde he have
 Unto the day he clad were in his grave.
- 310 "Also this noble prynce and worthy knyght —
 God qwyte him his charitable labour —
 Or any stikke kyndlid were or light,
 The sacrament, our blessid Sauveour,
 With reverence greet and hy honour,
 He fecche leet, this wrecche to converte,
 And make our feith to synken in his herte.
- 315 "But al for naught, it wolde nat betyde;
 He heeld foorth his oppinioun dampnable,
 And caste our holy Cristen feith asyde
 As he that was to the feend acceptable.
 By any outward tokne resonable,
 If he inward hadde any repentance,
 That woot He that of nothyng hath doustance.
- 320 "Lat the dyvynes of him speke and muse
 Where his soule is bycome or whidir goon;
 Myn unkonynghe of that me shal excuse;
 Of swich mateere knowleche have I noon.
 But wolde God tho Crystes foos echoon
 That holde as he heeld were yserved so,
 For I am seur that ther been many mo.
- 325 "The more southe is! Alias, what men been they
 That hem delyten in swich surquidrye?
- Desiring eagerly
cease
in
pledged; intermediary
completely
faith
sure
sufficient income
clothed [for burial]

May God reward him for
Before; piece of wood; ignited

caused to be brought

happen
Christian
devil; agreeable
rational sign
imwordly
uncertainty

theologians; reflect
What has become of; whether
ignorance

everyone of those foes of Christ
believe; treated
more

pity
pride

The Regiment of Princes

- For mannes reson may nat preeve our fey
 That they wole it dispreeven or denye.
 To our lord God that sitte in hevenes hye,
 Shul they desyre for to been egal?
 Nay, that was nevere, certes, ne be shal.
- prove; faith
[Such] that; prove false
 high
 equal
 never *[sof. certainly]*
- "That our lord God seith in Holy Scripture
 May nat be fals, this knowith every wight
 But he be mad; and thogh a creature
 In his Goddess werk feele nat aright.
 Shal he rebelle ageyn his lordes might,
 Which that this wyde world hath maad of noght,
 For reson may nat knytte it in his thought?
- What
 Unless
 rightly
 against
Who; created from nothing
Because; fix; mind
- "Was it nat eek a moustere as in nature
 That God ybore was of a virgyne?
 Yit is it sooth, thogh man by conjecture
 Of reson or what he can ymagyne
 Nat savoure it ne can it determyne.
 He that almighty is dooth as him list;
 He wole his konnynghe hid be and nat wist.
- a natural wonder
 born
 comprehend; ascertain
 desires; not made public; (see MLG)
- "Our feith nat were unto us meritorie
 If that we mightes by reson it preeve.
 Lat us nat fro God twynnen and His glorie;
 As Holy Chirche us bit, lat us hyleeve.
 But we therto obeye, it shal us greeve
 Importably; lat us do as shee bit;
 Oure goode fadres olde han folwed it.
- deserving of merit
 prove it *[true]*
 be separated
 bids
 Unless
 insupportably
- "Presumpcion, a benedicitee!
 Why vexest thou folk with thy franesie,
 Thogh nothyng elles were, I seye for me? *[As] though; were [the matter]; for my part*
 But see how that the worthy prelacie,
 And undir hem the souffissant clergie,
 Endowid of profounde intelligence,
 Of al this land werreyen thy sentence.
- bless us
 madness
 episcopal authority
 properly qualified
 make war against; opinion

The Regiment of Princes

- | | | |
|-----|--|--|
| 365 | "That selve same to me were a brydil
By which wolde I governed been and gyed,
And elles al my labour were in ydil.
By Holy Chirche I wole be justified;
To that al hooly is myn herte applied,
And evere shal. I truste in Goddes grace; | <i>bridle (restraint)</i>
<i>guided</i>
<i>otherwise; in vain</i> |
| 370 | Swich surquidrie in me shal have no place. | <i>wholly</i>
<i>pride</i> |
| 375 | "Sone, if God wole, thow art noon of tho
That wrappid been in this dampnacioun?"
"I? Cryst foibeede n, sire," seide I tho.
"I thanke it God, noon inclinacioun
Have I to laboure in probacioun
Of His hy knowleche and His mighty werkis,
For swich mateere unto my wil to derk is. | <i>thou</i>
<i>then</i>
<i>resting</i>
<i>too difficult</i> |
| 380 | "Of our feith wole I nat despuite at al,
But at o word, I in the sacrament
Of the alter fully byleeve and shal,
With Goddes help, whil lyf is to me lent,
And in despit of the feendes talent,
In alle othir articles of the feith
Byleeve as fer as that Holy Writ seith." | <i>With</i>
<i>in sum</i>
<i>altar</i>
<i>will</i> |
| 385 | "Now good thrifte come unto thee, sone deere;
Thy goost is now awakid wel, I see,
And sumwhat eek amendid is thy cheere.
And first I was ful sore agast of thee,
Lest that thow thurgh thoughtful adversitee
Nat haddest standen in thy feith aright;
Now is myn herte woxen glad and light. | <i>good luck; dear</i>
<i>spirit</i>
<i>countenance</i>
<i>afraid for you</i> |
| 390 | "Hast thow in me any gretter savour
Than that thow haddest first whan thow me sy,
Whan I opposid thee of thy langour?
Seye on the soothe." "Yea, sumdel," quod I.
"My sone, in feith that is seid ful feynly;
Thy savour yit ful smal is, as I trowe,
But or aght longe I shal the soothe knowe. | <i>has become; cheerful</i> |
| 395 | "Hast thow in me any gretter savour
Than that thow haddest first whan thow me sy,
Whan I opposid thee of thy langour?
Seye on the soothe." "Yea, sumdel," quod I.
"My sone, in feith that is seid ful feynly;
Thy savour yit ful smal is, as I trowe,
But or aght longe I shal the soothe knowe. | <i>pleasure</i>
<i>saw</i>
<i>questioned; distress</i>
<i>Yea, somewhat</i>
<i>half-heartedly</i>
<i>believe</i>
<i>before very long</i> |

The Regiment of Princes

- 400 "I woot wel, sone, of me thus wilt thou thynke:
This olde dotid grisell halt him wys;¹
He weeneth maken in myn heed to synke
His lewde clap, of which sene I no prys,
He is a noble prechour at devys;
405 Greet noyse hath thurgh his chynned lippes drye
This day out past, the deuel in his ye.
- "But thogh I old and hoor be, sone myn,
And poore be my clothynge and array,
And nat so wyde a gowne have as is thyn —
410 So smal yþynchid me so freshh and gay —
My reed in hap yit thee profyte may,
And likly that thou deemest for folie
Is gretter wysdām than thou canst espie.
- "Undir an old poore habyt regneth ofte
415 Greet vertu, thogh it mōstre poorely;
And whereas greet array is up on lofte,
Vice is but seelden hid — that wel woot I.
But nat reporte, I preye thee, inwardly,
That freshh array I generally depeave; new (gay); without exception condense
420 Thise worthy men mowe it wel use and have. may well enjoy and possess
- * * *
425 "But this me thynkith an abusious,
To see oon walke in gownes of scarlet
Twelve yerdes wyde, with pendant sleeves down
On the ground, and the furrour therin set,
Amountyng unto twenti pound or bet.
And if he for it paied have, he no good
Hath left him wherwith for to bye an hood.
- "For thogh he gette foorth among the prees
430 And overlooke every poore wight,
His cofre and eek his purs been penylees;
He hath no more than he gooth in right.

fancies that he makes
ignorant chatter; value
clearly
sound; cracked dry lips
come out; eye

appearance

finely pleated; clean
advice perhaps
probably; judge as
notice

garment; prevails
moral excellence; appears
where; display; on the outside
seldom

new (gay); without exception condense
may well enjoy and possess

abuse
a person
hanging
fur lining
or more
paid; money
buy

struts; crowd
looks down on
treasure chest
(see note)

¹ This feeble-minded, gray-haired old man thinks himself wise

The Regiment of Princes

- For land, rente, or catel he may go light;
 The weighte of hem shal nat so moche peise
 As dooth his gowne. Is swich array to preise?
 income; property; walk easily
 weigh
 to be praised
- 435 "Nay, soothly, sone, it is al mis, me thynkith,
 So poore a wight his lord to countrefete
 In his array; in my conceit it stynkith.
 Certes to blame been the lordes grete,
 If that I durste seyn, that hir men lete
 440 Usurpe swich a lordly apparaille:
 It is nat worth, my chyld, withouten faille.
 wrong
 imitate
 opinion
 Certainly; great
 dare say; let
 amre
 worthy; for certain
- "Sumtyme afer men mightien lordes knowe
 By hir array from oþer folk, but now
 A man shal studie and musen a long throwe
 445 Which is which. O lordes, it sit to yow
 Amende this, for it is for your prow;
 If twixt yow and your men no difference
 Be in array, lesse is your reverence.
 Once from a distance; distinguish
 must deliberate; reflect; space of time
 it is fitting
 advantage
 respect
- 450 "Also ther is another neewe get:
 A foul waast of clooth and an excessyf
 Ther gooth, no lesse in a mannes typet
 Than of brood clooth a yerde, by my lyf;
 Me thynkith this a verray inducylf
 455 Unto stelthe. Waar hem of hempen lane,
 For stelthe is medid with a chekelewe bane.
 fashion
 waste
 adournment attached to hood
 broad; yard long
 inducement
 theft; Beware; i.e., the gallows
 rewarded; choking death
- "Let every lord his owne men deffende
 Swich greet array, and thanne, on my peril,
 This land withynne a whyle shal amende.
 In Goddes name, putte it in exyl;
 460 It is a synne outrageous and vyl;
 Lordes, if yee your estat and honour
 Loven, fleemeth this vicious errour.
 forbid
 I assure you
 banish it
 sin
 rank
 banish; wicked
- 465 "What is a lord withouten his meyne?
 I putte cas that his foos him assaille
 Sodeynly in the street: what help shal he
 retense
 give as an example; foes

The Regiment of Princes

- Whos sleeves encombrous so syde traile
Do to his lord? He may him nat availle;
In swich a cas he nis but a womman;
He may nat stande him in stide of a man.
- 470 "His armes two han right ynow to doone,
And sumwhat more, his sleeves up to holde.
The taillours, trowe I, moot heeraftir soone
Shape in the feeld; they shul nat speede and folde
On hit bord, thogh they nevere so fayn wolde,
475 The clooth that shal been in a gowne wrought;
Take an hool clooth is best, for lesse is nocht.
- "The skynner unto the feeld moot also —
His hous in Londoun is to streit and scars
To doon his craft; sumtyme it was nat so.
480 O lordes, geve unto your men hir pars
That so doon, and aweynte hem bet with Mars,
God of bataille; he loveth noon array
That hurtith manhode at preef or assay.
- "Who now moost may bere on his bak at ones
485 Of clooth and furour hath a fressh renoun;
He is a lusty man clept, for the nomes.
But drapers and eek skynnars in the toun
For swich folk han a special orisoun,
That droppid is with curses heer and there,
490 And ay shal til they paied be for hir gere.
- "In dayes olde, whan smal apparaille
Souffysid unto hy estat or mene,
Was greet houshold wel stuffid of vitaille;
But now housholdes been ful scendre and lene,
495 For al the good that men may repe or glene
Waastid is in outrageous array,
So that housholdes men nat holde may.
- "Pryde hath wel lever bere an hungry mawe
To bedde than lak of array outrage.
- cumbersome: hung low
be of use
is only
in the place of
- just enough: do
- cut (cloth); field
their table; eagerly wanted to
into; fashioned
whole; nothing
- farrier; must [go]
cramped and narrow
practice
- give; assignment (in military)
better
- when put to the test
- He who; carry; together
gay reputation
gallant; called for save
clotherers
prayer
terfull
garments
- modest
Sufficed; mean
filled with provisions
frugal; spare
goods; eat or gather
- may not maintain men
- would rather carry; belly
extravagant

The Regiment of Princes

- 500 He no preys settith by mesures lawe,
Ne takith of him clooth, mete, ne wage;
Mesure is out of land on pilgrimage;
But I suppose he shal resorte as blyve,
For verray neede wole us therto dryve.
assigns no value to moderation's
food nor wages
out of the country
return; as soon as possible
- 505 "Ther may no lord take up no neewe gyse
But that a knave shal the same up take.
If lordes wolden wirken in this wyse
For to do swiche gownes to hem make
As men dide in old tyme, I undirtake.
style
servant
bring it about; manner
cause to be made for them
former times; declare
fashion
costly extravagance; rejected
- 510 The same get sholde up be take and usid,
And al this costlewe outrage refusid.
- "Of Lancastre Duk John, whos soule in hevene
I fully deeme and truste sit ful hye —
A noble prince, I may allegge and nevene —
515 Othir may no man of him testifie;
I nevere sy a lord that cowde him gye
Bet lyk his estat; al knyghtly prowesse
Was to him girt — o God, his soule blesse!
name
Otherwise; attest
rule himself
Better in accordance with
fastened (like a sword)
- 520 His garnementes weren nat ful wyde,
And yit they him becam wondirly wel.
Now wolde God the waast of clooth and pryd
Yput were in exyl perpetuel
For the good and profyt universel;
525 And lordes mighte helpe al this, if they wolde
The old get take, and it foorth use and holde.
garments; very large
wonderfully
Banished
fashion adopt; maintain
- 530 Than mighthe silver walke more thikke
Among the peple than that it dooth now.
Ther wolde I fayn that were yset the prikke —
Nat for myself, I shal do wel ynow —
But, sone, for that swiche men as thou,
That with the world wrastlen, mighthe han plentee
Of coyn, whereas yee han now scarsetee.
circulate; abundantly
set; goal
enough
struggle
money; deficiency

The Regiment of Princes

- 535 "Now hath this land but litil neede of broomes
To sweep away the filthe out of the street,
Syn syde sleeves of penylees gromes
Wole it up likke, be it drie or weet.
O Engeland, stande upright on thy feet!
So foul a waast in so symple degree
Banisshe, or sore it shal repente thee.
- 540 "If a wight vertuous but narwe clothid
To lordes courtes now adayes go,
His compaignie is unto folkes lothid;
Men passen by him bothe to and fro,
And scorne him for he is arraied so.
545 To hir conceit is no wight vertuous
But he that of array is outrageous.
- 550 "But he that flatere can or be a baude,
And by tho tweyne fresh array him gete,
It holden is to him honour and laude.
Trouble and cleanness musten men forgete
In lordes courtes, for they herdes frete;
They hyndren folk. Fy upon tonges treewe!
They displesance in lordes courtes breewe.
- 555 "Lo, sone myn, that tale is at an eende.
Now, goode sone, have of me no desdeyn,
Thogh I be old and myn array untheende.
For many a yong man, woot I wel certeyn,
Of corage is so proud and so hauteyn
That to the poore and old mannes doctryne
560 Ful seelde him deyneth bowen or enclynt.
- 565 "Senek seith, age is an infirmitee
That leche noon can cure ne it hele,
For to the deeth next neigheburgh is he.
Ther may no wight the chartre of lyf ensele;
The ende is deeth of male and of female;
570 Nothyng is more certeyn than deeth is,
Ne more uncerteyn than the tyme, ywis.
- Since hanging, men
lick; wet
- lowly rank
sorely; give cause to repent
- meanly
- detested
- In their conception*
- pimp
those two [means]; get
regarded; praise
- Loyalty; modesty
consume (sex)
- discontent
- of poor quality
- disposition; haughty
teaching
- he condescends; to submit; listen*
- Seneca (see MLG)
physician; heal
- nearest
- charter; ratify
- (see MLG)
truly

The Regiment of Princes

567	"As touchyng age, God in Holy Writ Right thus seith: 'Fadir and modir honure, That thou maist be long-lyved' — thus he bit. Than moot it folwen upon this scripture, Age is a guerdoun to a creature, And long-lyved is noon withouten age, Wherfore I seye, in elde is avauntage;	Concerning (see MLG) commands passage of writing reward <i>old age; benefit</i>
575	"And the reward of God may nat be smal; His giftes been ful noble and profitable; For thyne ne lakke thou nat age at al. Whan youthe is past is age sesonable; Age hath insighte how unseur and unstable	<i>blame</i> <i>fining</i>
580	This worldes cours is by lengthe of his yeeres, And can defende him from his sharpe breeres.	<i>path; its years</i> <i>protector; briers</i>
585	"Lord, whethir it be maistrie to knowe Whan a man ofte hath sundry weyes ride, Which is the beste? Nay, for soothe, I trowe, Right so he that hath many a world abode There he in youthe wroghte mis or dide, His age it seeth and bit him it eschue And seekith weyes covenable and due.	<i>a difficult matter</i> <i>ways; ridden along</i> <i>period of life lived through</i> <i>Where; amiss</i> <i>sees; than</i> <i>suitable; fitting</i>
590	"Whan that thou hast assayed bothe two, Sad age, I seye, after thy skittissh yowthe, As thou moot needles atteyne thereto Or sterwe yong, than trowe I thou wilt bowe thee To swiche concentes as I have nowthe, And thanke God devoutly in thyn herte That He hath suffind thee thy yowthe asterte.	<i>tried (tested)</i> <i>Stable; frivolous</i> <i>reach that [state]</i> <i>die; believe; submit</i> <i>now</i> <i>allowed; to escape</i>
595	"Youthe ful smal reward hath to goodnesse, And peril dredith he noon, woot I wel: Al his devocion and holynesse At the taverne is, as for the moost del; To Bachus signe and to the levesel	<i>regard</i> <i>piety</i> <i>part</i> <i>Bacchus'; leafy bush (as ivy signs)</i>
600	His youthe him halith, and whan it him happith To chirche goon, of nyctee he clappith.	<i>palls</i> <i>out of foolishness; proclaims loudly</i>

The Regiment of Princes

- "The cause why men oughten thidir goon,
 Nat cause can his wilde steerish heed
 605 To folwen it. Also, boote is it noon
 To telle it him, for thogh men sownen seed
 Of vertu, in a yong man it is deed;
 As blyve his rebel goost it mortifieth.
 Al thyng sauf folie in a yong man dieth.
- reason; *bestial head*
remedy
forgotten
quickly; rebellious spirit; nullifies
- 610 "Whan I was yong, I was ful rechelees,
 Prowd, nyce, and riotous for the maistrie,
 And among oþir, consciencelees.
 By that sette I nat the worth of a fly;
 And of hem hauntd I the compaignie
 615 That wente on pilgrimage to taverne,
 Which before unthrift berith the lamerne.
- reckless
foolish; extremely
lacking moral sense
fly
frequented
impropriety shows the way
- "There offred I wel more than my tythe,
 And withdraw Holy Chirche his duetee.
 My freendes me conseillid often sythe
 620 That I with lownesse and humilitie
 To my curat go sholdre and make his gree.
 But straw, unto hir reed wolde I nat bowe
 For agh they cowden preyen alle or wowe!
- tithe (see note)
held back from
many times
parish priest; give satisfaction
their advice; yield
beg; woo
- 625 "Whan folk wel reuled dressid hem to bedde
 In tyme due by reed of nature,
 To the taverne quikly I me spedde
 And pleide at dees whil the nyght wolde endure.
 There the former of every creature
 630 Dismembred I with oothes grete, and renne
 Lym fro lym or that I thennes wente.
- well-behaved; *prepared themselves*
hastened
played; dice; last
creator
oaths; tore
Limb
- "And ofte it fale was that I swoor or spak,
 For the desir fervent of covetyse
 Fond in perjurie no defaute or lak,
 But evere entyced me that in al wyse
 635 Myne oothes grete I sholde excercyse,
 And specially for lucre, in al maneere,
 Swere and foerswere with bold face and cheere.
- swore
Found; defect; blame
at all costs
profit
swear falsely; shameless; look

The Regiment of Princes

- 640 " But this condicoun, lo, hadde I evere:
 Thogh I proud were in wordes or in speeche,
 Whan strokes cam, a place I gan dissevere;
 Fro my felawes soghte I nevere leeche
 For hurt which that I took; what sholde I seeche
 A salve whan I therof had no neede?
 I hurtlees was ay thurgh impressid dreede.
- 645 " Tho mighte I spende an hundred mark by yeer,
 Al thyng deduct, my sone, I gabbe noght.
 I was so proud, I heeld no man my peere;
 In pryd and leccherie was al my thought,
 No more I hadde set therby or roght
650 A wyf or mayde or nonne to defoule
 Than sheete or pleyen at the bal or boule.
- 655 " Right nyce girles at my retense
 Had I an heep, wyves and othir mo —
 What so they were, I wolde noon eschue;
 And yeeres fele I continued so.
 Alias, I nothyng was waor of the wo
 That folwed me; I lookid nat behynde;
 Conceites yonge been ful dirc and blynde.
- 660 " An office also hadde I lucratyf,
 And wan ynow, God woot, and mochil more,
 But nevere thoughte I in al my yong lyf
 What I unjustly gat for to restore,
 Wherfore I now repente wondir sore;
665 As it misgoten was, mis was despandid,
 Of which our lord God greetly was offendid.
- 670 " He sy I nolde absteene for no good
 Of myn outrageous iniquitee,
 And whan that His lust was, withdraw the flood
 Of welthe, and at ground ebbe sette He me;
 With povert for my gilt me feffid He.
 Swich wreche took He for my cursad synne;
 No more good have I than I stonde yrne.
- stipulation
blows; departed
comrades; physician
injury; seek
enforced fear

Then; in a year
Everything deducted; chatter

thought nothing of; cared
run; violate
shoot [an arrow]; ball; bowling

Very foolish; command
great number
Whoever
many
aware
dark

job
profited enough
got; return

wrongfully [it] was spent

would not
From; wrongdoing
pleasure; [He] withdrew
low water
endowed [as feudal gift]
punishment
possessions; am wearing

The Regiment of Princes

- "Gold, silver, jewel, clooth, beddyng, array —
Ne have I noon oþir than thow maist see:
675 Pardee, this bare old russet is nat gay,
And in my purs so grete sommes be
That ther nis contour in al Cristientee
Which that hem can at any noumbre sette.
That shalt thow see, my purs I wole unslette.
- Certainly (By God); ordinary wool cloth
sweat
accountant; Christianity
value
open
- 680 "Come hidir to me, sone, and looke whethir
In this purs ther be any crois or crouche
Sauf nedel and thred and themel of lethir,
Heer seestow naught that man may handle or touche.
The feend, men seyn, may hoppes in a pouche
685 Whan that no crois therynne may appere,
And by my purs the same I may seye heire.
- coin marked with cross
leather thimble
you see nothing
dance; moneybag
with respect to
- "O, where is now al the wantoun moneye
That I was maistir of and governour,
Whan I kneew nat what povert was to seye?
690 Now is povert the glas and the mirour
In which I see my God, my sauveour,
Or povert cam, wiste I nat what God was,
But now I knowe and see Him in this glas.
- unrestrained
master
meant
knew
- 695 "And where be my gownes of scarlet,
Sangwyn, murray, and blewes sadde and lighte;
Greenes also, and the fair violet;
Hors and harneys, fressh and lusty in sighne —
My wikkid lyf hath put al this to flighte.
700 But, certes, yit me greeveth moost of alle,
My frendshipe is al clene fro me falle.
- Ruddy; purplish red; dark
completely
- 705 **¶** "O whyle I stood in wele, I was homrid
And many oon of my compaignie glad,
And now I am mislockid on and lourid;
Ther rekkith noon how wo I be bystad.
O Lord, this world unstable is and unsad;
This world honureth nat mannes persone
For himself, sone, but for good allone.
- Once; (see MLG)
looked on unfavorably and scolded at
reckon; distressed
unreliable
worldly goods

The Regiment of Princes

- "Ful sooth fynde I the word of Salomon,
That to moneie obeien alle thynges;
710 For that my coyn and coynworth is agoon,
Contrarien they my wil and my biddynges.
That in my welthe with hit flaterynges
Heelden with me what that I wroghne or seide;
Now disobeyen they that thanne obeide.
- Since: something worth money has gone
Thwart: wishes; orders
cajoling
Sided with: did
- 715 "Now seyn they thus: 'I wiste wel alway
That him destroie wolde his fool largesse;
I tolde him so and evere he seide nay.'
And yit they liem, also God me blesse;
They me conforted ay in myn excesse,
720 And seide I was a manly man withalle;
Hit hony woordes tornen me to galle.
- always knew
foolish liberality

lie

as well
bitter (gall)
- "God, which of His benignie courtesie,
And of His cheere lovyng tendrenesse,
He of the synful hath nat wole he die,
725 But lyve for to amende his wikkidnesse;
Him thanke I and His infymyt goodnesse;
His grace lykith that thurgh worldly peyne
My soule eschape may the feendes cheyne.
- dear
willed that he not die

chain
- 730 "Job hadde an hevyer fal than I, pardee,
For he was clumben hyer in richesse,
And paciently he his adversitee
Took, as the Byble bere can witnesse.
And afterward, God al his hevynesse
735 Toened to joie, and so may He do myn
Whan that it lykith to His myght devyn.
- Godly power
- "Lord, as Thee list, right so Thow to me do;
But evere I hope seur been of that place
Which that Thy mercy boght us hath unto,
If that us list for to sue Thy grace.
740 A! Loed almighty, in my lyves space,
Of my gilt graunte Thow me repentance,
And Thy strook take in greable souffrance.
- to be sure
redeemed for us
follow
in the space of my life

willing endurance

The Regiment of Princes

- 745 "I cowde of youthe han talkid more and told
Than I have doon, but the day passith swythe,
And eek me lever is by many fold
Thy greef to knowe which that sit so ny thee.
Telle on anoon, my goode sone, and hye thee,
And I shal herknen as thow hast doon me,
And, as I can, wole I conseille thee."
- 750 "Grant mercy, deere fadir, of your speeche.
Yee han right wel me conforted and esid;
And hertily I peeye yow and byseeche,
What I first to yow spak, be nat dispesid;
It reewith me if I yow have disesid,
And meekly yow byseeche I of pardoun,
Me submittyng unto cooreccions.
- 760 "I woot wel first, whan that I with yow mette,
I was ful mad and spak ful rudely.
Thogh I nat slepte, yit my spirit mette
Ful angry dremes; thought ful bysyly
Vexid my goost so that nothyng wiste I
What that I to yow spak or what I thoughtie,
But heer and there I myselfen soghte.
- 765 "I preye yow, deemeth nat that in despyt
I hadde yow for age or povertee;
I mente it nat, but I stood in swich plyt
That it was nothyng likly unto me,
Thogh yee had knownen al my privatee,
That yee mighten my greef thus han abregged
As yee han doon, so sore I was aggregated.
- 770 "Fadir, as wysly God me save and speede,
Yee been nat he whom that I wende han fownde;
Yee been to me ful welcome in this neede.
I woot wel yee in hy vertu habownde;
Your wys reed hope I hele shal my wondre;
My day of helthe is peesent, as me thynkith;
Your comfort deepe into myn herte synkith.
- quickly
I would rather; many times over
dwells; near
barry
- Thank you
earnestly
causes regret in; distressed
- met
dreamed
- soothing out (purposed)
- judge; scorn
because of
mean; plight
probable
private affairs
- weighed down
- as certainly; help
supposed; encountered
need (extremity)
are full of exalted moral excellence
wise counsel
at hand
support, deeply; sinks

The Regiment of Princes

- 780 "Myn herte seith that your benevolence,
Of routhe meeved and verray pitee
Of my wo, dooth his peyne and diligence
Me to releeve of myn infirmitee.
O, goode fadir, blessid moot yee be,
That han swich routhe of my woful estat,
Whiche wel my was of helthe desperat.
- 785 "But, fadir, thogh ther be dyversitee
Ful greet betwixt your excellent prudence
And the folie that regneth in me,
Yit, God it woot, ful litil difference
Is ther betwixt the hete and the fervence
Of love which to agid folk yee have
And myn, althogh yee deeme I hem deprave.
- 790 "For if that I the soothe shal confesse,
The lak of olde mennes cherisshyng
Is cause and ground of al myn hevynesse
And encheson of my woful mournyng.
That shal yee knowe, if it be your lykyng
The cause wise of myn adversitee."
"Yis, telle on in the name of Cryst," seide he.
- 800 "Sauf first, or thow any ferther proceede,
O thyng of thee wite wolde I, my sone:
805 Wher dwellist thou?" "Fadir, withouten dreede,
In the office of the Privee Seal I wone
And wryte — there is my custome and wone
Unto the Seal, and have twenti yeer
And fourre come Estren, and that is neer."
- 810 "Now sikir, sone, that is a fair tyme;
The tokne is good of thy continuance.
Come hidir, goode, and sitte adoun heer by me,
For I moot restre a whyle; it is penance
To me thus longe walke — it dooth nusance
Unto my crookid, feeble lymes olde,
That been so stif, unnethe I may hem folde."
- moved by compassion*
takes trouble; effort
may
Also
prevails
heat; fervency
defame
nourishing
cause
to know
assuredly (see MLG)
Privy Seal; abhell
customary service; dwelling
Easter
surely; sizable period of time
omen; continuation
good /son/
scarcely; bend

The Regiment of Princes

- When I was set adoun as he me preide,
"Telle on," seide he, "how is it with thee, how?"
- 815 And I began my tale and thus I seide:
"My lige lord, the kyng which that is now,
I fynde to me gracious ynow;
God yilde him, he hath for my long servyse
Guerdouned me in covenable wyse.
- May God reward
Rewarded; fitting manner
- "In th' eschequeer, he of his special grace
Hath to me grauntid an annuitee
Of twenti mark whyle I have lyves space.
Mighte I ay payd been of that duetee,
It sholde stonde wel ynow with me;
- 820 But paiment is hard to gete adayes,
And that me putte in many foule affrayes.
- the [King's] Exchequer
yearly allowance
as long as I am alive
obligation
- "It gooth ful streite and sharpe or I it have,
If I seur were of it be satisfied
Fro yeer to yeer, thanne, so God me save,
830 My deepe-rootid greef were remedied
Souffissantly. But how I shal be gyed
Heeraftir, whan that I no lenger serve —
This hevyeth me so that I wel ny sterfe.
- nowadays
badly frightens me

very severe; painful before
- "For syn that I now in myn age greene,
And beyng in court, with greet peyne unmethe
Am paid, in elde and out of court, I weene,
My pars for that may be a ferthyng shethe;
Lo, fadir myn, this dullith me to dethe.
- 835 Now God helpe al, for but he me socoure,
My future yeeres lyk been to be soure."
- vigorous, young
effort; with difficulty
old age; imagine
holder for a farthing
stans
unless; aid
are likely
- "Service, I woot wel, is noon heritage;
Whan I am out of court another day,
As I moot whan upon me hastith age
And that no lenger I laboure may,
845 Unto my poore cote, it is no nay,
I moot me drawe and my fortune abyde,
And suffre storm aftir the mery tyde.
- nor something inheritable
cottage; there is no denying
withdraw
time

The Regiment of Princes

- 850 "Ther preeve I shal the mutabilitee
 Of this wrecchid worldes affeccion,
Which, whan that youthe is past, begynneth flee.
Frendshipe, adieu! Farwel, dilecccion!
Age is put out of your proteccion;
His look un lusty and his impotence
Qwenchith your love and your benevolence.
- 855 "That aftreclap in my mynde so deepe
Yflicchid is, and hath swich roote yeaght,
That al my joie and mirthe is leid to sleep;
- My ship is wel ny with despeir yfrayt.
They that nat konne lerned be ne taught
860 By swiche ensamples smerte as they han seen,
Me thynkith certes over blynde been.
- 865 "Allas! I see routhe and pitee exylid
Out of this land. Allas, compassion!
Whan shul yee thre to us be reconysylid?
Your absence is my grevous passioun;
Resorte, I preye yow, to this regioune;
O, come ageyn! The lak of your presence
Manaceth me to sterue in indigence.
- 870 "O fikil world, allas thy variance!
How many a gentil man may men now see
That whlosom in the werres olde of France
Honoured were and holde in greet cheertee
For hir prowesse in armes, and plentee
Of frendes hadde in youthe, and now, for shame,
875 Allas, hir frendshipe is crookid and lame!
- 880 "Now age unourme away puttith favour
That floury youthe in his seson conquerde;
Now al forgote is the manly labour
Thurgh which ful ofte they hir foos aferde.
Now been tho worthy men bet with the yerde
Of neede, allas, and noon hath of hem routhe;
Pitee I trowe is binied, by my trouthe.
- prove [true]
pleasure
its lustless appearance
unfortunate consequence
Fixed firmly; taken root
loaded down
painful examples
very blind
Return
Threatens; die
Mars
held; fondness
false; ineffectual
wretched
flourishing; in its time
frightened
those; beaters; rod
pity

The Regiment of Princes

- "If shee be deed, God have hir soule, I preye,
And so shal mo heerafir preye, I trowe.
- 885 He that pretendith him of moost nobleye,
If he hir lakke, shal wel wite and knowe
That crueltee hir so may but a throwe
Him suffre for to lyve in any welthe;
Herte pitous to body and soule is helthe.
- 890 "Yee olde men of armes, that han knowe
By sight and by report hir worthynesse,
Lat nat mescheef tho men thus overthrowe;
Kythe upon hem your manly gentillesse.
Yee yonge men that entre into prowesse
- 895 Of armes eek, youre fadres olde honurith;
Helpe hem yourself, or sum good hem procurith.
- "Knyghthode, awake! Thow sleepist to longe;
Thy brothir, see, ny dieth for mescheef:
Awake and reewe upon his peynes stronge.
900 If thow heerafir come unto swich preef,
Thow wilt ful sore thriste aftir releef;
Thow art nat seur what that thee shal befalle.
Welthe is ful slipir; be waer lest thow falle.
- 905 "Thow that yclomben art in hy honoures,
And hast this worldes welthe at thy devys,
And bathist now in youthes lusty floures;
Be waer, rede I, thow standist on the ys.
It hath been seen, as weleful and as wys
- 910 As thow han slide; and thow that no pitee
On oþir folk hast, who shal reewe on thee?
- "Leeve me wel, ther is noon eerthely man
That hath so stable a welthe but that it
May faille, do he what that he do can.
God as him list visitith folk and smit;
- 915 Wherfore I deeme and holde it grace and wit
In hy estat, man God and himselfe knowe,
And releeve hem that mescheef hath doun throwe.
- highest nobility
for just a short time
compassionate
- Show; graciousness
engage in; bravery
also; fathers
benefit
- misfortune
feel pity for; severe
test
long for
certain
slippery
- have ascended to
at your pleasure
- advise; *ice*
fortunate; wise
- Believe; *mortal*
fail
strikes
- [an act of] grace; wisdom*
high rank

The Regiment of Princes

- | | | |
|-----|--|---|
| | "God wole that the needy be releaved;
It is oon of the werkis of mercy. | desires |
| 920 | And syn tho men that been in armes preeved
Been into povert falle, trewely
Yee men of armes oghten specially
Helpe hem. Allas! han yee no pitous blood
That may yow stire for to doon hem good? | tested
more |
| 925 | "O now in ernest, deere fadir myn,
Thise worthy men to me the mirour shewe
Of slipir frendshipe, and unto what fyn
I drawe shal withyn a yeeres fewe.
Upon this woful thought I hakke and hewe | end |
| 930 | And muse so that unto lyte I madde,
And lever die than lyven I hadde. | <i>cut and chop</i>
<i>reflect; very nearly I go mad</i>
<i>rather</i> |
| 935 | "In feith, fadir, my lyfode, besyde
Th'annuite of which above I tolde,
May nat exceede yeerly in no tyde
Six marc. That sit to myn herte so colde,
Whan that I looke abouten and beholde
How scares it is, if that that oþer faille,
That I nat glade can but mourne and wasile. | livelikhood
<i>at no time</i>
<i>presses on</i>
<i>rejoice</i> |
| 940 | "And as ferfoorth as I can deceeme or gesse,
Whan I at hoom dwelle in my poore cote,
I fynde shal as frendly slipirnesse
As tho men now doon, whos frendshipe is rote.
Nat wolde I recke as mochil as a mote,
Thogh I no more hadde of yeerly encrees,
So that I mighte ay payed be doutlees. | <i>as far as; guess</i>
<i>unreliability</i>
<i>decayed</i>
<i>reckon; speck</i>
<i>income</i> |
| 945 | "Two parties of my lyf and mochil more
I seur am past been — I ne doute it nocht;
And if that I sholde in my yeeres hore
Forgo my dueite that I have boght
With my flessh and my blood, that hevy thought,
Which I drede ay shal faille as I it thynike,
Me hastith blyve unto my Pittes brynde. | <i>Two thirds</i>
<i>assuredly</i>
<i>old</i>
<i>Laws; owed money; paid for</i>
<i>happen; imagine</i>
<i>to death</i> |

The Regiment of Princes

- | | | |
|-----|---|--|
| | Faylynge, fadir, myn annuitee,
Foot-hoot in me creepith diseise and wo, | Lacking
Quickly |
| 955 | For they that han byfoore knownen me,
Faylynge good, me faille wole also.
Who no good hath is fer his freendes fro.
In muk is al this worlides freendlyhede;
My goost is wrappid in an hevy deede. | money; i.e., stop supporting
<i>is far from his friends</i>
<i>worldly gain; friendship</i>
<i>spirit</i> |
| 960 | "If that I hadde of custume or this tyme
Lyved in indigences wrechednesse,
The lesse heeraftir sholde it sit by me;
But in myn age wrastle with hardnesse,
That with him stroglid nevere in the grennesse | by habit
poverty's
affect
to wrestle; hardship |
| 965 | Of youthe — that mutacion and chaunge
Anothir day me seeme sholde al straunge. | [if] who; contended |
| | "He that nevere kneew the swetnesse of wele,
Thogh he it lakke ay, lesse him greeve it shal | prosperity |
| | Than him that hath been welthy yeeres fele, | many |
| 970 | And in effect hath felt no greef at al.
O povert, God me sheelde fro thy fal!
O deeth! Thy strook yit is more agreeable
To me than lyve a lyf so miserable. | |
| 975 | "Six marc yeerly and no more than that,
Fadir, to me me thynkith is ful lyte,
Considerynge how that I am nat | little |
| | In housbondrye lemed wroth a myte;
Scarsely kowde I charre away the kyte | farming; <i>cote of little value</i> |
| | That me byreve wolde my pullaille,
And more axith housbondly governaille. | <i>drive off the bird of prey</i>
<i>rob; poultry</i>
<i>requires thrifty management</i> |
| 980 | "With plow can I nat medlen ne with harwe,
Ne woot nat what lond good is for what corn,
And for to lade a cart or fille a barwe,
To which I nevere usid was toforn; | <i>function nor with harrow</i> |
| 985 | My bak unbuxum hath swich thyng forsworn,
At instaunce of wrytyng, his werreyour,
That stowpynge hath him spilt with his labour. | <i>load; wheelbarrow</i>
<i>before</i>
<i>back unwilling to bend has</i>
<i>At the urging of; his (back's) persecutor</i>
<i>stooping; ruined; its</i> |

The Regiment of Princes

- "Many men, fadir, weenen that wrytynge
No travaille is; they holde it but a game;
108 Aart hath no fo but swich folk unkomyng.
But whoso list desport him in that same,
Let him continue and he shal fynde it grame;
It is wel gretter labour than it seemeth;
116 The blynde man of colours al wrong deemeth.
- "A wryter moot thre thynges to him knytte,
And in tho may be no disseverance:
124 Mynde, ye, and hand — noon may from oþir flitte,
But in hem moot be joynþ continuance;
The mynde al hool, withouten variance,
132 On ye and hand awayte moot alway,
And they two eek on him, it is no nay.
- "Whoso shal wryte, may nat holde a tale
With him and him, ne syng this ne that;
138 But al his wittes hoole, grete and smale,
Ther muste appeere and holden hem therat;
146 And syn he speke may ne syng nat,
But bothe two he needes moot forbere,
His labour to him is the elengere.
- "These artificers see I day by day,
154 In the hootteste of al hir bysynesse,
Talken and syng and make game and play,
And foorth hir labour passith with gladnesse;
But we laboure in travailous stilnesse;
162 We stowpe and stare upon the sheepes skyn,
And keepe moot our song and wordes yn.
- "Wrytynge also dooth grete annoyses thre,
Of which ful fewe folkes taken heede
Sauf we ourself, and thise, lo, they be:
170 Stommak is oon, whom stowpynge out of dreede
Annoyeth sore; and to our bakkes neede
Moot it be grevous; and the thridde oure yen
Upon the whyte mochil sorwe dryen.
- labor
Practice of a craft; ignorant; (see MLG)
wishes to amuse himself
annoyance
(see MLG)
join together; (*see MLG*)
separation
eye; be separated
united persistence
whole; variation
eye; watch
him (*the mind*)
conversation
this person or that
remain there
the more tedious
workers
hottest; aridity
proceeds; cheerfully
laborious silence
parchment
repress
three great horns
doubtless
needs
eyes
white [parchment]; endure

The Regiment of Princes

- "What man that three and twenti yeer and more
In wrytyng hath continued, as have I,
1025 I dar wel seyn, it smertith him ful sore
In every veyne and place of his body;
And yen moost it greeveth, treewely,
Of any craft that man can ymagine.
Fadir, in feith, it spilt hath wel ny myne.
- 1030 "Lo, fadir, told have I yow the substance
Of al my greef, so as that I can telle.
But wel I woot it hath been greet penance
To yow with me so longe for to dwelle;
I am right sikir it hath been an helle
- 1035 Yow for to herkne me thus jangle and clappe,
So lewdly in my termes I me wrappe.
- "But, nathelees, trusne I your pacience
Receyve wole in gree my wordes alle,
And what missend I have of negligence,
1040 Yee wole it lete asyde slippe and falle.
My fadir deere, unto your grace I calle;
Yee woot my greef; now redith me the beste,
Withouten whom my goost can have no rest."
- 1045 "Now, sone myn, hassow al seid and spoke
That thee good lykith?" "Yee, fadir, as now."
"Sone, if aght in thyn herte elles be loke,
Unloke it blyve. Come of, what seistow?"
"Fadir, I can no more telle yow
1050 Than I before spoken have and said."
"A Goddes half, sone, I am wel apaid.
- "Conceyved have I that thou greet fere haast
Of povert for to fallen in the snare;
Thow haast therynne caught so deep a taast
That of al joie thow art voide and bare.
1055 Thow my despaired art of al welfare,
And the strook of povert art thow fer fro;
For shame, why makist thow al this wo?

pains

wire

eyes

ruined

as much as
punishment

sure

bear; babble; chatter
ignorantly; jargon

favorably
said wrongfully

ignore

advise; *what is best*

seems good to you; Yes; *for now*

locked

Come on

In God's name; satisfied

fear

The Regiment of Princes

- "I patte cas, as God therfro thee keepe,
Thow were yfalle in indigent povert.
1060 Sholdest thou grucche and thyn annoy byweepe?
Nay, be thow ryche or poore, or seek or qwert,
God thanke alway of thyn ese and thy smert;
Pryde thee nat for no prosperitee.
Ne hevye thee for noon adversitee.
- give as example; [may] protect
fallen into
complain; shed tears over
sick or healthy
pain
Do not be proud
trouble yourself
- 1065 "Povert hath in himself ynow grevance
Withouten that that man him more purchace;
Whoso it takith in pacient souffrance,
It is ful plesant befor Crystes face;
And whoso grucchith, forfeith that grace
1070 That he sholde han if that his pacience
Withstood the greef and made it resistance.
- itself
resisted it
- "My sone, as witnessith Holy Scripture,
Discreet and honest povert many fold
Commendid is, Cryst Himself, I thee ensure,
1075 To love and teche and prechen it hath wold;
He dide al this. Be thow nevere so bold
Ageyn povert heeraftir grucche, I rede;
For ferthermore, in Holy Writ I rede:
- Prudent; honorable; often
assure
desired
- EB "Beholde the lyf of our Sauveour,
1080 Right fro the tyme of His nativitee
Unto His deeth, as that seith myn auctour,
And tokne in it shalt thou noon fynde or se
But of povert with which content was He.
Is man bettre than God? Shal man eschue
1085 Swich lyf, syn God that same wolde ay sue?
- (see MLG)
follow
- EB "Fy! It is to greet an abusioun
To seen a man that is but wormes mete
Desire ryche and greet possessioun,
Wheras our lord God wolde Him entremete
1090 Of no richesse — He deyned it nat gete;
He lyved poorly and povert chees,
That mighte has been ful ryche, it is no lees.
- (see MLG)
food
have to do with
it did not seem proper to Him
choose
lie

The Regiment of Princes

- 108 "The poore man sleepith ful sikirly
On nyghtes, thogh his dore be nat shir,
Whereas the riche abedde byssly
Casnith and ymagyneth in his wit
That necessarie unto him is it
Barres and lokkes stronge for to have,
His good from theeves for to keepe and save.
- 1100 "And whan the deed sleep fallith ate laste
On him, he dremeth theeves comen yn
And on his cofres knokke and leye on faste;
And some hem pyke with a stol gyn,
And up is broken lok, hasp, barre, and pyn,
1105 And in the hand gooth, and the bagge out takith,
For sorwe of which, out of his sleep he wakith;
- "And up he rysith, foot and hand tremblynge,
As that assaillid him the palesie,
And at a stir, withouten taryyng.
1110 Unto his cofre he dressith him in hye;
Or he ther come, he is in poyn to dye;
He it undooth and opneth for to se
If that his false goddes therin be.
- 1115 "He dredith fynde it as that he hath drempit,
This worldes power and ryche habundance
Of drede of peril nevere been exempt.
But in povert is ay sikir constance;
Who holdith him content hath souffissance.
- 1120 And, sone, by my reed thou shalt do so,
And by desir of good nat settle a slo.
- "Wilful povert im princes ancien
So ferfoorth was that they desired more
Good loos than good, but now adayes men
Veme and desyren aftir muk so sore
- 1125 That they good fame han leid a watir yore,
And rekken nevere how longe it ther stepe
Or thogh it drenche, so they good may grepe.
- securely; (*see MLG*)
shut
rekons; mind
(bolting) bars
profound sleep
chest; attack
some pick the lock; clever contrivance
goes; in haste
on the point of dying
palsy
instantly
gods
(see MLG)
sufficiency (satisfaction)
care nothing; sloeberry
Voluntary; of former times
So extensive
reputation
have had no effect on for a long time
suck
drawn; grab

The Regiment of Princes

- 1136 "Of Sysile whilom ther was a kyng
With eerthen vessel served at his table,
Sicily once; (see MLG)
clay tableware
- 1130 And men wondryng faste upon this thyng
Seide unto him, it was nat honorable
To his estat, ne nothyng commendable,
Axynge him why him list be served so;
To which demande he answerde tho:
Asking question; then
- 1135 "He seide, 'Thogh I kyng be of Sysile,
A potter was my fadir, it is no nay.
How longe I shal enduren or what while
In my prosperitee, nat knowe I may.
How longe I shal enduren or what while
In my prosperitee, nat knowe I may.
Fortunes variaunce I dredre alway;
Right as shee made me to clymbe on highte,
Sodeynly so shee may me make alighte.
descend
- 1145 "I thynke alway of my nativitee,
And of my poore lenage and my blood;
Eerthen vessel to swich a man as me
Ful sittynge is and acceptable and good.
O fewe been ther now left of the brood
That he cam of — he loved bet profyt
ancestry
fiting
- 1150 "How seistow by African Scipoen —
African clept for that he Affrik wan?
To povert hadde he swich affecion
Of his owne free wil and lust, that whan
He dyde, no good had this worthy man
Wherwith his body upon eerthe brynghe,
called; won
- 1155 But the commun cost made his enterynge.
died
With which
public expense; burial
- 1160 "Beforn the senat was he bore on honde,
Ones astir he Affrik wonnen hadde,
That he was ryche, as they cowde undirstonde,
Of gold, to which with wordes sobre and sadde
Answerde he thus: 'Thogh I be feeble and badde,
The soothe is, unto your subjecciou
I gat Affrik, of that have I renoun.
accused
Once
serious
weak; ill
truth; in your service
won; for which

The Regiment of Princes

- 1165 " My name was al that I there gat;
To wynne honour was oonly the purpoos
Which that I took or that I cam therat.
Othir good had I noon than ryche loos;
For al the good ther was open or cloos,
Myn herte mighte nat so wel contente
As the renoun oonly that I ther hente.
- 1170 " Of covetyse he was nothyng coupable;
He sette nat therby, thow maist wel se.
Fy on the greedynesse insaciablae
Of many a man that can nat contente be
Of muk, althogh nevere so moche have he!
1175 The kynde is evere of wrecchid covetyse
To coveite ay and have and nat souffyse.
- 1180 " I wolde every knyght dide now the same,
And were of good no more covetous
Than he was. What! To gete a noble fame
To knyghthode is tresor moost precious;
But I was nevere so aventauorous
Renoun to wynne by swerdes conquest,
For I was bred in a peisible nest.
- 1185 " Upon my bak cam nevere haburgeon,
Ne my knyf drew I nevere in violence.
I may nat countrefete Scipion
In armes, ne his worthy excellencie
Of wilful povert, but of indigence
I am as ryche as was evere any man;
1190 Suffre it in pacience if that I can.
- 1195 " No rycher man am I than thow maist see.
Of myne have I nothyng to take to;
I lyve of almessen. If it stood with thee
So streite and lyvedest as that I do,
I see thow woldest sorwe swiche two
As I; but thow hast for to lyven oon
A poore lyf, and swich ne have I noon.

*the only purpose
before; there
some
visible; concealed
received*

*to blame
valued nothing by it*

nature

reared: peace-loving home (nest)

jacket of mail armor

imitate

*to take in hand
on charity; circumstances were
restricted; you lived
twice as much
alone
livelihood*

The Regiment of Princes

- 119 "Salomon gaf conseil men sholden preye
 Two thynges unto God in soothfastnesse.
 gave (see MLG)
- 1200 Now herkne, sone, he bad men thus to seye:
 'Enhance thow me, Lord, to no richesse,
 Ne by miserie me so sore oppresse
 That neede for to begge me compelle' —
 In his proverbes thus, lo, can he telle.
 Elevate
 Such that
- 1205 "But this povert mene conseillid he
 Men to desire that was necessarie
 To foode and clothe, dredyng lest plentee
 Of good hem myghte make to miscarie
 And fro the knowlechynge of God to vane,
 come to grief
 1210 And lest smert neede made hem God reneye.
 Now be waer, sone, lest that thow soleye.
 deviate
 dire; renounce
 act foolishly
- "Sone, in this mene povert holde I thee,
 Sauf that thow canst nat taken it ful weel.
 What thogh thow leese thyn annuitee?
 regard
 accept; well
- 1215 Yit maistow lyven on that othir deel,
 Thogh nat ful delicat shal be thy meel.
 Of six marc yeerly, mete and drynke and clooth
 Thow gete maist, my chyld, withouten ooth."
 lose
 portion
 refined; meal
 marks
 assuredly
- 1220 "Yee, fadir myn, I am nat so parfyt
 To take it so; I have had habundance
 Of welfare ay, and now stonde in the plyt
 Of scarsetee. It were a greet penance
 For me — God sheelde me fro that streit chance,
 severe circumstance
 Six marc yeerly to scars is to sustenee
 too insufficient
 1225 The charges that I have, as that I weene.
 responsibilities
- "Tow on my distaf have I for to spynne
 More, my fadir, than yee woot of yit,
 Which yec shul knowe or that I fro yow twyne,
 If your good lust be for to heeren it.
 depart
 pleasure
- 1230 But for as moche as it nat to me sit
 Your tale for to interrupte or breke,
 Heoraftir to yow wole I therof speke.
 Later

The Regiment of Princes

- 1235 "Yit o word, fadir. I have herd men seyn,
Whoso no good hath, that he can no good;
And that fynde I a plat soothe and a pleyne.
For althogh that myn heed undir myn hood
Was nevere wys, yit whyl it with me stood
So that I hadde silver resonable.
My lytil wit was sumwhat covenable.
- 1240 "But now, for that I have a large lyte,
And likly am heerafir to han lesse.
My dul wit can to me nothyng profyte;
I am so drad of moneyes scannesse
That myn herte is al nakid of lightnesse.
1245 Wisseth me how to gete a golden salve
And what I have I wole it with yow halve."
- 1250 "Sone, as for me, neithir avaunie ne rere
But if diseise algates shal betyde,
For to be pacient rede I thow lere;
For anythyng, withholde hir on thy syde.
My reed wole it nat, sone, fro thee hyde.
Make of necessitee, rede I, vertu,
For bettre reed can I noon, by Jhesu.
- 1255 "My sone, they that swymmen in richesse
Continually, and han prosperitee,
And nevere han felt but weleful swetnesse,
Unscourgid ay of any adversitee,
Lest God forgete hem, oghen fendful be,
#8 Syn God in Holy Writ seith in this wyse:
1260 'Whomso I love, him wole I chastyse.'
- "Seint Ambroses legende seith how he
Ones to Romeward took his viage;
And in Tuscie toward that contree
With a ryche oost he took his herbergage.
1265 Of whom, as blyve faire in his langage,
Of his estat enqueren he bygan,
And unto that answerde anoon this man:
- one
lacks good sense
a clear and simple truth
head

sufficient
suitable

ample / supply off little

fearful
happiness
Intrust: i.e., money
share equally

i.e., not at all
distress: at any rate; come about
learn
preserve her (Patience)

happy pleasure

(see MLG)

The Regiment of Princes

- | | | |
|------|---|---|
| | "Right at my lust have I al worldly welthe;
Myn estat hath been ay good, and yit is;
Richesse have I, frendshipe, and bodyes helthe;
Was nevere thyng me happid yit amis.' | |
| 1270 | And Seint Ambrose, astoned sore of this,
Anoon right rownd to his compaignie,
"Sires, it is tyme that we hens hie. | astonished
whispered
hasten hence |
| 1275 | "I am adrad God is nat in this place;
Ga we faste hennes, lest that His vengeance
Falle on us.' And withynne a litol space,
Aftir they were agoon, shoop this meschance: | Go |
| 1280 | The ground claf and made disseverance,
And in sank man, womman, chyld, hous, and al
That to him apperteneth, grete and smal. | happened
split; separation
belonged |
| 1285 | "Whan this cam to Ambroses audience,
He seide to his felawshipe thus:
'Lo, brethren, seeth heere in experiance
How merciablely our lord Jhesus, | hearing |
| 1290 | Of His benigne grace, hath sparid us.
He sparath hem that unwelthy heere been,
And to the welthy dooth as that yee seen.' | mercifully |
| 1295 | "This lyf, my sone, is but a chirie feire;
Worldly richesse, have ay in thy memorie,
Shal passe, al looke it nevere on men so feire.
Whyl thow art heere in this world transitiorie,
Enable thee to wyyne eternel glorie,
Wher no povert is but parfynt richesse
Of joie and blisse and vertuous gladnesse. | cherry fair
always remember
although; kindly |
| 1300 | "O thyng telle I thee, sone, that is sooth:
Thogh o man hadde as moche as men han alle,
But vertu that good gye, al he misdooth;
Al that swetnesse torme shal to galle.
Whan that richesse is on a man yfalle,
If it be wrong despandid or miskept,
Another day ful sore it shal be wept. | one; all men have
Unless; guide
bile
spent; withheld |

The Regiment of Princes

- 1305 "Sum ryche is large and his good misdespendith
In maintenance of synne and harlotrie —
To swiche despenses his lust him accendith;
And on that oþer part, his nygadrie
Suffriþ his neighbour by him sterre and die,
Rather than with a ferþyng him releeve.
Tho two condicions been to reþeeve.
- One rich man; squander
loose living
expenditures; wastes
miserliness
- coins of slight value
circumstances; to be objected to
- 1310 "Whoso moost hath, he moost of shal answer;
O day shal come, sum men shal par chance
Desire he nevere hadde been rychere
Than heer han hadde his bare sustenance.
Whan the day comþ of ire and of vengeance,
Than shal men seeme how in this world, I gesse,
Richesse is povert and povert richesse.
- shall be responsible for
One
to have had
comes; anger
think; suppose
- 1315 "Whyler, my sone, tolde I nat to thee
What habundance in yowþe I hadde of good?
And how me blente so prosperitee
That what God was I noþyng undirstood?
But ay whil that I in my welthe stood,
Aftir my flesshly lust my lyf I ledde,
And of His wreche noþyng I me dredde.
- A while ago
blinded
*In pursuit of
vengeance*
- 1320 "And as I seide, He smoot me with the strook
Of povert, in which I continue yit,
Whos smert my good blood first so sore sock,
Or that I was aqweymid wel with it,
That my it hadde reft fro me my wit.
But sythen, thanke I God, in pacience
- blood (humor); racked
- 1325 "I have it take and shal for myn offense.
- since then
accepted; shall [accept]
- 1330 "If thee list flee that may povert engendre,
First synne eschue and God honure and drede.
Also, for thy lyfode is scars and sclendre.
Despende nat to largely, I rede.
- that which
avoid sin
- 1335 Mesure is good, let hir thee gye and lede;
Be waor of outrage, and be sobre and wys;
Thus thow exclude him shalt, by myn avys.
- freely
Moderation
extravagance
him [outrage]; in my opinion

The Regiment of Princes

- "Nathelees, thou maist ageyn me replie:
'To sum folk, thogh they doon al as I seye,
1340 Ageyn povert it is no remedie;
They mowe it nat eschue by no weye."
I graunte wel, but than take heede, I preye.
The iugementz of God been to us hid;
Take alle in gree, so is thy vertu kid.
- in answer to
favorably; demonstrated
- ¶ "To the plesaunce of God thou thee conforme;
Aboute that be busy and ententyf.
That thou musdoon hast, thou blyve it reforme;
Swich laborer thee lythe heere in this lyf
That God thy soule, which that is His wyf,
1350 Rejoise may for it is to Him due,
And His shal be but thou the devors sue.
- wishes; (*see MLG*)
occupied; diligent
quickly; remedy
laborer; show yourself
pursue a divorce
- "O thou Fortune, fals and deceyvable,
Ful sooth is it, if thou do a good deede,
Thow nat purposist it shal be durable;
1355 Of good entente shal it nat proceede.
Wel oughte us thy promises blynde dreede.
He slipirly stant whom that thou enhauncest,
For sodeynliche thou him disavauncest.
- lasting
With good will
stands; advance
cast down
- "Hadde I doon, sone, as I thee consaille
1360 Whan that Fortunes deceyvable cheere
Lawhid on me, than hadde I nat, sanz faille,
Been in this wrecchid plyt as thou seest heere.
Nat kneew my youthe hir changeable maneere,
For whan I sat on hy upon hir wheel,
1365 Hir gladsum look me made truste hir weel.
- face
Laughed; without
pleasing; bounty
- "I cowde for nothyng han wend or deemed
That shee aboute baar double visage;
I wende shee had been swich as shee seemed.
But nathelees yit is it avantage
1370 To him that woful is, that hir usage
Is for to flitte fro place to place;
Hir variaunce is unto sum folk grace.
- sappored
wore
more
fickleness; a favor

The Regiment of Princes

	"Whomso that neede greeveth and travallith, Hir chaunge is unto him no greef or we;	<i>burdens</i>
1375	But the contrarie of that nothyng availlith, As whan a man is wel put him therfro. What shal man calle hir? Freend or elles fo? I not, but calle hir freend whan that shee esith, And calle hir fo whan that shee man displeusith.	<i>opposite removed from it do not know; comforts enemy</i>
1380	"But whoso calle hir shal a sikir name. Men moot hir clepe my lady changeable, For haedily shee is that selve same. A, nay, I gabbe! I am unresonable. Shee is my lady stedefast and stable,	<i>secure</i>
1385	For I endure in povertes distresse And shee nat list remue my duresse.	<i>assuredly; that very person chatter remove</i>
	"I ymagyne why that nat hir list With me now dele; age is cold and drie, And whan tho two been to a lady wist, And that I poore am eek for the maistrie, Swich a man is un lusty to hir ye,	<i>have dealings with; dry [humour] made known extremely</i>
1390	And wets to grope — straw for inpotence! Shee loveth yong folk and large of despense.	<i>touch liberal</i>
	"Al this that I have of Fortune seid Is but a jape, as who seith, or a knak. Now I a whyle boured have and pleid, Resorte I wole to that I first spak. Beholde and caste thow thyn ye abak;	<i>joke; trick joked, played</i>
1395	What thow God hast agilt in tyme past, Correcte it and to do so eft be gast.	<i>eye offended repeat; afraid</i>
1400	"Of Holy Chirche, my sone, I conceyve As yit ne hast thow noon avancement. Yee courteours, ful often yee deceyve Youre soules for the desirous talent	<i>appointment to a benefice desire</i>
1405	Yee han to good; and for that thow art brent With covetyse now, par aventure, Oonly for muk thow yerkest soules cure.	<i>seek; care [as by a priest]</i>

The Regiment of Princes

- 139 "Ful many men knowe I that gane and gape
Aftir sum fat and ryche benefice;
gape eagerly; (see MLG)
- 1410 Chirche or provendre unnethe hem may eschape
But they as blyve it henten up and tryce.
God graunte they accepse hem for the office
And nat for the profyt that by hem hongith,
For that conceit nat to presthode longith.
*prebend (stripend)
grasp: snatch
results from
befits*
- 1415 "A dayes now, my sone, as men may see,
O chirche uno o man may nat souffyse;
But algate he moot han pluralitee.
Elles he can nat lyven in no wyse.
Ententlyfly he keepith his service
*more than one benefice
Attentively
grow moldy*
- 1420 In court; his labour there shal nat moule;
But to his cure looketh he ful foule.
spiritual duty; shamefully
- "Thogh that his chauncel roof be al totom
And on the hy auster it reyne or sneewe,
He rekkith nat, the cost may be forborn
Crystes hous to repeire or make neewe;
And thogh ther be ful many a vicious heewe
Undir his cure, he takith of it no keep;
He rekkith nevere how rusty been his sheep.
*eastern part of church; damaged
high altar
avoided
sperson off depraved appearance
spiritually corrupted*
- 1430 "The oynement of holy semonynge
Him looth is upon hem for to despende.
Sum person is so thredbare of konnyng
That he can naught, thogh he him wys pretende;
And he that can may nat his herte bende
Therto, but from his cure he him absentith,
And what therof comth, greedyliche he hentith.
*ointment; preaching
parish priest
knows nothing; pretends to be wise
seizes*
- 1440 "How he despenth it, be as be may,
For unto that am I nothyng pryeve:
But wel I woot, as nyce, fressh, and gay
Some of hem been as borel folkes be,
And that unsittynge is to hir degree;
Hem outhit to be mirours of sadnessse,
And weyve jolitee and wantonnesse.
*privy (informed)
ignorant
laymen
unsuitable
They ought; soberness
avoid*

The Regiment of Princes

- 1445 "But nathcless, I woot wel therageyn,
That many of hem gye hem as hem oghte,
And elles were it greet pitee, certeyn.
But what man wilt thou be, for Him thee boghte?"
"Fadir, I may nat cheese. I whilom thought
Han been a preest; now past am I the raas."
"Than art thou, sone, a weddide man, par caas?"
- against that
conduct themselves
redeemed
choose
race
by chance
- 1450 "Yee soothly, fadir myn, right so I am;
I gazid longe first and waytid faste
Aftir sum benefice, and whan noon cam,
By procees I me weddide atte laste.
And God it woot, it sore me agaste
To bynde me, where I was at my large;
But doon it was, I took on me that charge."
- thought longingly: watched eagerly
In the course of time
frightened
free
burden
- 1460 "A sone, I have espyed and now see
This is the tow that thou speek of right now!"
"Now by the Rood, fadir, sooth seyn yee."
"Yee, sone myn, thou shalt do wel ynow.
Whan endid is my tale, than shalt thou
Be put in swich a way as shal thee plesse,
And to thyne herte do confort and esc,
- troable (straw); spoke
Cross
- 1465 "So longe as thou, sone, in the Privee Seel
Dwelt hast and woldest fayn han been avanced
Unto sum chirche or this, I deeme weel
That God nat wolde have thee enhanc'd
In no swich plyt; I holde thee wel chanced;
God woot and knowith every hid entente;
- supported
position; fortunate
- 1470 He for thy beste a wyf unto thee sente.
- as best for you
- 1475 "If that thou haddest par cas been a preest,
Thow woldest han as wantounly thee gyed
As dooth the nyceste of hem that thou seest;
And God forbeede thow thee haddest tyed
Therto but if thyne herte might han plyed
For to observe it wel. Be glad and merie;
That thou art as thou art, God thanke and herie.
- amorously
most foolish
attached
agreed
praise

The Regiment of Princes

- "The ordres of preesthode and of wedlok
Been bothe vertuous, withouten fable; truly
1480 But understande wel, the holy yok
Of preesthode is, as it is resonable
That it so be, the more commendable;
The lesse of hem of meede hath habundance; monetary reward
Men han meryt after hir governance. in accord with
- 1485 "But how been thy felawes lookid to
At hoom? Been they nat wel ybeneficed?"
"Yis, fadir, yis. Ther is oon clept Nemo:
He helpith hem, by him been they chericed;
Nere he, they weren poorely chevyced;
1490 He hem avanceth, he fully hir freend is;
Sauf oonly him, they han but fewe frendes.
- "So many a man as they this many a yeer
Han wrten fore, fynde can they noon
So gentil or of hir estat so cheer
1495 That ones list for hem to ryde or goon,
Ne for hem speke a word, but doumb as stoon
They standen where hir speeche hem myghte availle,
For swich folk is unlyst to travaille. As many men
for
deeply concerned
once; more (ride or walk)
- "But if a wight have a cause to sue
1500 To us, sum lordes man shal undirtake
To sue it out, and that that is us due
For our labour, him deyneth us nat take;
He seith his lord to thanke us wole he make;
It touchith him, it is a man of his,
1505 Wher the revers of that, God woot, sooth is. indisposed; work
plead
that which is due to us
it does not seem proper; give
is of concern to
- "His lettre he takith and foorth gooth his way,
And biddith us to douter us nothyng;
His leod shal thankien us another day;
And if we han to sue to the kyng,
1510 His leod may there have al his axyng.
We shul be sped as fer as that our bille
Wole specific th'effect of oure wille. fear; not at all
all he asks for
succeed to the extent that our petition
state plainly; execution

The Regiment of Princes

- "What shul we do? We dar noon argument
Make ageyn him, bat faire and wel ham trete,
1515 Lest he reporte amis and make us shent;
To have his wil we suffren him and lete.
Hard is he holden suspect with the grete;
His tale shal be leeven but nat ouris,
And that conclusioun to us ful soure is.
- put to shame
mistrusted by the powerful
believed
- 1520 "And whan the mateere is to ende ybrought
Of the straunger for whom the suyte hath be,
Than is he to the lord knownen right noght;
He is to him as unknownen as we;
The loed nat woot of all this sotiltee,
- concluded*
trickery
- 1525 Ne we nat dar lete him of it to knowe,
Lest our compleymte ourselven overthowwe.
- "And wher this bribour hath no peny payed
In our office, he seith behynde our bak,
'He payde I not what.' Thus been we betrayed
1530 And desclaundred, and put in wyt and lak
Ful gilteees; and eek by swich a knak
The man for whom the suyte is, is deceyved;
He weeneth we han of his gold receyved.
- wounded*
slandered; blamed
trick
- 1535 "Ful many swiche pursours ther been
That for us take, and geve us nat a myte;
This makith us that we may nev're theen.
Eek whereas lordes bidde hir men us qwyte
Whan that we for hemself laboure and wryte,
And been allowed for our paiment,
1540 Oure handes therof been ful innocent.
- plaintiff (petitioner)*
receive
prosper
pay
approved
- "Nat seye I alle lordes men thus do
That sue unto our court, bat many I seye
Han thus doon ofte. Lo, my fadir, lo!
Thus bothe our thanke and lucre goon aweye.
1545 God geve hem sorwe that so with us pleye,
For we it fynden ernest at the fulle;
This makith us of our labour to dulle.
- good will, profit*
serious thoroughly
to be bored

The Regiment of Princes

- 1550 "Now, fadir myn, how thynkith yow heerby?
Suppose yee nat that this sit us sore?" *by this
affects*
- "Yis, certes, sone; that ful wel woot I.
Hastow seid, sone? Wilt thou aght seye more?"
"Nay, sire, as now, but ay upon your lore
I herkne as busily as I best can."
"Sone, than lat us speke as we bygan.
- 1555 "Seye on the soothe, I preye thee hertily,
What was thy cause why thou took a wyf?
Was it to gete childeen lawfully,
And in cleanness to lede thy lyf,
Or for lust or muk — what was thy motyf?" *sincerely
beger
purity
motive*
- 1560 "Fadir, nothyng wole I it qweynte make;
Oonly for love I chees hir to my make." *speak elaborately
mate*
- "Sone, what holdist thou love, I thee preye?
Thow deemest lust and love convertible,
Par cas, as whan thee list with thy wyf pleye,
Thy conceit holdith it good and lisible
To doon? Artow aght, sone myn, sensible
In which cas that thou oghitest thee forbere
And in which nat — canst thou to this answer?" *interchangeable
Perchance
permissible
aware*
- 1565 "Fadir, me thynkith al is good ynow,
Shee is my wyf — who may therof me lene?" *about that: hinder*
- "Nay, sone, abyde and I shal tellen how,
If that thou aght by Goddes drede sette.
Three causes been whiche I thee wole unsbette
And opne anoon why thou shalt with hir dele.
1575 Now herkne, sone, for thy soules hele.
- fear of God
unlock
open; have sexual intercourse
health*
- 1580 ¹⁵⁸¹ "The firste cause, procreacioun
Of children, is unto Goddes honour;
To keepe eek thee fro fornicacioun
The next is; and the thridde of that labour,
Yilde thy dette in which thou art denour
Unto thy wyf, and othre ententes alle
Leye hem apart for aght that may befallie. *(see MLG)
Repay; [conjugal] debt
purposes
Put them aside*

The Regiment of Princes

- 1585 "For thise causes thou here use must
And for noon othir, on peyne of deedly synne." *enjoy
mortal*
- "Fadir, right now me thoghte how ageyn lust
Yee heeld and children begoten therynne.
Where is no lust." "O sone, or that we twynne,
Thow shalt wel undirsteende how that I
Nat holde ageynes lust al uttirly. *held forth
desire*
- 1590 "I woot wel, leefful lust is necessarie;
Withouten that may be noon engendrure;
But use lust for lust onely, contrarie
To Goddes heestes is; for I th'ensure,
Thogh thou take of it litil heede or cure,
A man may with his wyf do lecherie;
Th'entente is al; be waar ay of folie. *lawful
procreation
commands; assure you*
- 1595 **¶¶** "Weddid folk many leden holy lyf,
For thogh hir flesshly lustes hem assaille
And stire hem often, the man to the wyf
And shoe to him, they maken swich bataille
And stayf ageyn hir flesssh that he shal faille
Of his purpos. But some folk as beestes
Hir lust ay folwen — in hem noon areest is. *(see MLG)
stopping*
- 1600 "Adayes now there is swich governance
Among hem that han paramours and wyves
That, for lust of hir wommen and plesance,
Nat souffyse hem metes restauratives,
But they receyven eek provocatives
To engendre hem lust, feyntyng hir nature,
And swich thyng causith hastyf sepulture. *mistresses
restoring foods
aphrodisiacs
produce in them: deceiving
speedy burial*
- 1605 "This knowe I sooth is, and kneew fern agoon;
And they that so doon hylly God offendre.
Swich folk holde I hornicydes echoon;
They sleen hemself or God deeth to hem sende.
1610 My sone, on Goddes half, I thee deffende
Swiche medecynes that thou nat receyve.
Syn they God wratthe and soule of man deceyve. *long ago
deeply
murderers; every one of them
before
forbid
anger*

The Regiment of Princes

- "Passe over this. Thow seidest th'encesoun
Why that thow took upon thee mariage
1620 Was unto noon othir entencioune
But love oonly thee sente that corage.
Now, sone myn, I am a man of age,
And many weddid couples have I knowe —
Noon of myn age, many mo. I trowe —
- the reason
- 1625 "But I ne saw ne I ne espyde nevere,
As longe as that I have lyved yit.
The love of hem departen or dissevere
That fer good love bownden were and knyt;
God loveth love and He wole forthere it.
- separate
- 1630 At long rennyng love best shal preeve;
Thus hath it been and ay shal, I byleve.
- help
In the long run
- "But they that marien hem for muk and good
Oonly, and nat for love of the persone,
Nat have I wist they any whyle stood
In reste, but of stryf is ther swich wone,
1635 As for the more part, twixt hem echone.
That al hir lyf they lede in hevynesse:
Swich is the fruyt to wedde for rchesse.
- wealth
- known
- habit
- mostly
- "Among the ryche also is an usage:
1640 Eche of hem his chyld unto othres wedde.
Thogh they be al to yong and tendre of age,
Nowher ny rype ynow to go to bedde;
And hir conceit in love is leid to wedde —
Men wite it wel, it is no questioun —
- to wed
- their; pledged
- know
- 1645 Til yeeres come of hir discreciooun.
- old enough to judge*
- "And whan they han the knowleche of resoun,
Than may they neithir fynden in hir herte
To loven othir; al out of sesoun
They knyt been that into wedlok so sterte;
1650 This makith many a couple for to smerte.
O covetyse, thyn is al the gilt
Of this, and mo deceyve yit thow wilt!
- rash

The Regiment of Princes

- 1655 "Also they that for lust cheesen hir make
 Oonly, as oþerwhyle it is usage,
 Wayte wel whan hir lust is overshake,
 And therwith wole hir loves hete asswage.
 Thanne is to hem an belle hir mariage;
 Than they desyren for to been unknyt,
 And to that ende studie in al hir wit." sometimes
 Observe; abated
- 1665 "Stynynge cause, th'effect stymith eek;
 No lenger forster, no lenger lemman;
 Love on lust growndid is nat worth a leek.
 But who for vertu weddith a womman,
 And neithir for rysk ne for lust, that man
 The forme due of matrymoyne sueth,
 And soules hurt and bodyes grief eschueþ." divorced
 with all their
- 1670 "I dar nat medle of lordes mariages —
 How they hem knytten, hir makes unseen.
 But as to me, it seemeth swiche usage is
 Nat worth a straw, for also moot I theen,
 Reportes nat so sikir juges been
 As man to see the wormmannes persone.
 In swich a choyß let man himself alone." interfere with
 get married; marriage partners
- 1675 "Wedding at hoom in this land holsum were,
 So that a man him wedde duely.
 To see the flesh first it may nothyng dere,
 And him avyse how him lykith therby
 Or he be knyt — lo! this conceit have I.
 In this mateere depper cowde I go,
 But passe I wole and slippe away therfro." to may I prosper
 Rumors; dependable
 appearance, body
- 1685 "Now sythen thou hast, to my jugement,
 Thee maried unto Goddes plesance,
 Be a treewe housbonde as by myn assent;
 Keepe thy bond, be waor of th'encombrance
 Of the feend which, with many a circumstance
 Ful sly, him castith thee wrappe in and wne
 To stire thee for to doom advoutrie." harm
 consider
 Before
- 1685 "Now sythen thou hast, to my jugement,
 Thee maried unto Goddes plesance,
 Be a treewe housbonde as by myn assent;
 Keepe thy bond, be waor of th'encombrance
 Of the feend which, with many a circumstance
 Ful sly, him castith thee wrappe in and wne
 To stire thee for to doom advoutrie." approval
 the hindrance
 factor (contributing to sin)
 contrives; entwine; cover
 stimulate; adultery

The Regiment of Princes

- | | | |
|------|--|---|
| 1680 | "Advoutrie and perjurie and wilful slaghstre,
The book seith, lyk been and o peys they weye.' | <i>murder (see MLG)</i> |
| 1690 | Waar advoutrie, it is no play or laghtre
To doon it. Flee also thise othir tweye, | <i>Beware</i> |
| 1700 | For thus woot I wel Seint Jerom can seye:
'In peyne advoutrie hath the second place.'
Tho thre to eschue, God thee graunte grace. | <i>(see MLG)</i>
<i>As a punishment</i> |
| 1710 | "I in the Bible rede how that Abram
To Egypt wente with his wyf Saray,
And whan that they ny unto Egypt cam,
Thus seide he unto his wyf by the way:
'I woot wel thou art fair, it is no say;
Whan they of Egypt see thee, they wole seye,
'Thow art his wyf,' and for thee do me deye. | <i>(see MLG)</i>
<i>because of you cause me to die</i> |
| 1720 | "They wolen kille me and thee reserve;
Forth unto hem seye, I thee byseeche.
Thow art my suster, lest I for thee sterve; | <i>sister</i> |
| 1730 | Thus may I wel been esad by thy speeche;
And thus thow mayst lengthe my lyf and eache.'
And whan they into Egypt entred were,
Th' Egipcians faste byheelden here, | <i>be killed</i>
<i>increase</i> |
| 1740 | "And of hir beautee maden they report
To Pharao, and shee as blyve is take
Into his hous, and doon is greet confort
Unto Abram for this wemannanes sake,
And greet despert and cheere men hem make. | <i>quickly</i> |
| 1750 | But ffor Saray grevously Pharao
Punysshid was and eek his hous thereto. | <i>entertainment; hospitality; them</i>
<i>(see MLG)</i>
<i>household</i> |
| 1760 | "Pharao clepte Abram and him abreide:
'What is it that thow hast doon unto me?
Why naddist thow told unto me,' he seide,
'How that this womanan wyf was unto thee?' | <i>summoned; upbraised</i>
<i>had not you</i> |

¹ The book says, similar [they] be and of one weight they weigh

The Regiment of Princes

- 1720 For what encheson seidist thou,' quod he,
 'Shee was thy suster? Take thy wif heere'
 Quod he, 'and bothe go your way in feere.'
intention (reason)
together
- "The Bible makith no manere of mynde
 Whethir that Pharao lay by his agh.
 1725 But looke in Lyre and there shalt thou fynde
 For to han doon it was he in ful thought;
 But God preserved hir; he mighte nocht.
 And syn for wil God him punysshid so,
 How shal the dede unpunysshid go?
does not record
Nicholas off Lyra
with full intention
not fachieve his intention)
since
act (versus will)
- 1730 "Also nat kneew he that a wif shee was,
 Now thanne, they that wyves wityngly
 1735 Taken and holde and with hem doon trespass
 Stonde in hard plyt. Sone, be waer, rede I,
 If thou therynne agilie, etemelly
 Thow smerte shalt, and in this lyf present
 Han sharp adversitee and greet torment.
womene knowingly
(see MLG)
- 1740 "And to Abymalech God bad he sholde
 Yilde Sara also to his housbonde,
 For he and his echone, if he ne wolde,
 Sholden be deed, he dide him undirstonde.
 Take heede, o sone, that thou cleere ay stonde,
 1745 For God stoppid eek the concepcion
 Of every womman of his mansioun.
Abimelech, King of Gerara; (see MLG)
Give back (yield)
(see MLG)
of his household
- 1750 "Ne that shee was a wif wiste he nothyng.
 Ne nat here kneew in no flesshly folie.
 My goode sone, rede of David kyng,
 How he took Bersabee, wif of Uriel,
 Into his hous and dide advoutrie;
 And how he made Uriel slain to be.
 1755 And how therfore punysshid was he.
(see MLG)
Bathsheba
- 1760 "How was the tribe also of Benjamyn
 Punysshid and put to destruccio[n]
 For advoutrie which they lyved yn.
in

The Regiment of Princes

- 1755 In the abominable oppression
 Of the Levytes wyl? Lo, mencion
 Therof is maad, if thou looke Holy Writ:
 In Judicum ful redily it sit.
- examine
Book of Judges; is placed
- 1760 "Whoso lyth with his neigheburghes wyl?
 Is cursid, and who is an advoutour
 The kyngdam faille shal of endles lyf;
 Of that ne shal he be no possessour.
 Alias, this likerous, dampnable error
 In this lond hath so large a thredy ysponne
 That werse peple is noon undir the sonne.
- lies; (see MLG)
 (see MLG)
- 1765 "Of swiche stories cowde I telle an heep,
 But I suppose thise shul souffysse,
 And forthby, sone, wole I make a leep
 From hem and go wole I to the emprysse
 That I first took. If thou thee wel avyse,
 Whanne I thee mette and sy thyn hevynesse,
 Of confort, sone, made I thee promesse.
- great number
 undertaking
 consider
- 1770 "And of a trewe man, byheeste is dette."
 "Fadir, God yilde it yow, and so yee diden;
 Yee highten me in ese me to sette."
 "Now, sone, and though I longe have abiden,
 Thy greef is nat out of my mynde滑den;
 To thy grevance wole I now resorte.
 And shewe thee how thou thee shalt conforte.
- faithful; promise is debt
 promised
 waited
 return
- 1775 "In short, this is of thy greef enchesoun:
 Of thyn annuitee the paiement,
 Which for thy long service is thy guerdoun,
 Thow dreddist, whan thow art from court absent,
 Shal be restreyned, syn thow now present
 Unmethes maist it gete, it is so streit—
 Thus undirstood I, sone, thy conceit.
- cause of your grief
 reward
 withheld
 With difficulty; restricted
- 1780 "For of thy lyffode is it the substance —
 Is it nat thus?" "Yis soothly, fadir, it."
- it is

The Regiment of Princes

- 1790 "Now, sone, to remedie this grevance,
Canstow no weyes fynden in thy wit?"
"No certes, fadir, nevere kowde I yit."
"May no lordshipe, sone, thee availle
For al thy long service and thy travaille?"
- 1795 "What, fadir, what? Lordes han for to doone
So moche for himself that my mateere
Out of hir mynde slippeth away soone.
The world is nat swich now, my fadir dece
As yee han seen. Farwel, frendly maneere!
So God me amende, I am al destitut
Of my lyfode. God be my refut.
- 1800 "I am unto so streit a poynt ydryve,
Of thre conclusions moot I cheese oon:
Or begge, or stele, or sterfe; I am yshreyve
So ny that othir way ne see I noon;
Myn herte is also deed as is a stoon;
Nay, there I faille; a stoon nothyng ne feelith,
But thought me brenneth and freesyngly keelith.
- 1810 "To begge, shame is myn impediment;
I woot wel rather sholde I dye and sterfe;
And stelthes guerdoun is swich palement
That nevere thynke I his wages disserve.
Wolde honest deeth come and me overteeve
And of my grave me putte in seysyne,
To al my greef that were a medecyne."
- 1815 "What, sone! How now? I see wel smal effect
Or elles noon my woordes in thee take;
Outhir ful symple is thyn intellect,
Or hokirly thou hast hem overshake,
Or thy goost slept hath. What, my sone, awake!
Whileer thou seidist thou were of me glad,
1820 And now it seemeth thou art of me sad.
- situation
immediately
manners
God help me
refuge

condition driven; (*see MLG*)
have received confession
closely
burn; cool

From begging shame hindres me
the reward of stealth
respectable; overturn
possession

Either
scornfully; shaken off
A while ago

The Regiment of Princes

- "I deeme so syn that my long sermoun
Profitith naught — it soee me repentith."
"Fadir, beeth nat of that oppinioun;
For as yee wole, I do; myn herte assentith.
1825 But ay among, fadir, thought me tormentith
So sharply, and so troublith and despeirth,
That it my wit foule hyndreth and apeinth." continually
gravely obstructs and injures
- "O, my good sone, wilt thou yit algate
Despeired be? Nay, sone, let be that!
1830 Thow shalt as blyve entre into the gate
Of thy confort. Now tellie on pleyn and plat:
My lord the Prince, knowith he thee nat?
If that thou stonde in his benevolence,
He may be salve unto thyn indigence. all the same
- 1835 "No man bet next his fadir, our lord lige."
"Yis, fadir, he is my good gracious lord."
"Wel, sone, thanne wole I me oblige,
And God of hevene vouche I to record,
That if thou wolt be ful of myn accord,
1840 Thow shalt no cause have more thus to muse,
But hevynesse vode and it refuse. better next to
pledge myself
as witness
in agreement with me
drive out
- "Syn he thy good lord is, I am ful seur
His grace to thee shal nat be denied.
Thow woost wel he benignie is and demeur
1845 To sue unto; nat is his goost maistried
With daunger, but his herte is ful applied
To graunte, and nat the needy were his grace.
To him pursue and thy releef purchace. is kind and gentle
overcome
haughty reserve; devoted
concent; refuse to accept
- "Compleyne unto his excellent noblesse.
1850 As I have herd thee unto me compleyne,
And but he qwenche thy greet hevynesse,
My tonge take and slitte in peces tweyne!
What, sone myn, for Goddes deere peyne,
Endite in Frenssh or Latyn thy greef clearer.
1855 And for to wryte it wel do thy poweer. Compose

The Regiment of Princes

	"Of alle thre thou oightest be wel leerd, Syn thou so longe in hem laboured haast — Thow of the Pryvee Seel art old iyeerid." "Yit, fadir, of hem ful smal is my taast."	<i>instructed</i> <i>of long standing</i>
1860	"Now, sone, thanne foule hastow in waast Despent thy tyme; and nathelies I trowe Thow canst do bet than thou wilt do me knowe."	<i>shamefully</i>
1865	"What shal I calle thee, what is thy name?" "Hoccleve, fadir myn, men clepen me." "Hoccleve, sone?" "Ywis, fadir, that same." "Sone, I have herd or this men speke of thee; Thow were aqweyntid with Chaucer, pardee — God have his soule, best of any wight! Sone, I wole holde thee that I have hight."	<i>(see MLG)</i> <i>before</i> <i>surely (by God)</i> <i>creature</i> <i>keep my promise</i>
1870	"Althogh thou seye that thou in Latyn Ne in Frengshe neithir canst but smal endye, In Englisshe canstow wel afyn." "Fadir, therof can I eek but a lyte." "Yee, straw! Let be! Thy penne take and wryte	<i>perfectly</i>
1875	As thou canst, and thy sorwe tornē shal Into gladnesse — I doute it nat at al.	
1880	"Syn thou maist nat be payed in th' eschequer, Unto my lord the Prince make instance That thy patente into the hanaper May chaunged be." "Fadir, by your souffrance, It may nat so by cause of th' ordeneance: Longe aftir this shal no graunt chargeable Out passe — fadir myn, this is no fable."	<i>the Exchequer</i> <i>request</i> <i>licence; department of the Chancery</i> <i>permission</i> <i>decree</i> <i>i.e., annuity (see note)</i> <i>issue</i>
1885	"An egal change, my sone, is in soothe No charge, I woot it wel ynow in dede, What, sone myn, good herte take unto the! Men seyn, whoso of every gras hath drede, Let him be waar to walke in any mede. Assaye, assaye, thow symple hertid goost!"	<i>equal exchange</i> <i>burden; in practice</i> <i>you</i> <i>meadow</i> <i>Try it</i> <i>planned</i>
1890	What grace is shapen thee thou nat ne woost."	

The Regiment of Princes

- "Fadir, as sikir as that I stande heere,
 Whether that I be symple or argh or bold,
 Swich an eschange gete I noon to yeere;
 Do as I can with that I have in hold;
 1895 For as for that, my confort is but cold.
 But wel I fynde your good wil alway
 Redy to me in what yee can and may."
- "That is sooth, sone. Now syn thow me toldist
 My lord, the Prince, is good lord thee to,
 1900 No maistrie is it for thee if thow woldist
 To be releaved. Woost thow what to do?
 Wryte to him a goodly tale or two,
 On which he may desperten him by nyght,
 And his free grace shal upon thee lyght.
- 1905 "Sharpe thy penne and wryte on lustyly.
 Let see, my sone, make it fressh and gay;
 Owte thyn aart if thow canst craftily;
 His hy geudence hath insighte verray
 To juge if it be wel ymaad or nay.
 1910 Wherfore, sone, it is unto thee neede
 Unto thy werk take the gretter heede.
- "But of o thyng be wel waer in al wyse,
 On flaterie that thow thee nat fownde,
 1915 For therof, sone, Salomon the wyse,
 As that I have in his proverbes fownde,
 Seith thus: 'They that in feyned speeche habownde,
 And glosyngly unto hir frendes talke,
 Spreden a net byforn hem wher they walke.'
- 1920 "If a deceyvour geve a man to sowke
 Wordes plesant in hony al bewrappid,
 Good is a man eschue swich a powke.
 Thurgh Favel hath ful many a man mishappid,
 1925 For whan that he hath janglid al and clapped
 With his freend tretynge of pees openly,
 He in awaity lyth of him covertly.
- nimis
this year
under control
- difficult matter
- pleasant
amuse himself
alight
- willingly
- Display
true understanding
- build
(see MLG)
- dissembling; abound
flatteringly
- suck; (see MLG)
- devil (malicious person)
Flattery; gone wrong
chattered; (see MLG)

The Regiment of Princes

- 1930 "The moost lak that han the lordes grete
Is of him that hir soothes sholde hem telle.
Al in the glose folk laboure and swete;
They stryven who best ryng shal the belle
Of fals plesaunce; in that hir herettes swelle,
If that oon can bet than othir deceyve,
And swich deceit lordes blyndly receyve.
- 1935 "The worldly ryche men han no knowleche
What that they been of hir condicoun;
They been so blent with Faveles gay speeche
Whiche reportith to hem, that hir renoun
Is everywhere halwid in the toun;
That in hemself they deemen greet vertu,
Whereas there is but smal or nat a gru;
- 1940 "For unnethe a good word men speke of hem.
This false treson commun is and ryf;
Bet were it thee been at Jerusalem,
Sone, than thou were in it deffectyf.
Syn my lord the Prince is, God holde his lyf.
- 1945 To thee good lord, good servant thou thee quyte
To him, and treewe, and it shal thee profyte.
- 1950 "Wryte him nothyng that sowneth into vice,
Kythe thy love in mateere of sadnesse.
Looke if thou fynde canst any tretice
Grownid on his estates holsumnesse.
Swich thyng translate and unto his hynesse,
As humblye as that thou canst, presente.
Do thus, my sone." "Fadir, I assente."
- 1955 "With herte as trembyng as the leef of asp.
Fadir, syn yee me rede to do so,
Of my symple conceit wole I the clasp
Undo and lat it at his large go.
But, weleaway, so is myn herte wo
- 1960 That the honour of Englisshe tonge is deed,
Of which I woot was han conseil and reed.
- greatest want; (*see MLG*)
in flattery; swear
spread scandal
(*see MLG*)
character
blinded; Flattery's
held sacred
a bit
repay
Show; serious material
treasure
moral soundness
aspen tree
free

The Regiment of Princes

	"O maistir deere and fadir reverent, My maistir Chaucer, flour of eloquence, Mirour of fructuous emendment, O universel fadir in science!"	respected most excellent in fertile intellect learning wisdom
1965	Allas that thow thyne excellent prudence In thy bed moetel mightest nat byqwethe? What eiled deeth? Allas, why wolde he sle the?	was the matter with: slay you
	"O deeth, thow didest nat harm singuler In slaghtre of him, but al this land it smertith.	hurts
1970	But nathelies yit hastow no power His name slee; his hy vertu astertith Unslayn fro thee, which ay us lyfly hertith With booke of his ornat endytyng That is to al this land enlumynyng.	escapes vividly gives pleasure rhetorical embellishing illuminating
1975	"Hastow nat eek my maistir Gower slayn, Whos vertu I am insufficient For to descriyve? I woot wel in certayn, For to sleep al this world thow hast yment. But syn our lord Cryst was obedient	intended
1980	To thee, in feith I can no ferther seye; His creatures musten thee obeye.	
	"Fadir, yee may lawhe at my lewde speeche, If that yow list — I am nothyng fourmeel; My yong konnynge may no hyer reeche; My wit is also slipir as an eel. But how I speke, algate I meene weel."	laugh proper reach however
1985	"Sone, thow seist wel ynow, as me seemeth; Noon othir feele I, so my conceit deemeth.	
	"Now farwel, sone, go hoom to thy mete; It is hy tyme, and go wole I to myn. And what I have seid thee, nat forgete. And swich as that I am, sone, I am thyn. Thow seest wel age hath put me to declyn, And povert hath me maad of good al bare; I may nat but preye for thy welfare."	dinner
1990		
1995		

The Regiment of Princes

- "What, fadir, wolden yee thus sodeynly
 Departe fro me? Petir, Cryst forbeede!
 Yee shal go dyne with me, treewely."
 "Sone, at o word, I moot go fro thee neede."
 "Nay, fadir, nay!" "Vis, sone, as God me speede."
 "Now, fadir, syn it may noon othir tyde,
 Almighty God yow save and be your gyde;
 And graunte grace me that day to see
 That I sumwhat may qwyte your goodnesse.
 But, goode fadir, whan and wher shul yee
 And I left meete?" "Sone, in soothfastnesse,
 I every day heere at the Carmes messe,
 It faillith nat, abouthe the hour of sevene."
 "Wel, fadir, God bytake I yow of hevene."
 Recordyng in my mynde the lessoun
 That he me yaf, I hoom to mete wente.
 And on the morwe sette I me adoun,
 And penne and ynke and parchemeyn I bente,
 And to parfourme his wil and his entente
 I took corage, and whyles it was hoot,
 Unto my lord the Prince thus I wroot:
- Peter
happen
again
Carmelite's refectory
contrast
Recalling dinner
parchment / took
took heart; fresh

[Words of the Compiler to the Prince]¹

- Hy noble and mighty Prince excellent,
 My lord the Prince, o my lord gracious,
 I, humble servant and obedient
 Unto your estat hy and glorious,
 Of which I am ful tendre and ful gelous,
 Me recommande unto your worthynesse,
 With herte enteert and spirit of mocknesse;
- devoted; solicitous
I commend myself
sincere

¹ Translation of the rubric in British Library MS Additional 18632, f. 58, emending King [ad regem] to "Prince." Most manuscripts with a rubric here regard this passage of 149 lines as the Prologue to *The Regiment of Princes*, a designation which goes against the traditional label of "Prologue" for the first 2016 (or 2136) lines of the poem.

The Regiment of Princes



British Library MS Arundel 38, fol. 37
(lines 2017–23)

By permission of The British Library

The Regiment of Princes

- | | | |
|---|---|--|
| 2025 | Right humblely axyng of yow licence
That with my penne I may to yow declare
(So as that can my wittes innocence)
Myn inward wil that thristith the welfare
Of your persone, and elles be I bare
Of blisse whan that the cold strook of deeth | asking
<i>As far as is able</i>
<i>inner; longs for</i> |
| 2030 | My lyf hath qweynt and me byrefit my breeth. | <i>extinguished</i> |
| Thogh that my lyfode and possessioun
Be scant, I ryche am of benevolence:
To yow therof can I be no nygoun.
Good have I noon by which your excellencie | | |
| 2035 | May plesid be, and for myn impotence
Stopith the way to do as I were holde.
I wryte as be that your good lyf fayn woldie. | <i>miser</i>
<i>because; poverty</i>
<i>obliged</i>
<i>desire</i> |
| Aristotle, moost famous philosophre,
His epistles to Alisundre sente,
Whos sentence is wel bet than gold in cofre,
And more holsum growndid on treewe entente. | | |
| 2040 | For al that evere tho epistles mente,
To sette was this worthy conquerour
In reule how to sustene his honour. | <i>teaching</i>
<i>put in writing</i> |
| 2045 | The tendre love and the fervent cheertee
That this worthy clerk ay to this kyng beir.
Thristyng his welthe durable to be,
Unto his herte stak and sat so neir. | <i>fondness</i>
<i>bore</i>
<i>well-being lasting</i>
<i>pierced: remained</i> |
| 2050 | That by wrytyng his conseil gaf he cheer
Unto his lord to keepe him fro nusance,
As witnessith his book of governance; | <i>karm</i> |
| Of which, and of Gyles of Regiment
Of Princes, plotmeel thynde I to translate.
And thogh that symple be my sentement, | | |
| 2055 | O worthy Prince, I yow byseeche algate,
Considerereth how endytyng hath in hate
My dul conceit, and nat accorde may
With my childhede — I am so childish ay. | <i>Giles of Rome (Egidius Romanus)</i>
<i>peaceable</i>
<i>character</i>

<i>hates</i>
<i>thought</i>
<i>innocuity</i> |

The Regiment of Princes

- Also byseeche I that the altitude
2060 Of your estat, thogh that this pamphilet height
Noon ordre holde ne in him include,
Nat greeved be, for I can do no bet.
Anothir day, whan wit and I be met
Which longe is to, and han us frendly kist.¹
2065 Deskevere I wole that now is nat wist. together

Nathelies, swich as is my smal konnyng,
With also treewe an herte, I wole it oute make known
As tho two dide or evere clerk lyvynge.
But tremblyng is my spirit, out of doute,
2070 That to parfourme that I am aboute.
Alias, the stuf of sad intelligence substance; serious
Me faillith to speke in so hy presence.

Symple is my goost and scars my letterure learning
Unto your excellencie for to wryte
2075 Myn inward love, and yit in aventure taking a chance
Wole I me putte, thogh I can but lyte.
My deere maistir, God his soule qwyte,
And fadir, Chaucer, fayn wolde han me taught,
But I was dul and lerned lyte or naught.

2080 Alias, my worthy maistir honourable,
This landes verray tresor and richesse,
Deeth by thy deeth hath harm irreparable
Unto us doon; hir vengeable duresse
Despoillid hath this land of the swetnesse vengeful harshness
2085 Of rethorik, for unto Tullius Robbed
Was nevere man so lyk amonges us. Cicero

Also who was heir in philosophie
To Aristotle in our tonge but thow?
The steppes of Virgile in poesie
2090 Thow folwedist eek. Men woot wel ynow

¹ Which is a long way off, and we (wit and I) have kissed as friends.

The Regiment of Princes

- That combrewold that thee, my maistir, slow.
Wolde I slayn were! Deeth was to hastyf
To renne on thee and reve thee thy lyf.
- Deeth hath but smal consideracion
Unto the vertuous, I have espyed;
No more, as shewith the probacion,
Than to a vicious maistir losel tryed
Among an heep. Every man is maistried
With here, as wel the poore as is the ryche;
Leered and lewde eek standen alle ylyche.
- Shee mighte han taried her vengeance a whyle
Til that sum man had egal to thee be —
Nay, let be that! Shee kneew wel that this yle
May nevere man foorth bryngē lyk to thee:
And her office needes do moot shee.
God bad her so, I truste, as for thy beste;
O maistir, maistir, God thy soule reste!
- Now to my mateere as that I began.
There is a book Jacob de Cessolis
Of the ordre of prechours maad, a worthy man,
That the Ches Morallysed clepid is,
In which purpos I eek laboure ywis;
And heere and there, as that my litil wit
Affoorthe may, I thynke translate it.
- And al be it that in that place sqwaar
Of the listes — I meene th' eschequeer —
A man may lerne to be wys and waer,
I that have aventured many a yeer
My wit therin, but lyte am I the neer,
Sauf that I sumwhat knowe a kynges drught;
Of othir drughtes lerned have I naught.
- And for that among the drughtes echone
That unto the ches apparteene may,
Is noon so needful unto your persone
- trouble-maker (see note); slew
charge at; take away

as experience shows
master rogue notorious
overcome
By her
alike; (see MLG)
- equal
idle

as far as
Suffice
- poltrades; game of chess (see note)
aware
ventured
nearer
Except; move in chess
moves, tricks

belong

The Regiment of Princes

- 2125 To knowe as that of the cheertee verray
That I have had unto your noblesse ay,
And shal, if your plesaunce it be to heere,
A kynges draught reporte I shal now heere.
true fondness
move (training); relate
- I am seur that tho booke alle three
2130 Red hath and seen your innat sapience;
And as I hope, hir vertu folwen yee.
But unto yow compyle I this sentence
That, at the good lust of your excellencie,
In short yee mowen beholde heer and rede
2135 That in hem thre is scattered fer in beede.
intelligence
at your pleasure
far and wide
- And althogh it be no maneere of nerde
Yow to consaile what to doon or levee,
Yit if yow list of stories taken heede,
Sumwhat it may profyte, by your levee;
2140 At hardest, whan yee been in chambre at eeve,
They been good for to dryve foorth the nyght;
They shal nat harme if they be herd aright.
refraine from
At least
wile away
- To your hynesse thynke it nat to longe,
Thogh in that draught I sumwhat wade deepe,
2145 The thewes virtuous that to it longe
Wacchen my goost and letten him to sleepe.
Now God in vertu yow mayntene and keepe,
And I byseeche your magnificencie
Geve unto me benigne audience.
qualities; belong
Waken; prevent him from
- 2150 For thogh I to the steppes clergial
Of thise clerkes thre nat may atteyne,
Yit for to putte in prees my conceit smal,
Good wil me artith take on me the peyne.
But sore in me ther qwappith every veyne.
2155 So dredful am I of myn ignorance:
The Crois of Cryst my werk speede and avance.
scholarly
service
urges
throbs

The Regiment of Princes

Explicit prologus, de principum regimine: incipiendo de fide observanda

- | | | |
|------|---|---|
| | Now gracious Prince, ageyn that the corone
Honure yow with rial dignitee,
Byseechith Him that sit on hy in trone, | <i>in anticipation; crown</i> |
| 2160 | That whan that charge receyved han yee,
Swich governance men may feele and see
In yow as may been unto His plesance
Profyt to us and your good loos avance. | <i>experience</i>
<i>reputation</i> |
| | First and forward, the dignitee of kyng
Impressith in the boeme of your mynde,
Consideryng how chargeable a thynge
That office is, for so yee shul it fynde. | <i>Imprint</i>
<i>important</i> |
| 2165 | Unto good reule yee yow knytte and bynde;
Of Goddes wreche have ay drede and awe; | <i>punishment</i> |
| 2170 | Do right to grete and smale, and keepe lawe. | |
| | Ones ther was a kyng, as I have rad,
Whan his corone was unto him brought,
Or he it took, in thought he stood al sad,
And thus he seide, aftir he had thought: | <i>crown</i>
<i>soberly</i> |
| 2175 | "O thow corone, noble and faire ywroght!
What man that thee receyveth or admisith,
More ese than he weeneth from him flittith. | <i>supposes; departs</i> |
| | "Whoso the peril kneew, and charge and fere
That is in thee, thogh thow at certeine lay,
He wolde nat thee up areise or rere,
But let thee lye stille and go his way. | <i>burden; fear</i>
<i>on the ground</i> |
| 2180 | For sooth is this, and hath, and shal been ay:
This worldes hook, envye hath to his bayt,
And ay hath hy degree sore in awayt." | <i>fishhook; for</i>
<i>keeps a watch on</i> |
| 2185 | Now, noble Prince, thogh I be nat wys,
Wel willid am I as I first yow tolde.
In name of Jhesu, wirke aftir the avys
That I compyle out of thise auctours olde.
And if I nat the way of reson holde, | |

The Regiment of Princes

- 2190 Folwe me nat; and if that I do, thenne
Do as I shal reporte with my penne.

Tho oothes that at your creacion
Shul thurgh your tonge passe, hem wel observe. *elevation [to king]*
Lat no coloured excusacion

2195 Yow make from hem slippe axye or swerve.
Holde up hir lyf, lat hem nat in yow sterue.
It is nat kyngly from an ooth to varie;
A kyng of trouthe owith been exemplarie. *spurious justification*

Lo, thus this Aristotle in his book seith
2200 To Alisaundre, and to be waer him bit
That he ne breke his bondes ne his feith,
For unto folk untreeewe longith it. *[such behavior] is characteristic*
He seith that grace nat in him abit,
But wikkid ende and cursid aventure

2205 Him folwith, that foerswere him hath no cure. *abides*

to break an oath

By feith is maad the congregacion
Of peple and of citees enhabitynge;
By feith han kynges dominacion;
Feith causith eek of men the communyng;
2210 Castels by feith dreden noon assailyng;
By feith the citees standen unwerresed,
And kynges of hir sogettes been obeied. *unattacked*

by their subjects

Who leesith feith, gretter thyng may noon leese.
Or a man spoke, or bynde him by his seal.
2215 And hath his ful libertee, and may cheese
What he do shal, him oughte avyse him weel
Or he promette. Heete nat a deel
By word ne bond but if he wole it laste;
For whoso dooth, shal smerten at the laste. *makes a promise; Promise nothing*
is willing to keep it

2220 Littil enchesoun hath he for to speke,
To whos wordes is geven no credence.
Perillous is a man his feith to beeke.
Feith by necessitee ne indigence *reason*
need

The Regiment of Princes

- | | | |
|------|---|--|
| 2225 | Nat artid is deceyve, and apparence
Of trouthe outward and inward fikilnesse
Bultith out shame and causith greet smertnesse. | <i>compelled to</i>
<i>deceit</i>
<i>Drives out</i> |
| 2230 | What was the cause of the destruccions
Of the peple of Scites and Arabee,
But for hir kynges in decepcion
Of men and eitees ny to hir contree,
Hir oothes useden, by sotiltee,
Brekyng bondes that stablishid were
Mankynge to profyte and nat to dere. | <i>Scythia; Arabia</i>
<i>their</i>
<i>harm</i> |
| 2235 | And for that synne, Goddes rightwisnesse,
That punyssheth falshode and treccherie.
Nat mighte hem suffre endure in that woodnesse,
But they destroyed were, it is no lye.
Untrouthe, alias! The ordre of chivaltrie
Dampneth it; thogh that the persone it use,
Knygthode itself moot algate it refuse. | <i>wickedness</i> |
| 2240 | To God truste I, no lord in al this land
Is guilty of that inconvenience.
Fy! What, a lord breke his byheeste or bond?
Nay, God forbeede that that pestilence
In a lord dwelle or holde residence;
For if that he that wikkid gest recette,
By swich a lord wole honour nothyng sente. | <i>improper act</i>
<i>promise; pledge</i>
<i>action harbor</i>
<i>count as nothing</i> |
| 2245 | Whan Marcus Regulus was, as I rede,
Venquisshid in a bataille of the see
By hem of Cartage, hoom with hem they led
This prisoner; and aftir sent was he
By hem to Rome, his owne contree,
Swom to retourne to Cartage ageyn,
As Tullius and eek Seint Austyn seyn. | <i>(see MLG)</i>
<i>sea</i>
<i>Cartage</i>
<i>Cicero; Augustine</i> |
| 2250 | The cause why they hem to Rome sente
Was for to do to Romans hir message,
Witynge of hem if that they wolde assente | <i>give</i>
<i>Knowing from</i> |

The Regiment of Princes

- That, syn ther were Romans in Cartage
In prison, and Romans hadde eek in cage
Cartagiens, suffre hem at large go
And the Romans go sholde at large also.
- Whan Marcus doon hadde as that he was bode,
The senat axid him what was his reed,
And he answerde and seide thus: "For Gode,
At this rede I lat sleepen and be deed.
It may by no way synke into myn heed
That to us Romans were it covenable
Swhich an eschaunge, but unprofitable.
- "We Romans that they han in prison loke
Been but yong froth, unlearned in bataille,
And othir feeble folk with age ybroke,
Of which I am oon; we may nat availle.
Of us no los is but, withouten faille,
Your prisoners been myghty men and wyse,
And folk in armes preeved at devyse."
- His frendes wolde han holde him stille there,
But they nat mighte — he wolde alway retourne,
To breke his ooth, his goost was ay in fere.
He thoughte nat in his contree sojourne,
Do what hem list, whethir they glade or mounse.
Unto his foos as blyve he him dressith,
And kneew wel to be deed, the book witnessith.
- He heeld it bet his ooth for to observe
And dye in honur as that a knyght oughte,
Than by perjuriis his lyf for to preserve;
Of swiche unknyghtly tukkes he nat roghte.
I trowe now adayes, thogh men soghte,
His heir ful hard were in this land to fynde.
Men list nat so ferforth to trouthe hem bynde.
- Yit nat oonly to preise is this Marcus
For trouthe, but eek, as it seemeth me,

confinement

asked

locked

weak youngsters

loss

perfectly

that he would die

abuses: cared for

to such an extent

The Regiment of Princes

- His renoun oghte doublid been, as thus:
Whereas th'exchange mighe han maad him free,
Qwit of his foos prison, gretter cheertee fondness
2295 He hadde of the profyt universel
Than of himself — his deeth it preeved wel.
- Amonges alle thynges in a knyght,
Trouthe is a thyng that he ne lakke may
If his honur shal bere his heed upright. in
188 Valerius tellith how with greet array *Valerius Maximus*; (see MLG)
Kyng Alisandre and his oost on a day,
Meeved of ire and of malencolie, army
Unto a citee dressid him in hye. Provoked by
- Which that yclept and callid was Lapsat. named
2305 Purposynge him bete it to the eerthe adoun. quite there
And or that this kyng fully cam therat,
Ther was a philosophre in the toun,
A man of excellent discreciooun,
That to this kyng sumtyme had maistir be, tutor
2310 Ful sore abassht of him and his meynhee. frightened; troop
- Out of the town he spedde him on his weye,
As hastily as that he cowde or nughte,
Toward the kyng, of grace him for to preye.
And as swythe as the kyng hadde of him sighte, quickly
2315 He kneew him and his meenynge, and on highte purpose; alread
He seide him thus: "By the goddes I swere,
Al thy labour shal nat be worth a pere. pear
- "At thy prayere do wole I nothyng."
This philosophre of his ooth took good heede
2320 And seide, "O worthy conquerour and kyng,
Than preye I thee unto the toun theo speede
And it destroye, bothe in lengthe and beede;
Have on it no pitee, but al doun caste;
This preye I thee that may be doon as faste." as quickly as possible

The Regiment of Princes

- 2325 And whan the kyng his preyere undirstood,
Al his angire and his irous talent
Refreynd he; he wolde for no good
On the toun venge him as he hadde ment.
He rather chees be disobedient
To his vengeable wil and his ooth keepe
Than be forsworn of that he swoor so deepe.
- Or a kyng swere, it is ful necessarie
Avyse him wel, for whan that it is past.
He may his ooth in no wyse contrarie
2335 If he of shame or repreis be agast.
A kyng owith of word be stidefast;
Nothyng byheete but he it parfourme
If he wole him to his estat confourme.
- ¶** A greet clerk which clept is Crisostomus,
2340 Where he of matire of swerynge tretith,
Thise arm the wordes that he writ to us:
"What man the custume of oothes nat lettith
In sweryng ofte, what he seith forgetith.
Usage of oothes of perjurie is cause."
2345 And more he seith eek in the same clause.
- He seith, "Perjurie engendrid is of oothes,
For right as he that custumably
Clappith and janglith and to stynne looth is,
2350 Moot otherwhyle speke unsittyngly,
Right so usage of sweryng enemy
To trouthe is, and makith men hem foerswere."
Ful necessarie is oothes to forbere.
- ¶** Sweryng hath thise thre condicions
Folwyng, as trouthe, doom, and rightwisnesse.
2355 Ooth axith trouthe and no deceptions,
But swere in his entente soothfastnesse;
Doom moot discreetly, lest al hastynesse,
Swere, and nat needles; and justice also,
Leeffully swere, and justly everemo.
- angry desire
Restrained
- ought
- John Chrysostom (see MLG)*
[the] subject
- habitual use; ceases
[The] habit
passage
- habitually
stop
sometimes; unfittingly
- perjure themselves*
- aspects; (*see MLG*)
judgment
requires
- giving up
unnecessarily
Legitimately

The Regiment of Princes

- ¶²⁸ Quintilian seith that unto hy degree
 Unsittynge is to swere in any wyse
 But it be causid of necessitee;
 For as he seith, and othir clerkes wyse,
 A kyng or princes word oghte souffyse
 2365 Wel more than oghte a marchantes ooth,
 And to go therageyn be more looth.
(see MLG)
against that
- And syn a princes ooth or his promesse,
 Whan they nat holden been, him deshonure.
 His lettred and seal, which more open witnessse
 2370 Beren than they, good is take heede and cure
 That they be kept; wrytynge wole endure.
 What a man is, it prest is for to preeve;
 Oathir honoure it shal him or repeeve.
real
manifest; ascertain
disgrace
- Now if it happe, as it hath happid ofte,
 2375 A kyng in neede borwe of his marchantes,
 Greet wysdām were it trete faire and softe,
 And holde hem trewely hir covenantes;
 For truste it wel, whan hir covenant is
 Nat to hem kept, as that hir bond requerith.
 2380 The kyng hath shame, and eek it hem mischerith.
angers
- Looth wole hem been eftstones for to lene;
 He that is beent, men seyn, dredith the fyre;
 Be his day kept, he rekkith nat a bene,
 But elles, sikir, dun is in the myre.
 2385 Withouten doute, a marchantes desyr
 Is with good herte his kyng honore and plesē,
 And to his might refresshe and doon him ese.
Umwilling; agate; loan
dear
the horse is mired
To the extent that he is able; nourish
- In hem is the substance of every lone.
 What folk chevyce as mochil as doon they?
 2390 Excellent Prince, I deeme your persone
 To hem and to al othir in good fay
 Wole holde that yee heeten hem alway,
 And so to do God, the auctour of trouthe,
 Yow graunte, and elles certes were it routhe.
them (merchants); material basis; loan
lend money
faith
promise
a pity

The Regiment of Princes

- 2395 If that a poore man beeke his byheeste
 Or do ageyn his ooth or seal or lettre,
 Men hente him by the heed and him areeste,
 And to prison he gooth; he gete no bettre
 Til his maynpernour his areest unfettré; *one who gives surety for another; release*
 2400 And yit he moot the cours of lawe abyde,
 Or his maynpermouir moot deffende his syde. *protect*
- Among the poore peple thus it gooth:
 They for untrouthe han smert and open shame. *pain*
 And if a lord his bond breke or his ooth,
 2405 For soothe, it is a foul spot in his name.
 Thogh men dar nat openly him diffame,
 They thynke, al be it that they nothyng speke,
 In swiche lordes is untrouthe, I recke. *reckon*
- And syn a kyng by way of his office
 2410 To God ylikned is, as in manere,
 And God is trouthe itself, than may the vice
 Of untrouthe nat in a kyng appeere,
 If his office shal to God refiere. *release*
 A busy tonge bryngith in swich wyt,
 2415 He that by word nat giltith is parfy. *reproach*
(see MLG)
- At lord, what it is fair and honourable
 A kyng from mochil speeche him refreyne.
 It sit him been of wordes mesurable,
 For mochil clap wole his estat desteyne. *moderate*
 2420 If he his tonge with mesures reyne
 Governe, thanne his honur it conserveth;
 And by the revers, dieth it and sterveth.
- 2425 Bet is the peples eres thriste and yerme
 Hir kyng or princes wordes for to heere,
 Than that his tonge go so faste and yerme
 That mennes eres dulle of his mateere;
 For dulling hem, dullinthe the herte in feere
 2430 Of hem that geven to him audience.
 In mochil speeche wantith nat offense. *together*
(see MLG)
is not lacking; (see MLG)

The Regiment of Princes

- 2432 Whoso that hatith mochil clap or speeche
 Qwenchith malice, and he that his mowth keepith,
 Keepith his soule, as that the bookes teche.
 Unbrydlied wordes ofte man byweepith;
 Prudence wakith whan the tonge sleepith,
 And sleepith ofte whan the tonge wakith.
 Moderat speeche engendrih teste and makith.
- (see MLG)
Extinguishes; guards
Laments
begets; creates
- 2435
- 2438 Alle natures of beestes and briddes
 And of serpentes been ymakid tame,
 But tonge of man, as it wel knowe and kid is,
 Nat may be tamed. O fy, man, for shame!
 Silence of tonge is wardeyn of good fame,
 And aftir repreef, fysshith clap and foulith.
 The tonge of man al the body defoulith.
- (see MLG)
shame
guardian
fishes and hunts for chatter
pollutes; (see MLG)
- 2440
- 2445 And that out of the tonge of kyng procedith,
 The peple specially beren away.
 Wherfore unto a kyng the more it needith
 Avyse him what he speke shall alway.
 In mochil speeche sum byheeste may
 Lightly asterte that may nat be holde,
 And thanne trouthe begynneth to colde.
- carry*
Easily escape
grow cold
- 2450
- O worthy Prince, this, lo, meeveveth me
 Of trouthe for to touche thus sadly,
 For that I wolde that the hy degree
 Of chivalrie universelly
 Baar up his heed and bente it nat awry.
 Of his honour untrouwthe a knyght unlaceth
 And his renoun al uttirly defaceth.
- deeply
Held; turned
disarmes
obliterates
- 2455
- 2460 Honour appropred is to chivalrie,
 And faylynge it, the cheef flour of his style
 Fadith and faillith and begynneth die.
 But now passe over; touche I wole a whyle
 Of nghtwisnesse, which out of this yle
 Purposith fully for to fare and weende,
 So is our reule unthrifte and untheende.
- is a characteristic of*
way of life
justice
Intends
wasteful; unprosperous

The Regiment of Princes

De institutie

- | | | |
|------|--|---|
| #32 | Seint Anselm seith, justice is libertee
Of wil, gevynge unto every wight
That longith to his prope dignitee:
To God obedience, as it is right;
And he that poore is of degree and might,
Unto his bettre, honour and reverence; | (see MLG)
giving
What; rank
superiors |
| 2470 | The grete eek to the smal, lore and science; | high-ranking; humble |
| #33 | To thyn egal, concord; unto thy fo,
Souffrance; and to thyselfen, holynesse;
To the needy, greeved with wrecchid wo.
Mercy in dede and releeve his distresse; | virtue |
| 2475 | After thy power, do thow thyn almesse,
And reewe upon him if that thy might faille,
For that wil shal thy dede contrevaille. | According to; give alms; (see MLG)
have pity for
compensate for |
| #34 | Whoso it be that justice verray
Desirith folwe, first moot he God dreede
And love as hertly as he can or may. | (see MLG) |
| #35 | It nat souffisith do no noyous deede,
But who annoye wolde, him it foerde; | sincerely
causing annoyance; (see MLG) |
| 2485 | For nat annoye is no righewisnesse,
But it is abstinence of wilkidnesse. | offend
<i>i.e.</i> , is merely |
| #36 | Of conseil and of help been we detours,
Eche to othir, by right of brethirhede;
For whan a man yfalle into errour is, | (see MLG) |
| 2490 | His brothir owthim conseil and rede
To correcte and amende his wilkid dede;
And if he be vexid with maladie, | advice |
| | Minstre him help his greef to remedie. | |
| 2495 | Every man owth studien and muse
To teche his brothir what thyng is to do
And what behovely is to refuse; | needful |
| | That that is good, provokynge hym thereto.
And thus he moot conseille his brothir, lo. | |

The Regiment of Princes

- Do that right is and good to Goddes pay, pleasure
In word nat oonly but in werk alway.
- 2500 Lawful justice is, as in manere, *so to speak; (see MLG)*
Al vertu, and who wole han this justice,
The lawe of Cryst to keepe moot he leerte,
Now if that lawe forbeede every vice,
And commande al good thyng and it cherice,
Fulfille lawe is vertu parfyte, *learn*
And injustice is of al vertu qwyte, *To fulfill*
deprived
- 2510 Justice is of the kynde and the nature *(see MLG)*
Of God, and he hath maad it and ordeyned
On remes and on every creature.
By justice is shedyng of blood restreyned,
And gilt punysshid whan it is compleyned.
Justice defendith possessions,
And peple keepith from oppressions. *realms checked*
- 2515 A kyng is maad to keepen and maynteene
Justice, for shee makith obeissant
The misdoers that prowde been and keene,
And hem that been in vertu habundant,
Chericeth. A kyng is by covenant
Of ooth maad in his coronacion
2520 Bownde to justices sauacioun. *bold*
- And a kyng in fulfyllyng of that is
To God lyk, which is verray rightwisnesse.
And men of Ynde seyn and holden this:
“A kynges justice is as greet richesse
2525 Unto his peple as plentee or largesse
Of eerthely good, and bettre than reyn
Fallyng at eve from hevene,” they seyn. *redia*
- Ful often sythe it is wist and seen
That for the wrong and the unrightwisnesse
2530 Of kynges ministres, that kynges been
Holden guilty; whereas, in soothfastnesse.

The Regiment of Princes

They knownen nothyng of the wikkidnesse;
Unjust ministres ofte hir kyng accusen.
And they that just been, of wrong hem excusen.

- 2535 If the ministres do naught but justice
To poore peple in contree as they go,
Thogh the kyng be unjust, yit is his vice
Hid to the peple; they weene everemo
The kyng be just for his men gye hem so. *conduct themselves*
- 2540 But ministres to seelde hem wel goveme;
Oppressioun regneth in every herne. *corner (hiding place)*
- A kyng, me thynkith, for the seuresee
Of his good loos, byhoveth it enquere
Of hem that han his estat in cheertee, *reputation*
- 2545 What fame that his poore peple him bere.
He of justice is bownden hem to were
And to deffende; and if that they be greeved,
By him they moot be holpen and releaved. *to protect*
- Excuse shal him nat his ignorance:
2550 He moot enquire of wrong and it redresse,
For that he peple hath in governance,
He clept is kyng. If his men peple oppresse,
Witynge him, and nat rekke of the duresse, *Blaming*
- 2555 He may by right be clept no governour,
But of his peple a wilful destroyour.
- O worthy Kyng benigne, Edward the laste,
Thow haddist ofte in herte a dede impressid,
Which that thyn humble goost ful sore agaste; *frightened*
- 2560 Among the peple ofte hastow thee dressid
Into contree in symple array allone
To beere what men scide of thy persone.
- ¶
2565 Although a kyng have habundance of might
In his land at his lust, knyt and unknyt,
Good is that he his power use aright. (see MLG)
joined together

The Regiment of Princes

- That fro the way of justice he nat flitte,
Lest our lord God him from His grace shite,
Of whom al rightwys power is deryved;
For if he do, of blisse he shal be preyed. vary
shut
exiled
- 2570 I fynde how that Theodorus Sireene,
For that he to the kynge of Lysemak
Tolde his deffautes, the kynge leet for teene
Crucifie him, and as he heeng and stak
Upon the Crois, thus to the kynge he spak:
"This peyne, or oþir lyk thereto, moot falle
Upon thy false conseilloures alle. (see MLG)
venation
hung; was nailed
- 2575 "Nat rekke I thogh I rote on hy or lowe,
As he that of the deeth hath no gastmesse;
I dye an innocent, I do thee knowe;
I dye to defende rightwisnesse.
Thy flaterers enhaunced in richesse
Dreden to suffre for right swich a peyne,
But I therby nat sette rissches tweyne." nor; high
fear
cause you to know
just such
rushes
- 2580 Ther was a duc Romayn clept Camilus,
Leide ones seige unto a citee,
Falisk named, as seith Valerius,
Of which the men of moost auctoritee,
And gretteste of power and of degree,
To a maistir in the citee dwellynge
Bytook his children by wey of lemyng. (see MLG)
(A city in Etruria)
Extracted
- 2585 What dooth me this maistir but on a day
Some of tho children out of the toun ledde,
The moost expert in science, and the way
Streight to the Romayn testes he him spedde:
And the duc thus conseilid he and redde:
"Haveth thise children in possessioun,
And keepith hem in hold and in prisoun;
The fadres of hem han in governance
Falisk the citee at his owne list. will

The Regiment of Princes

- 2600 In hy and lowe, aftir hir ordenaunce
Is al thyng doon. Whan it is so hem wist
That yee hir children han undir your fist,
Yee shul wel seen, hir children lyf to save,
Hem and the citee shul yee wynne and have."
- 2605 The duke answerde anoon to this traitour:
"Thogh thou be fals unto thyn owne town,
And rekkist nat of shame or deshonour,
But par cas for to gete of me guerdoun,
Desirest Faliskes destruccioune.
- 2610 Nat were it knyghtly me to thee consealte
That taken hast so traiferous entente.
- "We Romans keepen rightes of bataille
As trewely as the rightes of pees;
Our custume is no children to assaille.
- 2615 Thogh we the town had wonne, dosteles
Ther sholde no chyld among al the prees
For us han greeved be. We armes here
Ageyn the armed men, hem for to dere,
- "And nat ageyn children undeffensable.
2620 In that in thee is, thy might hastow do,
Thurgh wikkid treson fals and deceyvable,
Thy citee to destroyen and fordo;
But I, Romayn, agree me nat thereto.
By vertu of armes wole I it wynne,
2625 For al the might of men that been therynne."
- The duke commandith, shortly for to seyn,
His handes him behynde to be bownde,
And bad the children lede him hoom ageyn
To hir fadres; which, whan that they han fownde
- 2630 So greet justice in this duke habownde,
The senat clepte and this unto hem tolde;
The hertes gan to chaunge of yonge and olde.

*Completely; their command
known*

towns

crowd

harm

As much as you could

raise

*abound
summoned*

The Regiment of Princes

- Alle, they seiden, of hy gentillesse,
Gowndid upon justice dide he this.
2635 And also of a chivalrous prouesse. *virtue*
They seiden, "It to us moest sittynge is
Oure gates opne and offre us to been his.
Is noon so good as lat us mollifie
Oure hertes stoute to his gentese; *bold; noble behavior*
- 2640 "And of his peers, requeren him and preye."
They diden so, but what was folewyng.
Nat have I red, wherfore I can nat seye.
But this just duke, as by my supposyng.
Was to hem swich in wil and in wirkynge *as I suppose*
2645 That he hem qwitte so as mighte hem qweeme. *gratify*
What sholde I elles of swich a lord deeme?
- Of Lancastre good Duke Henri also,
Whos justice is written and austorysid — *touched for*
2650 Why sholde I nat thee rekne amonges tho
That in hir tyme han justice excereysid?
Yit that vertu oonly nat hath souffysid
To thee, but al that longith to knyghthode
Was inned in thyn excellent marshode. *stared*
- ¶
2655 I rede also how that, hangynge a stryf *being unresolved; (see MLG)*
Twixt Kyng Porrus and a lord clept Fabrice,
The leche of this kyng, a cursid caytyf
Involved and ywrappid in the vice
Of covetyse, shoog him for to tryce *physician*
His owne lord the kyng and him to kille *enveloped*
2660 If that it hadde been Fabrices wille. *match*
- This leche unto Fabrices hoss by nyght,
As pryvely as that he cowde, wente, *secretly*
And unto him ensured and behighte *assured*
If that him list to the dede conserme,
2665 He was so glad to plesse him and contente,
His lord the kyng with venym wolde he feede
So that therburgh he sterfe sholde neede.

The Regiment of Princes

- This lord with that bad men his handes teye,
And lede unto the kyng this traitorous wight,
2670 And al this treason unto him bywteye.
Whan this was doon, the kyng seide anoon right:
"See heire a trouthe and manhode of a knyght.
Men may the sonne as lightly his cours reve
As this Fabrice make his trouthe leve."
tie
reveal
swe; easily; take away
- E⁸** In Perse ones ther was by jugement
A man to deeth dampned in wronge wyse
For wratthe and hate and the irous talent
That to this ilke man baar the justice,
And whan the knowleche of this fals jewyse
2680 Was come unto the kynges audience,
This doom he gaf as blyve and this sentence.
Persia; (see MLG)
judge
sentence
judgment
- He had men felen him qwik out of his skyn,
And therwith kevere the judicial see,
And made his sone to be set theryn,
2685 That juge aftir his fadir sholde be,
To this ende and entencioun, that he
Sholde be waer how he his doomes gaf,
And lene alway to rightwisnesse staf.
flay alive
throne
always lean on
- Nat oughte a juge for hate or for love
2690 Othir way deeme than trouthe requerith,
But, at the reverence of God above,
Right ay favoure whan that it appeerith.
Dede of justice a conscience cleerith,
Chacyng away thoughtes on wrong ygrowndid.
2695 Who jugeth wrongfully is feendly wondid.
for the sake
Justice
clears
severely
- E⁹** What juge in doom eek geveth just sentence
Awaytyng upon a golden dragee,
To God he dooth displesance and offense;
For the justice which of duelee
2700 He sholde do, cursidly sellith he,
For love of meede him provokith thereto,
And rightwisnesse nothyng so to do.
(see MLG)
reward, bribe
reward

The Regiment of Princes

- | | | |
|------|---|-----------------------------------|
| 268 | To swich a juge, withdrawe the hope
Of moneye, and he fro justice flittith. | <i>(see MLG)</i> |
| 2705 | Where he supposith moneye to grope,
Just judgement he in his herte admittith; | <i>touch</i> |
| 2720 | But whoso that his hand fro gifles shittith,
As unto us witnessith Isaye, | <i>(see MLG)</i> |
| | He shal in hevene dwelle and sitten hye. | <i>Isaiah</i> |
| 2725 | Cristen men yilde oghten just judgement
Freely, for unleefful is it to selle, | <i>(see MLG)</i> |
| | Thogh it be leefful and convenient
A wys man for reward his reed to telle. | <i>unlawful</i> |
| | A juges purs with gold nat sholde swelle. | <i>appropriate</i> |
| 2735 | If on justice he shape his doom to bilde,
His judgementz he giftees muste yilde. | <i>advice</i> |
| | | <i>convinces</i> |
| | | <i>give</i> |
| 2740 | And he that dooth of justice rigoure,
Let him be waer he have no delyt | <i>harsh justice; (see MLG)</i> |
| | In punysshynge of the offendour | |
| 2755 | That hath ydoon the trespass or the wyt,
Ne him rejoise of his annoyous plyt, | <i>offense</i> |
| | Ne the manere excede in swiche cas, | <i>distressing</i> |
| | Or quantitee of the gilt or trespass, | |
| 2760 | Evene as a soule is bodyes lyflynesse, | <i>animating force; (see MLG)</i> |
| | And whan that it is twynned from a wight | |
| | The herte is deed, so farith rrightwisnesse; | |
| | For whan a reme is reuled by hir might, | |
| | Than may the peple be ful glad and light; | |
| | The land may bathen in prosperitee; | |
| 2775 | And lost is al if that absent be shee. | |
| 2780 | Ther was a lawe ymaad upon a tyme
At Rome, by the consules assent, | <i>(see MLG)</i> |
| | That whoso were guilty of the cryme | |
| | Of advoutrie and were therin hent, | <i>taken</i> |
| 2795 | His yen bothe sholden out be brent. | <i>eyes</i> |
| | Now fil it so, a man that sone was | |
| | To a consul was take in this trespass. | |

The Regiment of Princes

- And whan that the mishap of this persone
Was to the peple knownen of the toun,
2740 They loveden his fadir so echone,
And had him in so cheer affeccioun,
They seiden that noon execucion
Sholde on this sone for this dede falle,
And the consules so they preyden alle.
- 2745 To which the fadir gan replie tho,
And thus allegged he for him and leide: declared; spoke
"Considereth, sires, I am oon of tho
That to this lawe assentid and obeide;
And sholde I now the same breke?" he seide,
2750 "For favour of myself or any of myne?
Nay, sires, to that may I nat enclyne.

"Maffeith, that were wrong and vilenye.
The lawe shal foorth, thogh it fil on me."
The peple gan to rumble and clappe and crye,
2755 And the consules preide of the citee
The revers; thus overcome was he. contrary
So at the laste, he sy noon othir weye
But in partie he muste hir last obeye. part
- "Now," quod he, "syn that it may be no bet,
2760 Sumwhat to yow me confourme wole I,
So that the lawe shal nat al be let,
Thogh that it mighte observed be fully.
Thus wole I and noon othir, trewely:
Oon of myn yen wole I now forgo,
2765 My sone another — it shal be right so.

"We two wole have but o mannes sighte."
Thus was doon, but nat al at the plesance
Of the peple; but they noon othir mighte.
Now if to morowe fil ther swich a chance,
2770 Sholde men fynde so just governance?
Nay, nay, this lond is al to scars and lyte
To fynde oon that so justly wolde him qwyte. sparse; small

The Regiment of Princes

- 2778 Prince excellent, have your lawes cheer; *bold: precious; (see MLG)*
 Observe hem and offende hem by no weye.
- 2775 By ooth to keepe hem, bownde is the poweer
 Of kyng, and by it is kynges nobleye
 Sustened. Lawe is bothe lok and keye
 Of seuretee; whyl lawe is kept in londe,
 A prince in his estat may sikir stonde.
- 2780 And doutelees, if that fordoom be lawe, *abrogated*
 A princes power may go pleye him thenne;
 For they that naught ne han, with knyf ydrawe
 Wole on hem that of good be mighty renne,
 And herte hem and hir houses fyre and beinne,
 2785 And robbe and slee and do al swich folie,
 Whan ther no lawe is hem to justifie. *bring to justice*
- Now in good feith, I preye God it amende,
 Lawe is ny fleemed out of this contree, *banished*
 For fewe been that dreden it offende.
- 2790 Correcion and al is longe on thee: *dependent on*
 Why suffrest thou so many an assemblee
 Of armed folk? Wel ny in every shire
 Partie is maad to venge hir cruel ire. *There is dispute to exact satisfaction for*
- They with hir hand wrong to hem doon redresse.
- 2795 Hem deyneth nat an accoun attame *It does not seem proper to attempt a law suit*
 At commun lawe; swich unbusynesse *common law (see note); disobedience*
 Suffred us make wole of seurtee lame. *Permitted*
- Whoso may this correcte, is worthy blamme
 That he ne dooth naught. Allas, this souffrance
- 2800 Wole us destroye by continuance. *continued occurrence*
- Is ther no lawe this to remedie?
 I can no more, but and this foorth growe, *know*
 This land shal it repente and sore abyne, *pay for*
 And al swich maintenance, as men wel knowe, *behavior*
- 2805 Susteneed is nat by persones lowe, *of low station*
 But cobbes grete this riot susteene. *gang leaders(?)*
 Correcte it good is whil that it is greene;

The Regiment of Princes

- For and it hoore, this land is but lost. *marwe*
- He that our heed is, sore it shal repente;
- 2810 And this t'amende axith no gretter cost
But to do lawe in no vengeable entente,
Seye I; but for the bestre, hem take and hente,
And punyssh hem by lawful righwisesse,
And suffre nat eche othir thus oppeesse.
- with no vengeful intent
- 2815 Smal tendrenesse is had now of oure lawes, *concern*
For if so be that oon of the grete wattis
A dede do which that ageyn the lawe is,
Nothyng at al he punysshid for that is.
Right as lopwebbes, flyes smale and gnatis *cobbes (see note)*
- 2820 Taken and suffre grete flyes go,
For al this world, lawe is now reuled so.
- 2825 The ryche and mighty man, thogh he trespace,
No man seith ones that blak is his ye;
But to the poore is denyed al grace;
He snybbid is and put to tormentrie. *chided at*
He nat asterte may, he shal abyde;
He caught is in the webbe and may nat twynne.
Mochil good reule is sowe and spryngith thynne. *sparingly*
- 2830 Of this growth styrf, bataille, and discoed;
And by the grete, poore folk been greeved;
For he that noble is of blood and a lord
In style, and nught hath, stired is and meeved *title*
Unto rapyne; this is often preeved;
The poore it feelith. Thus of lawe lak
2835 Neissheth wrong and castith right abak. *buck*
- 2840 Whan a kyng dooth his peyne and diligence
His reme by lawe and reson to gye, *rule*
He standith more in the benevolence
Of God, and more his werk shal fructifie, *flourish*
And shal han gretter meede, it is no lye,
Than they that swich a cure han soon on honde. *reward, lie*
Thus fynde I writen, as I undirstonde.

The Regiment of Princes

- Whoso that in hy dignitee is set
And may do grevous wrong and crueltee,
If he forbere hem, to commende is bet,
And gretter shal his meede and meryt be.
Than they that nat may kythe iniquitee.
Ne naght doon; for if sum man were of might,
Often wolde he do greet harm and unright.
- 2845 *forgo*
- ¶
Hy dignitee, the Philosophere writhil,
Preeveth a man what he is in his dede.
Whan that a prince in vertu him delitil,
Than is his peple warisshid of drede:
Than may they seye and syngé alowde and gredē:
"Honur, long lyf, joie, and Crystes blesyng
Moot have our susterour, our prince and kyng!"
- 2855 *cry out*
- ¶
Whan that an emperour in dayes olde
Coroned was, aftir as blyve anoon
Makers of tounbes come unto him sholde
And axe him of what metal or what stoon
His tounbe sholde been, and foorth they goon
With swich devys as the lord list devyse,
And up they make it in hir beste wyse.
- 2860 *would*
- design
- This was doon for to bryngē unto memorie
That he was nat but a man coeruptible,
And that this worldes joie is transitorie,
And the trust on it slipir and fallible.
Al this considered, oughte him be penible
His reme wel for to governe and gye,
For whoso lyveth wel, wel shal he dye.
- 2865 *unreliable*
- avidious*
- ¶
Lyk a brydil is dethes remembrance,
That mannes berte restreyneth fro vice.
That kyng that kyngly is of governance,
That is to seyn, dooth justly his office,
Of love and pees and reste he is notice.
And whan that he is out of this world went,
Thus seyn men that goon by his monument:
- 2875 *fosterer (nurse)*

The Regiment of Princes

- "In hevene moot this kynges soule reste.
This was a worthy kyng, greet was the pees
2880 That men hadde in his tyme. He was the beste
That mighte be; he kepte his peple hamlees;
In his comynge, glad was al the prees,
And sory weren of his departyng."
O gracious Prince, swich be your wirkyng!
- 2885 Thus, my good Lord, wynneth your peples vois,
289[¶] For peples vois is Goddes vois, men seyn.
And He that for us starf upon the Crois
Shal qwyte it yow, I doute it nat certeyn;
Your labour shal nat ydil be ne veyn.
289[¶] "No good dede unrewarded is or qwit,
Ne evel unpunysshid," seith Holy Writ.
- In your prosperitee and in your welthe,
Remembrith evere among that yee shul dye
And woot nat whan; it cometh in a stelthe.
2895 Have often Hum beforne your myndes ye
Fro whom noon herte hyde may ne wrye
His secre thoghtes. God al woot and weyeth;
Him love and drede, and His lawes obeyeth.
- 2900 Now syn a kyng is to his lawes swoore,
And lawe biddith free eleccioun
In chirches passe, my good Lord, therfore;
Let no favour ne noon affeccioun
So meeve your wys circumspecioun
To lette hem of his lawful libertee;
2905 Lat hem rejoise his propre duetee.
- The chapitre of a chirche cathedral, assembly of church canons; cathedral church
Whan they han chosen his heed and pastour,
Which as hem thynkith souffissant at al
Hem for to reule and been his governour,
2910 Writh unto the Pope in his favour,
Byseekyng humbly his fadirhede
It to conferme, and that is a just dede.

anharmed
crowd (multitude)

(see MLG)
died

(see MLG)

always
stealthily
eye
turn away
considers

(see MLG)
commands
to proceed

abstract from

The Regiment of Princes

- And if the lawe suffre yow to wryte
For any man apart, herkneth now me:
separately
- 2915 Let vertu thanke thereto yow excyre.
Lookith that the man have habilitee
That shal receyve that hy dignitee —
That is to seyn, he be clene of lyvynge,
Discreet, just, and of souffissant konnyng.
- 2920 If the Pope to that estat provyde
A persone at your preyere and instance,
Your soonde he takith to the bettre syde;
He holdith the persone of souffissance
To have swich a cure in governance,
- 2925 For so witnessith the suggestioun
That to him maad is for provisioun.
position
person
message
appointment
- To kynges lettres geven is credence;
Beeth waer how that yee wryte in swich mateere,
Lest that yee hurte and mayme conscience.
- 2930 For if that execut be your grecere,
The persone unworthy, yee shul ful deere
Reewe it; no smal charge is the soules cure
Of al a diocese, I yow ensure.
an entire
- If swich wrytyng be of right souffrable,
And the man able swich charge receyve
For whom yee wryte, that is commendable,
And elles wole it your soule deceyve,
Helpe him that able is, and th'unable weyve.
rightfully allowable
turn aside
- 2935 Weyve Favel with his polisshid speeche,
And helpe him that wel dooth and wel can teche.
- 2940 But certes Favel hath caught so sad foot
In lordes court, he may nat therennes slyde;
Who come or go, algate abyde he moot.
His craft is to susteene ay the wrong syde,
And from vertu his lord for to dyvyde.
seized: firm
- 2945 And, for sooth sawes been to lordes looth,
Nat wole he sooth seyn, he hath maad his ooth.
words

The Regiment of Princes

- Let Favel passe, foule moot he falle!
Forth in justice wole I now proceede.
- 2950 Ther was a knyght, I not what men him calle,
A just man and a treewe in al his deede;
Which on a tyme, as thoghte him it was neede,
The foward peple by sharp lawes bynde;
Lawes ful juste he made and in streit kynde.
- 2955 And whan they weren byfore hem yrad,
They made hem wondir wrooth, and seiden alle,
They weren nat so nyce ne so mad
To hem assente for aight may befallie;
They wolden nat hem to tho lawes thralle;
- 2960 And wolde han artid this knyght hem repele,
Makynge ageyn him an haynous querele.
- Whan he sy this, he blyve to hem seide
He made hem nat, it was god Apollo.
"And on my bak," quod he, "the charge he leide
2965 To keepe hem. Sires, what seyn yee heerto?
As he me charged hath, right so I do."
And unto that answerde anoon the prees:
"We wole hem nat admitten, douteles!"
- "Wel," quod he, "thanne is good, or yee hem breke,
2970 That unto god Apollo I me dresse
To trete of this mateere and with him speke;
Withouten him I may it nat redresse.
Byseeche him wole I of his gentillesse
Repele hem, syn that they to strecte been,
2975 And do my never right wel, yee shul seen.
- "But or I go, yee shal unto me swere
Tho lawes keepe til I ageyn come,
And breke hem nat," to which they gan answerre:
"Yee, yee, man, yee! We graunte it al and some!"
- 2980 They made hir ooth, and he his way hath nome;
He nat to Apollo but to Grece wente,
And there abcod til that the deeth him hente.
- do not know; (see MLG)
stubborn
read
exceedingly
foolish
submit
argued
hateful
crowd
accept for sure
go
duty
one and all
taken
Greece

The Regiment of Princes

- And whan his laste day gan to appeere,
He bad men throwe his body in the see
2985 Lest, if upon the lond maad were his beere,
The peple mighten unto hir citem
His bones carie, and at hir large be,
Qwyt of hir ooth, as to hir jugement.
Thus he devysed in his testament.
- sea
bier
at liberty
Free
- Syn I spoke have of justice, as yee knowe,
Unto pitee — which moot been had algates,
And namely in princes ogthe it growe —
Wole I me dresse. Shee openeth the gates
2990 Of helthe to him that in seek estat is;
Shee esith many a wight that is distressid
That, nere hir help, sholde be sore oppressid.
- especially*
attend
were it not for

[De] pietate

- Pitee mat elles is to undirstonde
But good wil inward of debonaire herte
3000 And outward speeche, and werk of man to fonde
To helpe him that men seen in mescheef smerte,
Men seelde him seen into wikkid deeth sterte
That pitous is, but they han cruel deeth
Often, whos crueltee cruelly sleeth.
- gentle*
attempt
those whose
- ¶¶ Whilom ther was a tirant despitous,
3005 That so delytid him in crueltee
That of nothyng was he so desyrous.
Now shoop it so, a man that to pitee
Fo was and freend unto iniquitee,
A sotil werkman in craft of metal,
3010 Wroghte in this wyse, as I yow telle shal.
- disdainful; (see MLG)*
noble
- His lord the kyng he thoghte plese and glade,
And craftily he made a bole of bras,
And in the syde of it he slyly made
A litil wyket that ordeyned was
- brass bell*
cleverly
small door; prepared

The Regiment of Princes

- 3015 To receyve hem that stood in dethes cas,
Undir the which men sholden sharp fyr make
Tho folk to deeth for to bennen and baken. awaiting death
- And yit, moreover, the kyng for to meeve
The lesse unto pitee, it maad was so
3020 By sotil aart the dampned folk to greeve,
That whan to cryc hem compellid his wo,
Hir vois was lyk a boles everemo,
And nothyng lyk a mannes vois in soun,
As the scripture makith mencioum. a bull's
- 3025 But our lord God, of pitee the auctour,
Displeid with this cruel ordenance,
Swich reward shoop unto this losengeour
That it abatid al his contenance;
And for to preeve his feendly purveance, plan
- 3030 How sharp it was and cowde folk distreyne,
The first he was that entred in that peyne. flamer
made him dejected
test; fiendish device
torment
torture
- For whan the kyng this cruel werk had seyn,
The craft of it commendifid he ful wel,
But the estente he fully heeld ageyn,
3035 And seide: "Thow that art more cruel
Than I, the maydeshede of this jewel
Shalt preeve anoon; this is my jugement."
And so as blyve he was therin ybrent. seen
opposed
- ¶** Men may seen heere how Favel him enclyneth
3040 Ay to his lordes lust what so it be;
Unto that ende he bysyeth him and pyneth,
And no consideracion hath he
Thogh it be harm to his lordes degree,
Or ageyn feith, honour, or consciencie;
3045 In fals plesaunce is al his diligence. (see MLG)
- To what thyng it be, if it his lord lyke,
He him conformeth. He nevere denyeth
His lordes recons, but a thank to pyke. arrives
reparation
to gain favor

The Regiment of Princes

- His lordes wil and wit he justifieth.
3050 Whyl Favel lyveth, no fals conseil dieth.
Favel is wedded to plesant deceit
And in that wedlok treewe is his conceit.
- Ground of treason, o thow cursid Favel!
How longe shalt thow been a potestat?
3055 In lordes court thow pleyst thy parcel
So that it strecchith to thy lordes maat;
For thow hast nevere thy lordes estaat
To herte cheer, but al thy bysynessee
Is for thy lucre and thy cofres warmnesse.
- Favel was nevere freendly man unto.
Loedes, beeth waer it needith, trewely.
3060 Senek by hem that folweden Nero
Seith thus: "A flie folwith the hony,
The wolf, careyne," he seith. So wel woot I
3065 That compaignie folweden hir pray,
And nat the man, and so do men this day.
- Whil that the swetnesse of richesse endunth,
Unto the ryche is many a man plesant;
3070 Oonly the richesse thereto hem lirith;
What he commandith, they been obeissant
To do whil he of good is habundant.
But whan the pray, the richesse, is ago,
The man forsaken they for everemo.
- O Favel, a blynd merchant artow oon,
3075 That for worldly good and grace and favour
Which faille shal and passe and overgoon,
Swich diligence doost and swich labour
That thow thy soule from our Sauveour
3080 Twynnest and sleest thy lordes soule also,
And causist hem to peyne eternel go.
- Ther is a long and large difference
Twixt vertuous plesaunce and flaterie.

power

part

floor or bed covering

At heart

concerning; (see MLG)

carriion

prey

are you; (see MLG)

pass away

pleasingness

The Regiment of Princes

- Good plesaunce is of swich benevolence
That what good dede he may in man espie,
3085 He preissith it and rebukith folie.
But Favel takith al another paart;
In wrong preysyng is al his craft and aart.
- E8'** A gloser also keepith his silence
Often where he his lord seeth him mistake,
3090 Lest that his answer mightie doon offense
Unto his lord and him displesid make,
He halt his pees — nat o' word dar he crake;
And for he naught ne seith, he his assent
Geveth thereto by mannes jugement. flatterer; (*see MLG*)
after
- E9'** Whoso that woot the purpos of a wight
That is ygrowndid upon wilkidnesse
And nat ne lettith it unto his might,
E9' Favourith it, as the book can expresse.
Whoso it lockith, fynde it shal no lesse.
3100 But of al this now make I heere an eende
And to my tale of pitee wole I weende. (see MLG)
prevents; ability
(*see MLG*)
lie
now
- E9'** A prince moot been of condicoun
Pitous, and his angyr refreyne and ire,
Lest an unavysid commocious
3105 Him chaufe so and sette his herte on fyre,
That him to venge as blyve he desyre,
And fulfille it in dede. Him owith knowe
His errour, and qwenche that fyry lowe. by nature; (*see MLG*)
ill-considered disturbance
inflame
conflagration
- Aristotle amonestith wondir faste,
3110 In his book which to Alisaundre he wroot,
If he wolde have his regne endure and laste,
That for noon ire he nevere be so hoot
Blood of man shede. And God seith, wel I woot,
E9' That unto him reserved is vengeance;
3115 Whoso that sleeth shal have the same chance. admonishes
(*see MLG*)
hot

The Regiment of Princes

- But this nat ment is by the cours of lawe
That putte a man to deeth for cryme horrible.
Whan he a man ymurderd hath and slawe,
A man to slee by lawe it is lissible — *permissible*
- 3120 That slaghstre beforne God is admittible;
[¶] And if a kyng do swiche murders grace *(see MLG)*
Of lyf, he boldith hem eft to trespace; *emboldens*
- [¶] A kyng of this lond, whilom herde I seyn, *(see MLG)*
For mannes deeth a pardoun hadde grauntid
- 3125 Unto a man, which aftirward ageyn
The same gilt hadde in anothir hauntid; *offense; practised*
Aftir whos deeth, he boonly hath avauntid, *plainly; boasted*
He nas nat so frendlees he wolde do
Wel ynow, thogh he had slain oþir two. *another*
- 3130 "Of frendes," quod he, "have I large wone, *resource*
That for that they have had and shul of myne,
Beforn the kyng for me shal knele echone.
They at the fulle konne his herte myne. *completely subvert his feelings*
- 3135 Thidir wole I go, streight as any lyne;
And they that now annoyen me or greeve,
I shal hem qwyte heoreafur, as I levee." *trust*
- He cam unto the kyng and axid grace
Of that he wrought hadde so synfully.
The kyng avysed him wel on his face, *looked intently at*
- 3140 And seide, "Freend, me thynkith how that I
Have unto thee doon grace or this, soothly.
I grauntid ones a chartre to thee *letter (of pardon)*
Of mannes deeth, as it remembrith me.
- "Hastow now slain another man also?"
3145 Now stood a fool sage the kyng besyde, *jester*
And or the kyng spak any wordes mo,
He to him seide thus: "For God that dyde,
Why deemen yee this man an homicyde?
He slow him nat, for yee yourself him slow;
3150 And by your levee, I shal tellen how.

The Regiment of Princes

- "If that the lawe mighte his cours han had,
This man heere had been for the first man deed;
For geve him eft now and, if he be drad
To slee the thridde, than girde of myn heed.
Now be avysid wel, it is my reed,
How yee your pardoun graunte, lest errour
Of nyce pitee be your accusour."
- This kyng wel thoughte that he seide him trouthe,
And chartrelees gooth this man ful of dreede.
3160 And afterward, of whos dissart was routhe,
The lawe him gaf that longid to his meede
My tale is doom. Now soothly, it is neede
Tho grauntes to withstande that procure
Meschevous deeth to many a creature.
- 3165 Pitee availith mochil, but nat there,
For bet it is to slee the murdreman
Than suffre him regne, for he hath no fere
His hand to use foorth as he bygan;
And in my conceit feele wel I can
3170 That of swich pitee is the abstinence
Of gretter pitee for the consequence.
- If rightful deeth of o man keepe and save
Two innocentes lyves, thynkith me
By reson, more merit oghe him have
3175 That commandith this guilty man deed be
Than he that lyf him grauntith. Why? Lat se!
The guilty man is no wrong doon unto,
But wrong is doon unto thise othir two.
- Every man woot wel, for to save tweyne
3180 Is gretter grace than save but oon.
Of muredre is cause greet for to compleyne;
Tho pardons al to lightly passe and goon;
Avyse hem that favoure hem, by Seint John.
Whoso it be that thereto the kyng meeveþ,
3185 Wel more than he woot his soule greeveþ.

The Regiment of Princes

- Avyse a kyng eek for any requeste
Unto him maad by greet estat or mene,
That he favoure it nat; it is the besse
Tho requestes to werne and voide clene — *refuse: dismiss*
3190 Of swiche, in soothe, as murderers been, I mene.
But and oon be by malice of his foos *if one*
Endited, pardoun be to him nat cloos. *Dedicted: closed*
- If that be sooth, lat pitee walke at large,
For shee and mercy therto wole assente;
3195 It is a parcel of hir eithir charge. *part: of each of them*
Routhe were it the gilelees tormente,
Pitee shal soule of man to God presente,
And God, that gaf us ensample of pitee,
To pitous folk sauacion shal be.
- 3200 The pitous herte of Marcus Marcellus *(see MLG)*
Wel worthy is be drawen in memorie.
He may ensample and mirour be to us;
For, as Valerius writh in a storie,
Whan this Marc obteened had the victorie
3205 By seige leid to men of Siracuse,
As I shal seyn, he hevly gan muse. *sadly*
- He wente him up on by upon a tour
Where he beholde myghte al the citee,
And how Fortune had shape him that honour.
3210 With herte tendre than considered he
And hadde of folkes dethes swich pitee
That from wepynge he myghte him nat restreyne;
Al his triumphe was to him but peyne.
- Who hadde stonden by him in that tyde *time*
3215 And him avysid on his contenance
Wolde han supposid that that oþer syde
Rathere hadde put him to the ostrance *defeated him*
Than he hadde had of hem so fair a chance.
O worthy knyght, who shal thy steppes sue? *follow*
3220 Thy successour halt him to longe in mue. *hides himself: now*

The Regiment of Princes

- O citem, syn Fortune was contrarie
To thee in o part, yit hir gentillesse
Pervised thee a besigne adversarie!
Thanke hire of that, for thy diseise is lesse
3225 Falle in the daunger of lambes humblesse
Than be with cruel wolves al tofret;
A lamb is nat so greedy on hir mete.
- Ther nis nothyng, as witnessith a storie,
Makith a knyght so shynnyng in renoun,
3230 Whan that he of his foos hath the victorie,
As reewe on him that throwen is adoun,
And of his blood eschue effusoun.
A beestes kynde is, that is wylde and wood,
Victorie nat desyre but the blood.
- ¶ Also, whan that the kyng of Hermenye
Venquissht was in bataille by Pompeye,
This kyng fel doun unto his foot in hye
And from him caste his diademe aveye.
But Pompeyus as blyve of his nobleye
3240 Stirte unto him and up him lifte and hente
And many a word benigne on him despente.
- He dide his might him to conforte and qweeme;
And right anoon, withoute any delay,
Upon his heed bad sette his diademe
3245 Ageyn; and so was doon, it is no nay.
¶ Whan Cesar Emperour eek on a day
Pompeye saw byforn him led and bownde,
Cesar in teeres salte gan habownde.
- ¶ Whan Alisaundre, as Valerie hath told,
3250 Was in a tymme in the feeld with his boost,
An aged knyght of his, for verray cold,
His lyfly might yloren hadde almoost,
So grevous tempest tho fil in that coost,
And whan this worthy kyng this had espyed,
3255 Out of his see he roos and to him hyed;
- suffering
To come into; power
torn to pieces
- avoid bloodshed
nature
- Armenia; (see MLG)*
- in haste
crown
- expended*
- please*
- (see MLG)*
- overflow
- (see MLG)*
- army
- viral; lost
- near; hastened

The Regiment of Princes

- And by the hand this olde knyght he took,
Confortyng him in his besie maneere,
And ledde him to his tente, as seith the book,
And in his real seige and his chayere
3260 As blyve him sette. Thus may kynges leere
Distressid knyghtes to helpe and releeve;
To take ensaumple of this it shal nught groeve.
- What wondir was it thogh that knyghtes tho
Desyreden so noble a prince serve,
3265 Syn that him lever was for to forgo
His dignitee and hir helthe conserue,
Than his estat keepe and hem suffre sterue?
Yit hope y seen his heir in this province;
And that shal yee be, my good lord the Prince.
- ¶ Before a juge eek in poynt to be deed,
Of Julius Cesar ther was a knyght
Which, with an hy vois, for to save his heod,
To his lord Cesar cryde a lowde right,
Byseechynge him that, of his gracious myght,
3275 He wolde him helpe and reewe on his estat;
And Cesar sente him a good advocat.
- And unto that this knyght as blyve thus,
On heighe wel that al the peple it herde,
With manly cheere spak to Julius,
3280 His lord, and in this wyse he him answerde:
"Han yee forgotte how sharpe it with yow ferde
Whan yee were in the werres of Asie?"
Maffeith, your lyf stood there in jupartie;
- And advocat ne sente I noon to yow,
3285 But myself putte in peeces and for yow fught;
My wondres beren good witnessse ynow
That I sooth seye, and lest yee leeve it nught,
I shal yow shewe what harm have I caught,
The doute out of your herte for to dryve."
- 3290 He nakid him and shewid him as blyve.
- royal throne*
he would rather preserve
(see MLG)
loud voice
aloud
fared
By my faith; at risk
took action
laid himself bare; at once

The Regiment of Princes

- Of which Cesar ful sore was ashamed,
And in his herte sorwe made and mōse; *complaint*
He heeld himselfen worthy to be blamed.
"My freend," he seide, "let me now allone;
3295 *leave it to me*
Advocat wole I be in my persone
For thee; I am wel holden to do so."
And thus this knyght his deeth he saved fro. *obliged*
- He dredde him, if he nadde thus ywroght,
The peple him wolde han for a proud man deemed, *done*
3300 And ungentil, and that he cowde noght,
As that it sholde eek have unto hem seemed,
Thanke hem that woorthy were to be qweemed. *pleased*
"What prince," quod he, "peyneth him nat wynne
His knyghtes love, his love is to hem thyne." *feeble*
- 3305 Out of pitee growth mercy and sprygith,
For pitelees man can do no mercy;
What prince hem lakkith, nat aright he kygith. *ruler*
And for that they been neigheburghs so ny,
To pitee mercy joyne now wole I. *close*
- 3310 Excellent Prince, have in hem good savour,
And elles al in waast is your labour.

De misericordia

- E** Mercy, aftir the word of Saint Austyn,
Of herte is a verray compassioun *Augustine; (see MLG)*
Of oþer mennes harm, and that comth yn
3315 By gifte of God and by remissioun;
As, if injurie or oppressioun *Such as if*
Be doon to us, that gilt forȝeve us oȝhte,
For love of Cryst that by deeth our lyf boghte.
- E** Whoso wrong to him doon wole forȝeve,
3320 His synne shal to him forȝeven be; *(see MLG)*
Thogh that he noþyng of his goodes geve,
The bettre part yit of mercy halt he;

The Regiment of Princes

- Thus fynde I written of auctoritee;
 But fully may ther no man do mercy
 3325 But if that he releeve the needy.
- ¶¶** Thogh that a man be sobre, chaast, and treewe,
 And be with many an hy vertu endowed.
 And geve, and nat foogeve, it shal him reewe.
 Whereas oure werkes muste been avowed,
 3330 The unmerciable shal be disallowed.
 Who nat forgeveth, mercy dooth he noon,
 And mercilees man mercy shal forgoon.
- Mercy Cryst causid to been incarnat,
 And humbled Him to take our brethirhede.
 3335 God immortel, reewynge our seek estat,
 Mortel became to pourge our synful dode.
 Him lothid nat His precious body spredē
 Upon the Crois, this lord benigne and good;
 He wroot our chartre of mercy with His blood.
- 3340 Of Him, His handwerk and His creature,
 For to be merciable, aright may leme.
 This lyf present shul but a whyle dure,
 And, lastyng it, your mercy nat ne weyne,
 O worthy Prince, for to God eterne
 3345 It ful plesant is; dooth your mercy beere,
 For to late is aftir yee go to beere.
- ¶¶** Take heede, excellent Prince, of your grauntsyre,
 How in his werkes he was merciable.
 He that for mercy dyde qwyte his hyre.
 3350 He nevere was in al his lyf vengeable,
 But ay forgaf the gilty and cospable.
 Our lige lord your fadir dooth the same;
 Now folwe hem two, my Lord, in Goddes name!
- They often hadde greet cause hem to venge,
 3355 But hir spires benigne and peisible
 Thoughten that craft unlusty and alenge
- (see MLG)
- Where: deeds: declared
unmerciful*
- lose*
- accept*
- It was not distasteful to Him*
- From: body
the right way
last
while it lasts; refuse*
- repay him*
- culpable*
- peace-loving
objectionable: loathsome*

The Regiment of Princes

- And forbaar it; they knew it unlisible.
To mercy were his hertes ay flexible;
EF Forwhy with mercy God shal qwyte hem wel,
3360 After the wordes write in the Gospel.
- It is to leve and deeme, if a kyng shyne
In vertu, that his sone sholde sue
And to his fadres maneres enclyne
And wikkid tecches and vices eschue.
3365 Thus oughte it be, this to nature is due.
He moot considere of whom he took his kynde,
And folwe his vertu, as men written fynde.
- He moost is lyk to God, as seith Bernard,
That holdith nothyng more precious
3370 Than to be mercyful. It is ful hard
To lakke mercy and been unpitous.
EF "Mercy wole I," seith our Lord glorious.
He that denyeth God that he wolde have,
3375 Senek seith how the kyng and the ledere
Of bees is prikkelees; he hath right noon
Wherwith to stynge or annoye or dere;
But othr bees prikkis han everichoon.
Nature wolde shee sholde it forgoon
3380 And do no crueltee unto the swaem,
But meekly hem governe and do noon harm.
- Of this ensample sholde kynges take,
And princes that han peple for to gye;
For to hem longith it for Goddes sake
3385 To weyve crueltee and tirannye,
And to pitee his hertes bowe and wrye,
And reule his peple esyly and faire.
It is kyngly be meek and debonaire.
- I rede of a kyng that Pirus was named,
3390 Whan him was told how that men of Tarente
- not permissible*
inclined
(see MLG)
- to be believed and supposed*
bad habits
- (see MLG)*
- refuse*
- leader*
lacking a sting
- incline*
gently
- (see MLG)*
Tarentum, Taranto

The Regiment of Princes

- Hadde at a feeste his estat diffamed,
He for the same folkes blyve sente;
And whan they cam, axid to what entente
They of him spak so and so foule ferde;
3395 And eon of hem, as yee shul heere, answerde:

"My Lord, if that the wyn nat faillid hadde,
Al that we spak nere but game and play,
Havynge reward to the wordes badde
That we thoughte have yspoken, in good fay."
3400 The kyng took up a lawghtre and wente his way
And of al that he heeld hem ful excusid;
He seide it was wyn that so hem accusid.

Vengeance in this good lord hadde no stide;
Mercy and humble dispositioun
3405 Dispensid with tho men and grace hem dide,
And thriste undir foot crueltee adoun.
O mighty Prince, this condicoun
To your hynesse is ful accordant,
And unto God almighty right plesant.

¶ Power withouten mercy a kyng torneth
Into a tirant — waer that feendly chek;
For in what man that crueltee sojourneth,
Unto his soule it is an odious spek.
3415 Tho men of God han neithir look ne bek
But if that it be bekkes of manace;
Whereas is mercy, folwith moche grace,

¶ Salomon in his Proverbes expressith,
"Mercy and Trouthe wardeynes been of kynges,
And with justice also," as he witnessith,
3420 "His throne is strengthid." What man that a kyng is,
But if that he amonges other thynges
Endowid be with alle thise three,
Men seyn he haltith in his hy degree.

slandered

*were not
Considering*

place

*(see MLG)
beware; act*

bloc

gesture

threatening gestures

(see MLG)

throne

advances haltingly

The Regiment of Princes

- 3425 A noble and glorious kynde of vengeance is
A knyght to spare whan that he slee may.
F3^c Ther was a duc callid Pisistar,
That a yong doghtir hadde, a fair may,
Which with hir modir walkid on a day,
Nat seith the book whadir ne what to doone,
3430 But thus it shoop, as I shal telle soone.
- A yong, fresh, lusty, wel byseyen man
So brente in love, he wende for to deye,
Ravyssh of the beautee of this womman,
This tendre morsel, this doghtir, I seye.
3435 And as this yong man mette hire in the weye,
He at a leep was at hire and hire kiste.
The modir, angry wood whan shee it wiste,
- Shee right anoon hir lord the duc besoughte
To putte him to the deeth for his trespass.
3440 He seide, nay, to do that nevere he thoughte,
"Shul we sleen hem that loven us? Allas!
What shul we thanne in the contrarie cas —
That is to seyn, do to oure enemys?"
Thus seide this duc, merciable and wys.
- 3445 Allas, why was this womman so vengeable?
Certes in that shee lakkid wommanhede.
This lovere had been deed, it is no fable,
If this duc had been lyk to hir in dede;
But mercy him forbad any blood shede;
3450 Shee and pitee weren of oon accord,
And senten pacience unto this lord.
- And for as mochil as that pacience
To mercy, as in lyne of blood, atteyneth,
Now wole I do my peyne and diligence
3455 To tellc how hir benignitee restreyneth
The fervent hete that the herte peyneth
Wreche cruel to take, and sharp vengeance,
Of that the herte of man feelith grevance.

(see MLG)
maiden

good looking

road

knew

reaches

endeavors
Punishment

The Regiment of Princes

De Paciencia

- 3457 Gregorie seith, pacience verray
 3460 Is of harm doon to man softe souffrance,
 And nat be wrooth, by no manere of way,
 With him that hath ydoon a man nusance.
 3461 Socrates seith, no mannes governance
 Is wys but it be by souffrance preeved;
 A good man souffreth wrong and is nat meeved.
- The kynde of pacience is to susteene
 Mightily wronges and hem nevere wreke,
 But hem forgeve, and wratthe and irous teene
 Out of the herte for to spere and steke;
 3470 Hir kynde is nat to lete a word out breke
 That harmful is, for herte voide of ire
 Hath saught wherwith to sette a tonge afyre.
- O pacient, o humble kyng benigne,
 O Kyng David, thy pacient meeknesse
 3475 Nat meeved was ageyn Semey maligne,
 Whos hy malice and crabbid wikkidnesse
 Gaf greet encheson to thy worthynesse
 To venge thee, but thy benignitee
 Forbad thyn hand to kythe crueltee.
- As this kyng ones cam to Bahurum,
 3481 Out cam this man, malicious Semey,
 Sone of Gera, and swich despyt dide him
 And to his men as by him wenten they,
 Castynge stones unto hem alwey.
 3482 That wondir was; for which oon Abusay
 Wolde have him slayn, but the kyng seide, "Nay!"
- "Let him curse after the commandement
 Of God; whan he seeth myn afflicoun
 And my disease and my grevous toement,
 3490 He wole for this dayes maliciooun,
 Par aventure, do me sum guerdoun."

(see MLG)

gentle

angry

(see MLG)

avenge

venation

bar; expel

provoked; malevolent

hitter

to exhibit cruelty

(see MLG)

(see MLG)

(see MLG)

cursing

The Regiment of Princes

Thus understande I write is in the Bible,
Which is a book autentik and credible.

- | | | |
|------|---|-------------------------|
| | The pacience of Job men may nat hyde; | |
| 3495 | The commun vois wole algate it bywreye. | |
| ¶¶ | And Alisaundre, whos fame is spread ful wyde,
Ful pacient was, as the bookes seye, | (see MLG) |
| | A sad, wys knyght of his, with lokkes greye,
Grucchyng ageyn his flesshly lustes, seide | Complaining |
| 3500 | Unto his lord and thus he him upbreide: | reproached |
| | "O Alisaundre, it is uncovenable
Thee for to have of peple regiment | unfitting
governance |
| | Syn thy lust bestial and miserable
Hath qweynt thy reson and entendement | understanding |
| 3505 | So ferfoorth that the hete violent
Of lecherie is in thee, Lord and Syre.
Repreef, I drede, qwyte shal thyn hyre. | To such an extent |
| | "Fy, shamelees, unworthy Govermour!" | |
| | And whan the knyghtes tale was al endid, | |
| 3510 | The kyng answerde: "I knowe myn errorur,"
And patiently seide, "I have offendid,
I woot it wel, and it shal been amendid." | |
| ¶¶ | A man also to Julius Cesar ones
Crabbidly seide and shrewdly for the nones, | (see MLG) |
| | Bitterly, for the occasion | |
| 3515 | And among oþir wordes that he speek:
"Julius," quod he, "make it nat so tow,
For of thy birthe art thou nat worth a leek.
Whens that thou cam men knownen wel ynow,
Wenenest thou nat that I can tellen how | do not put on airs |
| | Thy fadir was a bakere? O let be,
Ne make it nat so qweynte, I preye thee." | |
| 3520 | act so proudly | |
| | Smylynge unto him spak this emperorur:
"Whethir supposist thou bet that noblesse
Begynne in me, or noblesse and honour
Defaille in thee?" This question, I gesse, | |
| 3525 | Decays (Is lacking) | |

The Regiment of Princes

Was in swich cas but answer of softnesse;
For that was seid in repeef of his name,
His pacience, as who seith, took in game.

jest

- 42 To the chivalrous, worthy Scipio
3530 Of Afrik also speek ones a wight
And seide, in armes durste he but smal do;
He fught but smal whan he cam to the fight.
And paciently answerde he anoon right:
"My modir me baar, a chyld feeble and smal,
3535 And foorth me broghte, and no fightere at al."
- (see MLG)
- but little
- 43 Senek seith how the kyng Antigone
3540 Herde ones folk speke of him wikkidly,
For ther nas but a curtyn, as seith he,
Twixt him and hem; and whan his tyme he sy,
Asyde he drow the curtyn sodeynly
And seide: "Gooth hens lest the kyng yow heere,
For the curtyn hath herd al your mateere."
- (see MLG)
- 44 Of Duk Pisistarlis eek wole I tellie.
3545 He hadde a freend, Arispus was his name,
Which ones hastily with wordes felle
Rebulid so this duc that it was shame
To heeren it; and yit with sorwe and grame
He in despyt spette in this dukes face,
550 And he therto no word spak in that place.
- (see MLG)
- angry
- grief
- sprt
- 3550 He hadde him so in poer and word and cheere
Right as him had be do no vilenye,
But lookid foorth in a frendly maneere.
Now ther were in this dukes compaignie
His sones two, that buskid hem in hye
3555 To this Arispus and wolden ful fayn,
Nadhir fadir hem let, have him yslayn.
- bearing
- went
- Had not; prevented*
- The nexte day affir, this Arispus
To take gan consideracioun
How that he to the duc misbaar him thus,
- misbehaved

The Regiment of Princes

- 3560 And made more waymentacioun
Than I can make of nominacioun;
He wolde han slayn himself, it is no lees,
But that this duc broghte al to reste and pees. *lament*
- 3565 Whan he knew how it with Arispus stood,
He dressid him to him, and that as swythe,
And bad him to be glad of cheere and mood.
He seide and swoor unto him ofte sythe:
"As frendly wole I be and stande as ny the
As I dide evere." And thus his pacience
3570 And meeknesse hath qwenched al this offense. *lie*
- ¶** Salomon seith, in him is sapience
That is endowid with benigne humblesse.
Grace of the Holy Goost no residence
Holdith in that man that lakkith meeknesse.
- 3575 God took upon Him humble buxumnesse
Whan He Him wrappid in our mortel rynde:
That oughte a mirour be to al mankynde. *wisdom; (see MLG)*
- ¶** Plesant to God was the virginitee
Of His modir, but verray God and man
3580 Conceyved was thurgh the humilitee
Which He byheeld in that blessid womman.
O humble maide, who is it that can
The debonaire humblesse tellen al
Restynge in thy clennesse virginal? *Himself*
- ¶** That the humble were a foul habyt,
Yit in vertues glorious is he;
But the proud man stant in anothir plyt;
Thogh his array be fair and fressh to se,
His deedes and his werkis foule be.
- 3585 What hy estat that a man regeesente,
Humble to be let him sette his entente. *skin*
- ¶** Humilitee verray, as seith Cesarie,
May nevere be withouten charitee. *Abiding*
- ¶** wear; (see MLG)
- ¶** Whatever; (see MLG)
- ¶** Cesarius; (see MLG)

The Regiment of Princes

- 49^r And shee is a vertu moost necessarie;
Amonges alle vertues that be,
Shee on hem alle obteene[n]eth dignitee.
They fro the regne of God hemself dyvyde
That charitee weyven and caste asyde.
- 50^r Right as a man ne may nat thidir go
Where he purposith him but if a way
Be thidirward, Seint Anselm seith, right so
Withouten charitee men go ne may
Aright unto Godward; men mowen ay
- 3600
3605
- 50^r Doon as hem list if they been charitable,
But lakkynge it, is nothyng profitable.
- 51^r Oonly keepyng of charitee us preeveth
That we disciples been of God almighty.
What thyng it be that harmeth man or greeveth,
By goodnesse overcome it paciently.
- 51^r No seint to hevene cometh, as rede I,
But by keepyng of pacience; and how
Men may it leere wole I shewe yow.
- Take heede how, whan that Cryst our Sauveour
Was babbled and His visage al byspet,
And greet despyt doon Him and deshonour,
Bownden and scourgid and grevously bet,
Crowned with thorn, nayled to the gibet;
- 3615
3620
3625
- 51^r Yit for al this torment, no word He speek,
So was He pacient, benigne, and meek.
- And syn our lord God was of swich souffrance,
Thanne is it to his creature shame
On greef to him doon take any vengeance.
Man oughte rather soewe for the blame
That God shal konne him that hath doon the grame
- be able [to do to]; harm
- gallows (Cross)
- beaten; sp[ec]iall aspon
humiliation
- charitable; patient

The Regiment of Princes

De castitate

- | | | |
|------|--|---|
| | To chastitee purpose y now to haaste,
Which covenable is and convenient
Unto a kyng for to savoure and taaste. | appropriate |
| 3630 | What prince that with unclennesse is brent,
And therin settith his lust and talent, | |
| ¶¶ | No parfyte dede or werk him folwe may,
Mochil is herte chaast to Goddes pay. | (see MLG)
pleasure |
| | Right as the persone of a prince outward
Honured is with clothes precious, | |
| 3635 | So oghte his herte clothid been inward
With vertu, and him kythe vertuous.
Fressh apparaile and herte lecherous
Unsittyngly been in a geince joynt — | |
| 3640 | Namely in a Cristen kyng enoynt. | united
anointed |
| | In as mochil as dignitee of kyng
Excedith othir folk in reverence, | esteem |
| | The more him oghte peyne him, lest al thyng
Othir folk passe in vertuous excellencye. | |
| 3645 | Honour nat elles is in existence
Than reverence geven in witnesse
Of vertu, as the scriptures expesse. | |
| | Honour which was gotten vertuously
Ne was nat first by dignitee purchaced, | acquired |
| 3650 | As that Boece tellith expressly,
But dignitees honour was embraced
With vertu; dignitee had been unlaced
And ungirt of honour nad vertu be,
For vertu hath hir propre dignitee. | Boethius; explicitly
Unless; encompassed
unfastened
deprived; if virtue had not been |
| ¶¶ | Aristotle conseillid Alisaundre
To lecherise he nat enclyne sholde,
For it is hogges lyf, which were esclaundre
To him if he tho weyes take wolde
That beestes resonlees usen and holde; | (see MLG)
dugrace |

The Regiment of Princes

- 3660 For of body it is destruccioun,
And eek of al vertu corrupcoun.
- Syn they that nat were of Cristen bapteisme
Conseillid men eschue lecherie,
Than oghte us Cristen men that vice fleeme
And swiche lustes in us mortifie. *bawd*
- 3665 Whoso entendith imo blisse stye,
That fyry sparle algate he miste qwenche
And lustes leve of lady and of wenche. *to ascend*
spark
- 3670 ^{¶¶} The Scripture seith, no fornicatour
The regne of Cryst and God shal inherite;
It seith eek that him and the aduoutour
God deeme shal; He can hir labour qwyte
Ful sharply that in tho tweyne delyte;
And so He wole but correccoun
Be mannes sheeld and his proteccoun. *(see MLG)*
- 3675 ^{¶¶} adulterer
- 3680 African Scipio, that noble knyght,
Whan he was twenti yeer and four of age,
And by prowesse and by manhode and might
Cartagiens put hadde into servage,
Ther was a mayde sent him in hostage,
Of yeeres ripe ynow, and of beautee
Moost excellent that men mighthe owhere see. *subjection*
anywhere
- 3685 And whan this worthy yong prince honourable
This woman sy, of here he took good yeeme,
Thynkyng that shee was of beautee able
The woethyeste on lyve for to queeme.
And in him multiplied thoghtes beeeme.
But nathelees, for al his bysy thought,
Enquere he gan if shee wyf were or nocht. *great heed*
gratify
temperaceous
- 3690 Shee trouthid was to Judibal, men seide,
A lord of that citee; and Scipio
On a ministre of his the charge leide
For hir fadir and modir blyve go. *betrathed*

The Regiment of Princes

- They at his heeste cam unto him tho,
And in his clese virginal estat
Restored he this maide inviolat. *command*
- 3695
- The gold eek that for his redempcoun
Purveied was, forgaf he uttirly,
In help and encrees and promocioun
3700 Of his wedlok; and whan Judibal sy
And kneew how Scipio thus nobbely
Demened him, he was ful wel apayed
Of that he gruccid first and was affrayed. *Treated: satisfied*
- He wente unto th'estates of the toun
3705 And tolde hem al the cas as it befyl;
And they this lord gaf laude and hy renous
For that; and alle with oon herte and wil
Submittid hem to this prince gentil.
Thus herte chaast and tendre gentillesse
3710 Conquereth hertes rather than duresse. *the dignitaries*
praise
hard-heartedness
- Or Marcus Marcellus had the citee
Of Ciracuse taken or ynone,
He leet do crye amonges his meynsee
That, whan the citee he had overcome
3715 And his folk therin entred were and come,
Noon be so hardy the wommen oppresse,
Ne touche hem by no way of unclenesse.
- 3720 Ther was also a seemly, fressh yong man
To whom nature swich favour had leest
Of shap and beautee, that ther nas womanne
That ones had a look on him despent
But that his herte gaf fleschly consent;
And nathelees, eschmed he the taast
3725 By toknes kneew he his unclene entente,
And with his nayles cracched he his face,
And scocched it with knyves and torente, *(see MLG)*
was not
sighs
scratched
made cuts in; mutilated

The Regiment of Princes

- And it so wondirfully gan difface
That his beautee refusid hadde hir place. rejected; *its*
3730 Al this dide he hir hertes to remue
From him and make hem unclennesse eschue.
- ¶** Jerom tellith ageyn Jovynyan,
A fair woman, a mayde clept Ulie,
Yweddid was unto an aged man,
3735 A Romayn smiten with the palesie;
But shee in chastitee was set so hic
That an ensaumple verrailly was shee
To alle tho that loved chastitee.
- (see MLG)
- Hir housbonde herde ones an enemy
3740 Which that he hadde, speke in his repreef,
That his breeth stank as that he stood him by;
Wherof he took greet hevynesse and greef.
He gooth hoom to his wyf and this mescheef
Ful hevily to hir he gan compleyne,
3745 And thus of hire he gan to axe and freyne: inquire
- "Why wyf," quod he, "han yee nat, or this tyme,
Ywarmed me how that it with me stood?"
"Sire, it was nat," quod shee, "espied by me,
I heeld your breeth ay also soote and good
3750 As othir mennes been; I undirstood
Noon othir ne yit do, in soothfastnesse."
Ful fewe men had shee kist, as I gesse!
- sweet
- Shee hly was to preise and to commende,
That nat ne kneew by othir mennes mowthis
3755 Hir makes vice; it was al wel shee wende. supposed
To fynde many swiche ful unkouthe is:
Lat us awyte wel whan the wynd south is
And north at ones, blowynge on the sky,
And fynde swich an heep than hardily. wondrous
- great number; assuredly
- ¶** Plato his patrimoyne and his contree
Lefte and forsook and dwelte in wyldernessee (see MLG)

The Regiment of Princes

- For to restreyne flesshly mycetee;
And his disciples loved so clennesse,
And for to fallen hadden swich gastnesse,
3765 Hir yen they out of hir heedes brente
Lest sighte of hem spotte myghte hir entente. strain
- E38** Demostenes his handes ones putte
In a wommannes bosom japyngly,
Of face fair but of hir body a slutte.
3770 "With yow to dele," seide he, "what shal I
Yow geve?" "Fourty pens," quod shee, "soothly."
He seide nay, so deere he bye nolde
A thyng for which that him repente sholde.
- E39** I fynde how two doghtires of a duchesse,
3775 The flesshly touches of men for to flee
Whan men of Ungarie hem wolde oppresse,
In conservyng of hir virginitee,
They hem purveyed a good sotiltee:
They chekenes flessh putte undirmethe hir pappes.
3780 Hem to defende from uncleanly happenes.
- Beholde of wommen heer a noble wyle.
In short avisement, who can do bet?
By that this flessh thus hadde leyn a whylc
And that it was ychaufed wel and het,
3785 It stank so foule that it hath ylet
Tho men, that weery they were of hir pray
And forsook the wommen and wente hir way.
- O wommanhode! In thee regneth vertu
So excellent that to feeble is my wit
3790 To expresse it, wherfore I am eschu
To medle or make a long sermoun of it.
Sum mannes mouth yit wolde I were yshit
That vice of wommen sparish nat bywreye,
For alle soothes been nat for to seye.

(see MLG)

in jest

copulate

would not

(see MLG)

Hungary

provided for themselves

chickens; breasts

occurrences

excellent trick

On reflection (On short notice)

warmed; heated

hindered

disinclined

shut

to divulge

The Regiment of Princes

- 3795 But for to talke foorth of continence
Or chastitee: whoso chaast lyve shal
Moot scourge his fleschly lust with abstinence;
Thryste him adoun, geve him no place at al.
Metes and drynkes make a soule thrall
- 3800 If the body be reuled by excesse;
Forthy it needith take of hem the lesse.
- Excesse of mete and drynke is wombes freend,
And wombe is next to our membres pryue,
Glotonye is ful plesant to the feend;
To lecherie redy path is shee.
- 3805 The feend lyth in awayt of our freelite
And stireth man to drynkes delicat
To make ageynes chastitee debat.
- A man sholde ete and drynke in swich a wyse
As may be to his helthes susteynynge,
Aftir the doctrine of Senek the wyse.
Sum man drynkith the wyn to his weenyng
Whan he drynkith his wit. More is preysynge
And honourable a man compleyne on thrist
Than drocken be whan he the cuppe hath kist.
- ¶¶** Thus seide Jerom unto a virgyne:
"O doghtir, syn th' apostle sore dredde
Lust of his flesch and dide his body pyne
And heeld it lowe and symplely it fedde,
Wherburgh the vice of uncleanness he fledde,
Of continence how maistow sikir be
Of foode delicat that hast plente,
- ¶¶** "And specially now in thy youthes herte?"
For whoso wilneth to be continent,
Many a lust superflu moot he lete
And likerous; by mesure his talent
Mesure he moot. Whan reson is regent
Of man, than regneth no delicacie;
Reson a man deffendith fro folie.

(the) belly's

weakness
luxurious, promoting lust
battle

supposing
praiseworthy

(see MLG)

tautured

(see MLG)

vain
lecherous

wantonness

The Regiment of Princes

- 3830 The wynes delicat and sweete and stronge
Causen ful many an inconvenience;
If that a man outrageously hem fonge,
They birien wit and forbeeden silence
take
3835 Of conseil; they outrayen pacience;
They kyndlen ire and fyren lechherie,
And causen bothe body and soule die.
overcome
- 3840 And trewely, it is ful perillous
Unto a prince which that hath a land
In governance, in that be vicious;
It needith him take heede unto his hand
That that vice him encombe nat; for and
It do, he shal nat regne but a throwe.
short time
- 3845 **¶** Of Babiloyne the kyng Baltasar
Nat hadde been ypryved of his lyf
If he of dronkenesse hadde be war;
But for that he therin was defectyf,
It of his deeth was verray causatyf;
cause
By nyghttale he slayn was by Kyng Darie;
sighttime; Darius
3850 Thus paith glotoun excesse hir salari.
- 3855 **¶** Thurgh dronkenesse how took his deeth Nabal
¶ And how slow Tholomé also Symoun?
Allas, that drynske so man serve shall!
¶ How leide Lothes doghtres hem adoun
By hir fadir? Whan his discrecioun
Was dreynt with wyna, he with hem fleschly delte,
And therof nothyng ne wiste ne felte.
Lot's; (see MLG)
overcome; copulated
- 3860 **¶** How was eek Oloferne by Judith
The womman slayn but thurgh his dronkenesse?
What prince it be that spottid is therwith.
His welthe hath but a bretil stablenessse.
Of swiche stories mo wolde I expresse,
But for I nat ne can, I lete hem passe;
I am as lewde and dul as is an asse.
Holofernes; (see MLG)

The Regiment of Princes

- 3865 With litil foode content is nature,
And bet the body farith with a lyte
Than whan it charged is out of mesure,
Looke what thyng may the body profyte
And the soule in the same shal delyte;
3870 What thyng that it distemprith and disesith,
The soule it hurtith, for it God displesith.
- Wratthe the body of man inward fretith,
And God therwith displesid is ful sore;
Envye also of God and man hir getith
3875 Lyk thank and ese and shal do evermore;
And leecherie, as techith smertes lore,
The body waastith and the soule greeveth,
And foode delicat thereto man mœveth.
- Beholde also, whan that the paunce is ful,
A fume clymbith up into the heed
And makith a man al lustees and dul;
He wexith hevy as a pece of lead.
Whoso that tharne wolde geve him reed
To looke in a book of devocioun,
3885 I trowe in ydil were his mocioun.
- But consaille him to trotte unto the wyn
And, for al his excesse and his outrage,
He therto wole assente wel afyn,
And there wole he outen his langage.
3890 And do to Bacchus and Venus homage,
For noon of hem two can be wel from oþir;
They love as wel as dooth suster and brothir.
- And aftir moot he rowne with a pilwe
His lyflees resonis there to despende.
We beestes resonable, allas, why wole we
Ageyn resoun werreye and hir offende?
O goode God, Thy grace to us sende
That we may flee swich superfluitee
3895 And al thyng that is fo to chastitee.

upsets; distresses

inwardly devours

Similar thanks

pain's

vapor

batless

lead

in vain; suggestion

entirely

utter

whisper

unconscious utterances

The Regiment of Princes

De regis magnanimitate

- 3900 Of magnanimitee now wole I trete,
 That is to seyn, strong herte or greet corage
 Which in knyghthode hath stabbisshd hir sete. seat
 Yee, gracious Prince, of blood and of lynage
 Descendid been to have it in usage.
- 3905 Mars hath been ay freend to your worthy lyne;
 Yee moot of kynde to manhode enclyne. as a habit
- He that is strong of corage and of herte,
 If he lordshipes have or greet richesse,
 Or that Fortunes styng him overthwerthe, thwart
 3910 Is alway oon in welthe and in distresse;
 He lucre and los weyelh in evennesse;
 He settith litil by good temporel;
 How the world shape, he takith it ay wel. always the same
reputation weighs; balance
- 3915 But for to speke of corage of a kyng,
 He of his peple owith be so cheer
 That hir profyt he moot for anythyng
 Promote with his might and his poweer;
 And for his reme and hem, take him so neer
 3920 That unto the perilles of bataille
 He moot him putte, and in hem travaille, provides (arranges)
- And in deffense of Holy Chirche also,
 And for our feith putte him in jupartie; at risk
 Othir causes been ther but fewe mo
 Why a kyng oughte to bataille him hye baston
 3925 And in tho causes dредe him nat to dye,
 But kythe him a good knyght among his foos —
 Thus wonne is magnanimitees loos. reputation
- 3930 Right as we seen by reson and nature
 Part of mannes body deffendith al,
 As an arm puttith him in aventurure at risk
 For the body that nat perisshe it shal,
 Right so a kynges cheertee special.

The Regiment of Princes

If he God love and his peple and his land,
Whan neede is, moot deffende hem with his hand.

- 3935 Thurgh grete emprises wonne is by renoun;
Renoun is callid glorie and honour,
Magnanimus hath this condicoun,
That in bataille, how sharp that be the stour,
Him lever is to suffre dethes shour
3940 Than cowardly and shamefully flee,
So manly of corage and herte is he.

He medleth nevere but of thynges grete
And hye and vertuous; he nevere is meeved
With smale thynges, as the bookes trete;
And swich a drede hath for to be repreaved
That, unto thyng that may be knowe or preeved
Foe villenous or foul or repreaveable,
He nevere obeyed, this knyght honsurable.
- I have yred of oon clept Coadrus
That was peince of the oost of Athenyens,
How in the feeld a lawe maad was thus
Twist his oost and hem of Polipolens:
With triumphe sholde that part go thens
Whos duc or prince were unarmed slaw
3955 In habyt strange — lo! swich was the lawe.

Him lever was himselfen for to dye
And his men lyve, than see hem bystad
So streite that by violent maistrie
His foos hadde hem venquisht or overlaid.
Adayes now is noon swich cheertee had;
Algates I ne can nat seen it usid;
Knyghtes been looth therof to been accusid.

O worthy Prince, I truste in your manhode
Medled with prudence and discrecioun,
3965 That yee shul make many a knyghtly rode
And the prude of oure foos thristen adoun.

undertakings

conflict

rather; assault

occupies himself

army; (*see MLG*)

the Peloponnesians

side

foreign (*unfamiliar*) dress

hard pressed

dominated

Mixed

military expedition

The Regiment of Princes

Manhode and wit conqueren hy resoun,
And whoso lakketh outhir of the tweyne
Of armes wantith the brydil and reyne.

- 3970 Or the ordre of knyghthode be receyved,
Ful needful is a man to be prudent,
Elles that oost may lightly be deceyved
That is unto his governance ybent.
Presumpcion is disobedient
easily constrained
- 3975 Alday and by wysdam nat wole him gye;
Al justifieth his obstinacie.
Always; guide himself
- Ofte in batailles hath be seen or this
A syde souffred hath disconfiture
Which an unwys heed gyed hath amis.
3980 What knyght on him takith that charge or cure,
If he in knyghtly honour shal endure,
Him ogithe endowid been of sapience,
And have in armes greet experience.
led
- 3985 Experience and art in a bataille,
Of the prudent knyght, more may profyte
Than hardynesse or force may availe
Of him that therof knowith naught or lyte.
Hardynesse in effect nat worth a myte
skill
- 3990 Is to victorious conclusioun,
But with him medle aart, wit, and resoun.
daring
Unless
- Whan resuled wit and manly hardynesse
Been knyt togidere as yok of mariage,
Ther folwith of victorie the swetnesse;
For to sette on him whettith his corage,
3995 And wit restreyne his wil can and asswage
In tyme due and in covenable;
And thus tho two joymt been ful profitable.
disciplined mind
attack
together
- 4000 But be a knyght wys or corageous,
Or have hem bothe at ones at his lust,
If that his herte of good be desyrous,

The Regiment of Princes

On his manhode is ther but lytil trust.
God graunte knyghtes rubbe away the rust
Of covetyse if it hir hertes cancre,
And graunte hem picche in souffissance hir ancre.

corrode

to cast; anchor

Quod rex non [de]bet felicitatem suam ponere in divitiis

- 4005 Now for as moche as magnanimitie
May no foot holde if that the herte of man
Greely unto richesse enclyned be,
Than is the beste reed that I see can,
A kyng therein delyte him nat; for whan
4010 His herte is in that vice flicchid hye,
Smal prowesse in him wole it signifie.
- fixed firmly*
- And if a kynges honour shal be qweynt
With a foul and a wrecchid covetyse,
His peples trust in him shal be ful feynt;
4015 A kyng may nat governe him in that wyse,
The coveitous may do no greet emprysse,
For whan his herte lurkith in his cofre,
His body to bataille he dar nat profre.
- If that a kyng sette his felicitee
4020 Principally on richesse and moneye,
His peple it torneth to adversitee,
For he ne rekkith in what wyse or weye
He pile hem. Allas, that kynges nobleye
Tome sholde into style of tiranny!
4025 Allas the peril, harm, and vilenye!
- robs them; nobility*
- God I byseeche your herte enlumyne,
Gracious Prince, that the feend our fo
No power have so your herte myne,
But of His grace keepe yow therfro,
4030 And graunte yow to governe yow so
As moost holsum is for body and soule;
That desyre I, by God and by Seint Poule.
- undermine*

The Regiment of Princes

- 138 Whan that Marcus Curcius, a Romeyn,
 Unto the Beneventans seige leide, (see MLG)
 4035 For he was poore, as that they herde seyn.
 They a greet somme of gold him sente and preide
 Withdrawe his seige; and he answerde and seide:
 "To hem retorneth that yow hidir sente
 And thus to hem declarith myn entente:
- 4040 "Seye hem, Marcus Curcius lever is
 Ryche men have at his commandement
 Than to be ryche himself — fortelle hem this;
 He may with gold nat be corrupt ne blent,
 Of force of men eek they been inpotent self in advance
 4045 To venquisshe him, for there hir aart shal faille;
 Hir blynde profers shal hem nat availle." deceived
- 139 To Alisaundre, as I shal tellen heere,
 A knyght which was unto him special (see MLG)
 4050 Thus spak and blamed him in this maneere:
 He seide, "If oure goddes thy body smal equal
 To thy greedy desir had maad egal,
 Al the world hadde nat be souffissant
 To han receyved so large a geant; gland
- 4055 "For with thy right hond thow the orient
 Sholdest han touchid — I am seur of that,
 And with thy lyf hond eek the occident,
 Now syn that thy body answerith nat
 Unto thy wil, what may I seye, what? nothing
- 4060 Mochil of thee mervaille I in my thought.
- "If thow be god, thow folwe muste his trace example
 And nat men of his good robbe or byreve,
 But hem releeve and do hem ese and grace;
 If thow be man, considere eek, by thy leve,
 4065 Thow art mortel — thow maist be deed or eeve, evening
 If thow be nothyng, thee putte out of mynde
 As he that is of no nature or kynde. forger yourself

The Regiment of Princes

- "Ther is noon hy estat so sad and stable,
Remembre wel, let it nat be forgete.
4070 But he to falle in peril is ful able.
By deeth a leon maad is briddes mete,
And beestes also his flessh gnawe and frete."
The answere of the kyng nat have I herd;
My book nat tellith how he was answerd.
- ¶¶** Senek seith, the poore Diogenes
Kyng Alisaundre in richesse paste,
For he ne mighte, as he seith doutelees,
Geve him so mochil gold ne on him caste
As he refuse wolde. O, at the laste
4080 Men thynke shuln they to mochil han had,
And of this worldes muk be ful unglad.
- Desyr of good a kyng moot leye apaart
And peyne him to purchace him a good fame;
Therin lat him laboure and doon his aart;
4085 Ther is nothing unto a worthy name.
And if a kyng it lakke, it were his shame,
And shame is contrarie unto worthynesse;
Good loos disserved is grettest richesse.
- And for largesse wynneth good renoun,
4090 Thereof now thynke I trete a litol stownde.
A prince and kyng of al a regioune
Moot avarice thriste adoun to grownde.
¶¶ To him that lyth in helle deepe ybownde,
4095 Thee, avarice, bytake I to keepe.
Thow pynepeny, there ay moot thow sleep!
- Gold wolde of fals emprisonyng a wris
Sue ageyn thee if he at large were,
But he so faste is in thy cofre shir
He may nat out. O fals emprisonere!
4100 Largesse wolde be with sheeld and spere
Evene in thy berd if he brak out to morwe,
And for his sake do thee care and sorwe.

firmly established

bird's food
devour

(see MLG)
surpassed

goods

compared to

reparation

generosity
period of time

(see MLG)

enrust

pinchpenay

detraction
free

one who imprisons

face to face; broke

The Regiment of Princes

- Thow to largesse doost ful mochil wrong
That hast hir servant undir thy servage;
4105 On thee and nat on hire is it along
That gold is let to goon on hir message.
Shee hath him sent in many a viage
Or this, and that was the commun profyt,
The which to lette is evere thy delyt.
- owing
prevented from
on
public good
- 4110 Largesse oonly nat list gold servant be
Unto herself, but the peple shee wolde
Hadde as good part of hir service as she.
To hire is al the commun peple yholde,
But thow makist the peples hertes colde;
- bound
- 4115 Thow sleest an heep which that shee wolde save;
Thow no wight helpist thogh he thyn help crave.
- Me list no more speke of thee this tyme,
But of myn helpy lady sovereyne,
Largesse, my lady, now wole I ryme;
4120 And afterward, of thy cursid careyne
I speke shal; nat o word wole I feyne.
But as scriptures treten of thee, wrecche,
I touche shal — the feend thee hennes fecche!
- helpful
compose in verse
carries

De virtute largitatis et de vitiis prodigalitatis

- E**R Aristotle of largesse tellith this:
4125 Who virtuously large list to be,
Considere first of what power he is
And eek the tymes of necessitee,
And as the men disserven, so be free;
Geve in mesure unto the indigent
4130 And the worthy, and that is wel despent;
- (see *M.G.*)
generous desires
can afford
occasions; need
generous
spent
- And who dooth otherwyse in his gevynge
Largesses reule passith and excedith;
He neithir worthy is thank ne preysyng
That to him that no neede hath gifies bedith.
- offers

The Regiment of Princes

- 4135 Of verray folie also it procedith
To geve the unworthy, for that cost
Al misdespendid is, for it is lost.
- And he that despendith out of mesure
Shal taaste anoom povertes bittirnesse;
- 4140 Fool largesse is thereto a verray lure.
Of him also he berith the liknesse
That on himself, as the book can witnesse,
Victorie geveth to his enemys;
And he that so despendith is nat wys.
- 4145 Largesse stant nat in mochil gevynge,
But it is aftir the wil and the might
Of him that geveth aftir his havynge;
For it may sumtyme happe that a wight
Which of richesse berith nat but light
- 4150 Geveth but smal and yit largere is he
Than he that geveth gretter quantitee.
- Aftir his good man may geve and despende
Whereas neede is, but he that al despendith
And waastith shal himselfen first offendre;
- 4155 Fool largesse alday wrecchidly endith.
Many a man hir foul outrage shendith;
But of largesse is good the governance;
Bothe to God and man it is plesance.
- 4160 Evene as a mannes blood is norisshyng
To his body if it corrupt nat be,
So been richesses to soules feedyng
Holsum if they, whereas necessitee
Axith, despent been, and also if he
Which that hem wan, gat hem with rightwisnesse;
- 4165 For hevene and helle is gote by richesse.
- A crookid hors nevere is the bet entecchid
Althogh his brydil glistre of gold and shyne;
Right so a man that vicious is and wrecchid,
- resembles
by
- is grounded
according to; possessions
- a small amount
little
- Foolish
extravagance ruins
- gained
won
- crippled; improved

The Regiment of Princes

- | | | |
|------|---|------------------------------------|
| | And his richesses gote hath of rapyne,
And also eyle as man can ymagyne,
Despendith hem, nat for hem the bet is,
But mochil wers; goed is take heede of this. | plunder |
| 4170 | He that his flessh despendith and his blood,
My Lord, in your service, him giftes beede:
There is largesse mesurable good.
A kyng so bownde is, he moot do so neede. | offer |
| 4175 | Service unqwyt and murdre, it is no dreede,
As clerkes writyen, and desheritance,
Byfore almighty God axen vengeance. | unrequited: doubt
dispossession |
| 4180 | Of fool largesse wole I talke a space,
How it befyl, y not in what contree,
But ther was oon named John of Canace,
A ryche man, and two doghtres had he, | know not |
| 4185 | That to two worthy men of a citee
He wedde leet, and there was gladnesse
And revel more than I can expresse. | permitted |
| 4190 | The fadir his doghtres and hir housbondes
Loved ful wel and hadde hem leef and deere;
Tyme to tyme he gaf hem with his hondes
Of his good passyngly, and they swich cheere | exceedingly |
| | Him made and were of so plesant maneere
That he ne wiste how he bettre at esc.
They cowden him so wel cherice and plesse; | indulge |
| 4195 | For he as mochil hauntid in partie
Hir hous as that he dide his owne hous.
They heeld him up so with hir flaterie
That of despenses he was outrageous, | frequented |
| | And of his good they were ay desirous.
Al that they axid hadden they reedy;
They evere weren upon him greedy. | supported (treated) |
| 4200 | This sely man continued his outrage
Til al his goode was disshid and goon; | extravagance
spent |

The Regiment of Princes

- And whan they felte his despenses asswage,
They wax unkynde unto him asoon,
4205 For aftir had he cherisshyng noon.
They weery weren of his compaigne;
And he was wys and shoop a remedie.
- He to a marchant gooth of his notice
Which that his trusty freend had been ful yore,
4210 Byseechynge him that he wolde him chevise
Of ten thousand pound no lenger ne more
Than dayes thre, and he wolde it restore
At his day. This was doon; the somme he hente
And to his owne hous therwith he wente.
- 4215 And on the morwe preide he to souper
His sones bothe and his doghtres also;
They to him cam withoute any daungere.
How that they ferdyn, lat I passe and go;
They ferdyn wel, withouten wordes mo.
- 4220 To his koonyng he greet despoyt hem made;
He dide his myght to cheere hem and to glade.
- Aftir souper, whan they hir tyme sy,
They took hir levee and hoom they wolde algate;
4225 And he answerde and seide hem sikirly:
"This nyght yee shul nat passe out of the gate;
Your hous is fer and it is dirk and late;
Nevene it nat for it shal nat betyde."
And so al nyght he made hem for to abyde.
- 4230 The fadir logged hem of sly purpoos
In a chambre next unto his joyzyng,
For betwixt hem nas ther but a parcloos
Of bord nat but of an hoomly makynge,
Thurghout the which at many a chynnyng
4235 In eche chambre they myghten beholde
And see what oþer diden if they wolde.

The Regiment of Princes

- I can nat seyn how they slepten that nyght,
Also it longith nat to my mateere; belonge
But on the morwe at the brood day light
The fadir roos, and for they sholden heire
4240 What that he dide, in a boistous mancere rough
Unto his chiste, which thre lokkes hadde,
He wente, and thereat wrythed he ful sadde. *he turned about vigorously*
- And whan it was yopned and unshut,
The baggid gold by the marchant him lent unclosed
4245 He hath uncofred, and streight foorth with it
Unto his beddes feet goon is and went.
What dooth thanne this fel man and prudent
But out this gold on a tapyt hath shot, guileful; sly
That in the bagges lefft ther no grot. carpet; tossed
bit
- 4250 And al this dide he nat but for a wyle, trick
As that yee shul wel knownen aftirward;
He shoop his sones and doghtres begyle, determined; beguile
His noyse made hem dressen hem upward; get up
They caste hir eres to his chambreward toward his chamber
4255 And herde of gold the russhynege and the soun noise
As that he rudely theew hem adoun; roughly
- And to the parcloos they hem haaste and hye partition
To wite and knowe what hir fadir wroghte.
In at the chynes of the bord they prye chinks; peer
4260 And sy how he among the nobles soghe nobles (a gold coin)
If deffectyf were any, as hem thoughtie,
And on his nayle he threew hem ofte and caste,
And bagged hem and cofred at the laste; scalef?) (see note)
- And opneth his dore and doun gooth his wey.
4265 And aftir blyve out of hir bed they ryse
And cam doun eek. Hir fadir thankken they
Of his good cheere in hire beste wyse —
And al was for the goldes covetyse;
And to goon hoom they axen of him leve;
4270 They been departed and they there him leve.

The Regiment of Princes

- Walkynge homward, they janglid faste and speek
Of the gold which they sy hir fadir have. *chattered*
- 4275 Oon seide, "I wondre theron;" "And I oek,"
Quod another, "for also God me save,
Yistiday, thogh I sholde into my grave
Han crept, I durste on it han leid my lyf
That gold with him nat hadde be so ryf."
- Now lat hem muse on that what so hem liste,
And to hir fadir now wole I me dresse, *whatever pleases them*
- 4280 He al this gold takith out of his chiste
And to the merchant paide it more and lesse,
Thankyng him often of his kyndenesse:
And thennes gooth he hoom unto his nene,
And to his sones hous whan he hadde etc. *all dinner*
- 4285 Whan he cam thidir, they made of him more
Than that they weren woot by many fold;
So greet desport they made him nat ful yore.
"Fadir," quod they, "this is your owne household;
In feith ther is nothyng withynne oure hold" *possession*
- 4290 But it shal be at your commandement.
Wolde God that yee were of oure assent;
"Thanne we sholden ay togidere dwelle."
Al what they menten wisse he wel ynow.
"Sones and doghtres," quod he, "sooth to telle,
- 4295 My wil is good also to be with yow —
How sholde I meryer be nat woot I how
Than with yow for to be continual?
Your compaignie lykith me ful wel."
- Now shoop it so they heeld hous alle in feire
4300 Sauf the fadir, and as they lowgh and pleide,
His doghtres bothe with lawhyng cheere
Unto hir fadir spak and thus they seide,
And to assoile hir question, him preide: *maintained a household; jointly*
Except (i.e., he not paying); *laughed*
- 4305 "Now, goode fadir, how mochil moneye
In your strong bownden chiste is, we yow preye?" *solve*

The Regiment of Princes

- "Ten thousand pounde," he seide, and lyed lowde;
"I tolde hem," quod he, "nat ful longe ago,
And that as redily as that I cowde.
If yee wole aftir this do to me so
4310 As yee han doon beforne, thanne alle tho
I in my testament dispose shal
For your profyt — youres it shal been al."
- Aftir this day they alle in oon hous were
Til the day cam of the fadres dyynge.
4315 Good mete and drynke and clothes for to were
He hadde and paide naught to his endyng.
Whan he sy the tyme of his departyng,
His sones and his doghtres dide he calle
And in this wyse he spak unto hem alle:
- 4320 "Nat purpose I make oþer testament
But of that is in my strong chiste bownde;
And right anoon, or I be hennes hent,
An hundred pounde of nobles goode and rownde
Takith to prechours — tarieþ it no stownde; *preaching friars (Dominicans); delay*
4325 An hundred pounde eek to the freeres greye, *Franciscans*
And Carmes fifty — tarie it nat, I seye. *Carmelite friars*
- "And whan I biried am, of hem the keyes
Of my chiste takith, for they hem keepe.
By every keye written been the weyes
4330 Of my wil." This gold was nat suffred sleepe.
It was anoon dalt, for hir hertes deepe
Stak in his bownden cofre, and al hir hope
Was goode bagges therin for to grope.
- To every chirche and reclus of the toun
4335 Bad hem eek of gold geve a quantitee. *[He] ordered ready*
Al as he bad they weren prest and boun
And dide it blyve; but so moot I thee,
Ful slyly he deceyved this meynée — *company*
His sones and his doghtres bothe, I meene;
4340 Hir berdes shaved he right smoothe and cleene. *Their beards*

The Regiment of Princes

- Whan he was deed and his execu^{ies} do,
Solempnely they to the freres yide
And bad tho keyes delivre hem unto;
And as that they hem beden, so they dide.
4345 Tho joieful sones dresse hem to the stide
Whereas this stronge bownden chiste stood,
But or they twynned thens they pekkid mood.
- They opneden the chiste and fond right nocht
But a passyngly greet sergeantes mace
4350 In which ther gayly maad was and ywroght
This same scripture: "I, John of Canace,
Make swich testament heere in this place:
Who berith charge of oþir men and is
Of hem despysid, slayn be he with this."
- 4355 Amonges folies alle is noon, I levee,
More than man his good ful largely
Despende in hope men wole him releeve
Whan his good is despendid uttily;
The indigent men settien noþing by.
- 4360 I, Hoccleve, in swich cas am guilty; this me touchith.
So seith povert, which on fool large him vouchith.
- For thogh I nevere were of hy degree,
Ne hadde mochil good ne greet richesse,
Yit hath the vice of prodigalitee
4365 Smerted me sore and doon me hevynesse.
He that but lytil hath may doon excesse
In his degree as wel as may the ryche,
Thogh hir despenses weye nat ylyche.
- 4370 So have I plukkid at my purses strynges
And maad hem ofte for to gape and gane
That his smal stuf hath take him to his wynges,
And hath ysworn to be my welthes bane
But if releef away my sorwe plane;
And whens it come shal, can I nat gesse.
- 4375 My Lord, but it proceede of your hynesse.
- west
place
left; became incensed
officer's club, mace
is responsible for
have no concern about
concerns
common as wilness
weigh; the same
picked
open wide
cloth; taken wing
destroyer
alleviate

The Regiment of Princes

- I me repente of my misrulede lyf;
Wherfore, in the way of sauaciuon
I hope I be; my dotage excessyf
Hath put me to swich castigacioun
4380 That indigence hath dominacioun
On me. O, hadde I help now, wolde I thryve;
And so ne dide I nevere yit my lyve.
folly
in my life
- My yeerly guerdoun, myn annuitee,
That was me graunted for my long labour,
4385 Is al behynde — I may nat payed be;
Which causith me to lyven in langour.
O, liberal Prince, ensample of honour,
Unto your grace lyke it to promoot
My poore estat, and to my wo beeth boote.
remuneration
relief
- 4390 And wothy Prince, at Crystes reverence,
Herkneth what I shal seyn and beeth nat greeved,
But lat me stande in your benevolence;
For if myn hertes wil wist were and preeved
How yow to love it stired is and meeved,
4395 Yee sholden knowe I your honour and welthe
Theiste and desyre, and eek your soules helthe.
- In al my book yee shul nat see ne fynde
That I youre deedes lakke or hem dispreise;
But for I wolde that yee hadde in mynde
4400 Swich thyng as your renoun mighte up areise,
I wryte as my symple conceit may peise.
And trustith wel, al that my penne seith
Procedith of good herte and treewe in feith.
blame
judge
- 4405 What kyng that dooth more excessyf despenses
Than his land may to souffyse or atteyne
Shal be destroyed aftir the sentences
Of Aristotle; he shal nat flee the peyne.
Fool largesse and avarice, tho tweyne,
If that a kyng eschue and large be,
4410 Rejoise he shal his real dignitee.
(see MLG)

The Regiment of Princes

- How fool largesse a kyng destroye may
As blyve wole I unto yow declare:
Fool largesse geveth so moche away
That it the kynges cofres makith bare,
4415 And thanne awakith poore peples care,
For al that shee despensid hath and waastid
They moot releeve — thereto been they haastid.
restore; pushed
- The tylere with his poore cote and land
That may unmethe gete his sustenance,
4420 And he that naught hath but labour of hand,
Been ofte put unto ful smert nusance.
Good is be waer of Goddes long souffrance;
Thogh he to venge him tarie and be souffrable,
Whan his strook cometh, it is importable.
milk-maker; cottage
patient
unendurable
- 4425 Nat speke I ageyn eides uttirly —
In sum cas they been good and necessarie;
But whan they goon to custumablely,
The peple it makith for to curse and warie;
And if they been despensid in contrarie
4430 Of that they grauntid of the peple were,
The more grucchen they the cost to bere.
taxes levied by Crown
come too habitually
revile
complain
- 4435 The pot so longe to the watir gooth
That hoom it cometh at the laste ybroke;
Whan that the peple with a cheere looth
Hir purs yemptid have and eek hir poke,
Hem thynkith that they over ny been soke.
What harm of that to kynges hath betid,
Scriptures tellen — it may nat been hid.
(see MLG)
displeased
bag
too closely; tucked
from that
- 4440 But Favel nat reportith tho scriptures;
His lordes soules salve he from him hydith;
He bisyeth him so in sly portraytures
That hoonly trouthe nat with him abydith;
The sweete venym of his tonge gydith
His lord unto the valeye of dirknesse
4445 If he goveme him by his fikilnesse.
cure
verbal pictures

The Regiment of Princes

- The treewe man, if he may appareyve
A deffauate in his lord, as otherwhyle
It happith, he his lord it redith weyve
And bit him to vertu him reconysle.
- 4450 And yit Favel, the net of fraude and gyle,
The thank hath, and that oþir the mangree —
O God, that verray trouthe art for to see!
- 4455 **¶** Who that for drede of any lord or sire
Hydeth the trouthe and nat wole it out seye,
He upon him provokith Goddes ire
For that he more of man than God hath ye.
- 4465 They that the trouthe of hir hertes bywreye
To lordes and telle hem hir wikkid lyf,
No grace in hem fynden for hir motyf.
- 450 But bet for trouthe is to suffre torment
Than richely enhaunced be for glose.
If this lyf heere be nat wel despent,
I woot it wel, I wole it nat suppose,
- 455 God wole his regne from us shittie and close.
Heer is the weye to peyne or to blisse;
Whoso wel dooth, of joie he may nat misse.
- Eternel God, the blessid Trinitee,
Which that every man of Cristen byleeve
Knowith an undyvydid unitee,
- 470 His mercy and his grace kythe and preeve
In yow, my Lord, that so your deedes cheeve
As that your soule, aftir this lyf present,
To hevene blisse up may be take and bent.

De vitio avaricie

- Now gawe to the avaricious,
4475 To whom noon habundance may souffyse;
A chynche nevere can be plenteuous
Thogh al were his — swich is his covetyse;

The Regiment of Princes

- To thriste ay aftir more it is his gyse;
He is the swolwe that is never ful.
4480 At avarice now have heer a pul!
- style
ibroar
boat
- Shee may, as God forbeede, undo a kyng
Thurgh hir insaciab le greedynesse;
Hir herte is set upon noon othir thyng
But how shee may gold hepe. Al in dirknesse
4485 Lurkith the purchas of hir egrenesse;
In bagges undir lok hir gold shee thristith;
Al to the cofre it gooth and al shee chistith.
- accumulate
taking; greed
trans
encloses in her chest
- There is it hid, no sonne it seeth ne moone;
Thogh al the world sterue sholde on a day
4490 For lak of good, nat were it for to doone
To borwe of here; evere is hir answere "Nay!"
That shee naught hath also shee swerith ay.
Hir nature is to keepe and nat despende,
And hir desyr of good ne hath noon ende.
- (see MLG)*
- 4500 **¶¶** Avance is a love inmoderat
Richesses temporel for to purchace;
Shee bisyeth hire in everiche estat;
Shee shapith hire, al the world embrace;
Fro the more to the lesse hir trace
To sue studien men, seith Isaye;
And shee the thraldom is of maumetrie.
- path
idolatry (Mahomedanism) (see note)
- Shee is a covetyse excessyf
Of othres good, and of hir owne shee
So streit and hard is and so retentyf
4505 That it profyte may in no degree.
O, avaricious, what cilith thee?
The goodes whiche been unto thee lent
Why hydest thou? Ywis, thou wilt be shent.
- unyielding; stingy
destroyed
- 4510 **¶¶** Weenest thou that thou doost nat wikkidly
That so many a mannes sustenance
Thyself withholdist soul? Yis, hardily.
- Suppose: (see MLG)
alone

The Regiment of Princes

- Thow that of riches hast greet habundance
And to the needy gevest no pitance,
No lesse offendist thow than he that shakith
4515 Men out of hir good and from hem it takith.
- Thus may thy style likned be to thefie:
As a theef in this world is hangid heere
For good which that he of the peple refte,
So shalt thow hange in helle and bye it deere.
4520 But if so be, or thow go to thy beere,
Thow coerecete thy greedy appetyt
And of strel keepyng empie thy delyt.
- EB** The breed of hungry peple thow withholdist
And shittist up the nakid mennes clooth
4525 That kevere hem sholde. If thow aght of God toldist,
For to do so thow woldest be ful looth.
Al that thow getist, to hid place it gooth;
EB As many men hir good thow hem byrevest
4530 As thow releeve mightist and it levest.
- EB** Whoso that fro the poore mannes cry
Stoppit his eres though he lowde crye,
Shal nat be herd; and moreover, rede y,
His dayes shul encrece and multiplye
That avarice hatith — this is no lye.
EB Werse is nothyng than to love moneye,
4535 As that Ecclesiasticus can seye.
- EB** Ambrose seith, "Waar man that thow ne shitte
Withyn thy pars the needy peples hele,
And to the burielles nat committe
4540 The lyf of poore men. "Gieve hem and dele
Part of thy good. O, thy bagges unsele;
Opne hem — hir knyttyng al to sore annoyeth;
Thy pyned stuf many a man destroyeth.
- Thow seist par cas, "If I no man byreve
4545 His good, what wrong myn owne is it to hyde
- conduct*
pay for
(see MLG)
reckoned
(see MLG)
desist
(see MLG)
(see MLG)
Beware; shit; (see MLG)
well-being
grave
(to) them; share
open
closing
misery-causing provisions
perhaps

The Regiment of Princes

- And multiplie?" O chynche! By thy leve,
What seist thou is thyn? What was thyn that tyde
Thow cam into this world, thow homicyde?
Thow broghtest naught; clayme no propretee
4550 Of thyng that oughte commune to bee.
- ¶¶** Thy talkyng and thy clap is al of eerthe,
And the grownd forthy shal answere thee
For that the love of muk sittith so neer the.
Of him that hath of goodes greet plentee,
4555 Of God and man mochil axid shal be;
Thow shalt be reckned with heeresafir, chynche,
Whereas thow shalt nat at the accoutes pynche.
- By what title that thow getist thy good,
Thow countest nat the value of a myte;
4560 Thyn herte is everemore on gold so wood
That in nothyng elles canst thow delyte;
Of conscience rekkist thow so lyte,
What goodes that thow getist of capyne,
Thow hem affermest by good title thyne.
- ¶¶** Feith and prowesse leyst thow undir foote
And techist folk to have in hemself pryde,
And crueltee hath caught in thee swich roote
That shee nat slippe may fro thee ne slyde,
And every vertu throwist thow asyde.
4570 O, every prince or kyng moot been eschu,
In al maneere, of thy lym and thy glu.
- For elles it is light to undirstonde
To every man that wit can and resoun,
It is nat likly a kyng for to stonde
4575 In his welthe but a litil sesoun;
For avarice may been enchesoun
His peple to destroien and oppresse,
And, as I seide, so may fool largesse.

miser
time

(*see MLG*)
you

Judgment Day find fault

legal claim

(*see MLG*)

avoid
mortar; glue

while

overgenerosity

The Regiment of Princes

- 4578 Fool largesse is a seeknesse curable
4580 Outhor of indigence or elles age.
He that fool large in yowthe is, is ful able
In elde to abate it and asswage;
For agid folk been more in the servage
Of avarice than been folk in yowthe,
4585 And what I shal tek seyn herkneth wel nowthe.
- Of neede eek may it cured been and helid;
A man may so large despenses make
Til al his good be despandid and delid;
And whan his pars yemptid is and shake,
4590 Thanne begynneth indigence awake,
By which he cured is of the seeknesse
Of prodigalitee or fool largesse.
- 4598 But avarice, he seith, incurable is;
For ay the more a man therin procedith
4595 And wexith old, so mochil more ywis.
He avaricious is; in him naught breedith
But thoght and wo, for ay his herte dredith
His good to leese; and more for to hepe,
His thoughtes sterten heer and theer and lepe.
- 4600 Now if the heed of al a regioun,
By whom that al governed is and gyed,
Be of so seekly a condicoun
That it may by no cure be maistried,
Thanne is he to the wrose part applied,
4605 And, as the Philosophre seith us to,
The lesse wikkis fool largesse of two.
- 4618 The Philosophre preeveth avarice
Wel wrose than is prodigalitee.
By thre causes he halt it gretter vice:
4610 First, he seith, it is bettre seek to be
Of a seeknesse or an infirmitee
Of which a man may have rekeveryng
Than of swich oon as ther is noon helyng.

(see MLG)

service

now

stolen

leap

(see MLG)

bad, [the] two

(see MLG)

considers

The Regiment of Princes

- 4618 The second cause is, prodigalitee
Is more ny to vertu many del
Than avarice, and why yee shul wel see.
He that is liberal nat list so wel
For to receyve any good or catel
As geve, but what man that is fool large
To take and geve, geveth he no charge.
- (see MLG)
much more
- 4615
4620
4625
4630
4635
4640
4645
- Wherfore he seith, there is no difference
Twixt fool largesse and liberalitee,
Sauf the fool large, of his inprudence
Of his despenses is to dislavee,
And geveth theras oghe nat to be;
And for what cause also and for what skile
He geve shal, noon heedde he take wile.
- property*
to give
no matter
- too immoderate
reason
- jump
prey
- reason
realm
- Yit vices been they grete, bothe tweyne.
O worthy Prince, take on yow largesse;
Dooth so, o gracious Lord, for Goddes peyne.
- 4625 Largesse yput is unto the liknesse
Of vessels whos mowthes han greet wydnesse
And hilde out hir licour habundantly;
Thus seith the Philosophre treewely.
- pour*

The Regiment of Princes

- And in as mochil as a welle also,
4650 At the which many folk hir watir fecche,
Needith to han the larger mowth, right so
The largesse of a kyng moot ferther streeche,
If he of his estat anythyng recche,
Than oþer mennes, for hir impotence
4655 Streechith nat so fer as his influence.
- Largesse is liberalitee ycallid,
And likned is unto hem that been free;
But he that avaricious is, is thrallid
To moneie. A kyng moot algates flee
4660 A chynches herte for his honestee
And for the profyt, as I seide above,
Of his peple if he thynke wynne hir love.
- 4665[¶] Victorie and honour he shal him purchace
That is of giftes free, but waer alway
That he nat tarie ne delaye his grace;
Dreyve it nat foorth unto another day,
Whan, if him list, anoon he geve may;
Geve it as blyve, his thank is wel the more;
This vouche I on Holy Scriptures lore.
- 4675[¶] The vertu is of liberalitee
Geve and despende in place and tyme due.
Right as largesse dooth in swich degree,
They bothe moot in hir conceites chue
Where is good geve and where to eschue,
4680 The persone and the somme and cause why;
What they geven, geve it virtuously.
- But it nat longith to the liberal
To geve him good that usith flaterie;
His menyngē and entencious final
On fals plesaunce is set for beiberie;
He is the verray cofre of trecherie;
His doublenesse his lord doun overthowith;
The seed of his confusion he sowith.

(see MLG)

benevolence

Put off

(see MLG)

consider

sum

The Regiment of Princes

- 468^r That man yborn is in a blessid hour
Whom that pitee, dissent, or kyndenesse
Streen to geve or ministre him socour
That infortunes strokes bittirmesse
Ywowndid hath with povertes sharpnesse.
Nat meene I hem that hyre and fees and wages
Han at the dees lost and hir heritages,

But tho that welthy men han been byfore,
And vertuous been, and han hir good lost,
And can nat begge, to be deed therfore;
On hem ful wel bestowid is the cost.
4695 But weleaway, as hard as is a post —
A post? Nay, as a stoon been herstes now!
Loedes, for shame! What thyng eilish yow?

A gentil herte for to begge hath shame;
His rody shamefastnesse dar nat preye.
4700 Yee that of gentillesse han style and name,
Lat nat your poore brethren by yow dicye.
See unto hem thogh they nat speke or seye.
Is pitee fro yow fled? Calle hir agayn,
For hir absence hath many good man slayn.

4705 Senek seith, he hath nat that thyng for nocht
That bieth it by speeche and by prayeere.
There is nothyng that is in eerthe wroght,
As that he seith, that is yboght so deere;
It standith streite whan it shal appere,
4710 For it is vois of wrecchidnesse and sorwe,
Whan that a man shal preye or begge or borwe,

Allas, thogh that a man deskevere and pleyne
To many a lord his meschevous miserie,
The lord nat deyneth undirstonde his peyne;
4715 He settith nat therby a blakberie.
Welthe in the lordes sail blowith ful merie,
But the needy berith his sail so lowe
That no wynd of confort may in it blowe.

(see MLG)
merit

Wlost

payment

game of dice; inheritance

blushing; remorse

Circumstances are difficult

disclose
wretched

The Regiment of Princes

- 4720 Of liberalitee yit furthermore
I telle wole, as that I have herd seyn
Amonges wyse folk goon is ful yore.
⁴⁷²⁵ What man a ledere is or a chieffeyn
Of peple, his labour is al waast and veyn
But he be free unto his sowdeours,
If that he seeke conqueste of honours.
- And specially, that he hir duetee
Abegge nat, ne nat syncope hir wages
That hem assigned been. In certeyntee
Peril of shame folwen swiche usages;
4730 Whan al accounted is, tho avantages
That fowndid been of wronges and repreef
Been naught but avantages of mescheef.
- This makith covetyse or avarice
Roote of alle harmes, fo to conscience;
4735 Of wikkid purchas is shee emperice,
And mochil hath, and ay hath indigence.
Shee rather wole lyve in abstinence
Of mete and drynke for hertes scantnesse
Than for the soule or bodyes holsumnesse.
- 4740 Prince excellent, so moot yee wirke and wilne
As may your soules helthe edifie.
And, among othir thynges, that your wil ne
Be infect with no wrecchid chyncherie;
Largesse measurable unto yow tye
4745 And fool largesse voidith fro yow clene,
For free largesse is a vertuous mene.

(see MLG)

soldiers

owed money
reduce

opportunities for harm

ill-gotten gains

frugality

desire

meanness

fasten

mean

De regis prudentia

- Now, gracious Prince, lyke it yow to wite
That touche I thynke of a kynges prudence
As that I thereof fynde in booke write.
4750 Prudence is callid wit and sapience,

may it please

The Regiment of Princes

- | | | |
|------|---|---|
| | And needs moot real magnificence
Be prudent, as that the scripture us leerith,
If he shal been as his estat requerith. | <i>royal</i> |
| 4755 | Prudence, attemperance, strengthe, and right,
Tho foyre been vertues principal;
Prudence gooth byforye and geveth light
Of conseil what tho oþer thre do shal,
That they may wirke, be it greet or smal.
Aftir hir reed, withouten whom no man
4760 Wel unto God ne the world lyve can. | <i>temperance</i> |
| | Prudence is vertu of entendement;
Shee makith man by reson him governe.
Whoso that list to be wys and prudent
And the light folwe wole of hir lanterne,
He muste caste his look in every herne
4765 Of thynges past and been and that shul be;
The ende seeth and eek mesurith she. | <i>intellect</i> |
| 4770 | Ther is no wight that shee shapith deceyve;
And thogh man caste him hire to begyle,
Nat wole it be; by wit shee wole it weyve.
Eek shee observeth so wel trouthes style
And thereto can so wel hir tonge affyle,
That, lest the favour of frendships corde,
Oþir than trouthe can shee nat recorde. | <i>nook</i>
<i>plants to
decides</i> |
| 4775 | Shee byheetith by good avysament
And geveth moee than hir list promette;
Shee geveth eek to men commandement
Nat in Fortune truste or by hir sente;
And al the trust out of hir herte shette
4780 Of might of worldly dominacion.
Vertu gyeth hir operacioun. | <i>polish</i>
<i>agreement</i> |
| | Prudence hath never loved be than drad;
Ther may no prince in his estat endure,
Ne therin any whyle stande sad. | <i>guides</i>
<i>rather</i>
<i>stable</i> |

The Regiment of Princes

- 4785 But he be loved, for love is armure
Of seuretee. O, take on yow the cure,
Excellent Prince, love to embrace,
And than your herte is set in sikir place. care
- 4790 Now if that yee graunten by your patente
To your servantes a yeerly guerdoun,
Cryst sheelde that your wil or your entente
Be set to maken a restriccion
Of pavement; for that condicoun
Exylith the peples benevolence *letter of authority (e.g., royal charter)*
4795 And kyndlith hate undir pryvec silence. *shuts out*
secret
- 4800 Beeth wel avysid or your graunt out go
How yee that charge may parfourme and bere. *be responsible for*
Whan it is past, observe it wel also,
For elles wole it yow annoye and dere.
4805 For your honour, it mochil bettre were
No graunt to graunte at al than that your graunt
Yow preeve a brekere of a covenant.
- He that is loved, men drede him offendre;
But he that drad and nat beloved is,
4810 As Tullius seith, lightly may descende,
And the lordshippe leese that was his.
And Senek also seith touchynge this:
"The soget hatith whom he hath in drede,
And hate is hard if it his venym shede." it
- 4815 Was nevere deede yit a good wardeyn
To holde lordshippe in his sikimesse, security
But oonly love is thyng moost sovereyn.
Love is norice of welthe and of gladnesse; nurse
But out of love spryngith ferdfulnessse.
4820 And fere is good which that on love him growndith; itself
But othir fere nat helith but wowndith.
- Love withouten a good governaille
A kyng hath noon, for thogh men no word seye.

The Regiment of Princes

- If he his peple oppresse, it is no faille, *for certain*
4820 They love him nat in no manere of weye;
They may his heestes outward wel obeye,
But in his hertes is smal obeissance,
And unto God they compleyne his grevance.
- And swich a kynge is nat prudent ne wys
4825 That of his peple purchaceth him hate,
For love exceedith al tresor in prys; *value*
So hath it been and so be wole algate.
Whan that richesses ebben and abate,
If love endure, it may hem restore,
4830 And love is gotten by prudences lore.
- By wys conseil settith your hy estat
In swich an ordre as yee lyve may
Of your good propre in reule moderat. *own income*
Is it knyghtly lyve on rapyne? Nay!
4835 For Crystes sake, so yow gyeth ay *always do*
As that may strecche to your peples ese,
And therewithal yee shul God hly plese.
- ¶
It apparteneth a kynge for to be *(see MLG)*
A kynge in verray soothe and existence.
4840 A kynge of office and of dignitee
The name is; he moot doon his diligence
His peple for to gye by prudence;
For that he rule hem sholde duely,
The style of kynge he berith certeynly, *title*
- ¶
As an archer may nat his arwe sheete
Even at a mark but if he the mark see,
No more may a kynge, I yow byheete.
Governe his peple in right and equitee
But by prudencie he reule his hy degree.
4850 If that be wel, his peple hath sikimesse
Of reste and pees, welthe, joie, and gladnesse.

The Regiment of Princes

- 485^a Begynnyng of wysdam is God to dred; *(see MLG)*
 What kyng that dredith God, is good and just
 To his peple; beeth swich, my Lord, I rede;
 4855 In love and awe of God ficchith your lust; *set*
 Than be yee wys, and than yow needes must,
 Afir your worldly sceptre transitorie, *reign*
 In hevene regne in perpetuel glorie.

De consilio habendo in omnibus factis

- Now purpose I to tene how to a kyng
 4860 It needful is to do by conseil ay,
 Withouten which good is he do nothyng;
 For a kyng is but a man soul, par fay,
 And be his wit nevere so good, he may
 Erre and mistake him oþirwhyle among,
 4865 Whereas good conseil may exclude a wrong. *sometimes*
- Excellent Prince, in axyng of reed
 Deskevereth nat your wil in no maneere;
 What that yee thynke do, lat it be deed; *dead, imperative*
 As for the tymc, let no word appeere
 4870 But what every man seith wel herkne and heere;
 And yit, whan good conseil is geven yow,
 What yee do wole, keepe it cloos ynow, *secret*
- Til that yow lyke parfourme it in dode;
 And if it shal be doon, let it nat tarie,
 4875 For that is perillous, withouten dred.
 Ther is nothyng may make a lond misarie
 More than swich delay. Ful necessarie
 Is it, a good purpos parfourme as blyve,
 And if it nat be, out of mynde it dryve.
- 4880 And if that a man of symple degree,
 Or poore of birthe, or yong, thee wel conseille,
 Admitte his reson and take it in gree. *kindly*
 Why nat, my goode Lord? What sholde yow eile?

The Regiment of Princes

- 488 But men do nat so, whereof I merveille;
The world favourith ay the ryches sawe
Thogh that his conseil be nat worth an hawe.
the rich man's words; (see MLG)
fruit of hawthorn (i.e., worthless)
- 4890 What he seith, up is to the clowdes bore;
But, and the poore speke worth the tweye,
His seed nat spryng may — it nis but lore.
They seyn, "What is he this? Lat him go pleye!"
O, worthy Prince, beeth wel waer, I preye,
That your hy dignitee and sad prudence
No desdeyn have of the poores sentence.
carried
lost
- 4895 Thogh men contrarie eek your opinioun,
They may par cas conseille yow the beste.
Also yee been at your eleccioun
To do or leve it as yourselven leste.
If it be good, impreesse it in the cheste
Of your memorie and executith it;
4900 If it nat be, to leve it is a wit.
you can choose
please
wise
- 4905 And if yow list your conseillour to preeve,
Yee feyne moot yee han necessitee
Of gold; and if he stire yow and meeve,
Your jewelles leye in wedde, certeyn he
Loveth your estat and prosperitee.
But he that redith yow your peple oppresse,
He hatith yow certeyn — it is no lesse.
pawn
he
- 4910 And if a man in tyme of swich a neede
Of his good geve yow a good substance,
Swich oon cherice and elles God forbeede.
Kenneth him thanke of his good chevissance,
For him is lever to suffre penance
Himself than that your peple sholde smerte;
There is a preef of treewe lovynghe herte.
Know [how to]; relief
- 4920 In axyng eek of reed, waer of Favel;
Also waer of the avaricious,
For noon of tho two can conseille wel;
advice; (see MLG)

The Regiment of Princes

- Hir reed and conseil is envenymous;
They bothe been of gold so desyrous
4920 They rekke nat what bryge hir lord be ynne,
So that they mowen gold and silver wynne.
- difficulty: *in*
- And if your conseil which that yee han take
Unto the knowleche or the audience
Of youre foos comen be, than let it slake
4925 And uttirly putte it in abstinenſe; *cause*
For execute it were an inprudence.
In swich a cas is wiſdam it to chaunge;
Good is your conseil be to your foos straunge. *unknown*
- ¶** Conseil may wel be likned to a brydil
4930 Whiche that an hors up keepith fro fallyng,
If man do by conseil; but al in ydil *in vain*
Is reed if man nat folwe it in wirkynge.
- ¶** Do nothyng needles; do by conseillynge
4935 Of heedes wyse, and no repentence *(see MLG)*
Ther folwe yow shal in your governance. *heads*
- ¶** Commendable is conseil take of the wyse
And nat of fooles, for they may nat love
¶ But swich thyng as hem lykith. In al wyse,
Your conseillour cheese, our lord God above;
4940 Cheesith eek good men, and away shove
The wikkid whos conseil is deceyvable;
Thus biddith Holy Writ, it is no fable.
- ¶** Cheesith men eek of old experience —
Hir wit and intellect is glorious;
¶ Of hir conseil holsum is the sentence.
The olde mannes reed is fructuous;
¶ Waar of yong conseil, it is perilous.
¶ Roboas fond it so whan he forsook
Old conseil and unto yong reed him took. *(see MLG)*
- ¶** Roboam; *(see MLG)*
- 4950 Th'entente woot I wel of the yong man
As lovynghe is and treewe as of the olde,

The Regiment of Princes

- Thogh that he nat so wel conseille can.
Yonge men stronge been, hardy, and bolde,
And more weldy to fighte if they sholde;
4955 But thogh the olde in tyme of pees or were
Rede and conseille, it shal nat be the were.
- He that is fressh and lusty now this day
By lengthe of yeeres shal nothyng be so;
Fresshnesse and lust may nat endure alway;
4960 Whan age is coomen, he commandith ho.
But let see, who considerith this, who?
Good is that age sette a governaille
And youthe it sue — thus may bothe availle.
- Excellⁿt Prince, eek on the holy dayes
4965 Beeth waer that yee nat your conseiles holde;
As for tho tymes, putte hem in delayes;
Thynkith wel this: yee wel apaid be nolde
If your soget nat by youre heestes tolde.
Right so our lord God, kyng and commaundour
4970 Of kynges alle, is wrooth with that errour.
- In the long yeer been werk-dayes ynowe,
If they be wel despent for to entendre
To conseiles. To God your herte bowe
If yee desyre men hir hertes bende
4975 To yow. What kyng nat dredith God offendre
Ne nat rekkith do him disobeissance,
He shal be disobeyed eek, par chance.
- The firste fyndere of our fair langage
Hath seid, in cas semblable, and othir mo,
4980 So hlyl wel that it is my dotage
For to expresse or touche any of tho.
Allas, my fadir fro the world is go,
My worthy maistir Chaucer — him I meene,
Be thou advocat for him, hevenes queene.

rigorous

war

worse

half

rule

(see MLG)

*delay them
would not be pleased
commands, reckoned*

attend

*investor (originator)
similar
folly*

The Regiment of Princes

- | | | |
|------|---|---|
| 4985 | As thou wel knowist, o blessid Virgyne,
With lovyng herte and by devocioun,
In thyn honour he wroot ful many a lyne.
O now thyn help and thy promocioun!
To God thy sone make a mocioune, | assistance
prayer |
| 4990 | How he thy servant was, mayden Marie,
And lat his love floure and fructifie. | <i>the love of him</i> |
| 4995 | Althogh his lyf be qweynt, the resemblance
Of him hath in me so fressh lyflynesse
That to putte othir men in remembrance
Of his persone, I have heere his liknesse
Do make, to this ende, in soothfastnesse,
That they that han of him lost thought and mynde
By this peynture may ageyn him fynde. | extinguished
<i>animating force</i>

<i>Caused to be made</i>
<i>memory</i> |
| 5000 | The ymages that in the chirches been
Maken folk thynke on God and on his scientes
Whan the ymages they beholde and seen,
Where ofte unsighte of hem causith restreyntes
Of thoughtes goode. Whan a thynge depeynt is
Or entaillid, if men take of it heede,
Thought of the liknesse it wole in hem breede. | <i>lack of seeing; hindrance</i>
<i>painted</i>
<i>carved</i>
<i>nurture</i> |
| 5010 | Yit sum men holde oppinioun and seye
That noon ymages sholde ymakid be.
They erron foulē and goon out of the weye;
Of trouthe have they scant sensibilitee.
Passe over that! Now, blessid Trinitee,
Upon my maistres soule mercy have;
For him, Lady, thy mercy eek I crave. | badly |
| 5015 | More othir thynge wolde I fayn speke and touche
Heere in this book, but swich is my dulnesse,
For that al voide and empty is my pouche,
That al my lust is qweynt with hevynesse,
And hevy spirit commandith stillesse.
And have I spoke of pees, I shal be stille.
God sende us pees, if that it be His wille. | <i>pocket</i> |

The Regiment of Princes

How he þ dianut was mayden morte
And lat his lone floure and fructifre

¶ Al rogh his lyfe be queynt ye resumblancie
Of hym hat in me so fresshlyfynesse
Pat to pente oþyr men in remembraunce
Of his ydoneȝ hane heere his lyknesse
Do make to ys ende in oþerfaſtuesse
Pat yei þt hane of hym left yonght i mynde
By ys peynture may arȝyn hym synde

¶ The ymages þt in þt churche been
Wher folk penke on god & on his servites
Whan ye ymages yei be holden & seen
Were oft vnyte of hem amysit restreyntes
Of yonghodes gode Whan a yng depeynt is
Or entaleȝ if men take of it heede
Thoght of ye lyknesse it wil in hym crede

¶ Yet come holden appynyon and sey
Pat none ymages schuld & makes be
Pat erren foulȝ a goon out of ye wey
Of trouth hane yei stant sensibilitate
Passa oþr nodd blisse remitt
Upon my maistres soule myt hane
For hym lady eke þt myt & crame

¶ Were oþir yng Wolde i fayne speke & touche
Heere in ys booke hit schulȝ is my dylnessse
ffor þt al woyde and empty is my pouche
Pat al my knyt is queynt Ut heynnesse
Ais hem servit comandmenth filinessse



British Library MS Harley 4866, fol. 88

(lines 4990-5017)

By permission of The British Library

The Regiment of Princes

De pace

- 5022 Touche I wole heere of pees a word or two
As that scriptures maken mencioum,
And than my book is endid al and do.
To Cryst ordeyneth He a mansioum
Which in his hertes habitacioun
(see MLG)
dwelling place
- 5025 Embraceth pees; wher pees is, Cryst is there,
For Cryst nat list abyden elleswhere.
- 5028 Amonges Cristen folk, wrecche is he noon
That paciently suffrith a duresse;
But sikirly, a wrecche is he oon
(see MLG)
- 5030 That makith stryf, and him sueth gladnesse
Which that of pees conseillith the swetnesse.
Our pees also and concord brothirly
Is sacrifice to God almighty.
- 5033 Thynge that leden men to pees been three:
Conformyng in God, in ourself humblesse,
And with our neigborghes tranquillitee.
First seye I that we moot our willes dresse
And hem conformen alle more and lesse
(see note)
To Goddes wil; al thyng is in His might,
5040 Sauf oonly that He may do noon unright.
- 5045 Evene as a man is ay in werre and stryf
That bysyeth him withstande a man which he
Nat may, right so hath he peisible lyf
Continuelly whos willes fully be
To Goddes wil conformyng. O pardee,
Ageyn God helpith ther no resistance,
So strong and mighty is His excellency.
- 5050 Humilitie to pees eek may men lede.
Men seyn, two grete may nat in o sak;
But symple humblesse is of swich goodlyhede
That shee of troublly hate hath no smak;
Shee stryveth nat; of discord hath shee lak.
*in resisting
peaceful*
big things; nor [flat]; bag
misse

The Regiment of Princes

Shee voide and empty is of crueltee;
Humble spirit desirith unitee.

- 5055 The thridde is eek tranquillitee of thought,
That gydith man to pees, for as a wight
May in a bed of thornes reste nocht,
Right so who is with grevous thoughtes twight pulled
5060 May with himself ne oþer folk aright
Have no pees; a man moot needes smerte
Whan irous thoughtes occupie his herte. angry
- 5065 And evene as that upon a pilwe softe pillow
Man may him reste wel and take his ese,
Right so that Lord that sime in hevene aþofte
Herte peisible can so lyke and plesse
- 5070 That He wole entre therin and it sese
And occupie it as just possessour;
In place of pees restith our Sauveour. (see MLG)
- 5075 But al another pees ther is also
Which is nat worth; it is enenvyous,
For it is unto verray pees a fo.
5080 Whan men in a purpos malicious
Accorden, that pees is to God grevous;
Swich pees was twixt Herodes and Pilat,
And in swich cas, pees wers is than debat.
- 5085 A feyned pees eek is to pees verray
A fo; and swich was the pees of Judas
Kyssynge Cryst. Lord, whethir that this day
Any swich pees be usid as that was?
5090 Yee, so I drede me, by Seint Thomas,
The kus of Judas is now wyde sprad;
Toknes of pees been, but smal love is had.
- 5095 Men countrefete in wordes Tullius emulate; (see MLG)
And folwe in werk Judas or Genyloun;
5100 Many an hony word and many a kus Ganelon
Ther is; but wayte on the conclusioum kiss
 wait for

The Regiment of Princes

And pryyee galle al torneth up so doun;
Ther leveth naught of pees but contenance,
For al the peynted cheere and daliiance.

*remains; appearance
deceptive; talk*

- 5090 There is also a pees inordinat disorderly
Whan the greter obeith to the lesse,
As thus: whan to his soget a prelat
Obeith; and whan resoun the blyndnesse
Sueh of sensualitees madnesse,
5095 Obeyyng it — al swich pees is haynous, hateful
For it is to good pees contrarious.

- Right swich a pees Adam hadde with Eeve
Whan that he unto hir desir obeide:
He was par cas adrad hir for to greeve,
5100 Wherfore he dide as that shee him seide.
^{EB'} In that obedience he foleide, acted foolishly: (see MLG)
For God hire him bytook him to obeye;
But I adrad am that I thus fer seye.

- 5105 If that this come unto the audience scolded
Of wommen, I am seur I shal be shent;
For that I touche of swich obedience,
Many a browe shal on me be bent;
They wolen wayte been equipollent,
And sumwhat more, unto hire housbondes;
5110 And sum men steyn swich usage in this lond is.

- And it no wondir is, as seemeth me,
Whan that I me bethoght have al aboute,
Thogh that wommen desyre sovereyntee,
And hire housbondes make to hem loue.
^{EB'} They maad were of a ribbe, it is no doute,
Which more strong is and substancial
Than slyme of eerthe, and clenner therwithal.

- Wherfore it seemeth that the worthynesse
Of wommen passith miennes, in certeyn;
5120 And yit sum ryce men, of lewdenesse,

The Regiment of Princes

- In repreef of hem holden thereageyn;
For crookid was that ribbe, and speke and seyn
That also crookid is hir courtesie;
But ageyn that, strongly wole I replie.
- against that
defective
firmly
- ¶ For in the wrytyng and in the scripture
Of philosophres, men may see and rede,
Cerclely shap is moost parfytl figure,
Betokenyng in gemetric onhede;
And crookidnesse a part is that may lede
Sumwhat unto a cercle or a compas.
What so men seyn, wommen stonde in good cas.
- (see MLG)
Circular
geometry; unity
the curve
sphere
- 5130
5135
5140
5145
- For therby shewith it that crookidnesse
Strecchith unto gretter perfecciou
Than dooth a thyng that is of evennesse.
Of this helpith no contradiccioun,
For it is sooth; it is no ficiooun.
Every parfytl body that man can nevene
Is rownd and crookid and nat streight ne evene.
- straightness
is of use
name
- Begynne first at hevene and rownd it is;
The sonne and moone and the sterres also;
Heed of man, yea, mowth, and herte, ywis,
Been al rownde; and othir been ther mo
Than I expresse as now; but or I go,
Yit shal I bet wommannes part susteene;
So biddith pees, and that to folwe I meene.
- support
- ¶ Now for to speke or touchen of the place
In which that man and womman formed were:
Almighty God to womman shoop swich grace
That shee was formed in the worthyere —
In paradys men woot wel he made here;
But man ymaad was out of paradys,
In place of lesse worthynesse and peys.
- (see MLG)
- 5150
- And of the manere of formacioun
Of bothe two, herkneth now wel I preye.

The Regiment of Princes

- 5155 The tokne or the significacioun
Of makynge of Adam may by no weye
Strecche to so parfyte a good, I seye,
As dide the formacioun of Eeve;
And that as swythe heere I shal it preeve,
- 5160 For more have I for hir partie yit.
E^r Makynge of Eeve tokned the makynge
Of Holy Chirche and sacramentz of it;
As of the syde of Adam, him slepyng,
Eeve was maad, so our lord Cryst dyng
5165 Upon the Crois, Holy Chirche of His syde
And the sacramentz maad were in that tyde.
- E^r** Fro tyme eek Cryst was twelve yeer of age
Unto thriti, He with His modir ay
Was servynge hire with plesant corage;
- 5170 To teche humilitee, He took the way
From hevene hidir, and meeknesse verray
Taghte He the moost partie of His lyf
Whil He was with His modir and His wif;
- 5175 For shee was bothe two, and syn shee had
So longe of hir housbondie the maistrie,
Wommen, I trowe, been nat now so mad
That style to forgo; nay, swich folie,
What man that can in a womman espe,
5180 Is worthy shryned be; God save hem alle,
And graunte hir by corage nat appale.
- E^r** Holy Writ seith, "If wommen sovereyntee
Of hir housbondes have, how that they
Unto hir housbondes contrarious be . . ."
The text, I woot wel, is swich, but what they?
5185 That text I understande thus alwey:
Whan that housbondes hem mistake and erre,
Ageyn that vice wyves maken werre.
- time
disposition
enshrined (canonized)
grow pale
however
what does it mean?

The Regiment of Princes

- Thogh a wemensan hir housbonde contrarie
In his opinious erroneous.
- 5190 Shul man for that deeme hir his adversarie?
Straw! Be he nevere so harrageous,
If he and shee shul dwellen in oon hous,
Good is he suffre; therby pees may spryne;
Housbondes pees is peisible suffryng.violent
- 5195 By concord smale thynges multiplisen,
And by discord, hate, ire, and rancour,
Perishen thynges grete, and waaste and dyen.
Pees hath the fruyt of ese in his favour;
To gese pees holsum is the labour,
5200 And keepe it wel whan that man hath it cought,
That ire ne discord banisse it naught.
- 5205 How plesant to God is of pees the mirthe;
What delyt eek in pees and uniuoun
The Prince of pees hath shewid in His birthe
By angels delitabile song and soun.(see MLG)
Also, aftir His resurrecciouun
He pees bad, and whan unto hevene He sty,delightful
He lefte pees in eerthe treewely.ascended
- 5210 That gifte of pees, that precious jewel,
If men it keepe and do it nat away,
Sones of Cryst they may be clept ful wel;
But stryf, which moche is to the feendes pay,
Among us fervent is so, weleaway!
We Cristen folk withynne us and withoute(see MLG)
- 5215 Han so greet stryf that ther may no pees route.make a stand
- The riot that hath been withyn this land
Among ourself many a wyntres space
Hath to the swerd put many a thousand.
The greedy herte that wolde al embrace
5220 With irous wil and crabbid, pale face,
And swipir feendly hand, with strook vengeableangry
Hath many a womman maad hem clothe in sable.nimble

The Regiment of Princes

- This is no doute that ambicioun
And covetyse fyre al this debat.
- 5225 Tho two been of wikkid condicioun;
No wight halt him content of his estat.
Every man wilmeth to been exaltat;
Thogh he be greet, yit hyer wolde he go;
And thise arm causes of our stryf and wo.
- 5230 Weree withyn ourself is moost harmful
And perillous, and moost is ageyn kynde;
Therwith this land hath wrastled many a pul;
- boat
- The smert is swich, it may nat out of mynde,
For it hath cast our welthe fer behyndle,
- 5235 And ferther wole but tho werres stynte;
- cease
- No good may come of werres wrathful dynte.
- blow
- Whyles that Romans were in herte al oon
And undyvydil al hool stood, they were
- one
- Lordes of al the world; fo was ther noon
- 5240 Outward, as who seith, mighte hem greeve or dere;
- External
- But al sauf welthe may men suffre and bere.
Withyn hemself sprang swich division
That it hem broghte to confusion.
- What causid hir inward werre and rumour
5245 But avarice? Shee refle hem hir wele.
- disturbance
- Whyles they hadde in cheertee and favour
Profyt commun, they hadde by the stelle
- forbear
- Prosperitee; but it away gan stelle
Whan they hem drew to profyt singuler,
- 5250 And of profyt commun nat weren cheer.
- handle of instrument
- Beholde how avarice croepith in
And kyndlith weree and qwenchith unitee.
- (see MLG)
- O Favel, thow mightest been of hir kyn,
For swich a brekepees as that is shee,
- breaker of peace
- 5255 Right swich another may I name thee;
Thow rekkist nat ne dreddist nat to weende
For muk to helle unto the ferthestre eende.
- go

The Regiment of Princes

- 5260 This Favel is of pees a destourbour;
 Twixt God and mannes soule he werre reisith.
 This world is blent by this dissimulour; *rouses up*
 Vertu he blameth and vices he preisith; *deceived; dissimilator*
 Sore in the bowe of treccherie he teisith;
 His shot is gay but it is envenymed;
 His fikil aart may nat aright be tymed. *Figorously; aims [an arrow]*
fine
put in verse
- 5265 Vertuous trouthe, hyde thow thyne heed!
 Thow maist as wel, thyne aart may nat availle;
 Out of this worldes grace art thow as deed.
 But Favel, traitour, thy fals governaille
 Makith ful many shippes for to saille
 Into thy cofre; warm is thyne office; *conformable*
 That trouthe leesith, wynne can thy vice. *What; loses*
- 5275 Alias, so many a worthy clerk famous
 In Oxenforde and in Cambrigge also
 Stonde unavanced, wher the vicious
 Favel hath chirches and provendees mo *prebends (stipendi)*
 Than God is plesid with. Alias that tho
 That werreyen vertu so been promootid,
 And they helpeles in whom vertu is rootid. *attack*
- 5280 The knyght or squyer on that oþir syde,
 Or yeman, that hath in pees and in werris
 Despente with his loed his blood, but he hyde
 The trouthe and can curreye, he nat the ner is
 His lordes grace; and untrouthe ful fer is
 From him that worthy corage hath honured;
 Grace of this world by Favel is devoured. *curry [favor]; nearer*
- 5285 Now unto my mateere of werre inward
 Resorte I; but to seeke stories olde
 Noon neede is, syn this day sharp werre and hard
 Is at the dore heere, as men may beholde.
 France, no wondir though thyne herte colde *grow cold*
 And brenne also, swich is thyng agonye;
 Thyself manaceth thyself for to dye. *threatens*

The Regiment of Princes

- Thyself destrose, and feeble is thy victorie;
Thow hast in thyself stryven ofte or now
5295 And hast appesid al, have in memorie,
Thurgh thy prudence. Woostow nat wel how
Slaghtre is deffendid, and nat rekkist thow
To rebelle ageyn God that it forbedith?
For thee myn hevy goost bysly dredith.
- 5300 What any part offendid hath to othir,
Redresse it faire and charitably;
By lawe of God yee been eche othres brothir.
O now adayes is noon enemy
Lyk oon that is to othir of blood ny.
5305 Beeth waer, correcte it, lest men of yow seye,
"Lo whilcum this was France of hy nobleye!"
- I am an Engliss man and am thy fo;
For thow a fo art unto my ligeance;
And yit myn herte stuffid is with wo
5310 To see thyn unkyndly disseverance.
Accordith yow; girdith yow with souffrance!
Yee greeven God and yourself harme and shame,
And your foos therof han despert and game.
- Allas also the greet dissensioun,
5315 The pitous harm, the hateful discord,
That hath endured twixt this regioun
And othir landes Cristen. He that Lord
Of remes alle is, the auctour of concord
And pees, soee is meeved therwith; but we
5320 Nat dreden for t'offende His magestee.
- Of France and Engeland, o Cristen Princes,
Syn that your style of worthynesse is ronge
Thurghout the world in al the provinces,
If that of yow mighte be red or songe
5325 That yee were oon in herte, ther nis tonge
That mighte expresse how profitable and good
Unto al peple it were of Cristen blood.

The Regiment of Princes

- Yee hem ensamplen, yee been hir miroures; *serve as models*
They folwen yow. What soewe lamentable
Is causid of your werres sharpe shoures
Ther woot no wight; it is irreparable.
O noble Cristen Princes honourable,
For Him that for yow souffred passioum,
Of Cristen blood haveth conpassioum!
- 5335 Alias, what peple hath your werre slayn!
What cornes waastid and doun trode and shent! *fields of grain
raped*
How many a wyf and mayde hath be bylbyn,
Castels doun bete, and tymbred howses brent
And drawen doun and al totore and rest!
The harm ne may nat reckned be ne told;
This werre wexith al to hoer and old.
- 5345 To wynne worldly tresor and richesse
Is of your stryf the long continuance; *duration*
Wherby it seemeth that yee han scantnesse
Of good, or yee konne have no souffissance
Of plentee; and if ther be habundance
In your cofres, and in your hertes neede,
Of lordly conceit may it nat proceede.
- 5350 Whan Alisaundre deed was and ygrave,
And his toumbe of gold wrought ful rychely
As kynges dignitee wole axe and crave.
Dyverse philosophres drow hem ny
Therto, and as eon of hem stood therby,
He seide thus among the folkes alle:
5355 "Seeth swich a chaunge is neewe now befallie." *newly*
- "This Alisaundre made yistiday
Of gold his tresor, but gold makith now
Tresor of him, as yee beholde may."
Another philosophre seide eek how
5360 Al this world yistiday was nat ynow
To stoppen Alisaundres covetyse;
And now three elnes of clooth him souffysse. *ell (a variable measure of cloth)*

The Regiment of Princes

- | | | |
|------|---|---|
| | O worthy Princes two, now takith heede,
As hardy deeth is yow for to assaille
As shee dide Alisaundre, whom in drede
Hadde al this world. What mighte his force availle
Ageyn the deeth? Nothyng, nothyng, sanz faille;
For thogh that he swerd were of chivalrie,
Deeth threeew him down to ground and lete him lie. | <i>bold</i> |
| 5365 | | <i>without fail</i> |
| 5370 | With how greet labour or with how greet peyne
Men wynne good, to the wold leve it shal;
Unto the pit gooth saught but the careyne;
And thogh gold were graven therwthal.
Nat mighte it helpe; beeth nat goldes thral. | <i>remain</i> |
| | | <i>corpse</i> |
| 5375 | Soufflysth to your good, Yee Princes bothe;
With pees and reste, arme yow and clothe. | <i>buried</i> |
| | | <i>peace of mind</i> |
| 5380 | Whan yee have stryve and foughten al your fille,
Pees folwe moot; but good were it or thanne
That pees were had. What lust han yee to spille
The blood that Cryst with His blood boghte whanne
He on the Crois starf? O Lady Seint Anne. | (see MLG) |
| | | |
| | Thy doghtir preye to bysecche hir sone
To stynete of werres the dampnable wone. | <i>practice</i> |
| 5385 | The book of Revelacions of Bryde
Expressith how Cryst thus seide hir unto:
"I am pees verray, there I wole abyde;
Whereas pees is, noon othir wole I do;
Of France and Engeland the kynges two,
If they wole have pees, pees perpetuel | <i>Saint Bridget of Sweden; (see MLG)</i> |
| 5390 | They shul han." Thus hir book seith, woot I wel. | |
| | | |
| | But verray pees may be had by no way
But if trouthe and justice loved be;
And for that o kyng hath right, forthy may
By matrymoyne pees and unitee | <i>is the rightful heir</i> |
| 5395 | Been had — Crystes plesaunce is swich. Thus he
That right heir is may the reme rejoise,
Cessyng al stryf, debat, or warre, or noysse." | <i>assume rule over</i> |
| | | <i>disturbance</i> |

The Regiment of Princes

- Now syn the weye is open, as yee see,
How pees to gete in vertuous maneere,
5400 For love of Him that dyde upon the tree,
And of Marie, His blisful modir deere,
Folwith that way and your stryf leye on beere; *bury it*
Purchaceth pees by way of mariage,
And yee therin shul fynden avantage.
- Now pees approche and dryve out were and stryf,
Frendshipe appeere and banisshe thow hate;
Tranquillitee, reve thow ire hir lyf
That fervent is and leef for to debate. *Who /ire/; eager*
Yee three vertues now lat see abate
5410 The malice of the foule vices three
That verray foos been to al Cristientee.
- O Cristen Princes, for the love and awe
Of Him that is the kyng of kynges alle,
Nesshith your hertes and to pees yow drawe; *soften*
5415 Considerereth what good may therof falle;
The hony takith and leveth the galle.
The steerne juge in His jugement
May do but right; waer His punysshement.
- What disobeissance and rebelloun,
5420 What wil unbuxum, what unkyndenesse,
May He preeve in yow that destruccsoun
Doon of men, His handwerk soothly, I gesse;
It muste needes stire His rightwisnesse
Ageyn yow. Styntith at His reverence; *Stop for His sake*
5425 Saeth His grace and His benevolence.
- From hennes foorth let ther betwixt yow be
So vertuous a stryf for Crystes sake
That yee of pees and love and charitee
May stryve. Lat your pitee now awake
5430 That longe hath slept, and pees betwixt yow make;
And on the foos of Cryst, your redemptour,
Werreieth; there kythith your vigour.

The Regiment of Princes

Upon the mescreantz to make were,
And hem unto the feith of Cryst to bryng.
5435 Good were; therin may yee nothyng erre;
That were a meritorie werreyng;
That is the way unto the conqueryng
Of hevene blisse that is endeles,
To which yow bryng the auctour of pees. Amen.

[*Verba compilatoris ad librum*]

- 5440 O litil book, who gaf thee hardynesse
Thy wordes to pronounce in the presence
Of kynge ympe and princes worthynesse,
Syn thow al nakid art of eloquence?
And why approachist thow his excellencie
5445 Unclothid sauf thy kirtil bare also?
I am right seur his humble pacience
Thee geveth hardynesse to do so.
- But o thyng woot I wel, go wher thow go,
I am so pryve unto thy sentence,
5450 Thow haast and art and wilt been everenio
To his hynesse of swich benevolence,
Thogh thow nat do him due reverence
In wordes, thy cheertee nat is the lesse.
And if lust be, to his magnificencie
5455 Do by thy reed; his welthe it shal witnesse.
- Byseeche him of his gracious noblesse
Thee holde excusid of thyn innocence
Of endytyng, and with hertes meeknesse,
If anythyng thee passe of negligence,
5460 Byseeche him of mercy and indulgence,
And that for thy good herte he be nat fo
To thee that al seist of loves fervence;
That knowith He Whom nothyng is hid fro.

royal offspring

desire

intimate with

go by

ardor

Explicit

Explanatory Notes

- 1 British Library Arundel MS 38 (henceforth A) begins with neither title nor incipit nor rubric but simply with the text of the Prologue. The first leaf is the first of the MS's several decorated pages, usually consisting of a large ornamented capital (here the *M* of *Masynge*) three or four text lines in height, filled with "acanthus leaves on gold ground, from which a three-sided border . . . with bar on left and sprays at top and bottom with twisted acanthus leaf and sprays" (Scott, II.158–60). Within the *M* is depicted in heraldic mode the royal arms of England adapted for the Prince of Wales. This is the only ornamented page until fol. 39 verso (after line 2016). That leaf offers a handsome miniature depicting the presentation of the MS, and thereafter the titled subsections of the *Regiment* proper (that is, the poem after the long Prologue) usually begin with a decorated page similar in layout to the first recto leaf.
- 1–7 The first stanza introduces three important features of the poem as a whole, two of them thoroughly traditional: (1) a variant of the dream-vision prologue common in late Middle English poetry, including the introduction of a speaking voice, and (2) the very generalized moral tone — "this troublly world" — which in late medieval poetry is often associated with the theme of mutability through Fortune. On these two familiar and generalizing motifs the poem imposes a unique identifiable locale (Chester's Inn, near the Strand) and, by implication and what the poem will later substantiate, a particular person, Thomas Hoccleve, minor government clerk during a period that included all or parts of the reigns of kings from Richard II through Henry VI. Chester's Inn was the lodging place for unmarried clerks working in the office of the Privy Seal — a lodging place so named because it belonged to the Bishop of Chester. The Strand is the street running between London and Westminster, the region in which Hoccleve had placed himself in his earlier poem *La Male Regle*. The local specificity reflects back on the otherwise vague "troublly world." This poem will be at once exceptionally particular, developing a remarkably detailed portrayal of one Thomas Hoccleve, and continuously political, placing its general moral themes in the context of the major concerns of Lancastrian England in the first two decades of the fifteenth century.

The Regiment of Princes

- 7 *Thought.* Spearing (p. 119) remarks on Hoccleve's un-Chaucerian practice of "persistent use of small-scale personification This is one of the hallmarks of his style throughout his work, and may conceivably indicate the influence of *Piers Plowman*, a poem that was certainly widely read in the London area in the early fifteenth century." However, Hoccleve's personifications are usually lightly suggested and never developed into Langlandian dramatic scenes. For that reason, in this edition, except when personification is attached to a more or less consistently represented "person," such as Fortune or Favel (Flattery), I have chosen not to capitalize. In a text intended to present the best case for Hoccleve's accomplishment as poet, it has seemed better to allow the reader to discover for himself or herself the varied and inventive uses of figurative language, rather than to impose rigidly by capitalization a series of fitful allegorical scenes.
- 22–24 Another instance of the local and particular impinging on a general meditation on the workings of Fortune. For the general theme, compare Boethius, *Consolation of Philosophy*, Book III, prose v: "Examples both of past and present are plentiful of kings who have fallen from happiness to ruin." The particular reference is to the downfall of Richard II in 1399. In the swift and initially puzzling movement from the tragic plight of a king or lord to the situation of a humble government clerk, Hoccleve introduces the poem's central exploration of the complex relationship between prince and advising poet. For differing interpretations of this feature, see Pearsall (1994) and Ferster.
- 54–56 An allusion to Chaucer (here *Troilus and Criseyde* 3.1625–28), and also the first of the poem's many marginal Latin glosses, most of them in the hand of the scribe of the main text. I have indicated the presence of such glosses by placing a hand **MLG** in the margin of the text. There is no reason to doubt that the Latin glosses are authorial. Authorial glosses are a part of Hoccleve's later holograph MS of his *Seres*. Glosses are placed in the left margin of verso pages and the right margin of recto pages. Glosses will be identified in the notes as "**MLG**," followed by a transcription of the Latin (with corrections only for obvious instances of miswriting), a translation, and where possible, identification of the text. Here: **Boetius de consolatione: Maximum genus infortunii est fuisse felicem** (Boethius, *Consolation*: "The worst kind of misfortune is to have once been happy"). A minor textual variant of Boethius, *Consolation*, Book II, prose iv. Boethius' extraordinarily popular work is of course the master text for the countless discussions of the workings of Fortune in medieval literature.

Explanatory Notes

- 85–91 MLG: **Unde Martialis Coeus: Ille dolet vere qui sine teste dolet** (Whence Martial the Cook: "He truly grieves who grieves without a witness"). Martial, *Epigrams*, Book I. xxxiii.4. Hoccleve doubtless encountered this saying in a *florilegium*; Martial's epigrams were popular in the later Middle Ages. The epithet "cook" is a medieval acquisition whose exact source is not known. However, an English MS of the early fifteenth century (British Library MS Cotton Titus D xx, f. 134 v) offers a possible explanation. Just as a cook removes the noxious parts of meat to make it fit for human consumption, so Martial by his scalding pen drove out poison from the human heart, making it clean and pure. (See Reynolds, p. 244, n. 46).
- 103 *nat a pere*. Proverbial expression of worthlessness. See Whiting P85. Compare lines 613, 622, etc.
- 105 *goon hem to pleye*. The image of wit or wits alienated from the body is a recurrent one in Hoccleve's poetry, sometimes playful and sometimes poignantly serious, as when, in the later *Complaint*, he uses it to figure his own madness and subsequent recovery.
- 110 *mazid heed*. Compare Chaucer's *Book of the Duchess*, line 12.
- 113–33 The movement from bed to outdoors marks the end of the meditative introduction and the beginning of a theme and situation common in medieval dream-vision poetry. The *feeld* (line 117) belongs as much to this literary tradition as to the poet's location near the Strand. The encounter with an old man (misleadingly called the old Beggar by Furnivall and many subsequent scholars) who will serve as critic and spiritual instructor belongs to the tradition established by Boethius' dialogue with Lady Philosophy, and a frequent motif in a long list of Latin and vernacular works, including the Middle English *Pearl*, *Piers Plowman*, and, especially, Chaucer's *Book of the Duchess*, where the dreamer serves as counselor to the Black Knight.
- 113 *Passe over*. Compare *Book of the Duchess*, line 41.
- 115 *for boote fond I noon*. Compare *Book of the Duchess*, line 38.
- 124 *my seekly distresse*. Compare *Book of the Duchess*, where the dreamer approaches the Black Knight who, like the narrator here, has a delayed reaction to him (compare line 122 with *BD*, line 460) as he laments his illness. Compare lines

The Regiment of Princes

152, 161, and 189, where the elderly counselor recognizes the narrator's illness and would hope to cure him, with *BD*, lines 552-57.

- 126-27 While Hoccleve's rhyme-royal stanzas, like Chaucer's, usually end with a full stop, there are many cases, as here, where the thought runs on, to the benefit of narrative flow. If the stanzas are read aloud, it will become apparent that many of the stanzas concluding with a period also continue smoothly to the next stanza. This is not the Spenserian stanza, in which the lengthened last line turns each stanza into a distinct aesthetic unit.
- 131-35 "Sleepstow, man? / Awake! . . . I . . . Am heer." See *Book of the Duchess*, lines 178-86; also Chaucer's *Romance of the Rose*, line 4008.
- 146 ff. The common medieval motif of youth versus age, in the context of the notion of the three ages of man. See Burrow, *The Ages of Man*, and Joseph de Ghellinck, "Iuventus, Gravitas, Senectus," in *Studia Mediaevalia in Honorem R. J. Martie* (Bruges: De Tempel, 1948), 39-59. The passage has a proverbial ring to it but is not identified in Whiting.
- 151 *Saint Gyle*. St. Giles (St. Aegidius, 6th-7th century A.D.), an especially popular saint in medieval England, invoked, among others, by beggars and frequently cited in Chaucer.
- 170-73 *Thow doost me more annoy than that thow weonest. . . . thow woost but litil what thow meonest*. Compare the refrain in *Book of the Duchess*, lines 743-44, 1137-38, 1305-06, with its variation on "hyt ys nat so. / Thow wost ful lytel what thou menest; / I have lost more than thow wenest" (lines 742-44).
- 204-06 **MLG:** **Ve soli quia si cadat non habet sublevantem** ("Woe to him that is alone, for when he falls, he has none to lift him up"). A variant of Ecclesiastes 4:10, translated in lines 205-06.
- 208-09 Compare line 105.
- 221 *Salomon*. Solomon, King of Israel from c. 930 B.C. Because of his legendary wisdom, the Old Testament Books of Proverbs, Canticles, and Ecclesiastes were attributed to him.

Explanatory Notes

- 221–23 **EMLG:** *Proverbia: Animus gaudens etatem floridam facit; spiritus autem tristis desiccat ossa* (*Proverbs* [17:22]: “A joyful mind causes a flourishing age, a sorrowful spirit dries up the bones”).
- 225–30 **EMLG:** *Iterum, sicut tinea vestimento et vermis ligno, et cetera* (*Again* [*Proverbs* 25:20]: “Just as a moth [does with] a garment, and a worm with wood, etc.”). The remainder of the proverb, omitted in the gloss but translated in the poem, is: “so the sadness of a man consumes his heart.”
- 232–38 “Now . . . telle on thy greviance: / What is thy cause . . . louest hire that nat loveth thee?” The passage recalls issues of the *Book of the Duchess* as the dreamer, through his questions, forces the overwrought Black Knight to stop hiding behind his sorrow. Compare *BD*, lines 746–47 (“Telle me al hooly / In what wyse, how, why, and wherefore”) and 1140–43 (“Nyl she not love you . . . For Goddes Love, telle me al”).
- 281–322 The reference here is to the burning of the Lollard John Badby. The date, March 1, 1410, provides the *terminus post quem* for the composition of the poem. Inserted here in the context of the old man’s questioning the orthodoxy of Hoccleve’s beliefs, it introduces one of the poem’s central ideological themes: the Lancastrian concern with religious orthodoxy and the dangers to it presented by Lollardry. In addition, the Prince’s historically substantiated role at this particular event serves to underscore both his orthodoxy and his compassion in actively seeking to change Badby’s mind. The particular “errores” cited — disbelief in the church’s interpretation of the Eucharist and in the spiritual power accorded priests — were central to Lollard belief. See the book-length treatment of the background of the Badby burning in McNiven.
- 323–26 An allusion to a passage in Chaucer’s *The Knight’s Tale*. In following Boccaccio’s account of the death of Arcite, Chaucer’s Knight comes to the passage on the ascent of Arcite’s soul to a (classical) heaven, a passage which Chaucer used at the end of his *Troilus*. In place of that account, Chaucer presents the Knight’s somewhat blustering account (*Canterbury Tales* I[A]2809–14):

His [Arcite’s] spirit chaunged hous and wente ther, As I can nevere, I kan nat tellen wher. Therfore I stynce; I nam no divinistree; Of soules fynde I nat in this registre,	astrological house; where <i>Since</i> stop speaking; theologian official written record
---	---

The Regiment of Princes

Ne me ne list thilke opinions to telle
Of hem, though that they wrenes wher they dwelle.

*Nor do I like these
them ever though*

Perhaps Hoccleve merely had the passage in his head; but certainly Chaucer's private joke, masking the fact that he had already used the requisite passage in *Troilus*, is lost on Hoccleve, who turns the passage into a grimly unfunny joke on the fate of Badby's soul, about which he had no doubt — it was in hell.

- 350 **EMLG: Fides non capit meritum ubi ratio praebet experimentum** ("Faith derives no merit where reason tries for proof"). The ultimate source of this commonplace is Gregoey the Great's homily 26 on the Gospels (Migne, *Patrologia Latina* 76, col. 1197C). This gloss is in a later hand than the great majority of glosses, but it is not unique to this MS.
- 404 *He is a noble prechour at devys*. Both the ironic tone and the idiom recall Chaucer's Pardoner: "He was in chireche a noble ecclesiaste" (*CT* I[A]708), and the Pardoner's remark to the Wife of Bath: "Ye been a noble prechour in this cas" (*CT* III[D]165). Compare the notes to lines 629 and 2425–26 below for other echoes of the Pardoner.
- 421–553 This 130-line digression on clothing abuse among lords' retinues draws on a common theme in satire, and in addition exemplifies Hoccleve's tendency to digression. However, Larry Scanlon argues that here the digression has a point: "[Though] the attacks on Lollardy and contemporary dress may seem digressive . . . Lollardy aspires to appropriate the doctrinal privileges of the clergy. Dressing above one's station is obviously an attempt to appropriate the social privileges of lordship. Having established these two parameters of social order, the beggar can proceed to deal with Hoccleve's problem more directly" (Scanlon [1994], p. 304).
- 421 In the right margin, a sketch of a pointing finger signifies "note this." This is a later addition and is not found at this point in any other MS. It points, however, to abuses of array, particularly of pendant sleeves (lines 421–27; see also lines 449–52, 465–75, 533–36) that waste yards of cloth as they drag upon the ground and, in their extravagance, defy sumptuary laws. Compare, *Mum and the Sothsegger*, lines 121–81, for a contemporary diatribe attacking extravagant dress, trailing sleeves, pleats, and slashing of sleeves, thereby wasting the labor of countless workmen. *Mum* is dedicated to Henry IV. See Francis E. Baldwin, *Sumptuary Legislation and Personal Regulation in England* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1926).

Explanatory Notes

- 431 *He hath no more than he gooth in right.* One expects "goes in with," but the MSS provide no alternate reading to *right*. *Right* is here an intensifier modifying *no more*. *Gooth in* probably has the sense of "wears"; compare MED *gōn* 15b and 14 (pp. 246–48).
- 498 *Pryde.* Chaucer's *The Parson's Tale*, in its attack on Pride, also singles out extravagant and wasteful clothing, superfluous food, and other outrageous demonstrations of wealth as primary manifestations of *Superbia* (*CT* X[II]415–48).
- 512 *Of Lancastre Duk John.* John of Gaunt (1340–99), son of Edward III, contemporary and friend of Chaucer, and grandfather of Prince Hal. Praise of this prominent ancestor of the Prince is part of the poem's concern to emphasize the legitimacy of the Lancastrian succession. John is praised once again in the text and an accompanying Latin gloss at lines 3347 ff.
- 561 ff. ^{E3}MLG: **Seneca ad Lucillum** ("Seneca to Lucillus"). The *Moral Epistles* (they are more essays than letters) are all addressed to a young Roman knight named Lucillus by Seneca, the first-century Latin essayist and tragedian. His writings were a common source of sententious wisdom in the Middle Ages. The topics of old age and death, separately and together, are frequent throughout the *Epistles* but I have been unable to identify a precise source.
- 566 ^{E3}MLG: **Nil certius morte, et cetera** ("Nothing is more certain than death, etc."). This commonplace is to be found, among other texts, in Anselm of Canterbury, *Meditationes et orationes* (*PL* 158, col. 741A).
- 566–67 *Nothyng is more cersteyn than deeth is, / Ne more uncersteyn than the tyme, ywis.* Proverbial. See Whiting D96; also D81, D241, and M144. Whiting cites 49 instances but misses Hoccleve in *The Regiment of Princes*. Compare Hoccleve, *Dialogue with a Friend* (line 210).
- 569–70 ^{E3}MLG: **Exodus: Honora patrem et matrem ut sis longevus super terram** (Exodus [20:12]: "Honor your father and your mother that you may be long-lived upon the land [which the Lord thy God will give thee]"). Translated in lines 569–70.
- 600 *Bacchus signe . . . the levesel.* The *levesel* (bower of leaves) is the bush at the end of a pole marking an alehouse. This one is appropriately associated with the classical god of drink.

The Regiment of Princes

- 617–18 *tythe, / . . . his duoter.* The tithe, the tenth part of one's annual income due the church, is instead spent at the tavern.
- 629 *Dismembred I with oother grete.* Scanlon (1994, p. 305) argues that this passage "explicitly recalls the *Pardosser's Tale*." Compare the note to line 404 for other references to Chaucer's Pardoner.
- 668–69 *withdraw the flood . . . or ground ebbe sette He me.* God's chastisement of the persona has overtones recalling biblical Jonah's punishment and restoration or Job's decline from wealth to poverty. N.b. the comparison with Job in line 729.
- 687 *O, where is now.* The *ubi sunt* trope is a common rhetorical device. Compare *Troilus* 5.218–21, 1674–76.
- 690–93 In a poem which belongs to the genre of *Fürstenspiegel* (advice to princes literature), this seemingly innocent image cannot help but suggest its familiar political associations. See Fersner, pp. 137–59.
- 701  MLG: **Nota** ("Take note").
- 708–09 The reference is to Ecclesiastes 10:19.
- 720 *a manly man.* Like Chaucer's Monk, CT I[A]167.
- 757–59 An example of rich rhyme, common in French poetry and in the English as well as French poetry of Gower. Other examples occur at lines 2377–78, 4955–56, and 5247–48.
- 801  MLG, in a much later hand: **Privatum sigillum** ("Privy Seal"), absent from all other MSS. The Privy Seal office was a government office where documents were written and issued, legitimated by the impress of a seal. For a brief account of the office, see Burrow (1994), pp. 3–9. For fuller discussion, see Brown and Tout.
- 801 ff. A thousand lines before he reveals his name, Hoccleve here gives precise information about the place and length of his employment. See the Introduction and the reference there to Burrow (1994).

Explanatory Notes

- 820 ff. Owing to the extensive surviving documentary evidence, it has been possible to analyze Hoccleve's income with some precision. Burrow (1994) is once again the most convenient source, providing an appendix which reproduces the relevant passages. On May 17, 1409, Henry IV had granted Hoccleve an increased annuity of twenty marks (£13 6s. 8d.). Hoccleve here says that that amount would suffice, but he has not received his Michaelmas (September 29) 1410 payment and it is nearly Easter of 1411. This money was eventually received in July 1411. Delayed and reduced payments were common owing to financial constraints in the last years of Henry IV.
- 845 *poore cote*. In contrast to Chester's Inn (line 5), though since Hoccleve is now married, it is not clear that he is still able to live at the Inn.
- 862 *pistee exyliid*. Compare Chaucer's "Lak of Stedfastnesse," line 17. Hoccleve seems to have in mind Chaucer's appeal to the king. See also lines 866 and 869.
- 866 *to this regioun*. Compare "Lak of Stedfastnesse," line 25.
- 869 *O filial world, alais thy variance!* Compare "Lak of Stedfastnesse," lines 1, 8, and 20.
- 935 *Six marc*. His salary, separate from his annuity ("that othir," line 937).
- 957 *Who no good hath is fer his freendes fro*. Proverbial. See Whiting G348.
- 967–70 *He that severe . . . felt no greef at al*. The idea that those who are in prosperity, then lose it, are worse off than those who never had it comes from Boethius, *Consolation 2*, prose 4.5–9. Compare *Troilus* 3.1625–28. See also Augustine, *Confessions* 10.14; Dante, *Inferno* 5.121–23; and Aquinas, *Summa Theologica* 2.2.36.1.
- 990 **E@MLG:** **Ars non habet inimicum nisi ignorantem** ("Art has no enemy but the ignorant man"). This proverb is listed in Hans Walther's catalogue of Latin proverbs as 34923 (*Proverbia sententiaeque Latinitatis Medii Aevi* [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1963–69]).
- 994 **E@MLG:** **Caecus non judicat, et cetera** ("The blind man does not judge [colors], etc."). Walther, 35332b. Compare *Troilus* 2.21: "A blynd man kan nat juggen wel in hewys."

The Regiment of Princes

- 995 **E3** MLG: *Nota* ("Take note").
- 1079 ff. **E3** MLG: *Augustinus: Volve vitam salvatoris a tempore sue nativitatis usque ad crucis patibulum, et non invenies in ea nisi stigmata paupertatis. Numquid ergo homo melior est deo?* (Augustine: "Reflect on the life of our Savior from the time of his birth to his torture on the Cross, and you will not find in it anything except the stigma of poverty. Is man therefore better than God?"). Not in Augustine, but in Petrus Comestor, *PL* 198, col. 1746C.
- 1086 ff. **E3** MLG: *Bernardus in sermone de vigilia natalis domini: Nonne magna abusio est et nimis magna, ut ubi dives esse velit vilis vermiculus, propter quem deus magestatis et dominus sabaoth dignatus est voluntarie pauper fieri?* (Bernard, in the Sermon on the Vigil of the Nativity of our Lord: "Is it not a great abuse, even excessively great, that where he wanted to be rich, a vile worm, on whose account the God of majesty and the Lord Sabaoth deigns to become a pauper voluntarily?"). St. Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1153), profoundly influential Cistercian theologian and exegete. This passage in fact comes from a different work, his *Sermons on Easter*. See *PL* 183, sermo 3, col. 288D.
- 1093 ff. **E3** MLG: *Seneca in Proverbis: Securus [MS: securis] enim a nocturnis furibus dormit pauper etiam si claustra non muniat; diviti vero opes sue latronis semper ymaginantur occursum et iugl [MS: vigi] sollicitudine noctium sompnum adimunt, et cetera* (Seneca in his Proverbs: "Truly the poor man sleeps safe from nocturnal thieves though locks do not protect him; his wealth makes the rich man imagine the attack of a bandit, and robs him of his sleep with continuous worry, etc."). This passage is not to be found in the works of Seneca. For this general theme, compare Boethius, *Consolation*, Book II, prose v.
- 1114 ff. **E3** MLG: *Item Seneca: Seculi autem potestas sine timore periculi nunquam est, sed paupertas semper secura est* (Likewise Seneca: "The power of the secular world is never without fear of danger, but poverty is always secure"). Not in Seneca. Again, the idea, though not the language, is in Boethius.
- 1121–23 This is the first of Hoccleve's many borrowings from the *Chessbook* of Jacobus de Cessolis, most of which come in the last two-thirds of the poem. See the Introduction, section dealing with Sources. The best recent study of the exemplum as it appears in late Middle English poetry is Scanlon (1994). The passages drawn from the *Chessbook* are identified in the section of Aster's source study entitled "Hoccleve und Jacobus de Cessolis." Though I have not attempted to identify the

Explanatory Notes

version or versions of the *Chessbook* which Hoccleve might have used among the huge number of Latin and French versions of Jacobus' work, I have consulted two modern editions, one of the Latin text by Sister Marie Anita Burt and the other of the French version of Jehan de Vignay by Carol Fuller. I do not cite Caxton's later translation, which was based on Jehan's version and a second French version by Jean Ferron. The references for this passage are Burt, p. 70, and Vignay, p. 207.

- 1128 **E@MLG: Nota** ("Take note"). Compare Burt, p. 71, and Vignay, pp. 207–08.
- 1149–50 Compare Vignay, p. 157. This detail is lacking in Burt's Latin edition.
- 1198 **E@MLG: Proverbialis 30: Mendicitatem et divitias ne dederis mihi sed tantum victui meo necessaria** (Proverbs 30[8]: "Give me neither beggary nor riches; give me only the necessities of life").
- 1252 *Makē of necessitee . . . vertu*. Proverbial. See Whiting V43 for sixteen or so instances. Compare Troilus 4,1586–87 and The Knight's Tale (CTI[A]3041–42): "Thanne is it wysdom, as it thynketh me, / To maken vertu of necessitee." Chaucer's immediate source is *Teseida* 12.11.
- 1259 **E@MLG: Quem diligō castigo** ("Whom that I love I shall chastise"). This is a variant of Apocalypse 3:19. The gloss is in a later hand than that of the great majority of glosses.
- 1261 ff. In Jacobus de Voragine's popular *Golden Legend*, ch. 57. See the Latin text in Graesse, pp. 253–54, or the English translation by Ryan and Ripperger, part I, p. 28.
- 1289 Proverbial. Compare Whiting, W662. Additional proverbs in Hoccleve cited by Whiting are at lines 1290 (R119), 1299 (S948), 1310 (M704), and so on. Proverbs are a common element in the colloquial vernacular style in which Hoccleve as well as Chaucer frequently write.
- 1324–25 *He swoot me with the strook / Of povert*. On the instructive smiting of humankind by poverty, see Pope Innocent III, *De miseria condicione humanae*, ed. Robert E. Lewis (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1978), a portion of which Chaucer drew upon in his composition of the Prologue to The Man of Law's Tale. Langland provides a comparable idea in *Piers Plowman* B VI.171 ff., where Piers calls upon Hunger to "awreke me of þise wastoues" (B VI.173) to bring them back to work on Piers' half acre. Gower also speaks of the "symplesse of my

The Regiment of Princes

poverté" (*Confessio Amantis* 8.3134) as an aspect of the virtuous governance under which "I hope siker to abide" (*CA* 8.3137).

- 1345  In the margin, a crudely drawn pointing hand signifying **Nota**, unique to this MS.
- 1349 *that is His wyf*. The idea of the soul as the bride of Christ derives from commentaries on Solomon's Canticle of Canticles (The Song of Songs), beginning in early centuries but most fully developed in Bernard of Clairvaux's eighty-six homilies on Canticles.
- 1366–95 On the double countenance of Fortune and her *variancye* (1372), compare Boethius, *Consolation*, Book II, prose i, and Chaucer, *Book of the Duchess*, lines 617–51, and see Patch and the depictions in Tamotsu Kurose's *Miniatures of Goddess Fortune in Medieval Manuscripts* (Tokyo: Sanseido Co., Ltd., 1977).
- 1408  ML.G, in later hand: **Nota de curatis** ("Take note concerning curates").
- 1437 Though the language does not echo Chaucer's, the pose of narrative ignorance sounds like Chaucer, and Hoccleve doubtless learned this from his reading of Chaucer.
- 1485 ff. This satirical passage on the tricks played on government clerks by individuals claiming to be acting on behalf of lords gains poignancy when we realize its autobiographical base: Hoccleve is talking about the situation in his own office of the Prvy Seal. By this means clerks like himself are robbed of what is due them by unprincipled "lord's men." Compare Burrow, "Autobiographical Poetry," pp. 406–07, and James Simpson, "Nobody's Man: Thomas Hoccleve's *Regement of Princes*."
- 1487 *Nemo*. "No one," or "Nobody," is a reference to the scene in the *Odyssey* in which Odysseus identifies himself with that name as a ruse and defense against the giant Poliphemus. The *Odyssey* was of course unavailable to Hoccleve, but the matter of the epic was available. Simpson refers to Latin satire, and uses Hoccleve's allusion in the title and theme of his insightful essay, "Nobody's Man."
- 1542 *many*: An interesting substantive variant here. Twenty-eight out of the thirty-nine present MSS give the weaker reading *some*, perhaps suggesting a desire to tone down the pointed criticism.

Explanatory Notes

- 1576 ¶MLG, in later hand: **Nota tres causas matrimonii** ("Note the three reasons for marriage"). Compare Chaucer's *The Parson's Tale*, *CT* X[1]938–39, on the three valid reasons the husband and wife may "assemble." On the virtues of these three manners of assembly, see *CT* X[1]940–41.
- 1597 ¶In the margin is another crudely drawn pointing hand.
- 1608 *they receyver eek provocatives*. Compare *The Parson's Tale*, *CT* X[1]942, on the fourth manner of assembly that is deadly sin.
- 1660 ¶MLG: **Cessante causa** ("The cause ceasing, [the effect also ceases]"). Walther, 35493. Compare Whiting, C121.
- 1662 *not worth a leek*. Proverbial. See Whiting L185 for twenty examples. See also L183, L184, L186, and L187 on other proverbs based on a leek's worthlessness. Compare line 3517 below.
- 1670 *Not worth a straw*. Proverbial. See Whiting S815 for 22 examples. The idiom is common in Gower and Chaucer. See S804–24 for related proverbs on a straw's low value. Compare line 1874 below.
- 1688 ¶MLG: **In Canone, Adulterare sponte perjurare et hominem sponte occidere equiparantur** (In the Canon, "To commit adultery, willingly swear falsely, and willingly to kill are regarded as equal"). The "Canon" would seem to refer to the *Decretum* of Gratian, the great collection of canon law put together in the twelfth century. This passage is in fact not found in Gratian, but his *Decretum* is correctly cited elsewhere in the poem; see the notes to lines 2353, 2710, and 3098, as well as citations otherwise identified, at lines 4453, 4460, 4509, 4523, and 4528. These references, and that to the biblical commentary of Nicholas of Lyra (1725), partially indicate the learning behind Hoccleve's poem and its glosses.
- 1692 ¶MLG: **Jeronimus dicit, Adulterium secundum locum habet in penis** (Jerome says, "Adultery occupies the second place among punishments"). Not in Jerome, but in the *Decretum* of Ivo of Chartres, where it is attributed to the letter of Clement to James; in *PL* 161, col. 604D.
- 1695 ff. ¶MLG: **Genesis xii: Cumque prope esset ut ingredieretur Egiptum, dixit Saray uxori sue: Novi quod pulera sis mulier, et quodcum te viderunt**

The Regiment of Princes

Egiptii, dicturi sunt uxor illius es et interficiunt me et te reservabunt. Dic ergo obsecro quod soror mea sis, ut bene sit mihi propter te et vivat anima [mea] ob gratiam tui, et cetera (Genesis 12:[11-13]: "And when he was near to enter into Egypt, he said to Sarah his wife: 'I know that thou art a beautiful woman: And that when the Egyptians shall see thee, they will say: She is his wife; and they will kill me, and keep thee. Say, therefore, I pray thee, that thou art my sister: that I may be well used for thee, and that my soul may live for thy sake,' etc.").

- 1714 ff. **¶** MLG: Iterum eodem capitulo: Flagellavit autem dominus Pharaonem plagiis maximis et domum eius propter Saray, uxorem Abram. Vocavit quoque Pharao Abram et dixit ei, Quid nam est hoc quod fecisti michi, et cetera. (Again in the same chapter: "But the Lord scourged Pharaoh and his house with most grievous stripes for Sarah, Abram's wife. And Pharaoh called Abram, and said to him: 'What is this that thou hast done to me?' etc."). Genesis 12:17-18.
- 1725 Lyre. Nicholas of Lyra, whose early fourteenth-century commentaries on the Old and New Testaments were widely used in the fifteenth century. The reference here is to his Postilla on the Bible, a comment on Genesis 12:17 which reads: "The Lord struck Pharaoh and his household with great plagues: however, the text of Scripture doesn't say; but the Hebrew commentators say that it concerned an [unnatural] flow of seed which made intercourse difficult or impossible for Pharaoh and his household. Our expositors say that it involved a closing up of the womb, so that the wife of Pharaoh and her servants could not give birth." Nicholas of Lyra, *Biblia latina cum postillis*, fol. d10v, h.
- 1732 **¶** MLG: Non solum eternaliter verum etiam temporaliter in ista vita adulter manifestus est punitus, iuxta illud versis, Ex istis quidem, et cetera. ("The proven adulterer is punished not only in eternity, however, but also temporally in this life, in accordance with the verse 'From these indeed,' etc."). The source of this not found.
- 1737 ff. **¶** MLG: Genesis vicensimo: Redde uxorem viro suo; si autem nolueris, scito quod morte morieris tu et omnia que tua sunt (Genesis 20[:7]: "[Now therefore] restore to the man his wife. [for he is a prophet; and he shall pray for thee, and thou shalt live;] but if thou wilt not [restore her], know that thou shalt surely die, thou and all that are thine").

Explanatory Notes

- 1742 ff. **E^oMLG:** Item in eodem: Concluserat autem dominus omnem vulvam domus Abymalech propter Saram uxorem Abrahe. (Likewise in the same place [Genesis 20:18]: "For the Lord had closed up every womb of the house of Abimelech on account of Sara, Abraham's wife").
- 1744 ff. **E^oMLG:** Regum ii, Capitulis x et xi ("2 Kings:10-11").
- 1751 ff. **E^oMLG:** Judicum xx, Egressi sunt, et cetera (Judges 20[:1]: "Then all [the children of Israel] went out, etc.").
- 1758 ff. **E^oMLG:** Deutonomi xxvii: Maledictus qui dormierit cum uxore proximi sui (Deuteronomy 27[:20]: "Cursed be he that sleeps with his neighbor's wife").
- 1759-60 **E^oMLG:** Ad Corinthos vi: Neque fornicarii neque idolis servientes neque adulteri regnum dei possidebunt ([1] To the Corinthians 6[:9]: "Neither fornicators nor idolaters nor adulterers, [nor the effeminate, nor liars with mankind, nor thieves, nor covetous, nor drunkards, nor railers, nor extortioners] shall possess the kingdom of God").
- 1772 Proverbial. See Whiting B214. Compare CT II[B]41.
- 1800 **E^oRMG:** Nota ("Take note"). In a later hand than that of the main scribe.
- 1804 *deed as is a shoon.* Proverbial. See Whiting S759 and S759a for about four dozen examples.
- 1864 **E^oMLG:** Nota nomen auctoris [h]uius libri ("Note the name of the author of this book"). In a much later cursive hand.
- 1867 The first of the poem's references to Chaucer. See the Introduction on their significance.
- 1879 *thy patente:* the annuity of 20 marks.
- hanaper.* An office in the Chancery where the enrollment and sealing of charters were paid for.

The Regiment of Princes

- 1881–83 Hoccleve refers to restrictions on annuities imposed by the Council under the direction of Prince Hal during the summer of 1410 as a response to the government's debt. See McFarlane, pp. 78–101.
- 1887–88 Compare Whiting, G348. A striking variant is offered in the generally valuable British Library Royal MS 17 D. xviii, which for "walke" reads "piss." This is the MS which may derive from a Hoccleve holograph. A later MS which derives from this Royal MS omits the verb.
- 1912 The warning against flattery is a commonplace in the literature of the *Fürsten-spiegel* (mirror for princes) genre. The conflict between this warning and the flattery of the ruler by the writer endemic to the genre is one of the complications discussed by Ferster.
- 1914 ff. **E3** MLG: *Proverbiarum xxix: Qui blandis fictisque sermonibus loquitur amico suo expandit rete [MS retete] gressibus suis [sic]* (Proverbs 29 [:5]: "A man who speaks to his friend with flattering and dissembling words, spreads a net for his feet").
- 1919 ff. **E3** MLG: *Proverbiarum i: Fili mi, si te lactaverint peccatores, ne adquiescas eis* (Proverbs 1[:10]: "My son, if sinners shall entice you, consent not to them").
- 1923 ff. **E3** MLG: *Jeremie ix: In ore suo pacem loquitur cum amico suo et occulte ponit ei insidias* (Jeremias 9[:8]: "With his mouth one speaks peace with his friend, and secretly he lies in wait for him").
- 1926 ff. **E3** MLG: *Seneca, libro septimo de beneficiis: Summa loca tenentibus maxime deest qui veritatem dicat. Adulationis certamen omnibus officium est, una omnium contentio quis blandissime fallat* (Seneca Book VII [actually VI] of *De Beneficiis*: "Among those holding the highest places, he who tells the truth is especially lacking. Competing in adulation is the duty of all, a single contest among everyone to see who deceives most pleasingly"). Here and in the following gloss the attribution to the passage in Seneca is generally correct, including some verbal detail. See Seneca, *Moral Essays*, Loeb edition, vol. 3, Book VI, xxx, lines 3–5.
- 1929 Proverbial. Compare Whiting B235.

Explanatory Notes

- 1933 ff. ¶MLG: I[nt]em Seneca: Ignorant seculi potentes vires suas, dum se credunt tam magnos quanti predicanter (Likewise, Seneca [5]: "Secular rulers are ignorant of their own powers, while they believe themselves as great as they are pronounced to be"). A continuation of the passage cited at line 1926.
- 1942 *at Jerusalem*: i.e., very far away, the furthest destination for a pilgrimage.
- 1954 Proverbial. Compare Whiting A216.
- 1961 ff. The second of Hoccleve's references to Chaucer, and the first of three passages in tribute to him. The others occur at lines 2077 ff. and 4978 ff. Chaucer's rhetorical achievement is not separable from the moral and intellectual content of his poetry.
- 1975 ff. On Hoccleve's relation to Gower, see Blyth (1993). Gower had died prior to October 1408.
- 2007 *Carmes messe*. The refectory of the Carmelite order (the "White Friars"), founded c. 1154. Pearsall in "Hoccleve's Regement" suggests that the Old Man of the Prologue may be a Carmelite friar. This would contribute to the poem's anti-Lollard theme since the Carmelites "were particularly fierce in their attacks on Lollardy" (p. 407). Yet in the story of John of Canace, when John instructs his daughters and sons-in-law before his death to make donations to three orders of friars, the Carmelites receive only fifty pounds as against the one hundred pounds each allocated to the Dominicans and the Franciscans.
- 2017 ff. The stanza beginning with line 2017 occupies the bottom quarter of fol. 47 recto. Above it is a handsome framed miniature depicting the presentation of the book to Prince Henry. This is a major example of secular MS illumination of fifteenth-century England, usually attributed to a follower of Herman Scheere, and one of two illuminations that were contained in this MS. The other, a portrait of Chaucer, was cut out of the MS and has disappeared. The sister MS, Harley 4866, preserves a version of this famous portrait, but the presentation miniature was cut out of that MS. Kathleen Scott argues that this is a "gift-giving scene" rather than an "author-patron" presentation (II.159). Kate Harris has identified the arms depicted as John Mowbray, Lord Mowbray and Segrave, and Scott thinks the young "kneeling figure in the scene is . . . likely to represent John Mowbray" (II.159).

The Regiment of Princes

- 2017 ff. [Words of the Compiler to the Prince] Many MSS of the *Regiment* here insert a rubric stating that the Prologue to the poem begins here, and Arundel's rubric after line 2156 signifies that the "Prologue" is the 149-line address to the Prince. However, I accept the traditional label of "Prologue" for the entire first 2016 lines of the poem, and for the 149-line address adapt the unique but clarifying rubric of British Library MS Additional 18632, fol. 58, translated and emended from the Latin "Verba compilatoris ad Regem."
- 2034–37 "Hoccleve's regret that he has no money nor costly gift to recommend him to the Prince refers to the commonly accepted practice of the time, that a suitor or suppliant should recompense as richly as possible the energies and favours to be expended on his behalf" (Seymour [1981], p. 120n).
- 2038 ff. The reference is to the pseudo-Aristotelian *Secreta Secretorum*, on which see the section on sources in the Introduction.
- 2052–53 On Hoccleve's second named source, the *De Reginis principum* of Aegidius Romanus or Giles of Rome, see the Introduction.
- 2057–58 For the topos of the fifteenth-century poet as incompetent and dull, see David Lawton's important essay. For a different view, see Paul Strohm's 1982 essay.
- 2063–64 The particular personification allegory here recalls *Piers Plowman*; more interestingly, it closely resembles the language Hoccleve will later use, in his *Complaint*, to describe his own psychological state of mind. This is one of the instances where language and situations in Hoccleve's earlier poetry prefigure their recurrence in the less playful context of autobiographical self-examination. Compare line 105 ("So been his wittes fer goon hem to pleye"). In the *Complaint* this way of speaking is presented in contrasting his recovered sanity with his earlier sickness: "Debaat is nowe noon bitwixe me and my wit, / Although that ther were a disseveraunce / As for a time bitwixe me and it" (lines 247–49) or "Right so, though my wittre were a pilgrim / And wente fer from home, he cam again" (lines 232–33, Seymour, p. 82). In Hoccleve this sort of figure of speech can work either playfully or as a vehicle for expressing intense feeling, and the line between the two is not always clearly drawn.
- 2085 *Tullius*. Many of Marcus Tullius Cicero's writings, including some of his rhetorical works (and the pseudo-Ciceronian *Rhetorica ad Herennium*), were

Explanatory Notes

widely influential and available throughout the Middle Ages. His prose style was particularly admired. Compare the abundance of allusions in Chaucer's Melibee.

- 2088 Aristotle. For the later Middle Ages, what Cicero was to rhetoric, Aristotle was to philosophy and theology, especially after the recovery of many of his works from Arabic sources.
- 2089 Virgil. Like Cicero and Aristotle, Virgil is the supreme exponent of his craft, even though his work had less practical effect on medieval poetry than Ovid's.
- 2091 *combraword*. This noun-phrase ("trouble-maker") somewhat awkwardly derives from the verb *cumbrēn* (as preserved in modern "encumber"). Hoccleve's use of the phrase here, and in its plural form in the earlier *La Male Regle*, is thought to derive from a misunderstanding of *Troilus* 4.279 ("I, combree-world, that may of nothyng serve") where the vocative use draws on its verbal origin (*combren the world*). See MED and notes by Seymour, (p. 108, note to *La Male Regle*, line 225, and Riverside Chaucer, p. 1045, note to *Troilus*, line 279).
- 2099 *With here*. The personification of death as female is less common but not altogether unfamiliar. For Hoccleve death is usually feminine, notably in his *Lerne to Die*, but at line 290, in both of his versions of the text, death bends "his bowe." Compare the debate between Lady Life and Lady Death in the later alliterative poem *Death and Life*.
- 2100 **F²⁸MLG: Ecclesiastici ii: Moritur doctus simul et indoctus** (Ecclesiastes 2[:16]: "The learned dies in like manner as the unlearned").
- 2109 On Jacobus de Cessolis and the *Chessbook* see the section in the Introduction on Hoccleve's sources.
- 2115 ff. Having just introduced the *Chessbook* as one of his sources, Hoccleve proceeds to play with the language associated with the games of chess and checkers. *[T]hat place sqwaar / Of the listes* suggests the setting of a tournament, but this is immediately reduced to the size of a chessboard (*th' eschequeer*). Yet in a poem in which the other sense of "eschequeer" (the King's Exchequer) has already been referred to by name twice, first as the source of Hoccleve's annuity (line 820) and then as the place from which he will not be paid (line 1877), there is a punning which underscores the whole point of Hoccleve's writing the poem. The punning continues with the closely related term "draght" later in this stanza.

The Regiment of Princes

- 2120 ff. *draght*. The four occurrences of the noun extend the witty playing with the chess motif. While the word first of all refers to a move in chess, the repetition of the word in a changing context invites the punning introduction of others of the many meanings of the word. Among the several probably or possibly relevant ones are "trick" or "stratagem," "drink," "burden," "education," and "inclination" or "desire."
- 2132 *compyle*. Recent scholarship, especially following Parkes' 1975 essay, has demonstrated the usefulness of the concept of compilation for understanding much medieval literature, and for the not pejorative notion of a poet such as Boccaccio or Chaucer as a compiler. That Hoccleve so regarded his work is emphasized again at the end of the poem, where the three-stanza envoi is headed by the Latin rubric "Verba compilatoris ad librum" ("Words of the compiler to his book"). Compare the characterization of his work as translation (lines 1951, 2053, 2114). See also note to line 2188.
- 2136 The beginning of fol. 39 v, a page ornamented with demi-vinet and including rubrics, an explicit, and an incipit. Up to this point, with the exception of the presentation miniature, the MS has regularly contained four stanzas to the page. Beginning here, rubrication and ornament frequently disrupt the arrangement of the stanzas, with many leaves beginning and ending with partial stanzas; however, the total of 28 lines to the page continues.
- 2141 *dryve foorth the nyght*. Compare *Book of the Duchess*, where the narrator asks for a book "to rede and drive the night away" (line 49).
- 2150 Marginal English gloss: "**Aristotle. Giles. Jacob.**" The three previously identified sources.
- 2156-57 Latin rubric: **Explicit prologus, de principum regimine; incipiendo de fide observanda** ("The Prologue to the *Regiment of Princes* here ends; the beginning [of the section] concerning the keeping of faith"). As noted at line 2017, the "Prologue" ending here is the passage beginning at line 2017. Several MSS give all or part of the Explicit.
- 2171 ff. For the source of this exemplum in the *Chessbook*, compare Burt, p. 65, and Vignay, p. 204.
- 2188 *compyle out of thise auctours olde*. The rewriting of ancient texts for encyclopedic purposes was referred to as *compilatio* (see Introduction). Gower considers

Explanatory Notes

himself to be a compiler as he relates tales in *Confessio Amantis*. See Kurt Olsson, *John Gower and the Structure of Conversion: A Reading of the Confessio Amantis* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1992), pp. 1–15.

- 2199 ff. Compare *Secreta Secretorum*, part I, ch. 19, pp. 56–57.
- 2227 ff. Compare *Secreta Secretorum*, part I, ch. 19, p. 57, lines 19 ff.
- 2248 ff. **E**MLG: **D**e **fidelitate** [MS: **felicitate**] **M**arei **R**eguli ("Concerning the faithfulness [A: happiness] of Marcus Regulus"). Compare Burt, p. 57, and Vignay, pp. 197–98. A's "felicitate" is a corruption of "fidelitate."
- 2254 The naming of Cicero and Augustine as sources comes from the *Chessbook*.
- 2300 ff. **E**MLG: **N**ota de **Alexandri juramento tente** ("Note concerning the oath taken by Alexander"). Compare Burt, pp. 16–17, and Vignay, p. 154. The citation of Valerius Maximus, the first-century A.D. historian who wrote a handbook of historical exempla for rhetoricians which was widely used in the Middle Ages, actually comes from Hoccleve's immediate source, the *Chessbook*.
- 2317 *nur be worth a pere*. Proverbial. See Whiting P85.
- 2339 **E**MLG: **C**risostomus super **M**atthaeum **omelia** 12: **N**isi **c**onsuetudo **i**ndicatur, **n**on **p**ossunt **a**mputari **p**erjuria. **E**x **j**uramento **e**nim **p**erjurium **g**eneratorur; **s**icut **e**nim **q**ui **h**abet **i**n **c**onsuetudine **m**ultum **l**oqui **necesse **e**st **u**t **a**liquando **i**mpertine **l**oquatur, **s**ic **q**ui **h**abet **c**onsuetudinem **j**urare **i**n **r**ebus **y**doneis, **f**requentier **e**t **i**n **r**ebus **s**uperfluis **e**tiam **n**olens **c**onsuetudine **t**rahente **p**erjurat. (Chrisostomos on Matthew, Homily 12: "Unless the usage is forbidden, perjuries cannot be curtailed. For perjury is begotten of an oath; for just as the person who by habit speaks a lot sometimes speaks unsuitably, so he who habitually swears frequently in suitable circumstances, also by following habit when it is unnecessary, commits perjury though he does not wish to"). Latin translation of the Greek of St. John Chrysostom, fourth-century author of a very large number of sermons.**
- 2353 **E**MLG: **I**n **C**anone xxii, **q**uestio ii, **I**sti **t**res: **J**uramentum **t**res **h**abet **c**onditiones, **v**idelicet, **v**eritatem, **j**udicium **e**t **j**ustitiam. **V**eritatem, **s**[c]ilicet **u**t **j**urans **s**ciat **v**el **cre**dat **v**erum **e**sse **q**uo^d **j**urat. **J**udicium, **i**d **e**st **d**iscretionem, **u**t **d**iscrete **j**uret, **n**on **p**recipitanter, **e**t **c**etera (Canons, 22,

The Regiment of Princes

questio 2, "These three: 'Swearing an oath has three requirements, namely, truth, judgment, and justice. Truth, namely, that in swearing one know or believe true what he swears. Judgment, that is prudence, that he swear wisely, not precipitately,' etc."). Compare Gratian, *Decretum*, Causa 22, questio 2, canon 2, in *PL* 187 col. 1129A.

- 2360 ^EMLG: Quintilianus dicit: *Jurare nisi ubi neccesse est gravi viro, id est, nobili et famoso, parum convenit, verbum enim satis simplex in rege vel in principe firmius sit quam juramentum in mercatore* (Quintilian says, "To swear except where it is necessary is scarcely appropriate in a self-respecting man — that is, one noble and renowned — for a plain word from a king or prince is more trustworthy than a merchant's oath"). The ultimate source of the first half of the gloss is Quintilian, Book IX, section 98. However Hoccleve found this quotation in Jacobus. The gloss is close to the Latin text in Burt, p. 17, less so to Vignay's French text, p. 154.
- 2371 *wrytynge hole endure*: An exact translation of the Latin proverb "Littera scripta manet, [verbum ut inane perit]" or ["volat irrevocabile verbum"], which occurs as a Latin gloss in some *Regiment* MSS. Compare Walther, 13903 and 13903a.
- 2377-78 *covenantes; / . . . covenant is.* Another example of rich rhyme.
- 2382-84 These three proverbs — "he who is burnt dreads the fire," "not worth a bean," and "dun is in the mire" — are common to Chaucer and Hoccleve. The point is not influence but rather the colloquial currency common to both poets. Nonetheless, Hoccleve uses proverbial lore with a Chaucerian grace. Compare Whiting, C201, B88, and D434.
- 2399 ff. *maynpernoar*. A mainpernoar is a person who offers himself as guarantee for another person, that the other person will fulfill a legal obligation, such as to appear in court, or, as here, secure his release from prison.
- 2415 ^EMLG: *Jacobus iii: Si quis verbo non offendit perfectus est, et cetera* (Epistle of St. James 3[:2]: "He who does not offend in speech is a perfect man, etc.").
- 2423 ^EMLG: *Aristoteles: Melius est quod aures hominum sint sitibunde ad regis eloquia quam suis affatibus satientur, quia saturatis auribus anima etiam saturatur, et cetera.* (Aristotle: "It is better that men's ears be thirsty for their king's eloquence than that they be sated with his speaking, because when the ears

Explanatory Notes

are saturated, so too is the mind, etc."). *Secreta Secretorum*, part I, ch. 11, p. 49, lines 4–6.

- 2425 The language here echoes that used of Chaucer's Pardoner: "Myne handes and my tongue goon so yeme" (*CT VI*[C]398). There is no rapid tongue in the Latin source. On other evidence of the presence of the Pardoner in Hoccleve's poem, compare the note to lines 404 above and to 2439 ff. below.
- 2429 **E⁸MLG: Proverbiarum x: In multiloquio non derit peccatum** (Proverbs 10[:19]: "In the multitude of words there shall not want sin; [but he that refraineth his lips is most wise]").
- 2430 ff. **E⁸MLG: Ecclesiastici capitulo xix: Qui odit loquacitatem extinguit malitiam** (Ecclesiasticus 19[:5]: "He that hates babbling extinguishes evil").
- Proverbiarum xiii: Qui custodit os suum custodit animam suam, qui autem, et cetera** (Proverbs 13[:3]: "He that keeps his mouth keeps his soul, [but he that has no guard on his speech shall meet with evils], etc.").
- 2437 ff. **E⁸MLG: Jacobus iii. Omnes nature bestiarum volucrum et serpentum domantur** (Epistle of St. James 3 [:7]: "The nature of all animals, birds and serpents is tamed").
- 2439 ff. In his earliest dated poem, the *Epistle of Cupid*, a free translation of a recent poem by Christine de Pisan, in an ambiguously anti-feminist / pro-feminist context, Hoccleve writes:

A foul vice is of tonge to be light;
For whoso mocht clappith, gabbith ofte.
The tonge of man so swift is and so wight
That w[hi]jan it is areiud up on lofte,
Reson it sucht so slowly and softe
That it hym nevere overtake may . . . (lines 141–46)

The tongue is a dominant organ in the poetry of Chaucer and Hoccleve, variously connecting the physical organ with the social, the moral, and the biblical. Compare the Chaucer concordance, and compare the proverbs pertaining to tongue collected by Whiting, T366 through T402.

The Regiment of Princes

- 2443 E²²MLG: **Eodem capitulo: Lingua maculat totum corpus nostrum, et cetera** (In the same place [James 3:6]: "The tongue sullies the whole body, etc.").
- 2464 After this line comes the Latin rubric **De Justitia** ("On Justice") heading the new section. The rubric points to a codicological problem, for it is oddly placed, not above the text of the section, but at the very bottom of the previous page. One plausible explanation is that the rubric was added after the elaborate demi-vinet ornament of the verso page, allowing inadequate room for it. A parallel problem occurs at lines 2996–97, where the *De* of the rubric *De pietate* is concealed by a large demi-vinet burgeoning from a decorated capital *P* with which the stanza begins. At the same time, it is possible that the unsatisfactory placement of rubrics in A and in Harley ultimately reflects Hoccleve's somewhat casual and confusing treatment of sections. Thus the section placed between the sections on justice and on pity is headed, in A and Harley, not by a rubric but by a marginal gloss (at line 2773: **de legum observacione**), while near the end of that section on laws Hoccleve writes: "Let Favel passe, fousle moot he falle! / Foorth in justice wole I now geooseede" (lines 2948–49), sounding as though it is a continuation of the earlier section on justice. British Library MS Additional 18632, a deluxe MS relatively early among the later copies, unique among *Regiment* MSS in its script and format, supplies full and elaborate incipits and explicits throughout, but it is unparalleled by any other MS, so the incompleteness and uncertainty evident in A and Harley probably reflect the poem as it left Hoccleve's hands.
- 2465 ff. E²²MLG: **Anselmus, liber Cur deus homo: Justitia est animi libertas tribuens unicuique secundum propriam dignitatem, et cetera** (Anselm's book, *Why God Became Man*: "Justice is freedom of the soul, distributing to each according to his/her due dignity, etc."). Not in Anselm. This is a commonplace; compare Augustine, *De diversis questionibus octoginta tribus*, questio 31, line 11, in *PL* 40, col. 20. Benedictus Nursiae in *Regula cum commentariis* also gives this quotation and cites Anselm (*PL* 66, col. 232C).
- 2476 ff. E²²MLG: **Sola enim benevolentia sufficit amanti; si facultas deest beneficiende, et cetera** ("For benevolence alone suffices for the lover; if the ability to give is lacking... etc."). Compare Augustine, *In Johannis epistolam ad Parthos tractatus*, tract. 8, *PL* 35, col. 2038, line 37.
- 2479 ff. E²²MLG: **Quisquis es qui justitiam veram sectari desideres, time prius deum, et cetera** ("Whoever you are who desire to follow true justice, first fear God,

Explanatory Notes

- etc."). Compare Petrus Cantor, *Noxae in verbum abbreviatum*, in *PL* 205, col. 507D.
- 2482 ff. **E³³MLG:** *Nichil nocere non est justitia sed mali abstinentia* ("Doing no harm is not justice but merely abstaining from doing ill"). Petrus Cantor, a continuation of the preceding text.
- 2486 ff. **E³³MLG:** *Ipsò jure fraternitatis et societatis humane, consilii et auxiliū debitores sumus, et cetera* ("By the same law of fraternity and human society, we are debtors of counsel and aid, etc."). Bernard, *Sermones in adventu Domini*, sermo 3, par. 5, in *PL* 183, col. 45D.
- 2500 ff. **E³³MLG:** *Egidius in secunda parte primi libri, capitulo xi: Legalis justitia est quodam modo omnis virtus habere, enim huius justitiam est implere legem, et cetera* (Egidius in the second part of the first book, chapter 11: "Lawful justice is in a certain measure to have every virtue; for to have this justice is to fulfill the law, etc."). Compare Trevisa translation, p. 58, lines 2 ff.
- 2507 ff. **E³³MLG:** *Aristoteles, capitulo de forma et modo justicie: Justitia est de natura dei, et cetera* (Aristotle, chapter concerning the form and mode of justice: "Justice is of the nature of the gods, etc."). Compare *Secreta Secretorum*, part III, ch. 5, p. 123, lines 9 ff.
- 2524 ff. A translation of *Secreta Secretorum*, part III, ch. 5, p. 124, lines 1 ff.
- 2528 ff. For the source, compare Burt, p. 56, and Vignay, p. 196.
- 2556 ff. Edward III (1312–77), another famous Lancastrian antecedent. This legend of Edward in disguise among his people surely influenced the later legend of King Henry V, famously depicted in Shakespeare's play. It also links him, rather than Richard the Lionhearted, with popular Robin Hood tales.
- 2563 ff. **E³³MLG:** *Sapientie v: Quia non recte iudicasti, et cetera* (Wisdom 6[5]: "Because [being ministers of his kingdom] you have not judged rightly [nor kept the law of justice, nor walked according to the will of God], etc.").
- 2570 ff. **E³³MLG:** *Refert Valerius Maximus qualiter Theodorus Sirenum crucifigebatur quia Regem de Lissimaco arguebat pro suis defectibus, et cetera* ("Valerius Maximus reports how Theodore Cyrenaicus was crucified

The Regiment of Princes

because he criticized King Lysimachus about his failings, etc."). For the source compare Burt, pp. 7–8, and Vignay, p. 145.

- 2584 ff. **E²²MLG:** **Nota bene de generositate et justitia ducis Camili et de falsitate cuiusdam magistri qui pueros habebat ad informandum et doctrinandum** ("Note well the generosity and justice of Duke Camillus and of the falsity of a certain master who had boys for guidance and instruction"). Compare Burt, pp. 58–59, and Vignay, pp. 198–99.
- 2591 *me.* An instance, rare in Hoccleve, of the dative of interest. See Mustanoja, pp. 97–98.
- 2647 ff. *Of Lancastre good Duke Henri.* The father-in-law of John of Gaunt, and the first of the Plantagenet dukes of Lancaster.
- 2654 ff. **E²²MLG:** **Nota de fidelitate cuiusdam domini vocati Fabricius et de falsitate cuiusdam medici** ("Note the faithfulness of a certain lord called Fabricius and the falsity of a certain doctor"). For the source, compare Burt, p. 59, and Vignay, pp. 199–200.
- 2675 ff. **E²²MLG:** **Nota de justitia cuiusdam regis qui quendam judicem excoriar fecit quia falsum reddidit judicium** ("Note the justice of a certain king who caused a certain judge to be flayed because he rendered false justice"). For the source, see Burt, pp. 34–35, and Vignay, p. 178, and compare the version in Gower, CA 7.2889–2904.
- 2696 ff. **E²²MLG:** **Gregorius: Qui recte judicat et premium remunerationis expectat, fraudem in deo perpetrat, quia justitiam quam gratis partiri debuit, acceptatio pecunie vendit** (Gregory: "He who judges rightly and awaits recompense in return perpetrates fraud against God because the justice which he ought to dispense without recompense, he sells for a sum of money"). Partially corresponds to a passage in *Moralia in Job*, book 9, par. 34, line 40, but a closer, more direct and likely source is Burchard of Worms' *Libri decretorum*, PL 140, p. 914B.
- 2703 ff. **E²²MLG:** **Eodem capitulo: Cui si spes pecunie subtrahatur confessim a justitia recedit** (In the same chapter: "To such a one, if hope of money is removed, immediately he retreats from justice"). Compare Gregory, *Moralia in Job*, Book 9, par. 25, PL 75, col. 879B.

Explanatory Notes

- 2707 ff. **E²⁸MLG:** *Isaye 33: Qui excutit manus suas ab omni munere, iste in excelsis habitabit* (Isaiah 33[15–16]; “He who shakes his hands from all bribes, he shall dwell on high”).
- 2710 ff. **E²⁹MLG:** *Xi, questio iii, Non licet, et xiv questio v. Sane Justum quidem judicium gratis reddere debent Christiani quia non licet vendere justum judicium, quamvis viro perito licet vendere consilium et cetera* (“Xi, questio iii, ‘It is not permitted,’ and xiv, questio v. Indeed Christians must render just judgment gratis because it is not permitted to sell just judgment, although a skilled man is permitted to offer advice for a fee, etc.”). Compare Gratian, *Decretum* Causa 11, questio 3, canon 71, and Causa 14, questio 5, canon 15, in *PL* 187, col. 865A and col. 965B.
- 2717 ff. **E³⁰MLG:** *Scriptum est, Qui rigorem justitie exercere intendit, caveat ne puniendo delectet vel injurias suas ulcisci gloriantur; caveat etiam ne modum excedat aut quantitatem delicti* (It is written, “He who intends to exercise the rigor of justice, let him be careful lest he take pleasure in punishing or boast of taking vengeance on his injuries; let him beware also lest he exceed the manner or quantity of the crime”). Source not found.
- 2724 ff. **E³¹MLG:** *Egidius in secunda parte primi libri capitulo xi: Sicut anima est corporis vita, et cetera* (Egidius, in the second part of book I, chapter 11, “Just as the soul is the life of the body, etc.”). Compare Trevisa’s translation of the chapter, which does not closely correspond (pp. 58–59).
- 2731 ff. **E³²MLG:** *Nota bene qualiter satisfactum erat legi per quondam consulē Romanū* (“Note well how the law was complied with by a certain Roman consul”). For the source compare Burt, p. 35, and Vignay, pp. 178–79.
- 2773 ff. **E³³MLG:** *De legum observatione* (“Concerning observance of the laws”). Though only a marginal gloss here and in Harley, the evidence of the text at this point, the treatment by the scribe of British Library MS Additional 18632, as well as Furnivall’s edition suggest that this is the beginning of a new section, coming between those on justice and on pity, and so one would expect a full rubric. Compare the note to 2464.
- 2780 ff. As with much of the political discourse in the *Regiment*, this passage begins abstractly and conventionally in the contrast between rule of law and the violence that obtains in its absence. But beginning with the next stanza (lines 2787 ff.) this

The Regiment of Princes

general concern becomes increasingly localized and particularized, with its turn to here and now. In his contribution to the indispensable volume *Henry V: The Practice of Kingship*, ed. G. L. Harriss (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), Edward Powell attributes the "Restoration of Law and Order" (the title of his essay) to Henry's reign. Referring to the disturbances during the reign of Henry IV, he writes: "No serious attempt was made to deal with these disturbances. Henry [IV]'s reluctance to intervene in local disorders may have stemmed from a desire to avoid investigating the unlawful activities of his supporters" (p. 55). Hoccleve's concerns in 1410 are well founded. The consequences of the fall of Richard II alluded to at the beginning of the poem are a continuing problem over a decade later.

- 2796 common lawe. The unwritten, customary law of England, distinct from ecclesiastical canon law and from natural law ("law of kynde").
- 2805–06 The OED is more helpful on cob (n.1) than the MED, but neither is clear whether the word has a pejorative connotation. The best guess is that it refers to prominent leaders in a colloquial fashion, which implies disrespect.
- 2815 ff. In this passage Hoccleve combines the language of his source (see Burt, p. 36, and Vignay, pp. 179–80) with a continued attention to the contemporary situation. /W/jamis, of obscure origin, seems to be synonymous with the earlier "cob." The word occurs earlier, also preceded by "great," in *Richard the Redeless* passus iv, 49.
- 2836 ff. Compare Egidius, book I, part 1, ch. 13. See Trevisa translation, p. 31, lines 11 ff.
- 2850 **¶MLG:** *Principatus virum ostendit* [MS: ostendith] ("Rule shows [the worth of] the man"). Cited by Egidius (see note to 2836 ff.), but a traditional sententia. E.g., *Anctoritates Aristotelis Senecae Boethii Platonis Apulei Porphyrii Gilberti*, opus 12, sentence 86.
- 2857 ff. **¶MLG:** *In vita Johannis Elemosnia* ("In the Life of John the Generous or Alms-Giver"). The reference is to Jacobus de Voragine's *Golden Legend*, ch. 27 (Graesse, pp. 126 ff.), English translation in Ryan and Ripperger, pp. 113 ff. Gower tells the story in *CA* 7.2414 ff., and cites "the Cronique" as his source.
- 2871 ff. **¶MLG:** *Ecclesiastici vii: Meditatio mortis est quasi frenum hominem refrenans ne exerceat vitia, et cetera* (Ecclesiasticus vii: "Contemplation of

Explanatory Notes

death is like a bridle restraining man, lest he practice vices, etc."). A loose paraphrase of Ecclesiasticus 7:40.

- 2886 **E@MLG:** **Vox populi vox dei** ("The voice of the people is the voice of God"). Walther, 34182. The phrase is a favorite of John Gower. See Russell A. Peck, *Kingship and Common Profit in Gower's Confessio Amantis* (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1978).
- 2890 ff. **E@MLG:** **Nullum bonum irremuneratum, et cetera** ("No good deed is unrewarded, etc."). *Auctoritates Aristotelis Senecae Boethii Platonis Apulei Porphyrii Gilberti*, opus 25, sententia 58.
- 2899 ff. **E@MLG:** **Quod elecciones sint in ecclesiis cathedralibus libere** ("That elections be free in cathedral churches").
- 2950 ff. **E@MLG:** **Qualiter quidam miles in exilium se posuit quia leges bonas per se factas vellet observari** ("How a certain knight placed himself in exile because he wanted that the good laws that he made be observed"). See Burt p. 52; the exemplum is lacking in Vignay. Compare Scanlon's discussion (1990), pp. 244–45, and compare the version of the tale in Gower, *CA* 7, 2917–3021.
- 2950 *I noot what men hym calle.* Recalls the last line of Chaucer's portrait of the Merchant in the General Prologue ("But, sooth to seyn, I noot how men hym calle," *CT* II[A]284), though entirely lacking the hint of something obscure and possibly sinister in the latter.
- 2996–97 The new section is preceded by the Latin rubric **[De] pietate** ("[On] pity"), but the Latin preposition (*de*) is concealed by a large demi-vinet burgeoning from a decorated capital "P" with which the English stanza begins. Compare the note to line 2464 above.
- 3004 ff. **E@MLG:** **Refert Herosius qualiter quidam artifex subtilis puniebatur per artem suam propriam** ("Orosius reports how a certain subtle craftsman was punished by his own art"). Compare Burt, pp. 17–18; Vignay, p. 155. See also Gower *CA* 7.3295–3332, and Scanlon (1990), pp. 245–46.
- 3039 **E@MLG:** **Contra blanditores** ("Against flatterers").

The Regiment of Princes

- 3062 ff. **E^o MLG:** *Dicit Seneca de quibusdam qui Neronem sequabantur: Mel musce sequitur, cadavera lupi, predam sequitur ista turba non hominem* (Seneca speaks of those who were following Nero: "Flies follow honey, wolves follow carcasses; this group follows the prey, not the man"). Seneca is named in Hoccleve's *Chessbook* source (see Burt, p. 89, and Vignay, p. 227). See also Whiting F335.
- 3074 ff. **E^o MLG:** *Jeromimus: Adulator secus est qui pro questu terreno vel gratia transitoria sua et alterius animam interficit* (Jerome: "A flatterer is he who for earthly profit or transitory favor kills the soul of another"). Attributed to Jerome in Petrus Cantor, *Verbum abbreviatum*, PL 205, col. 142B.
- 3081 Exactly this line (as emended) occurs in the Prologue to The Merchant's Tale, *CT* IV[E]1223, in which the Merchant distinguishes between the patient Griselda of the preceding The Clerk's Tale and his own wife.
- 3088 ff. **E^o MLG:** *Hugo de sancto victorie: Adulator est ille qui tacet et dat consensum ne offendat quem [h]ortat habere propitium* (Hugh of St. Victor: "A flatterer is he who is silent and gives agreement lest he offend someone whom he urges to be favorably disposed"). Evidently not Hugh; unknown author of *Quaestiones aliae Veteris et Novi Testamenti*, in PL 35, col. 2405.
- 3095 ff. **E^o MLG:** *Qui tacet, et cetera* ("He who is silent, etc."). Source not found. The sense seems akin to proverbs such as "he who is silent overcomes." See Whiting S308-09.
- 3098 ff. **E^o MLG:** *Canonum xxilia, questio iii, capitulo, Qui potest, et cetera* (Causa 23, questio 3, the canon [8] "He who is able to [prevent and confound the wicked and does not do so, does nothing other than countenance their sin], etc."). Compare Gratian, *Decretum*, PL 187, col. 1171B.
- 3102 ff. **E^o MLG:** *Aristoteles, in principum regimine, capitulo de regis providentia* ("Aristotle, *On the Rule of Princes*, the chapter on the foresight of a king"). Compare *Secreta Secretorum*, part I, ch. 10, p. 48, lines 15 ff.
- 3109-15 Compare *Secreta Secretorum*, part I, ch. 18, pp. 55-56.

Explanatory Notes

- 3114 ^EMLG: **Michi vindictam, et cetera** ("Vengeance is mine, etc."). Cited in *Secreta Secretorum*, part I, ch. 18, p. 56, but ultimately biblical: Romans 12:19; Hebrews 10:30; Deuteronomy 32:35.
- 3121 ff. ^EMLG: **Facilitas [MS: Falcitas] venie incentium prebet delinquendum** ("Willingness to forgive provides a stimulus to committing crime"). Ambrose, *Expositio Psalmi cxviii*, sermo 8, ch. 26, *PL* 15, col. 1305B.
- 3123 ff. ^EMLG: **Nota contra concessiones cartarum pardonationum de murdris** ("Warning against the giving of charters of pardon in murder cases").
- 3134 *straight as any lyne*. Compare Pandarus in *Troilus* 2.1461, and Whiting, L301, with other citations, including Hoccleve's *Lerne to Die*.
- 3200 ff. ^EMLG: **De pietate Marci Marcelli** ("Concerning the compassion of Marcus Marcellus"). Compare Burt, p. 61, and Vignay, pp. 201–02.
- 3235 ff. ^EMLG: **De pietate Pompei** ("Concerning the compassion of Pompey"). See Burt, pp. 61–62, and Vignay, p. 292; and compare Gower, *CA* 7.3215–48.
- 3246 ff. ^EMLG: **De pietate Cesaris imperatoris** ("Concerning the compassion of Emperor Caesar"). See Burt, p. 61, and Vignay, p. 202.
- 3249 ff. ^EMLG: **De pietati Alexandri** ("Concerning the compassion of Alexander"). Burt, p. 63; Vignay, p. 203.
- 3270 ff. ^EMLG: **De pietate Julii Cesaris** ("Concerning the compassion of Julius Caesar"). See Burt, p. 72; Vignay, pp. 209–10; and compare Gower, *CA* 7.2060–2114.
- 3311–12 Latin rubric beginning new section: **De misericordia** ("Concerning mercy").
- 3312 ff. ^EMLG: **Augustinus dicit quod misericordia est alienae miserie ex corde vera compassio, et hec virtus consistit in duobus, scilicet, dando et dimittendo** ("Augustine says that mercy is true compassion from the heart for the misery of another and this virtue consists of two parts, that is, giving and forgiving"). Compare Augustine, *City of God*, CCSL 47, Book 9, ch. 5, in *PL* 41, col. 261, line 2.

The Regiment of Princes

- 3319 ff. **E²MLG:** *Matthaei vii: Qui enim dimittit injuriam et si non [added above] peccaverit ipse, dimittetur ei.* Unde dominus in evangelio: *Date et dabitur vobis; dimitte et dimittet[ur] vobis; sed qui dimittit et non dat et si plene non operatus est, eam meliorem tamen partem tenet misericordie* (Matthew 7 [very approximately, Matthew 6:14–15]: "For he who forgives an injury even if he shall not have sinned himself, shall be forgiven for it. Whence the Lord in the Gospel [Luke 6:38]: Give and it shall be given to you; forgive and you will be forgiven; but he who forgives but does not give, even if he has not fully worshipped, he will have the better part of mercy").
- 3326 ff. **E²MLG:** *Ambrosius: Quis fidelis sit, sobrius et castus, et aliis virtutibus oneratus, si tamen misericors non est misericordiam non meretur. Dicit enim apostolus Jacobus ii, judicium sine misericordia illi qui non facit misericordiam* (Ambrose: "He who is faithful and sober and chaste and filled with other virtues, if nevertheless mercy is lacking, does not deserve mercy." For the Apostle James ii [13], says, "For judgment without mercy to him who does not show mercy"). Not Ambrose but Leo the Great, *Tractatus septem de monigintu*, tract. 10, in *PL* 54, col. 164A.
- 3347 ff. **E²MLG:** *De misericordia Johannis ducis Lancastrie, cuius anime propicietur deus, et de misericordia domini nostri regis Henricus filii sui* ("Concerning the mercy of John Duke of Lancaster, whose soul may God favor; and concerning the mercy of our lord King Henry, his son"). Compare the reference to John of Gaunt at line 512 above.
- 3359 ff. **E²MLG:** *Beati misericordes, et cetera* ("Blessed are the merciful, etc."). Matthew 5:7.
- 3368 ff. **E²MLG:** *Ait beatus Bernardus: Ille maxime deum imitat qui nichil judicaverit preciosius quam misereri* (The blessed Bernard says: "He especially imitates God who shall have judged nothing more precious than mercy"). Source not in Bernard's writings and not found elsewhere.
- 3372 ff. **E²MLG:** *Matthaei ii. Clamat deus, misericordiam volo; qui quod vult deus, deo negat; a deo sibi quod desiderat vult negari* (Matthew ii: "God called, I want mercy; who denies to God what God wants, wants to be denied what he desires from God"). Actually from a sermon of Peter Chrysologus, the eighth sermon, in *PL* 52, col. 210C, which in turn cites Matthew 9:13.

Explanatory Notes

- 3375 Over half of the MSS have a Latin gloss here, but not Arundel or Harley. The reference is to the *Chessbook*; compare Vignay, p. 201, and is lacking in Burt's edition of the Latin *Chessbook*.
- 3389 ff. **E^oMLG:** **D**e **m**iti **a**nimo **r**egis **P**iri ("Concerning the gentle mind of King Pirus"). For the source see Burt, p. 16 and Vignay, p. 153.
- 3410 ff. **E^oMLG:** **P**otestas sine misericordia vertit regem in tirannum: ita scriptum est ("Power without mercy turns a king into a tyrant — thus it is written"). Source not found.
- 3417 ff. **E^oMLG:** **P**roverbiorum capitulo xx: Misericordia et veritas regem custodiunt et roboratur clementia thronus eius (Proverbs, chapter 20[28]): "Mercy and truth preserve the king, and his throne is strengthened by clemency").
- 3426 ff. **E^oMLG:** **D**e misericordia ducis Pisistarisi [MS: Pisistratis] ("Concerning the mercy of Duke Pisistratus"). See Burt, pp. 14-15, and Vignay, p. 152.
- 3458-59 Latin rubric heading new section: **D**e patientia ("Concerning patience").
- 3459 ff. **E^oMLG:** **G**regorius dicit: Patientia vera est aliena mala equanimiter pati et contra eum qui mala rogat [Harley: *irrogat*] nullo dolore morderi (Gregory says: "True patience is to suffer ills with equanimity, and not to be stung with resentment against him who inflicts evil things"). Compare *Moralia in Job*, Book 20, par. 39, in *PL* 76, col. 183C.
- 3463 ff. **E^oMLG:** **S**ocrates dicit: Nemo bene sapiens est qui patientiam non habet, viri enim boni est scire pati, et cetera (Socrates says: "No one is truly wise who lacks patience, for it is good for man to suffer, etc."). Compare Alcuin, *De virtutibus et vitiis*, in *PL* 101, col. 619B.
- 3480 ff. **E^oMLG:** **R**egum 2, capitulo 16: Venit ergo Rex David usque Bahurim et ecce egrediebatur, et cetera (2 Kings, chapter 16[5]): "And King David came as far as Bahurim; and behold there came out [from thence a man of the kindred of the house of Saul named Shimei, the son of Gera, and coming out he cursed as he went on], etc.").
- 3485 ff. **E^oMLG:** **D**ixit autem Abusay filius Sarvie: Quare maledicit canis iste? et cetera. Vadam et amputabo, et cetera (And Abisai the son of Sarvia said to the

The Regiment of Princes

king: "Why should this dead dog curse [my lord the king]? etc. I will go and cut off [his head], etc."). 2 Kings 16:9.

- 3487 ff. **E³⁸MLG:** *Et ait rex: Dimitte eum ut maledicat iuxta preceptum domini. Si forte respiciat dominus afflictionem meam et reddit michi bonum pro maledictione hac [h]odierna, et cetera* (And the king said: "[What have I to do with you, you sons of Sarvia?] Let him alone and let him curse [for the Lord hath bid him curse David: and who is he that shall dare say, why hath he done so?]. . . as the Lord hath bidden him. Perhaps the Lord may look upon my affliction, and the Lord may render me good for the cursing of this day, etc."). 2 Kings 16:10–12.
- 3496 ff. **E³⁹MLG:** *De patientia regis Alexandri* ("Concerning the patience of King Alexander"). See Burt, pp. 66–67, and Vignay, pp. 205–06.
- 3513 ff. **E⁴⁰MLG:** *De patientia Julii Cesaris* ("Concerning the patience of Julius Caesar"). Burt, p. 67, and Vignay, p. 206. Though the question about *noblesse* and even the verb *deffaille* come directly from a French version of the text, the narrative expansion via Chaucerian colloquial idiom (lines 3516–17 and 3521) and the comment upon the question (lines 3525–28) are Hoccleve's contribution. Burt's Latin version is here very brief.
- 3529 ff. **E⁴¹MLG:** *De patientia Scipionis Africani bellicosissimi* ("Concerning the patience of the most warlike Scipio Africanus"). See Burt, p. 67, and Vignay, p. 206.
- 3536 ff. **E⁴²MLG:** *De benignitate [et] patientia regis Antigone* ("Concerning the generosity [and] patience of King Antigonus"). See Burt, p. 68, and Vignay, p. 206.
- 3543 ff. **E⁴³MLG:** *De patientia et misericordia ducis Pisistarlis supra nominati* ("Concerning the patience and compassion of Duke Pisistratus on the above-named"). See Burt, p. 15, and Vignay, pp. 152–53. There is a very crudely drawn pointing hand in the right margin of A.
- 3571 ff. **E⁴⁴MLG:** *Salamon [sic]: Ubi est humilitas, ibi sapientia, Origenes: si humili non fueris in te non potuit habitare gratia spiritus sancti* (Solomon: "Where humility is, there is wisdom." Origen: "If you were not humble, the grace of the holy ghost could not reside in you"). Solomon here is Proverbs 11:2. The source of the citation of Origen, as well as of Basil (lines 3585 ff.), Isidore (lines 3590

Explanatory Notes

ff.) and Anselm/Ambrose (lines 3599 ff.), is Defensor Locogiacensis, *Liber scintillarum*; here ch. 4, sentence 16, in *PL* 88, cols. 608D and 609A.

- 3578 ff. **F²MLG:** **Bernardus dicit: Beata Maria ex virginitate placuit deo, sed ex humilitate concepit deum** (Bernard said: "The Blessed Mary was pleasing to God because of her virginity, but because of her humility she conceived God"). Corresponds to Bernard of Clairvaux, *Homiliae super 'Missus est.'* Hom. 1, par. 5, in *PL* 183, col. 59B.

Both Arundel and sister MS Harley at this point provide delightful visual wit. The two scribes responded to an error in their common exemplar: a stanza (lines 3578–84) had been misplaced or omitted, and to correct the omission it was necessary for the scribes to add a fifth stanza to a regular four-stanza page. Both MSS place the misplaced stanza to the right of the usual text area, squeezed between two Latin glosses. Surrounding the stanza is a skillfully drawn rope vigorously pulled by a male figure with feet planted on a mound of grass. The difference in style and skill between the two depictions of rope and of the figure indicate that two different hands are at work. The Arundel example is illustrated in Scott 1, fig. 202.

- 3585 ff. **F²MLG:** **Basilus: Humilis licet habitu vili sit; gloriōsus tamen est virtutibus. Superbus autem si decorus videatur aspectu, tamen operibus vilis est** (Basil: "Although the humble man is lowly in appearance, nevertheless he is glorious in virtues. But the proud man even though he seem honorable in appearance, nevertheless is vile in his deeds"). *Liber scintillarum*, ch. 4, sentence 34, in *PL* 88, col. 609D.

- 3590 ff. **F²MLG: Isodorus: Quamvis sum[m]ius es, humilitatem tene. Solomon: Quanto maior es, et cetera** (Isidore: "Although you are high, hold on to humility. Solomon: By how much greater you are, etc."). Solomon here is Ecclesiasticus 3:20. The source of Isidore is *Liber scintillarum*, ch. 4; in *PL* 88, col. 610A and 608D.

- 3592 ff. **F²MLG: Caesarius: Numquam sine caritate vera humilitas aut fuerat aut poterat esse** (Caesarius: "Without charity, true humility never was nor could be"). St. Caesarius (c. 470–542), Archbishop of Arles, a celebrated preacher some of whose sermons survive. Again *Liber scintillarum*, in *PL* 88, col. 610C.

The Regiment of Princes

- 3595 ff. **E²²MLG: Isidorus:** Nullum premium caritati equatur, caritas enim virtutum omnium optinet principatum. A regno dei se separant qui semetipsos a caritate dissociant (Isidore: "No reward is equal to charity for charity holds the foundation of all virtues. They separate themselves from the kingdom of God, they who separate themselves from charity"). The passage beginning with **caritas** closely responds to two passages in Isidore, *Sententiarum Libri Tres*, Book 2, in *PL* 83, col. 603A, and Book 3, col. 701C.
- 3599 ff. **E²²MLG: Anselmus:** Et sicut sine via nullus pervenit quo tendit, ita sine caritate, que dicta est via ab apostolo, non recte ambulare possumus in via dei (Anselm: "And just as, without a path, no one reaches his destination, so without charity, which is called the way by the Apostle, we are not able to walk properly on the path of God"). *Liber Scintillarum*, ch. 1, sentence 20, in *PL* 88, col. 600B.
- 3603 ff. **E²²MLG: Augustinus:** Habere caritatem et fac quod vis, et cetera (Augustine: "Have charity and do what you will, etc."). A variant of Augustine, *In Iohannis epistolas ad Parisos tractatus [dilige et quod vis fac]*, tract. 7, in *PL* 35, col. 2033, line 35.
- 3606 ff. **E²²MLG: Gregorius in moralibus :** Omnipotens eterni dei nos esse discipulos, sola custodia caritatis probat (Gregory in his *Moralia*: "Only keeping charity proves us to be disciples of eternal, all-powerful God"). *Moralia in Job*, Book 22, par. 11, in *PL* 76, col. 226B.
- 3610 ff. **E²²MLG: Scriptum est:** Nemo quidem sanctorum ad celestem gloriam nisi patientiam servando pervenit (It is written: "Indeed no one reaches the celestial glory of the saints if not by observing patience"). Gregory, *Homilies on the Prophet Ezekiel*, Book 1, sermon 7, par. 12, in *PL* 76, col. 846D.
- 3626-27 Latin rubric above stanza marking beginning of new section: **De castitate** ("On chastity").
- 3632 ff. **E²²MLG: Scriptum est:** Nisi pudicitia sedeat in mente, nulla perfectio sequitur in opere (It is written: "Unless chastity is settled in the mind, no perfection in work can follow"). Among others, compare Petrus Cantor, *Verbum abbreviatum*, in *PL* 205, col. 495D.
- 3645 ff. Compare Egidius, Book 1, part 1, ch. 8 in Trevisa's translation, p. 21, lines 4 ff.

Explanatory Notes

- 3648–54 Compare Chaucer's "Gentillesse," lines 5–6, which is based on Boethius, Book II, prose 6.20–27 and 3 prose 4.37–38.
- 3655 ^{E3}MLG: **Aristotelis, de regimine, capitulo de castitate** ("Aristotle, on the Regiment, chapter on chastity"). *Secreta Secretorum*, part I, ch. 13, p. 51, lines 6 ff.
- 3669 ff. ^{E3}MLG: **Ad Ephesios v: Fornicator non habebit hereditatem in regno Christi et Dei** (To the Ephesians, 5[5]: "[For know you this and understand, that] no fornicator [or unclean, or covetous person (which is a serving of idols)] has inheritance in the kingdom of Christ and of God").
- ^{E3}Ad Ebreos iii: **Fornicatores et adulteros judicabit deus** (To the Hebrews, 3 [13: 4]; "For fornicators and adulterers God will judge").
- 3676 ff. ^{E3}MLG: **De castitate Scipionis Africani** ("On the chastity of Scipio Africanus"). See Burt, p. 20, and Vignay, pp. 157–58.
- 3718 ff. ^{E3}MLG: **De castitate eiusdam juvenis** ("On the chastity of a certain young man"). See Burt, p. 93, and Vignay, p. 231.
- 3732 ff. ^{E3}MLG: **De castitate eiusdam feminine Uliae numcupate** ("On the chastity of a certain woman named Ulia"). See Burt, p. 24, and Vignay, pp. 169–70. Hoccleve's citing of Jerome against Jovinian again derives from the *Chessbook*. Burt's Latin text is brief, Vignay quite long, and Hoccleve's version in between.
- 3756 ff. The subject of Hoccleve's anti-feminism was alluded to in the title of Francis Lee Utley's *The Crooked Rib: An Analytical Index to the Argument about Women in English and Scots Literature to the end of the year 1568*. Recent studies of Hoccleve's anti-feminism have usually focused on his problematic early adaptation of Christine de Pisan's *L'Epistre au dieu d'amours*. See, for instance, McLeod. Hoccleve returns to that poem and those concerns in his later *Series*, for which see Winstead, pp. 143–55. See also Batt, pp. 55–84.
- 3760 ff. ^{E3}MLG: **De Platonis castitate** ("On the chastity of Plato"). See Burt, p. 94. Vignay, p. 231, gives a different version in which Plato and his men subject themselves to disease rather than blindness.
- 3767 ff. ^{E3}MLG: **De Demostenes castitate** ("On the chastity of Demosthenes"). Burt, p. 94, and Vignay, pp. 231–32.

The Regiment of Princes

- 3774 ff. **¶** MLG: **D**e castitate duarum filiarum cuiusdam ducisse ("On the chastity of two daughters of a certain duchess"). Burt, pp. 29–30, and Vignay, pp. 173–74.
- 3802 ff. Compare Burt, p. 117, and Vignay, p. 253; but these sources apply only to line 3802, for which a few MSS, and the two versions of the *Chessbook* cited here, name Cato, the supposed author of the *Disticha Catonis*. For contemporary discussion of the biology of digestion and sexuality, compare John Trevisa's translation of Bartholomaeus Anglicus, *De Proprietatibus Rerum* I, pp. 258–63 in Seymour's edition.
- 3816 ff. **¶** MLG: **J**eronimus ad filiam virginem: **O** filia, inquit, si apostolus castigavit corpus suum et in servitatem rededit (Jerome to a young virgin: "O daughter," he asked, "if the Apostle punished his body and reduced it to servitude"). Source not found.
- 3823 ff. **¶** MLG: **S**eneca: **S**i continentiam diligis, circumcidere superflua et voluptuosa (Seneca: "If you prize temperance, cut off the unnecessary and the pleasurable"). Not in Seneca.
- 3830 ff. Abridged from Egidius, Book II, part 2, ch. 12; Trevisa's translation, p. 232.
- 3844 ff. **¶** MLG: **D (Daniel 6[5]:30–31); "The same night Baltasar the Chaldean king was slain, and Darius the Mede succeeded to the kingdom, etc.").**
- 3851 **¶** MLG: **Regum I capitulo xxv: **C**or Nabal jocundum erat ebrius enim nimis, et cetera (1 Kings, chapter 25[36]: "Nabal's heart was merry, for he was very drunk, etc.").**
- 3852 **¶** MLG: **Machabeorum xxviii: **Ecum inebriatus esset Symon et filii eius, surrexit Tholomeus, et cetera** ([1]Machabees 28[16:16]): "And when Simon and his sons had drunk plentifully, Ptolemy [and his men] rose up [and took their weapons], etc.").**
- 3854 ff. **¶** MLG: **Genesis xix: **V**eni, inebriemus eum vino, dormiamusque cum eo, ut reservare possimus ex patre nostro semen, et cetera (Genesis 19[32]):**

Explanatory Notes

"Come, let us make him drunk with wine, and let us lie with him, that we may preserve the seed of our father").

- 3858 ff. **E3** MLG: *Judith capitulo 22* ("The Book of Judith, chapter 22[:13]").
- 3863–64 Compare note to lines 2057–58 above.
- 3879 ff. Compare the reference to Trevisa at line 3802 above.
- 3899–3900 In the middle of fol. 71r, above this line, a new section begins with the Latin rubric **De regis magnanimitate** ("On the magnanimity of a king"). As with the other sectional divisions, the entire left margin of the page is a demi-vinet design, in this case stemming from the ornamented initial *O*, in which are depicted the arms of Segarve, representing John Mowbray (Lord Mowbray and Segarve, born in 1392, later Duke of Norfolk), thus one of the recipients of the several presentation copies of Hoccleve's poem. See Scott, II.159, and Harris.
- 3921 ff. Some MSS have a Latin gloss here citing Egidius, Book I, part 2, ch. 23. Compare Trevisa's translation, p. 87, lines 27 ff.
- 3928 ff. Compare Egidius, Book I, part 1, ch. 13. See Trevisa's translation, p. 32, lines 5 ff.
- 3942 ff. Compare Egidius, Book I, part 2, ch. 23; compare Trevisa's translation, p. 87, lines 27 ff.
- 3944 *bookes. Such as Egidius'.*
- 3950 ff. **E3** MLG: **De magnanimitate Coadri, principis exercitus Atheniensis** ("On the magnanimity of Coadrus, commander of the Athenian army"). For the source compare Burt, pp. 49–50, and Vignay, pp. 193–94. Compare the different version in Gower, *CA* 7.3163–3214.
- 4004–05 Latin rubric above line beginning new section: **Quod rex non [de]bet [MS: habet] felicitatem suam ponere in divitiis** ("That the king must not place his happiness in riches").
- 4033 ff. **E3** MLG: **Qualiter Marcus Curtius dixit quod mallet divites habere suo mandato obedientes quam dives ipsem et esse** ("How Marcus Curtius said that

The Regiment of Princes

he would rather have rich men obedient to his command than be rich himself"). See Burt, p. 32.

- 4047 ff. **E²⁸MLG:** *Refert Valerius qualiter quidam miles Alexandri arguebat eum de sua cupiditate* ("Valerius reports how a certain soldier of Alexander blamed him for his cupidity"). See Burt, p. 10, and Vignay, pp. 147–48.
- 4075 ff. **E²⁸MLG:** *Pauper Diogenes ditior erat Alexandre* ("The pauper Diogenes was richer than Alexander"). Some MSS gloss the source as Seneca, but Hoccleve's source is the *Chessbook* (compare Burt, p. 31, and Vignay, p. 175) which itself cites Seneca.
- 4092 **E²⁸MLG:** *Contra avaritiam* ("Against avarice").
- 4096 ff. An especially effective instance of figurative language here constituting a little allegorical scene charged with lively satirical wit.
- 4123–24 Latin rubric introducing new section: *De virtute largitatis et de vicio prodigalitatis* ("On the virtue of generosity and the vice of prodigality").
- 4124 ff. **E²⁸MLG:** *Aristotelis, de regimine principum, capitulo de largitate: Si vis virtutem largitatis adquirere, considera posse tuum, tempora necessitatis, et merita hominis, et cetera* (Aristotle, on the Rule of Princes, the chapter on generosity: "If you want to acquire the virtue of generosity, consider your powers, the extremity of the misfortune, and the merit of the man, etc."). *Secreta Secretorum*, part I, ch. 5, p. 43, lines 15 ff.
- 4131 ff. Continues to follow *Secreta Secretorum*, lines 18 ff.
- 4145 ff. Compare Egidius, Book I, part 2, ch. 18. Compare Trevisa translation, p. 77, lines 4–6.
- 4180 ff. The last, and by far the longest, of the exempla from the *Chessbook*, a distant variant of the story of King Lear. Compare the versions in Burt, pp. 129–32, and Vignay, pp. 266–69.
- 4223 Recalls Chaucer's *Troilus* 3.616.

Explanatory Notes

- 4262 *nayle*: The sense of this word is obscure. MED for this unique citation conjectures “? a balance for weighing coins” (p. 821), while Seymour imaginatively conjectures “perhaps ‘from his thumb-nail,’ to see if the coins rang true when spun from the thumb to the floor” (p. 122).
- 4300 *Sawf the fadir*. The usual meaning, “except for the father,” seems odd in the context of *we sholden ay togidere dwelle* in the preceding stanza (line 4292). However, Seymour takes it in this sense, with “the father excepted” referring to “the expenses of a joint household” (p. 123).
- 4324–26 John instructs his daughters to give money to three of the four principal mendicant orders: the Dominicans, or Black Friars, whose order was particularly devoted to instruction; the Franciscans, or Gray Friars; and the Carmelites, or White Friars. His intent is to secure their offering masses for his soul after his death.
- 4340 Having one’s beard shaved is one of a group of related expressions all involving a beard and all signifying ignominious treatment. Compare Whiting B116 and B119, with examples from Chaucer and Hoccleve among others.
- 4360 On the implications of Hoccleve conspicuously reinserting himself in the poem over 2000 lines after the Prologue, and exactly after the long Canace exemplum and its dramatic conclusion, see Blyth (1993), pp. 353–55.
- 4404 ff. ¶MLG: Aristotelis, *de regimine, capitulo de vitio superfluitatis*: *Dico tibi quod quis rerum superflue contulerit donationes ultra quod regnum suum possit sufficere, talis rex procul dubio destruit et destruitur, et cetera* (Aristotle on the Rule of Princes, chapter on the vice of superfluity: “I say to you that who contributes gifts superfluously beyond what his kingdom is able to supply, without doubt such a king destroys and will be destroyed, etc.”). A variant of *Secreta Secretorum*, part I, ch. 6, p. 44, lines 7–10.
- 4432 ff. ¶MLG: Aristotelis, *eodem capitulo: Subditi vero propter injuriam clama- verunt ad deum excelsum et gloriosum, et cetera* (Aristotle, in the same chapter: “In truth the oppressed people on account of injury cried out to God on high and glorious, etc.”). A variant of *Secreta Secretorum*, part I, ch. 6, p. 44, lines 22–23.

The Regiment of Princes

- 4453 ff. **E²²MLG:** *Augustinus: Quisquis metu alicuius potestatis veritatem occultat iram dei super se provocat quia magis timet hominem quam deum* (Augustine; "Whoever through fear of anyone's authority hides the truth provokes God's anger against him because he fears man more than God"). Not Augustine but close to Isidore, *Sententiarum libri tres*, Book 3, in *PL* 83, col. 727C. However, a likelier source, given the citations beginning at line 4460, is in Gratian, *PL* 187, col. 868A.
- Libere veritatem predicantes et prave vite gesta arguentes non habent gratiam apud homines, et cetera** ("Preaching the truth frankly and condemning the deeds of a wicked life does not earn thanks among men, etc."). Source not found.
- 4460 **E²²MLG:** *Augustinus: Melius est pro veritate pati [MS: patris] supplicium quam pro adulacione beneficium, et cetera* (Augustine; "It is better to suffer punishment on behalf of truth than favor in reward for flattery, etc."). Not Augustine; compare Gratian in *PL* 187, col. 868A.
- 4473–74 Latin rubric beginning the new section, *De vitio avaricie* ("On the vice of avarice").
- 4495 ff. **E²²MLG:** *Scriptum est, Avaritia est amor immoderatus adquirendi temporalia et est pestis fere omnes homines solicitans ; unde propheta ait, Jeremie 6: A maiori usque ad minorem, omnes student avaritia[m], et cetera* (It is written, "Avarice is immoderate love of acquiring temporal goods, and it is a plague disturbing all men." Whence the Prophet Jeremiah says, 6[13]: "From the greatest to the least of them, all are given to covetousness, etc."). The biblical text reverses the order: from the least to the greatest.
- 4500 *Isaye.* In her effort to create a stemma illustrating the relationships among the surviving MSS of the *Regiment*, Marcia Smith Marzec discovered the largest and clearest division between two groups of MSS at this point, where, of the 40 MS witnesses here, 12 read Isaiah and 28 read Jeremiah. The Isaiah group includes all the MSS in other ways most closely related to A. Of course Jeremiah is cited in the second half of the Latin gloss given above. See Marzec.
- 4501 *mawmetrie.* Although the word can signify Muhammadanism, here it is used as a figure for misdirected worship and attendant vices.

Explanatory Notes

- 4509 ff. ¶MLG: Iterum scriptum est: Neque enim minus est criminis habenti tollere quam cum possis et habundans sis, indigentibus necessaria denegare, et cetera (Likewise it is written: "Nor is it less of a crime to steal from the wealthy than to deny necessities to the indigent when you are able and wealthy, etc."). Compare Gratian in *PL* 187, col. 248A.
- 4523 ff. ¶MLG: Item scriptum est: Esurientium panis est quem tu detines; nudorum vestimentum est quod tu recludis (Likewise it is written: "The bread that you hold back is for the hungry; the clothing that you lock away is for the naked"). Compare Gratian in *PL* 187, col. 248A.
- 4528 ff. ¶MLG: Item scriptum est: Tantorum ergo te scias invadere bona quantorum de possessione tua poteris subvenire et non vis (Likewise it is written: "The needy whose goods you snatch, you know that you yourself have enough to alleviate their wants but will not do it"). Gratian in *PL* 187, col. 248A.
- 4530 ff. ¶MLG: Proverbiorum xxii: Qui obturat aurem suam ad clamorem pauperis, [et] ipse clamabit et non exaudietur . . . Item xxvii: Qui [autem] odit avaritiam, longi fient dies eius (Proverbs 22[21:13]: "He who stops his ear against the cry of the poor, shall also cry himself and shall not be heard." Likewise [Proverbs] 27 [28:16]: "He who hates covetousness, shall prolong his days").
- 4535 ff. ¶MLG: Ecclesiastici x: Nichil iniquius quam amare pecuniam (Ecclesiasticus 10[:10]: "Nothing is more wicked than to love money").
- 4537 ff. ¶MLG: Ambrosius, de officiis [wrongly placed at end of preceding gloss]: Caveas ne intra loculos tuos includas salutem inopum et tanquam pauperum in tumulo [MS: inuilo] ne sepelias [MS: sepelias] vitam pauperum (Ambrose, *De Officiis*: "Beware lest you confine within your coffers the means of relieving the indigent, and bury as if in a tomb the life of poor people"). Ambrose, *De officiis ministrorum*, *PL* 16, col. 124D.
- 4551 ff. ¶MLG: Isaye xix: De terra loqueris et de humo audietur eloquium tuum propter amorem quem habes ad sordes (Isaiah, 19[29:4]: "Thou shalt speak out of the earth, and thy speech shall be heard out of the ground on account of the love which you have for dirt"). The last six words are absent from the biblical passage.

The Regiment of Princes

- 4551 ff. **Luce xii: Cui multum datum est, multum queretur ab eo a deo et hominibus** (Luke 12[48]: "To whom much is given, much will be required from him by God and men").
- 4565 ff. **E²⁸MLG: Salustius dicit: Avaritia fidem et probitatem subpeditat et docet hominem in se habere superbiam et crudelitatem** (Sallust says: "Avarice tramples on faith and honesty and teaches man to have within himself pride and cruelty"). The ultimate source is Sallust, *The War with Catiline* X.iv.
- 4571 Arundel mistakenly places the stanza containing lines 4607–13 after this line, as do some other MSS including Harley. The correct order is given here.
- 4579 ff. **E²⁸MLG: Dicit idem philosophus quod prodigalitas est morbus curabilis ab egestate vel etate** ("The same philosopher says that prodigality is a sickness curable by poverty or age"). Egidius, Book 1, part 2, ch. 18. Compare Trevisa translation, p. 77, lines 39–40.
- 4586 MLG, belongs one stanza later.
- 4593 **E²⁸MLG (mistakenly given one stanza earlier): Avaritia est morbus incurabilis, ut idem dicit** ("Avarice is an incurable disease, as the same [philosopher] says"). Egidius, Book 1, part 2, ch. 18. Compare Trevisa translation, p. 77, line 41.
- 4607 ff. **E²⁸MLG: Respicere in Egidio, de regimine principum: Probat philosophus, iv Ethicorum, triplici ratione, quod avaritia peior est prodigalitate** (Look in Egidius, on the Rule of Princes: "The Philosopher proves, in *Ethics IV*, by a three-part reason, that avarice is worse than prodigality"). Compare Trevisa translation, p. 77, lines 27 ff. Hoccleve continues to follow Egidius here from lines 4607 to 4662.
- 4614 ff. **E²⁸MLG: Secundo, probat quod prodigalitas est magis propinqua virtuti quam avaritia, nam liberalis non libenter recipit sed libenter dat, quorum utrumque facit prodigus; non ergo differt prodigus a liberalitate, nisi quod prodigus non dat ut debet, et quibus debet, nec cuius gratia debet, quare cum prodigus non sit amator pecunie, sicut nec liberalis de facili prodigus fieri possit liberalis, et cetera** ("Secondly, he proves that prodigality is closer to virtue than avarice, for the liberal person does not receive freely but freely gives, both of which the extravagant person does; therefore the extravagant does not differ from liberality except that the extravagant person does not give as he ought and to whom he ought, nor for whose sake he ought. For this reason, though the

Explanatory Notes

- extravagant person does not love money, he cannot easily become liberal, etc."). Egidius, Book I, part 2, ch. 18. Compare Trevisa translation, p. 78, lines 6–19.
- 4645 ff. More from Egidius; Trevisa p. 78, lines 25–31. Some MSS have a Latin gloss at this point.
- 4663 ff. **E^gMLG:** *Proverbiorum xxii: Victoriam et honorem adquiret qui dat munera. Item, ne dicas amico tuo, Vade et revertere et eras dabo tibi, cum statim possis dare* (*Proverbs 22:9*): "He that gives presents shall purchase victory and honor." Likewise, [*Proverbs 3:28*]: "Say not to your friend, Go, and come again; and tomorrow I will give to you, when you can give at once").
- 4670 **E^gMLG:** *De virtute liberalitatis* ("On the virtue of liberality"). Compare Egidius, Book I, part 2, ch. 18. Trevisa's translation p. 77, lines 4 ff.
- 4684 ff. **E^gMLG:** *Nota quod laudandus est ille quem pietas movet relevamen prestare indigenti; nota bene hic* ("Note that he is to be praised whom piety moves to offer relief to the indigent; note this well"). Source not found.
- 4722 ff. **E^gMLG:** *Hic caveant capitanei quod non retineant vadia* ("Here let military commanders beware that they not withhold wages").
- 4746–47 The Latin rubric introducing a new section, **De regis prudentia** ("On the prudence of a king").
- 4747 ff. Follows Egidius, Book I, part 2, ch. 6. Compare Trevisa's translation, p. 47, lines 15 ff.
- 4838 ff. **E^gMLG:** *Egidius, in secunda parte primi libri politicorum Aristotelis: Ad regem maxime spectat ut sit rex secundum rei veritatem* (Egidius in the second part of Book I of the *Politics* of Aristotle: "For the king especially that he bear in mind that he be truly a king"). Egidius, Book I, part 2, ch. 7. Compare Trevisa translation, p. 49, lines 27 ff.
- 4840 ff. Egidius, Book I, part 2, ch. 7; Trevisa, p. 49, lines 35 ff.
- 4845 ff. **E^gMLG:** *Eodem capitulo: Sicut sagittator non potest sagittam sufficienter dirigere in signum nisi ipsum signum viderit, sic nec rex, et cetera* (In the same chapter: "Just as an archer is not able to aim his arrow at the target

The Regiment of Princes

adequately if he does not see that target, so neither [does] a king, etc."). Egidius, Book I, part 2, ch. 7. Compare Trevisa translation, p. 50, lines 4 ff.

- 4852 **E²²MLG: Initium sapientie timor domini** ("The beginning of wisdom is fear of the Lord"). Psalms 110:10.
- 4858–59 Latin rubric heading a new section: **De consilio habendo in omnibus factis** ("On taking council in all actions").
- 4885 ff. **E²²MLG: Ecclesiastici xiii: Dives loquutus est et omnes tacuerunt et verbum illius usque ad nubes perducunt; pauper loquutus est et dicunt, quis est hic? et cetera** (Ecclesiasticus 13[:28]: "The rich man spoke, and all held their peace, and what he said they extol even to the clouds; the poor man spoke and they say, who is this? etc.").
- 4901 ff. Follows closely *Secreta Secretorum*, part III, ch. 12, p. 140, lines 10 ff.
- 4915 **E²²MLG: Non exigatur consilium ab adulatore nec de avar[o]** ("Counsel is not asked of a flatterer or a covetous person"). Source not found.
- 4929 ff. **E²²MLG: Scriptum est quod consilium bene potest freno comparari** ("It is written that counsel may well be compared to a [horse's] bridle"). Source not found.
- 4933 ff. **E²²MLG: Sine consilio nichil facias et post factum non penitebis** ("Do nothing without counsel and you will not be sorry afterwards"). Ecclesiasticus 32:24. Compare Chaucer's recurrent phrase: "Werk al by conseil and thou shalt nat rewe" (*CT* II[A]3530) in The Miller's Tale, with variants in The Tale of Melibee, *CT* VII [B²]2245–55, 2635–40, 3060–65; and in The Merchant's Tale, *CT* IV[E]1485. See Whiting C470.
- 4936 ff. **E²²MLG: Thobie 4: Consilium semper a sapiente perquire et non a fatuo** (Tobias 4[:19]: "Seek counsel always of a wise man and not of a fool"). The last 5 words are added to the biblical text.
- 4938 ff. **E²²MLG: Scriptum est, Cum fatuis non habeas consilium, quia non possunt diligere nisi quod eis placet, et cetera** (It is written, "Do not take counsel with fools because they are not able to choose except what pleases them, etc."). Ecclesiasticus 8:20.

Explanatory Notes

- 4943 ff. **#MLG:** *Iterum Thobie 4: Omnia consilia tua in deo permaneant, et cetera* (Again Tobias 4[20]: "[Desire that] all your counsels may abide in God, etc.").
- 4945 ff. **#MLG:** *Scriptum est, Cum bonis fac tuum consilium, non cum impiis, et cetera* (It is written, "Take your counsel with the good and not with the impious, etc."). Neither this passage nor the following one supports Hoccleve's theme of the counsel of age versus youth. Source not found.
- 4947 ff. **#MLG:** *Proverbiarum 12: Consilia impiorum fraudulenta* (Proverbs, 12[5]: "The counsels of the impious are fraudulent").
- 4948 ff. **#MLG:** *3 Regum 12: Ad Roboam dixerunt juvenes [qui nutriti erant: correctly in Harley; A omits] cum eo: Sic loqueris ad eos: Minimus digitus meus est grossior dorso patris mei; et nunc pater meus posuit super vos iugum grave; ego autem addam super iugum vestrum; pater meus occidit vos flagellis; ego autem cedam eos scorpionibus, et cetera* (3 Kings 12[10-11]: "The youths who were with him said to Roboam: 'Thus you will say to them: My smallest finger is larger than my father's back, and already my father placed upon you a heavy yoke. I moreover will add to your yoke. My father felled you with scourges; I moreover will fell you with scorpions,' etc.").
- 4955-56 *werre / . . . werre.* Another example of rich rhyme. Compare lines 2377-78.
- 4964 ff. **#MLG:** *Mandatum est sabbata sanctificare, et cetera* ("It is mandated that you consecrate the Sabbath, etc."). Compare Exodus 31:14. Reference to Henry's role as energetic head of a reforming council in the period of the poem's composition, with an appeal that he not overdo it. Ferster (p. 139) notes that this advice "would not be relevant after the prince left the council in November of 1411."
- 4978 ff. In this last of the poem's invocations of Chaucer, Hoccleve evidently refers to two places in Chaucer's poetry. Lines 4985-87 could refer to Chaucer's "An ABC," the invocation to the Virgin in The Second Nun's Prologue, or the prayer to the Virgin at the beginning of The Prioress' Tale. Less clear, at line 4979, is the reference to Chaucer writing "in cas semblable, and othir mo." The immediate context is the preceding stanza's reference to councils, and Seymour (pp. 123-24) suggests the conciliar activities of 1410. However, the Chaucerian connection with that is unlikely. More plausibly, Krochalis (p. 240) has

The Regiment of Princes

suggested that Hoccleve is thinking of Chaucer's "Lak of Stedfastnesse," especially the envoi (lines 22–28). See notes to lines 862, 866, and 869 above.

- 4989 The Arundel MS after this line lacks a leaf which has been cut out, presumably because it contained the miniature portraying Geoffrey Chaucer. Fortunately that leaf is present in Harley, and we use Harley as copy text until Arundel returns at line 5043. Citations from Harley are identified by H.
- 4992 ff. The Chaucer portrait in Harley is of the greatest interest on several counts, and has received valuable commentary, among others, by Carlson and Krochalis. For the assessment of an art historian, see Scott II.51, and for reproduction of the entire leaf, Scott I, fig. 203.
- 4999 ff. The transition from the Chaucer portrait to this return to the poem's anti-Lollard theme is a characteristic move by Hoccleve. It seems like a somewhat careless and bathetic digression of a sort sufficiently familiar in the body of Hoccleve's poetry: how absurd to think the portrait of a secular poet would have anything to do with icons in churches and their opposition by Lollards. Yet given the importance of the attack on Lollardy in Hoccleve's England and its place in the poem's ideology, the transition must be entirely purposeful. For the Lollard attack on images in churches, see Anne Hudson, *Selections from English Wyclifite Writings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), pp. 83 ff. For a discussion of the subject, see Aston, ch. 5, pp. 135–92.
- 5020 ff. The beginning of the final section of the poem, **D**e pace ("On peace"), lacks the expected rubric in Harley; the great majority of MSS have a rubric here. Harley's page is a demi-vinet page, in the same style as Arundel's decorated pages.
- ¶MLG: Scriptum est, Qui amplectitur pacem in mentis hospitio [mansionem preparat Christo et cetera]. Heronimus: Qui sine pace est, christum non habet, apud christianos non qui patitur sed qui facit contumeliam miser est (It is written, "Who embraces peace in the hospice of his mind [prepares a mansion for Christ, etc.]") Jerome: "Who is without peace, does not 'have' Christ. Among Christians, not he who suffers but he who does injury is the wretched one"). Compare *Liber Scintillarum*, in PL 88, col. 604A.
- 5027 ff. ¶MLG: Proverbiarum 12: Qui pacis invenit consilia, sequitur eos gaudium. Ciprianus dicit: Sacrificium deo est pax nostra et fraterna concordia

Explanatory Notes

(Proverbs 12[20]: "Joy follows them who take counsels of peace." Cyprian says, "Sacrifice to God is our peace and brotherly concord").

- 5034 ff. **E²²MLG:** *Scriptum est. Tria sunt pacis subsidia et ad pacem ducentia, scilicet, conformitas in deo, humilitas in seipso, et tranquillitas cum proximo, et cetera.* (It is written, "The supports of peace, leading to peace, are three, namely, conformity with God, humility in oneself, and tranquility with one's neighbor, etc."). Source unknown.
- 5043 Arundel returns here as copy text.
- 5068 **E²²MLG:** *Scriptum est, In pace factus est locus eius, et cetera* (It is written, "In peace is made his place, etc."). Psalms 75:3.
- 5072 ff. **E²²MLG:** *De tali pace loquitur psalmista: Zelavi super iniquos pacem peccatorum videns* (Of such a peace, the Psalmist speaks: "[Because] I had a zeal on occasion of the wicked, seeing the prosperity of sinners"). Psalms 72:3.
- 5083 ff. **E²²MLG:** *Et de tali pace loquitur psalmista: Qui loquuntur pacem cum proximo suo, mala autem, et cetera* (And of such a peace speaks the Psalmist: "They who speak peace with their neighbor, but evils [are in their hearts], etc."). Psalms 27:3.
- 5084 Genydown, Ganelon, the betrayer in the legend of Roland.
- 5101 ff. **E²²MLG:** *Contra talē pacem loquitur, Christus Matthei 10: Non veni, inquit, pacem mittere sed gladium, et cetera* (Against such a peace Christ speaks, Matthew 10[34]: "I came not, he said, to send peace but the sword, etc.").
- 5104 ff. Compare the notes to lines 3756 above and 5125 ff. below concerning Hoccleve and antisemitism.
- 5115 ff. **E²²MLG:** *Genesis 2: Mulier facta fuit de costa Ade, homo vero de limo terre, et cetera* (Genesis 2[7]: "Woman was made from the side of Adam, man from the slime of earth, etc.").
- 5125 ff. **E²²MLG:** *Secundum omnes philosophos, figura circularis est perfectissima figura et significat in geometrica unitatem* ("According to all the philosophers, the circle is the most perfect figure and in geometry signifies unity"). For a

The Regiment of Princes

discussion of this commonplace in context and contemporary with Hoccleve, see Book 19, ch. 127 of Trevisa's translation of Bartholomeus (Seymour et al., II, 1367–70). Hoccleve draws on this bit of learning to play upon the ambiguity of "crooked" applied to women: crooked rib versus crooked (curved) part of a perfect circle.

- 5148 ff. **E²⁸MLG:** *Mulier fuit formata in paradiso et homo in agro Dam[a]sceno, qui locus est extra paradysum, et cetera* ("Woman was formed in Paradise and man in the field of Damascus, which is a place outside of Paradise, etc."). Source not found.
- 5161 ff. **E²⁸MLG:** *Secundum Augustinum et omnes doctores catholicos, formatio Eve significavit formationem ecclesie et sacramentorum eius; nam sicut Adam dormiente formabatur Eva et membra eius de latere ipsius Ade, sic Christo dormiente in cruce formabatur de latere, et cetera* ("According to Augustine and all the Catholic Doctors, the formation of Eve signified the formation of the church and its sacraments. For just as, Adam sleeping, Eve and her parts were formed from the side of the said Adam, so Christ, sleeping on the Cross, there was formed from His side, etc."). Common exegesis; e.g., Ambrosius Autpertus, *Expositio in Apocalypsin*, Book 5, ch. 11, verse 19a, line 42. The information, though not this wording, Hoccleve could have found in Nicholas of Lyra's commentary on Genesis 2.xxi, which he had used and cited earlier in the poem (see note at line 1725).
- 5167 ff. **E²⁸MLG:** *Beatus Bernardus dicit: A tempore quo Christus erat duodecennis usque ad annum tricensimum fuit cum matre sua, serviens ei in omnibus que scivit sibi placitura, eo quod ad hoc venerat in mundum ut doceret veram humilitatem* (The blessed Bernard says: "From the time when Christ was twelve until He was twenty, He was with his mother, serving her in all ways He knew pleasing to her; He came into the world so that He could teach true humility"). Not in Bernard.
- 5181 ff. **E²⁸MLG:** *Ecclesiastici 25: Mulier, si primatum habeat, contraria est viro suo, et cetera* (Ecclesiasticus, 25[30]): "A woman, if she have superiority, is contrary to her husband, etc.").
- 5184–85 The conjunction of biblical text, the theme of marital conflict, and the first-person reference to understanding a text immediately recalls and surely derives from Chaucer's Wife of Bath in her Prologue, *CT III[D]29*: "That gentil text kan I wel

Explanatory Notes

understonde.") In his later *Series*, Hoccleve cites the Wife of Bath as an "authority" (*Dialogue*, line 694: "The wif of Bathe take I for auctrice . . .") as Chaucer had done in "Envoy de Chaucer a Buxton." Given the predominance of Chaucer's more earnest tales in the fifteenth-century editions of selected tales, it is striking that the two pilgrims whom Hoccleve makes greatest use of are the Wife of Bath and the Pardoner — pilgrims whose pronounced subjectivity and individual voice suited his own taste.

- 5202 ff. **#MLG: Et in terra pax hominibus. Pax vobis, pacem relinquo vobis** ("And on earth peace among men. Peace to you. I give peace to you"). Luke 2:14 and Gospel of John 14:27.
- 5209 ff. **#MLG: Beati pacifici, et cetera** ("Blessed are the peaceful, etc."). Matthew 5:9.
- 5251 **#MLG: Nota de avaritia** ("Take note concerning avarice").
- 5272–74 Coming as it does immediately after the highly general and traditional passage of social complaint on Favel obstructing truth, it is hard to know how specific is this reference to worthy and famous clerks of Oxford and Cambridge who do not get the advancement they deserve. University training was fairly essential to such advancement, yet preferment went more often to the well connected than to the virtuous. See Hastings Rashdell, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, ed. F. M. Powicke and A. B. Emden (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1936; rpt. 1997), II, 444 ff.
- 5375 *Souffysith to your good.* Compare Chaucer's "Truth: Balade de Bon Conseyl," line 2.
- 5377 **#MLG: Finis belli pax** ("The end of war is peace").
- 5384 ff. **#MLG: Libro 4 de revelationibus sancte Brigide, capitulo xv: Christus dicit, Ego sum pax, et cetera. Si reges Francie et Anglie voluerint habere pacem, ego dabo eis perpetuam pacem, sed pax vera non potest haberi nisi veritas et justitia diligantur. Ideo quia alter regum habet justitiam, placet mihi quod per matrimonium fiat pax, et sic regnum ad legitimum heredem poterit pervenire, et cetera** (Book 4 of the *Revelations of Bridget*, chapter 105: "Christ says, 'I am peace, etc. If the kings of France and England wanted to have peace, I will give them perpetual peace. But true peace cannot be had unless truth and justice are loved. Therefore, because one of the kings has right, it pleases me

The Regiment of Princes

that peace be made by marriage, and thus the kingdom can come to the legitimate heir," etc."). Saint Bridget of Sweden (c. 1303–73) was the founder of the Brigittine Order. Her revelations were highly regarded, and she was canonized in 1391. With this passage compare the Middle English prose translation of her work in Roger Ellis, ed., *The Liber Celestis of St. Bridget of Sweden* (EEETS o.s. 291 [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987]), I.344.

- 5439–40 Latin rubric heading the envoi: **Verba compilatoris ad librum** ("Words of the Compiler to the Book") is between these lines. In contrast to earlier decorated pages, only the left margin of the page is ornamented. On the work as *compilatio* see note to line 2132 above.
- 5440 ff. Hoccleve copied the envoy to the *Regiment* in a holograph MS collection of miscellaneous poetry now in the Huntington Library, MS HM 111. This text gives "humblesse" for A's "meeknesse" at line 5458, "wil" for A's "herte" in line 5461, and "God" for A's "he" in line 5463. None of these variant readings is reflected in any of the scribal MSS of the *Regiment*. For an interesting study of substantive variants within the Hoccleve holographs, see Bowers.
- 5463 The text is followed by the single word **Explicit**, and nothing comes after it. A few of the MSS name Hoccleve in their explicits, more give simply an English or Latin version of the work's title *Book on the Governance of Princes*, sometimes also naming Egidius/Giles.

Textual Notes

- 9 *Hadde beforen.* A: *Had before.* A's awkward reading is emended for meter. The emended reading is supported, among others, by one of the best scribal copies, British Library MS Royal 17 D xviii. The importance of this MS is explained in the Introduction.
- 14 *ny.* A: *ne.* A's spelling (a valid one, used elsewhere by this scribe) is emended for its departure from Hoccleve's common usage. Compare lines 833 and 898 below.
- 27 *atte.* A: *at.* A's reading is emended for meter. Nearly all MSS read disyllabic *atte* or *at the*.
- 39 *With.* A: *Wþyt.* A's miswriting is emended for sense.
- 54 *writen I.* A: *I writen.* A's reading is emended for its awkwardness and in accordance with the reading of the great majority of MSS.
- 59 *stryve.* A: *stryf.* A's reading is emended for sense (the verb rather than the noun is required) and for meter (a disyllabic word is needed).
- 64 *whan man.* A: *whanne a man.* A's reading is shared by the great majority of MSS. However, the elision that that reading would require is nowhere found in the Hoccleve holographs; it only occurs in the different case of "many a man."
- 67 *Ther is.* A: *There.* A's omission is emended for sense.
- 71 *This ilke nyght.* A: *Thus ylke nyȝt.* A's minority reading is emended for sense: "This very night."
- 83 *seeknesses.* A: *sekenesse.* A's reading is emended to the required plural form.
- 93 *wight.* A: *wyft.* A's miswriting is emended for sense and rhyme (with "aright"; "aryȝt" in A's spelling).
- 98 *and.* A: *a.* A's unique reading is emended for sense.
- 117 *dressid.* A: *dresse.* A's unique reading is emended to the required past tense.
- 127 *in.* A: *an.* A's unique and unidiomatic reading is emended. Hoccleve never uses "an" as a preposition.
- 127 *dryer.* A: *drere.* A's reading is emended for sense. Probably the scribe anticipated the ending of the next word, "cheere" (A: "chere").
- 135 *the.* A omits. A's omission is emended for sense and meter.
- 137 *quod.* A: *quoth.* A's unique reading is emended for tense.
- 146 *nart.* A: *nard.* A's unique miswriting is emended for sense.

The Regiment of Princes

- 154 *assaut.* A: *assent.* A's reading, shared by many of the best MSS, is emended for sense. The error is owing to the common paleographical ambiguity of *u* and *v*.
- 159 *resoe care.* A: *can reson.* A's reading is emended for syntax and departure from the majority of MSS.
- 167 *I.* A omits. A's unique omission is emended for sense.
- 170 *that.* A omits. A's reading is emended for meter and the practice of most MSS.
- 175 *And.* A: *But.* A's unique reading is emended for sense.
- 176 *been.* A: *be.* A's form is emended to Hoccleve usage, in which "been" rather than "be" precedes words beginning with a vowel.
- 186 *thus.* A: *this.* While the majority of MSS read *this*, *thus* is more likely as an adverb modifying the infinitive *sorwe*, parallel to the infinitive plus adverb phrase "fare amis." One group of MSS insists on *sorwe* as verb by reading *to* for *this*.
- 195 *misreuled.* A: *mysrael.* A's unique miswriting is emended for sense.
- 202 *Sowith.* A: *Swyche.* A's reading is emended for sense. This error is owing to the orthographic ambiguity of *t* and *c*. The misreading is also the product of a common scribal practice of copying verse a line at a time without regard to context. The result makes little sense and misses the point of Hoccleve's figurative language here: "Thought sows its decaying seed in you."
- 241 *hevynesse.* A: *hevenesse.* A's unique miswriting is emended for clarification.
- 247 *telle.* A: *tellys.* A's unique miswriting is emended for grammar.
- 248 *seest.* A: *seyst.* A's reading is emended for sense.
- 249 *sit.* A: *syntyf.* A's reading is emended for meter and for its departure from most MSS. *Sit* is a valid and here metrically superior alternative to "sittith." A was probably influenced by *beggith* in the same line, for which there is no alternate form.
- 326 *swick.* A: *wylche.* A's reading is emended for preferable sense.
- 344 *as it.* A: *as a.* A's unique reading is emended for sense.
- 346 *thogh.* A omits. A's unique omission is emended for sense.
- 360 *Thogh.* A: *Togk.* A's miswriting is emended for sense.
- 374 *it.* A omits. A's omission is emended for sense and meter.
- 381 *fully byleeve.* A: *fully I byleeve.* A's reading is emended to eliminate the pronoun rendered redundant by the preceding line.
- 423 *Twelve.* A: *Xii.* Here and throughout, Roman numerical abbreviations are expanded without comment to English vernacular words, and where possible adopting Hoccleve's expanded usage.
- 460 *It is a synne.* A: *It ys synne.* A's majority reading is emended for meter.
- 464 *putte.* A: *pat the.* A's reading is emended for its departure from Hoccleve's usage (where "put" is past tense); the present tense is called for.

Textual Notes

- 501 *him.* A: *hem.* A's form is emended for grammar; the antecedent of the pronoun is the singular personified Measure. A's frequent (though not consistent) use of the plural form of the pronoun where the singular is called for occurs in the following lines, where it is silently corrected: 520, 543, 885, 1600, 2050, 2159, 2216, 2333, 2397 (the first occurrence), 2418, 3005, 3139, 3149 (the second occurrence), 3167, 3174, 3217, 3257, 3274, 3439, 3482, 3773, 3930, 4282, 4285, 4287, 4371, 4640, 4678, 4686.
- 508 *to do.* A omits. A's unique omission is emended for sense.
- 517 *knyghly.* A: *knyg.* A's unique reading is emended for sense.
- 527 *peple.* A: *peoples.* A's unique reading is emended for sense.
- 528 *Ther wolde I fayn that.* A: *That wolde I fayn ther.* A's unique muddling word order is emended for sense.
- 532 *yset.* A: *set.* A's reading is emended to the reading of the great majority of MSS, including those closely related to A.
- 546 *the.* A: *a.* A's unique reading is emended for sense.
- 532 *yee.* A: *they.* A's minority reading is emended for agreement with "thow" in line 530.
- 580 *worldes coars is.* A: *worldes ys coars ys.* A's miswriting is corrected.
- 587 *him it eschue.* A: *hym eschue.* A's nearly unique reading is emended for meter and sense.
- 599 *At the taverne.* A: *At taverne.* The holographs show Hoccleve using this phrase both with and without the article, depending on the syllabic count of the line. Here the article is called for.
- 619 *conseillid.* A: *consayleth.* A's unique reading is emended to the requisite past tense.
- 627 *pleide.* A: *pleye.* A's unique present form is emended to the requisite past tense.
- 651 *pleyen.* A: *pleyn.* A's reading is emended for sense.
- 666 *for.* A: *fro.* A's unique reading is emended for sense.
- 670 *for.* A: *of.* A's unique reading is emended for sense.
- 709 *thynges.* A: *thyskys.* A's miswriting is emended for sense.
- 727 *worldly.* A: *wordly.* A's miswriting is emended for sense.
- 747 *kye.* A: *I.* A's reading is emended for grammar and sense. A anticipates the pronoun which appears in the next line. The majority of MSS agree with A, but three of the best MSS are among the minority giving the better reading.
- 752 *hertily I preye yow.* An unusual problem considering Hoccleve's metrical regularity. For this line, and line 764 below, to be regular, *preye yow* must be disyllabic, but the holograph evidence does not support a monosyllabic "prey(e)," and elsewhere the problem is solved by reversing the order to "preye

The Regiment of Princes

- l" and thereby enabling elision. However, a single MS supports that order for line 752 and none does for line 764, so I keep the irregular reading as anomaly.
- 782 *goode*. A: *godf*. A's reading is emended for sense and meter. *God* was suggested by association with "fadir" and "blessid." The vocative form *goode* is needed grammatically as well as metrically.
- 787 *in*. A: *on*. A's unique reading is emended for sense.
- 789 *hete*. A: *hede*. A's unique reading is emended for sense.
- 795 *woful*. A: *woo*. A's unique reading is emended for sense.
- 796 *yee*. A: *the*. A's reading is emended for grammar.
- 800 *it be your*. A: *yt your*. A's unique omission is emended for sense.
- 806 *sikir*. A: *sewly*. The uniqueness of A's reading makes it suspect; in the holographs "sewly" occurs only once as against six occurrences of "sikirly."
- 807 *continuance*. A: *contynuance*. A's reading is emended for sense.
- 809 *it is penance*. A: *yt ys my penance*. A's reading is emended for meter and sense. A anticipates the pronoun in the next line.
- 822 *whyle I have lyves space*. A: *whyle lyve ys space*. A's unique omission is emended for sense.
- 823 *been*. A: *be*. A's reading is altered to Hoccleve's usage before a word beginning with a vowel.
- 833 *ny*. A: *ne*. A's spelling, unique among the MS variants but a legitimate form used elsewhere by A, is emended for its departure from Hoccleve's usage. Compare lines 14 above and 898 below.
- 846 *ny*. A: *myn*. A's form is emended for usage; the ending in -e occurs only where the following noun begins with a vowel or h-.
- 860 *seen*. A: *seyn*. A's spelling is emended for sense.
- 869 *fikil*. A: *febyl*. A's unique reading is emended for sense.
- 889 *body*. A: *byde*. A's unique miswriting is emended for sense.
- 898 *ny*. A: *ne*. A's reading is emended; compare lines 14 and 833 above.
- 916 *estat*. A: *state*. A's reading is emended for meter and Hoccleve usage.
- 918 *wole*. A: *wolde*. A's unique reading is emended for grammar.
- 920 *And syn tho*. A: *And tho*. A's unique omission is emended for sense.
- 936 *abouten and*. A: *abowte and*. A's reading is emended to Hoccleve's spelling and meter, thereby avoiding elision and syllabic irregularity.
- 939 *or*. A: *and*. A's nearly unique reading is emended for idiomatic sense.
- 964 *in the grennesse*. A: *in grennesse*. A's majority reading is emended for meter and idiom; *nevere* is always disyllabic; the article is needed for meter as well as idiom.
- 966 *strauge*. A: *stronge*. A's unique reading, rhyming with "chonge" in the preceding line, is emended to Hoccleve's usage.

Textual Notes

- 969 *welthy*. A: *weleful*. A's minority reading is emended for meter; in Hoccleve "weleful" is trisyllabic.
- 970 *felt*. A: *feeld*. A's unique reading is emended for sense.
- 977 *lerned*, A: *ilerned*. A's almost unique reading is emended for meter; the prefix is metrically and grammatically unnecessary and results in the awkward conjunction of -rye and *i*.
- 997 *from othir*. A: *fro other*. A's reading is emended to Hoccleve's usage.
- 1001 *no nay*. A: *non nay*. A's reading, supported by only two MSS, is emended for its unidiomatic alliterative effect.
- 1003 *With him and him*. A: *Wyt hym and wyt hym*. A is emended for meter.
- 1004 *But of*. A: *But of al*. A's unique reading is emended for meter and sense.
- 1008 *the elongere*. A: *the lengere*. A's reading is emended for meter and sense.
- 1027 *yen moost it*. A: *than most yf*. A's evident confusion of *y* and *b* is emended, as is the miswriting of *it*.
- 1043 *can have*. A: *can han*. A's rare reading (five others out of forty) is emended for sound; Hoccleve nowhere seeks such an awkward sound effect.
- 1046 *thyn*. A: *thy*. A's reading is emended for usage: *thyn* is required before words beginning with a vowel or *h*.
- 1065 *himself*. A: *hemself*. A's familiar confusion of forms is emended for sense.
- 1090 *deyned*. A: *deyneth*. A's reading is emended to the correct tense.
- 1096 *his*. A: *ys*. A's unique spelling, perhaps anticipating *ys* in the following line, is corrected for sense.
- 1132 *ne*. A: *and*. A's reading is unique. The few MSS which do not read *ne* omit the word entirely, indicating reaction to the double negative "ne no thying." I take A's reading as a response to this feature and a scribal correction.
- 1134 *tho*. A: *to*. A's unique reading is emended for sense.
- 1141 *make alighte*. A: *make lyghte*. A's unique reading is emended for sense.
- 1191 *No rycher man am*. A: *No rycher am*. Emended for meter; A and the MSS closely related to it evidently reacted against *man aw*. Harley gives the meaningless *Now riche am*.
- 1192 *have I*. A: *have*. Emended for sense; only Harley shares A's reading.
- 1203 *begge*. A: *legge*. A's unique miswriting is emended for sense.
- 1210 *made*. A: *make*. A's unique reading is emended for tense consistency.
- 1231 *for to interrupte*. A: *for interrupte*. A's reading is emended for sense and meter.
- 1244 *lightnesse*. A: *lightesse*. A's miswriting is emended for sense.
- 1254 *swymmen*. A: *swymme*. Emended for meter; A's minority reading would require elision, causing metrical irregularity.
- 1258 *hem*. A: *kym*. A is emended to the necessary plural form. Just as A frequently writes "hem" for the singular "him" (normally written "hym" by the scribe), so

The Regiment of Princes

- he frequently writes "hym" where the plural "hem" is called for. This (seeming) error occurs in the following lines, where it is silently corrected: 1582, 1927, 2195, 2252, 2289, 2388, 2783, 2955, 2963, 3015, 3381, 3395, 4224, 4229, 4253 (second occurrence), 4262, 4278 (second occurrence), and 4344.
- 1264 *ryche*. A: *ryge*. A's unique reading is emended for sense.
- 1265 *faire*. A: *fayr*. A's reading emended to the requisite adverbial form.
- 1269 *and yit is*. Between A's *and* and *ys*, *y*r appears to have been erased, probably because of the recurrence of the word 2 lines later.
- 1282 *cam*. A: *come*. A's reading is emended to Hoccleve's form of the past tense.
- 1291 *al looke*. A: *a looke*. A's unique reading is emended for sense.
- 1303 *his*. A: *ys*. A's spelling, influenced by *ys* earlier in the line, is emended.
- 1319 *blente*. A: *blend*. A's unique reading is emended for usage.
- 1389 *wist*. A: *iwyst*. A's unique reading is emended; the *i* is here metrically superfluous.
- 1399 *agif in tyme past*. A: *gylt in tyme apast*. A's reading is emended for usage and sense.
- 1400 *gast*. A: *agast*. A is emended for meter. The adjective "gast," from the past participle of *gastow*, while not recorded in the holographs, is employed at this line by six scribes, including in two of the best MSS. "Agast" is common in the holographs, where there is no instance of the sort of elision A's reading would require.
- 1402 *As*. A: *And*. A's reading is emended for sense and the reading of the great majority of MSS.
- 1413 *longith*. A: *longerh*. A's reading, shared by a few closely related MSS, anticipates the rhyme word of the following line. All MSS read *longerh* in that line.
- 1417 *pluralitee*. A: *a pluralitee*. A's reading is emended for meter and idiom and for departure from the great majority of MSS.
- 1426 *ther be*. A: *ther*. A's unique reading is emended for sense.
- 1427 *takth*. A: *takyth*. Not one of the MSS gives the monosyllabic form "takth." However, every instance of "takith," "makith," "wakith," etc. in the holographs is disyllabic. And elsewhere Hoccleve demonstrates use of a compressed variant form, always for metrical purpose: "spekth" (three times) for "spekith" (six times), or "comth" (ten times) for "cometh" (four times).
- 1433 *his*. A: *ys*. A's spelling is emended to Hoccleve's usage.
- 1492 *many a yeer*. A: *more seere*. A's reading is emended for idiom and for agreement with the great majority of closely related MSS.
- 1507 *to douter us*. A: *to dowte*. A's nearly unique reading is emended for meter.
- 1537 *bidde*. A: *buddyth*. A's unique reading is emended for meter.

Textual Notes

- 1541 *Nat seye I alle.* A: *I seye noȝt alle.* A's reading is emended for meter. In Hoccleve's usage, *alle* is the necessary form before a plural noun and, before a consonant, it is always disyllabic. The emended reading, attested by almost half of the MSS, makes for a metrically regular line.
- 1544 *our.* A: *oure.* A's spelling is emended for meter. The spelling without -e is by far the predominant one in the holographs.
- 1546 *fonden.* A: *fynde.* A's reading is emended for meter, to avoid elision.
- 1563 *convertible.* A: *comfortible.* A's unique reading is emended for sense.
- 1586 *heeld . . . therynne.* A: *helden . . . þynne.* A's reading is emended for sense and meter. The source of the majority nonsense reading "thin" is miswriting or misreading of the abbreviation for "therin" which is "þ'in." With that reading, the majority reading *helden* needs to be replaced by Hoccleve's only form of this verb in the past tense singular, monosyllabic "heeld," used ten times in the holographs.
- 1587 *taynne.* A: *anywne.* A's rare reading (only three other MS instances) is emended for meter and for usage: Hoccleve's several uses of the verb are always in its basic *taynn-* form.
- 1606 *wommer.* A: *woman.* A's reading is emended to the necessary plural form.
- 1623 *many.* A: *many a.* A's unique reading is emended for sense: the subject is plural.
- 1625 *ne espyde.* A: *ne spyde.* A's reading is emended for consistency with Hoccleve's usage (three times in the holographs).
- 1631 *I byleeve.* A: *byleve.* A's unique reading is emended for sense.
- 1647 *fonden.* A: *fynde.* Emended for meter, to avoid elision.
- 1658 *beor.* A: *be.* Emended to Hoccleve's consistent usage of "been" before a word beginning with a vowel. The majority of MSS fail here.
- 1669 *seemeth.* A: *sene.* A's reading, shared only by Harley, is emended for usage.
- 1673 *swich.* A: *whiche.* A's minority reading is emended for sense.
- 1728 *parysshid.* A: *pantsche.* A's misreading, shared only with Harley, is emended for the needed past tense.
- 1730 *knew.* A: *kenw.* A's miswriting is emended for sense.
- 1734 *eternelly.* A: *eternelly.* A's reading is emended for sense.
- 1746 *David kyng.* A: *David the kyng.* A's minority reading is emended for meter with support from the best and closest MSS.
- 1764 *undir the sonne.* A: *under sonne.* A's reading is emended for meter.
- 1775 *abiden.* A: *byden.* A's nearly unique reading is emended to Hoccleve's usage.
- 1804 *as is a.* A: *as a.* A's reading is emended for meter.
- 1842 *thy.* A: *thyn.* A's unique reading is emended for usage before a consonant.
- seur. A: *saer.* A's unique miswriting is emended for sense and rhyme (with "demeur").

The Regiment of Princes

- 1843 *denyed*. A: *denysed*. A's unique reading is emended for sense.
- 1858 *Thow of*. A: *Thow*. A's unique reading is emended for sense.
- 1860 *sone, thanne foul*. A: *sone foul*. A's unique reading is emended for meter.
- 1877 *in th' eschequer*. A: *in chequere*. A's unique reading is emended for sense and meter.
- 1891 *as that I*. A: *as I*. A's reading is emended for meter, with the support of exactly half of the MSS.
- 1900 *is it*. A: *yt ys*. A's rare reading is emended for idiom.
- 1955 *to do so*. A: *do so*. A's unique reading is emended for meter and idiom.
- 1963 *entendement*. A: *enderdement*. A's miswriting is emended for sense.
- 1971 *His*. A: *He*. A's unique reading is emended for sense.
- 1989 *asterith*. A: *asteryth*. A's reading is emended for sense.
- 1989 *farwel*. A: *farewel*. A's reading is emended for meter. "Far(e)wel" is one of the words for which the holographs exhibit 2 forms according to syllabic need.
- 1991 *seyd*. A: *seyd*. A's reading, shared by Harley, is emended in accordance with Hoccleve's holograph usage, where the prefix form is used only where it is necessary for the syllable count. Here it is redundant as "have" before a consonant is always disyllabic.
- 2001 *syn*. A: *synt*. A's unique miswriting is emended for sense.
- 2011 *he me*. A: *he to me*. A's unique reading is emended for meter.
- 2025 *with my penne I may*. A: *with my may*. A's unique omission is emended.
- 2054 *be my*. A: *by my*. A's error is emended for sense.
- 2055 *yow*. A: *now*. A's unique error is emended for sense.
- 2073 *is*. A: *as*. A's unique reading is emended for sense.
- 2075 *in aventure*. A: *aventure*. A's unique omission is emended for sense.
- 2082 *hath harm*. A: *harm*. A's reading, unique but for a single exception, is emended for sense.
- 2087 *heir*. A: *hier*. A's reading is emended for sense and grammar.
- 2118 *have avenured*. A: *aventuryd*. A's unique reading is emended.
- 2128 *now*. A: *nowt*. A's unique reading is emended for sense.
- 2159 *on ky*. A: *an ky*. Emended to Hoccleve's usage.
- 2165 *Impressitk*. A: *Impressed*. Emended for meter and sense. Three quarters of the MSS support the emended reading. It is possible that the exemplar ended in thorn (*Impressib* or *-qb*), the probable source of a few similar errors in A and in Harley. Apart from the meter, the active imperative form is also more effective than A's passive "Let it be impressed . . .".
- 2184 *awayt*. A: *wayt*. A's minority reading is emended for Hocclevean usage and meter.

Textual Notes

- 2193 *passee, hem.* A: *passee I hem.* A's unique reading is emended for sense.
- 2261 *go sholde at large also.* A: *go schulde alsoo.* A's minority reading is emended for meter and sense. The scribes of A and a few closely related MSS, or their exemplar, mistakenly "corrected" the repetition of "at large" from the preceding line.
- 2265 *be.* A: *bev.* A's form, shared by only one other MSS, is emended for usage before a consonant.
- 2286 *nakkes.* This is the reading of Harley 4866 as well as A, but Furnivall in his edition of Harley misread it as *tribkes*, a reading still to be found recorded in the OED. The MED is not helpful on the word, which may be related to the verb "taken" in the sense of mistreatment, but is semantically close to "tach(e)" n.(3) in the sense of bad habit, which is how it is used by Chaucer, Lydgate, and Hoccleve himself at line 3364 below.
- 2302 *and of malencolie.* A: *and malecolye.* A's reading is supported by a few closely related MSS, and one could defend a not uncommon canceling of the expected elision of *ire* and *and* encouraged by the virgule between the two words in many of the MSS. However, the number and diversity of the MSS supplying of, coupled with Hoccleve's preference for syllabic regularity, make the emended reading preferable. The notion that twenty-seven of forty-one scribes would strive for a syllabic count regularly sought by Hoccleve seems unlikely.
- 2304 *yceupt.* A: *clept.* Emended for meter, with strong MS support.
- 2330-31 *and his ooth keepe / Than.* A: *than his ooth keepe / And.* A's unique reversal of the two words appears to be altered by a later hand. It is emended for sense.
- 2338 *to his estat.* A: *unto kys state.* A's reading is emended for Hoccleve usage and meter; *estat* is the only form used in the holographs, and by far the majority reading in the MSS, as is the reading to.
- 2346 *of oothes.* A: *of this.* A's reading (shared by the seven MSS most closely related to it) is emended for sense, further supported by the feminine rhyme "looth is" two lines later.
- 2361 *Usyntyng.* A: *Usyntyve.* A's unique miswriting is emended for sense.
- 2418 *It sit.* A: *It sytyn.* A's verb is emended for meter (only four MSS, all inferior, give this disyllabic form).
- 2419 *estat.* A: *state.* Emended to Hoccleve's usage.
- 2438 *ymakid.* A: *makyd.* Emended for meter, with the support of the great majority of MSS.
- 2452 *trouthe.* A: *throuthe.* A's miswriting is emended for sense.
- 2459 *of his style.* A: *of style.* A's unique reading is emended for meter and sense.
- 2471 *to.* A: *of.* A's minority reading is emended for sense.
- 2474 *greeved with.* A: *greved.* A's unique omission is emended for sense.

The Regiment of Princes

- 2476 *do thow thy alwesse.* A: *and releve in distresse.* A's repetition of the second half
 of the preceding line is emended.
2482 *It.* A: *If.* A's unique miswriting is emended for sense.
2483 *who.* A: *ho.* A's unique reading is emended to Hocclevean and conventional
 spelling.
2510 *restreynd.* A: *refreynd.* A's minority reading is emended for preferred sense.
 The variation is owing to the easy confusion of long *s* and *f* and the omission of *t*.
2524 *as.* A: *a.* A's minority reading is emended for sense required by the completion
 of the comparison in the following line.
2577 *or.* A: *or.* A's reading is emended to Hoccleve's usage; compare to line 2159.
2702 *And.* A: *In.* A's unique reading is emended for sense.
2706 *admittib.* A: *amittib.* A's spelling is emended for sense.
2715 *on.* A: *one.* A's reading is emended for sense.
2775 *hem.* A: *yt.* A's reading, shared by the MSS most closely related to it but not the
 majority of MSS, is emended for grammatical agreement. The reference is to
 plural "lawes" two lines earlier, continued in the following line with its two
 occurrences of "hem." A's reading anticipates the "it" at line 2776, there
 referring to the singular "power" of line 2775.
2785 *robbe.* A: *rubbe.* A's miswriting is emended for sense.
2794 *They with hir hand.* One would expect the plural form "handes" and there is no
 precedent for "hand/hond" as plural in the holographs. However, the fact that
 not a single MS reads -es together with the fact that the plural form would make
 for an unwanted extra syllable leads me to keep the grammatically acceptable
 scribal form (where it is spelled "hande"). Hoccleve's occasional variant
 spelling "bonde," in all cases but one in rhyme position, is always singular.
2800 *continuance.* A: *contynuance.* A's reading is emended for sense.
2804 *wel.* A: *we.* A's unique reading is emended for sense.
2805 *lowe.* A: *lawe.* A's reading, shared by Harley, and caused by the references to
 "lawe" in the preceding lines.
2816 *of the.* A: *of.* A's reading is emended for idiomatic sense.
2817 *which.* A: *swyche.* A's unique reading is emended for sense.
2822 *trespace.* A: *trespastie.* A's unique reading is emended for tense; the present tense
 is called for.
2863 *hir.* A: *the.* A's unique reading is emended for preferable sense.
2873 *kyngly.* A: *knygyl.* A's reading, shared by the MSS closest to it, produces a
 metrically deficient line and poor sense. Twenty-two MSS give the metrically
 superior reading *kyngly*, eleven MSS give the metrically equivalent *keyghly*.
 No MS gives "kyng." "Knyghtly" is by far the more common word, occurring
 eight times in Hoccleve's holographs, but "kyngly," though absent from the

Textual Notes

- holographs, is recorded by the MED in several instances by Lydgate. While in the abstract a king in his government should indeed be kingly, the next line indicates that Hoccleve is aware of the seeming redundancy by carefully defining his use of the adverb: *kyngly* in this sense. Compare line 517, where A also incorrectly reads *keyȝtly* but where the other MSS almost unanimously read *keyȝtly* and "kyngly" is not considered. Compare Egidius, Book I, part 2, ch. 17. In Trevisa's translation, "it longeth to [the king] to take hede þat he be verrey kyng in deed and nouȝt onlich in name," p. 49, lines 27–29.
- 2876 *this world*. A: *world*. A's unique omission is emended for sense.
- 2879 *worthy kyng*. A: *kyng worthy*. A's unique word order is emended for awkwardness.
- 2895 *often Him*. A: *often*. A's reading, in agreement with a few closely related MSS, is emended for meter.
- 2897 *weyeth*. A: *obeyeth*. A's reading, supported by only two other MSS, is an anticipation of the rhyme word of the next line and is emended.
- 2901 *my good Lord*. A: *my goode Lord*. A's grammatically correct reading is emended for meter. There is holograph support for this variance from the usual vocative form of the adjective.
- 2914 *any man apart*. A: *any a part*. A's unique omission is emended for sense.
- now me*. A: *now to me*. A's reading is emended for meter; nearly all MSS support this emendation.
- 2917 *hy dignitee*. A: *by dygnitee*. A's reading is emended for sense.
- 2919 *knowynge*. A: *knowyng*. A's unique reading is emended in accordance with Hoccleve's preferred usage.
- 2965 *seyn*. A: *seye*. A's reading is emended for meter and grammar; *seyw* is the usual plural form called for here.
- 2975 *yee*. A: *þe*. A's unique reading is emended for grammar. A spells it with a thorn, implying a confusion of *y* and *þ*.
- 2982 *til that*. A: *unto*. A's unique reading is emended to Hoccleve's usage.
- 2985 *Lest, if*. A: *Lest*. A's reading is emended for sense. The addition of *if* to the line in A's spelling of it creates an extra syllable, for A and all but three MSS read *made were*, a 2-syllable spelling of the past participle. Hoccleve's spelling of it, *maad*, given by only two superior MSS and one inferior one, eliminates the problem, so that the emended line at once makes better sense and is metrically regular.
- 3017 *Tho*. A: *The*. A's reading is emended for superior sense, supported by Harley and a minority of other MSS.
- brennen*. A: *brenne*. A's reading is emended for meter, to avoid elision.
- 3030 *was*. A: *ȝis*. A's almost unique reading is emended for tense consistency.

The Regiment of Princes

- 3037 *Shalt.* A: *Schal.* A's minority reading is emended for grammar.
- 3071 *whil he of good is.* A: *whyle he ys of good.* The great majority of MSS give this preferable order.
- 3081 *a long and large.* A: *a long and a large.* A's reading, which is that of the great majority of MSS, is emended for meter. Compare the explanatory note to this line.
- 3084 *in man.* A: *in a man.* A's unique reading is emended for meter. Compare the superfluous "a" at line 3081.
- 3086 *al another.* A: *al on the other.* A's unique reading is emended for sense.
- 3104 *an unavysid.* A: *unavised.* A's minority reading is emended for meter; "an" and "un" have been combined.
- 3108 *and.* A: *an.* A's reading (shared only by Harley) is emended for sense.
- 3113 *Blood of man.* A: *Blood of a man.* Emended for meter; only Harley and two other MSS give A's reading.
- 3124 *hadde grauntid.* A: *hadde Igraunted.* A's reading requires emending, for as it stands the *I*-prefix is gratuitous following disyllabic *hadde*, and Hoccleve never uses that sequence.
- 3150 *tellen.* A: *teile.* A's spelling is emended for meter, to eliminate the elision.
- 3153 *eſt now.* A: *now.* A's reading is emended for meter and sense, and is supported by the great majority of MSS.
- 3167 *he.* A: *be.* A's unique miswriting is emended for sense.
- 3175 *this.* A: *kys.* A's reading, shared only by three closely related MSS, is emended for sense.
- 3178 *unto.* A: *on.* A's unique reading is emended for meter.
- 3193 *lat.* A: *at.* A's reading is emended for sense.
- 3197 *of man.* A: *of a man.* A's almost unique reading is emended for meter.
- 3209 *shape.* A: *scheme.* A's unique reading is emended for sense.
- 3217 *put.* A: *iput.* A's metrically gratuitous prefix is emended.
- 3245 *no nay.* A: *noon nay.* A's reading (unique but for one exception) is emended for usage.
- 3247 *Ied.* A: *bad.* A's unique miswriting is emended for sense.
- 3249 *Alisaundre, as Valerie.* A: *Alisaundre eek, as Valerie.* Emended for meter. Only five MSS support this emendation, but without it the line severely violates Hoccleve's practice. The preceding and following exempla are introduced with "eek"s, where they are metrically useful, and the scribes probably supplied one here from habit.
- 3259 *And in.* A: *And.* A's reading is emended for sense.
- 3264 *so noble a prince.* A: *so noble prince.* A's reading is emended for grammar.
- 3268 *heir.* A: *hyer.* A's reading is emended for sense.

Textual Notes

- 3276 *sente hym in.* A: *sente hym in.* A's unique reading is emended for meter and sense.
3280 *he him answarde.* A: *kym answarde.* Emended for meter and the support of a
minority of MSS. The MSS here show considerable variation, but the majority
read with A.
- 3285 *putte.* A: *put.* A's reading is emended to Hoccleve's past indicative form.
- 3315 *God.* A: *good.* A's reading is emended for sense.
- 3316 *As. if.* A: *As of.* A's reading is emended for syntax and sense. A's reading is
shared only with the five MSS closest to it.
- 3327 *be.* A: *he.* A's reading, shared by a group of inferior MSS, is emended for better
sense.
- 3411 *chek.* A: *speek.* A's reading is emended for eye-skip: A or its exemplar anticipates
this rhyme word, which comes two lines later.
- 3413 *his soule.* A: *hys.* A's unique omission is emended for sense.
- 3416 *is.* A: *hys.* A's unique reading is emended for sense.
- 3421 *if that he.* A: *he if that.* A's unique word order is emended for sense.
- 3434 *tendre morsel.* A: *tender Jong morsel.* A's reading is emended for meter. The
reading was probably encouraged by the occurrence of *Jong* in the middle of
the next line. A minority of MSS of diverse lineage give the better reading.
- 3439 *to the deeth.* A: *to deth.* The addition of the definite article, the reading of all but
five MSS, makes the line metrically regular.
- 3445 *this.* A: *thus.* A's unique reading is emended for sense.
- 3461 *manere of way.* A: *mansere a way.* A's unique reading is emended for sense.
- 3464 *but it.* A: *but I.* A's unique error is emended for sense.
- 3465 *meeved.* A: *greved.* Only the eight MSS most closely related to it give A's
reading; the remainder all give *meeved*, which is retained here as the harder
reading. *Greved* was probably influenced by rhyming "preved" in the preceding
line.
- 3482 *despyt.* A: *despite.* A's reading is emended for meter and for its departure from
Hoccleve's spelling of the noun's root with *yf* never *ire*.
- 3497 *the bookes seye.* A: *the book seyth.* A's almost unique reading is emended for
sense. In addition, the verb must rhyme with "bywreye" two lines earlier.
- 3512 *been amendyd.* A: *be amendyd.* A's reading is emended in accordance with
Hoccleve's usage: "been" rather than "be" before a word beginning with a
vowel or *h*.
- 3562 *himself.* A: *hymself.* A's plural form is emended for agreement with the singular
referent.
- 3567 *unto.* A: *to.* A's reading is emended for meter and in accordance with the reading
of the great majority of MSS.
- 3597 *hymself.* A: *hymself.* A's form is emended to the requisite plural.

The Regiment of Princes

- 3617 *nayled*. A: *nayled nayled*. A's unique dittography is corrected.
- 3640 *in a*. A: *in*. A's unique reading is emended for grammar.
- 3662 *nat were*. A: *nought nere*. A's unique reading is emended for sense.
- 3688 *his*. A: *thys*. A's reading, shared by all of the MSS closely related to it, is emended to the more idiomatic reading given by the remaining thirty-one MSS. Compare Chaucer's use of the phrase.
- 3705 *as it befyl*. A: *as yt ful*. A's unique reading is emended for usage.
- 3706 *launde and by renoun*. A: *londe and by renoun*. A's unique miswriting is emended for sense.
- 3716 *the wommen*. A: *the womman*. A's unique reading is emended to give the required plural form.
- 3721 *a look*. A: *look*. A's unique reading is emended for sense.
- 3728 *wondirfully*. A: *wonderly*. The varied efforts in various MSS to emend this line, by adding the third-person pronoun, by expanding to *wonderfully*, by adding *to* before the verb, etc., suggest a problem. Though *wondirfully* does not occur in the holographs, it is the form given by several of the most careful MSS and I adopt it. The alternative would be to accept A's reading as original, and the several scribal variants as responses to its metrical deficiency.
- 3730 *hir*. A: *hys*. A's unique reading appears to have been modified by a later hand.
- 3740 *hadde*. A: *harde*. A's nearly unique reading is emended, the reading caused by eye-skip to "hende" immediately above it. Five closely related MSS plausibly read *had heard*, but this group is especially free in its variation and is an unlikely reflection of the original reading.
- 3778 *hew purveyed*. A: *purveyd hew*. A's unique word order is emended for meter.
- 3781 *uyle*. A: *whyle*. A's reading is emended for sense; A anticipates the word two lines later.
- 3798 *adown*. A: *down*. A's reading is emended for meter.
- 3806 *in awayt*. A: *in wayte*. A's nearly unique reading is emended for meter and idiom.
- 3807 *stireth*. A: *stryeth*. A's unique miswriting is emended for sense.
- 3814 *compleyne or thrist*. A: *compleyne or thrist*. A's reading is emended for sense, based on the coincident reading of one group of MSS. Less likely variants provided in other MSS are *for* and *of*.
- 3841 *encombe*. A: *combe*. A's reading, shared only by five closely related MSS, is emended for meter.
- 3849 A metrically irregular line. Probably the title *Kyng* was added for clarification to an otherwise regular line, but no MS supports that hypothetical reading; I have kept A's reading.
- 3850 *paieth*. A: *paieth*. This is a conjectural emendation, supported by only a few MSS, but more persuasively defended on the analogy of attested Hoccleve variants

Textual Notes

- "comth/cometh." There is some evidence, in the past participial forms of this verb, that Hoccleve recognized syllabic variance: compare "apaid" (past participle of "paien") with "paied/payed" (past participle of "paien").
- 3876 *lore.* A: *sore.* A's error, which could be attributed variously to association with the word three lines earlier, to paleographical confusion of *l* and long *s*, and to the plausible alliterative phrase "smertes sore," is emended for sense.
- 3888 *wel afyn.* A: *wel and fyn.* This phrase, supported by a minority of the MSS and employed by Hoccleve earlier at line 1872, in the sense of "completely, perfectly" makes better sense than A's reading. At line 1872 a number of scribes, but not A, write *wel and fyn*.
- 3894 *His.* A: *He.* A's unique misreading is emended for sense.
- 3902 *kath stablisshud.* A: *stablisshd kath.* A's unique wording is emended for meter; A's reading prevents elision of the final *e* of *knyghthode*.
- 3903 *Fee.* A: *The.* A is emended for sense; the remainder of the stanza makes clear that direct address to the Prince is intended.
- 3905 *been ay.* A: *evere been.* A's reading is emended for meter. Always disyllabic when not eliding with a vowel, *evere* makes for an irregular line.
- 3922 *in japartie.* A: *in partie.* A's reading is emended for sense and meter. The source of the error, common to a sizeable and diverse number of MSS, is doubtless the seeming duplication of visually identical *in-* and *in-*.
- 3938 *in bataille.* A: *in a batayle.* A's reading, shared only by a sub-group of three MSS, is emended for meter.
- 3945 *for to be.* A: *to be.* Emended for meter and the support of the great majority of MSS.
- 3956 *dye.* A: *dyen.* A's miswriting is emended for agreement with rhyming "maistrie."
- 3970 *Or.* A: *Of.* A's reading, shared only by Harley and two lesser MSS, is emended for sense.
- 3979 *an awyys.* A: *a awyys.* A's unique writing is corrected for usage.
- 3989 *Is to.* A: *Is.* A's unique reading is emended for meter and sense.
- 3991 *Whan reuled.* A: *What reueled.* A's unique reading is emended for sense.
- 3994 *manly.* A: *namly.* A's reading is emended for sense.
- 4013 *a foal and a wrecchid.* A: *a fooul and wrecched.* A's reading is emended for meter. The majority of MSS give the emended reading.
- 4036 *sente.* A: *sende.* A's unique reading is emended for tense consistency.
- 4039 *to hem declarith.* A: *declarereth to hem.* A's unique word order is emended.
- 4042 *himself — fortelle hem.* A: *hemself — tel hym.* A's reversal of singular and plural forms is emended. The great majority of MSS read *fortelle*, which makes for a metrically regular line.

The Regiment of Princes

- 4051 *tby*. A: *my*. A's unique reading is emended for sense.
4053 *hun*. A: *have*. A's miswriting is emended for sense.
4068 *ky*. A: *by*. A's miswriting is emended for sense.
4082 *leye apart*. A: *leye paart*. A's unique reading is emended for sense.
4083 *peyne him*. A: *feyse*. A's unique reading is emended for sense.
4085 *is nothyn*. A: *rys nofing*. A's reading, shared by only two MSS, is emended for idiomatic usage. Hoccleve's sole use of the form "nis" makes a grammatical point as this use does not.
4091 *of al a region*. A: *of al regioun*. A's unique (with one exception) reading is emended for idiom.
4105 *along*. A: *longe*. A's reading is emended for sense.
4107 *hath hem sent*. A: *hath hem sende*. A's reading is emended for grammar.
4108 *that was*. A: *that*. A's unique omission is emended.
4132 *Largesses*. A: *Largesse*. A's reading is corrected to the preferred genitive ending.
4154 *himselfen*. A: *hemselfen*. A's reading is corrected to the requisite singular form.
4156 *Many a man*. A: *Many man*. A's reading, shared by only four MSS, is emended for idiom.
4161 *richesses*. A: *rychessed*. A's miswriting is emended for sense.
4164 *wan*. A: *whan*. A's unique miswriting is emended for sense.
4184 *to two*. A: *two*. A's nearly unique reading is emended for meter and sense.
4185 *wedde*. A: *wedded*. A's reading is emended to the needed infinitive form.
4199 *axid*. A: *axeden*. A's reading is emended for meter. The great majority of MSS, including Harley, support the disyllabic form.
4218 *I*. A: *it*. A's nearly unique reading is emended for idiom; the narrator of the exemplum is here speaking.
4244 *baggid gold*. A: *bugge gold*. A's unique reading is emended for sense.
4286 *wont*. A: *wond*. A's unique spelling is emended for sense.
4293 *menten*. A: *mente*. A's inflection is emended to the plural form common to most MSS.
4299 *hous alle in feire*. A: *hous in fere*. A's reading is emended for meter, supported by the great majority of MSS.
4303 *assouile*. A: *soyle*. A's unique reading is emended for sense.
4316 *and*. A omits. A's unique omission is emended for sense.
4321 *bownde*. A: *ybownde*. Because *chiste* in Hoccleve's spelling is disyllabic, the *y*-prefix is unnecessary for the meter and is emended as not in accord with Hoccleve's usage.
4351 *This*. A: *The*. A's unique reading is emended for sense.
4353 *othir*. A: *wother*. A's unique miswriting is emended for sense.

Textual Notes

- 4355 *Amonges*. A: *Among*. A's reading is emended for meter and for Hoccleve's usage, which is either disyllabic "amonges" or monosyllabic "among."
- 4361 *on*. A: *no*. A's unique miswriting is emended for sense.
- 4371 *hath take him*. A: *hath have*. A's unique omission is emended, as is A's plural spelling of the singular pronoun.
- 4372 *be*. A: *ben*. A's reading is emended for Hoccleve's usage before a word beginning with a consonant.
- 4375 *but it*. A: *but Iyt*. The *yt* is added over a caret, but the *I* is not marked for deletion.
- 4376 *misruleſed*. A: *mysreule*. A's unique reading is emended for sense. Harley's also unique reading *mysrewly* is possible, but the absence of comparable forms in Hoccleve's holographs makes the otherwise unanimous past participle form the likelier reading.
- 4381 *wolde I thryve*. A: *wolde thryve*. A's unique omission is emended for sense.
- 4395 *sholden*. A: *schullen*. A's reading is emended for grammar, supported by the great majority of MSS.
- 4398 *youre*. A: *joures*. A's unique miswriting is emended for sense; the scribe has anticipated the -es ending of the next word.
- 4406 *sentences*. A: *sentence*. A's reading is emended to the plural form necessary for rhyme with A's plural form two lines earlier.
- 4427 *to custumablely*. A: *to I-custumablely*. A's miswriting is emended for sense.
- 4436 *ny*. A: *nyk*. A's unique miswriting is emended for sense and Hoccleve usage.
- 4456 *of man than God*. A: *of god þan man*. A's word order, shared by Harley, is emended for sense.
- 4487 *it*. A: *sche*. A's reading, shared by Harley, is emended for sense. The line restates the previous line, which refers to the gold locked in bags and to personified Avarice who puts it there.
- 4519 *shalt*. A: *schal*. A's reading is emended for grammar.
- 4535 *than*. A: *that*. A's reading is emended for sense.
- 4557 *the acounter*. A: *the counter*. A's unique reading is emended for sense.
- 4561 *in noþyng*. A: *noþyng*. A's reading, shared by Harley, is emended for sense.
- 4567 *swich roote*. A: *swyche a roote*. A's rare reading (shared only by three MSS) is emended for meter.
- 4568 *shee*. A: *he*. A's unique reading is emended for gender consistency; the reference is to personified "crueltee" in the previous line.
- 4580 *or elles*. A: *otheres els*. A's reading, shared only by Harley and two lesser MSS, is emended for meter.
- 4582 *asswage*. A: *swage*. A's reading is emended for meter and usage.
- 4587 *despenses*. A: *despense*. A's unique reading is emended to the plural form.

The Regiment of Princes

- 4611 *Of a seeknesse or an infirmitie.* A: *Of syknesse or infirmitie.* A's omission of the first article is shared only by one MS; the omission of the second article is shared only by Harley and four other MSS. The line is emended for meter.
- 4616 *shul wel see.* A: *schul see.* A's nearly unique reading, supported by only one inferior MS, is emended for meter.
- 4631 *Lighly.* A: *Lyghly.* A's unique miswriting is emended.
- 4633 *shee.* A: *the.* A's unique error is emended for sense.
- 4641 *many a man.* A: *many man.* A's reading is emended to Hoccleve's idiomatic usage and the reading of the great majority of MSS.
- 4654 *for hir impotence.* A: *for impotence.* A's reading, shared only by Harley and other closely related MSS, is emended for meter and sense (the contrast of "hir" to "his").
- 4671 *despende.* A: *spende.* A's reading is emended for meter and Hocclevean usage.
- 4676 *they.* A: *þe.* A's reading, supported only by 4 other MSS, is emended for sense. The error is a form of dittoigraphy, anticipating the *þe* with which the following word begins.
- 4684 *in a blesyd hour.* A: *in blesyd hour.* A's unique reading is emended for meter and idiom.
- 4691 *welthy.* A: *welthe.* A's unique reading is emended to the adjective form.
- 4707 *wroght.* A: *worught.* A's miswriting is emended.
- 4716 *in the lordes sail.* A: *in lordes sayl.* A's reading is emended for meter and idiom.
- 4727 *Abregge nat, ne nat syncope.* A: *Abregge nouȝt syncope.* A's unique omission is emended for sense.
- 4753 *estat.* A: *state.* A's spelling is emended to Hoccleve's usage.
- 4765 *look.* A: *booke.* A's reading is emended for sense.
- 4770 *wole.* A: *wold.* A's unique reading is emended for tense consistency.
- 4777 *geveth eek.* A: *geveth eveneth eke.* A's unique duplication is emended for sense.
- 4792 *maken.* A: *make.* A's reading is emended for meter.
- 4802 *of a covenant.* A: *of covenant.* A's reading is emended for meter and idiom.
- 4828 *richesses.* A: *rychesse.* A's reading is emended for meter to the plural form.
- 4832 *lyve.* A: *leve.* A's ambiguous spelling is emended to Hoccleve's usage.
- 4834 *Is it.* A: *It ys.* A's minority reading is emended to the word order appropriate to a question.
- 4837 *therwithal.* A: *therwyth.* A's reading, supported by only a single MS, is emended for meter.
- 4846 *at a mark.* A: *at the mark.* A's reading, supported by four inferior MSS closely related to each other, is emended to preserve the distinction between the two uses of *mark* in the line — first with the indefinite article, then with the definite article.

Textual Notes

- 4846 *but if be*. A: *but be*. A's reading is emended for meter.
- 4868 *thynke*. A: *thyng*. A's unique miswriting is emended for sense.
- 4881 *thee wel conseille*. A: *be wel conseyle*. A's reading is emended for sense and the indirect and implicit support provided by considerable MS variation, but without a single MS support. The final word, rhyming with the verb "eile," in Hoccleve's spelling needs to be a verb, not his noun "conseil." Some MSS construe it as a verb (*yow wel conseyle*), others as a noun (*by wise counsill*), but in context the latter makes poor syntactic sense. In addition, a simple writing error, *be* for *be*, is in keeping with the unique miswritings recorded nearby at lines 4868 and 4885.
- 4885 *world*. A: *lord*. A's unique reading is emended for sense.
- 4921 *mowen*. A: *mow*. A's reading is emended for meter and grammar; this reading is supported by Harley and other superior MSS.
- 4931 *in*. A: *an*. A's reading is emended to Hocclevean usage.
- 4935 *Ther*. A: *The*. A's unique reading is emended for grammar and sense.
- 4936 *Commendable*. A: *Comendale*. A's unique writing is emended for sense.
- 4946 *olde*. A: *old*. A's reading is emended for meter, with the support of the best MSS.
- 4966 *tymes*. A: *dayes*. A's unique reading is emended. A was doubtless influenced by "holy dayes" two lines earlier.
- 4985 *thow*. A: *now*. A's unique reading is emended for sense.
- 4988 *thy promocioun*. A: *thyn promocioun*. A's reading is emended for usage.
- 4990 Owing to the loss of a leaf in Arundel, Harley 4866 here replaces Arundel as copy text.
- 4999 *chirches*. H: *chirche*. Harley's reading is emended to the plural form for sense and as recorded in the great majority of MSS.
- 5001 *beholde*. H: *beholden*. Harley's reading is emended for meter.
- 5002 *Where*. H: *W're*. Harley's unique reading is emended for sense.
- 5006 *som men*. H: *sosome*. Harley's reading is emended for meter. A few MSS close to A and Harley give this emended reading, while the great majority of MSS give metrically equivalent *som folk*.
- 5012 *thy mercy eek*. H: *eke thi mercy*. Harley's awkward word order, supported by only a few MSS, is emended.
- 5034 *been*. H: *be*. Harley's form is emended to the plural.
- 5039 *al thyng is*. H: *al þingis is*. H's unique reading is emended for grammar and meter.
- 5040 *do noon*. H: *done non*. H's spelling is emended to Hocclevean usage (in Hoccleve's holographs, "doon noon" is unrecorded).
- 5041 *ay*. H: *ever*. Harley's reading is emended to that of the great majority of MSS, including the best MSS from diverse branches.
- 5043 Arundel returns here as copy text.

The Regiment of Princes

- 5059 *himself*. A: *hemself*. A's plural form is emended to the necessary singular.
- 5075 *in swich cas*. A: *in suche a caas*. A's unique reading is emended for meter.
- 5081 *of Judas*. A: *of o Judas*. The *o* of A's unique reading is evidently marked for deletion. It would in any case be emended for meter.
- 5099 *adrad hir for to*. A: *adrad for to*. A's reading, shared by only Harley and five related MSS, is emended for sense and meter.
- 5103 *adrad*. A: *drad*. A's reading, shared by only one MS, is emended for meter and usage.
- 5105 *shent*. A: *schende*. A's unique form is emended to the necessary past participle form; compare to line 5107.
- 5107 *be bent*. A: *bende*. A's unique reading is emended for sense and meter.
- 5133 *unto gretter*. A: *unto the gretter*. A's reading, shared by a minority of MSS, is emended for meter.
- 5148 *womman*. A: *wommer*. A's reading, supported by only two MSS, is emended to the singular form matching the Latin of the gloss.
- 5166 *sacramentz*. A: *sacramentz*. A's minority reading is followed, substituting *z* for A's *j*. The only occurrences of *j* in the holograph are "ma3odnesse," "sanj," and "servants," the latter case, as here, eliminating the disyllabic form "a(c)ntes" and thereby preserving metrical regularity.
- 5169 *servyng*. A: *service*. A's unique reading is emended for sense.
- 5178 *in a womman*. A: *in womman*. A's reading, shared by only two MSS, is emended for meter.
- 5190 *man*. A: *met*. A's reading is emended for agreement with singular *his*.
- 5234 *our*. A: *owt*. A's unique reading is emended for sense: the possessive adjective is important to the sense.
- 5242 *hemself*. A: *hymself*. A's usual form for the singular pronoun is emended to the necessary plural.
- 5250 *cheer*. A: *pere*. A's unique reading is emended for sense.
- 5260 *blent*. A: *blend*. A's unique spelling is emended to the past participial form.
- 5281 *Despent*. A: *Dispende*. A's indicative form is emended to the requisite past participle.
- 5282 *curreye, he nat*. A: *curreye nat*. A's reading is emended for clarification of sense. In the context of the several MS variants for this line, this emendation is not altogether satisfactory. Some of the MSS, including Harley, add *Favel* as the object of *curreye*, resulting in Harley's case in an unacceptably long line.
- 5283 *untrouthe*. A: *unkreuthe*. A's unique writing is emended for sense.
- 5324 *mighte be*. A: *be myght*. A's unique and awkward word order is emended.
- 5343 *continuance*. A: *continuance*. A's reading is emended for sense.
- 5344 *han*. A: *gan*. A's unique reading is emended for sense.

Textual Notes

- 5378 but good. A: good. A's unique omission is emended for meter and sense.
- 5398 the weye is open. A: the weyes open. A's unique reading is emended for sense.
- 5412 love and awe. A: love of awe. A's unique reading is emended for sense.
- 5418 waar. A: for. A's reading, shared by the MSS most closely related to it, is emended to the majority reading for sense, additionally supported by the presence of a virgule or the equivalent in many of the MSS between ryght and war signifying a pause.
- 5431 *And on the foos of Cryst.* A: *And on of the foos of Crist.* A's on and the second of are added above the line. A's reading is emended for sense.
- 5432 kythuth. A: kipeth. A's miswriting, confusing *p* and *b*, is emended for sense.
- 5433 mescreantz. A: mescreant3. Compare to line 5166. While the majority of MSS read -antes, A has learned Hoccleve's practice of using *s* as *z* for the purpose of reducing two syllables to one. Three other MSS give this reading.
- 5435 therin. A: theryme. A's reading is emended to Hoccleve's preferred form for meter.
- 5439 In the last line of the poem, before the *envoi*, "pees" is followed by "Amen" in a distinct script. It is clearly not part of the poetic line.
- 5440 See the explanatory note on variant readings in the *envoi* unique to a Hoccleve holograph copy of the poem.
- 5447 Thee. A: Ye. A's unique reading is emended for grammar.

Glossary

aart <i>craft, technique</i>	conseil <i>counsel</i>
ageyn <i>against; back, in reply</i>	courage <i>desire, inclination; courage</i>
aight <i>anything; at all</i>	Cristen <i>Christian</i>
algate <i>nevertheless, at any rate</i>	cure <i>cure; care</i>
anoon <i>at once</i>	
aright <i>rightly</i>	dar <i>dare</i>
array <i>clothing, gear; appearance</i>	dede <i>deed</i>
art <i>are; craft, technique</i>	deed <i>dead</i>
axe(n), axid, axith <i>ask(ed)</i>	deeme <i>think, judge</i>
ay <i>always</i>	deere <i>dear; for a high price</i>
been, beesth <i>be</i>	deeth <i>death</i>
beere <i>bier</i>	defende <i>defend; forbid</i>
bere <i>carry</i>	degree <i>rank, social position; extent</i>
bet <i>better</i>	dere <i>harm, injure</i>
blyve <i>quickly</i>	despende <i>spend</i>
but <i>but; unless</i>	dredre <i>fear; doubt</i>
cam <i>come</i>	
can <i>can; knows</i>	eek <i>also</i>
cas <i>circumstance; chance; supposition</i>	elles <i>else; otherwise</i>
caste <i>throw; direct, plan</i>	encesoun <i>cause</i>
certes <i>certainly</i>	entente <i>intention, plan</i>
charge <i>burden, responsibility</i>	eschwe <i>avoid, shun</i>
cheer <i>beloved, dear</i>	ese <i>comfort</i>
cheere <i>look, expression; behavior</i>	estat <i>rank; condition</i>
cheertee <i>affection, esteem</i>	
chees <i>choose</i>	Favel <i>Flattery</i>
cheese <i>choose</i>	feend <i>devil</i>
clept <i>called</i>	fer <i>far</i>
cofre <i>chest</i>	fere <i>fear</i>
conceit <i>conception, notion</i>	fool <i>foolish</i>
compaignie <i>company</i>	forthy <i>therefore</i>
	fro <i>from</i>
	ful <i>very</i>

Glossary

gaf gave	list please, like, desire
gan began, did	litil little
gentillesse nobility, kindness	longe belong, dependent on; long
geve(n), geveth give	lore teaching, doctrine
good material goods; good	lust pleasure, delight
goon gone; walk, go	lyk like
greet great (s.)	lyte little
grete great (pl.)	lyth lies
guerdoun reward	
gye guide	maad made
haast, hast has	maist may; be able to
han have	maistir master
heed head	mateere master, affair, subject
heede heed	mescheef misfortune, trouble
heere here; hear	mete food, meal
hem them	meynee followers
herte heart	might power, ability
hevynesse sadness	mite be able to, might
hir(e) her; their	mo more
hoom home	mochil much
hy high	moot must
hye high; hasten, haste	mowe(n) may, be able to
	muk filth; worldly gain
kynde nature	naght nothing
kythe show	nat not
large liberal, generous	ne nor
largesse generosity	neede necessity
lat let	noght no, nothing
lede lead	noon none
leere learn	ny near
leese lose	nyce foolish
leeve believe; permission	o one
leve leave, remain; permission	ones once
lever rather	oon one
lewde ignorant, unlettered	or or; before
light cheerful; easy; light	
lightly easily	par by, for the sake of (in French phrases)

Glossary

parfyt perfect	sy saw
pees peace	syn since
peyne pain; punishment; endeavor	synne sin
povert poverty	
preeve prove, ascertain, test	talent desire
pryvee private, intimate	than than; then
	thanne then
quod said	that that, what, who
qwyte repay	the them; those
	thought anxiety; mind, thought
rede advise; read	thurgh through
reed advice	thyn your
right exactly, just; justice; true	to to; too
	tolde told; counted
sad steadfast, serious; sorrowful	treewe true, faithful
sauf except; with respect for	trouthe truthfulness
seide said	trowe believe, think
seith says	
sette set	unnethe(s) scarcely, with difficulty
seur sure	
seye, seyn say	vengeable vengeful
shal, shul shall, must	verray true
shape, shapith devise, arrange	vertu virtue, moral excellence
sholde should, ought to	
shoop devised, arranged; happened	waar aware
sikir sure, certain; surely	weene suppose, expect
sit sit; wait, be fitting	wende supposed, expected
sooth true	werre war
soothe truth	weye way; weigh
sorwe sorrow (n. and v.)	weyve refuse, neglect
souffrance patience, long-suffering	whereas where, whereas
soul alone	whyle period of time; while
soule soul	wight person
spak spoke	wil desire, intention, will
sterve die	wilt will
sue follow; plead	wist known
sum some	wiste knew
swich(e) such	wit mind, intelligence; piece of wisdom
swythe quickly	wite know

Glossary

wolde would
wole will, wish, desire
woest, woef know
wys wise
wyse manner; wise
wyt blame, reproach

y /
ye(n) eye(s)
yee you; yes
yit yet
ynew enough