

Thomas Hoccleve

The Regiment of Princes

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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 wrytyng 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 Curtesye*, ed. Frederick J. Furnivall, EETS e.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 e.s. 76 (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1899), lines 1–2.

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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.”³ 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.”⁴ 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 interests of his poetry, and in so doing it has extended the critical interest to include the *Regiment*. It is the interaction of the concerns of the literary critic 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

³ G. Gregory Smith, *The Transition Period* (Edinburgh: W. Blackwood & Sons, 1900), pp. 17–18.

⁴ 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.

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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

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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,

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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 theatics 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

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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.⁵ 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 feeld” (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 thyn annoy that prikkith thee so smerte, / The verray cause of thyn 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

⁵ 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.

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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 fall," 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 or this men speke of thee; / Thow were aqweyntid with Chaucer, pardee" (lines 1866–67). After some

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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

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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” (“piecemeal,” 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

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he will “compyle” (line 2132) his work based on passages “scatered 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*.⁶ 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 chambre 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 regimine* 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

⁶ 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.

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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' *Consolation* 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.

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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

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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.”⁸ 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.

⁸ Derek 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.

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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

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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."⁹ 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

⁹ 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.

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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 Furnivall 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.

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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.”¹¹ 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-Guttenberg 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

¹¹ John Trevisa, *On the Properties of Things*, ed. M. C. Seymour, vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975), p. xii, n. 1.

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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

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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* (“sanȝ,” “mazed”) 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

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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 fissaſ 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 "caſt" 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

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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 “confort(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:

Mvsyng vpon the restles bisynesse
Which that this troublly world hath ay on honde,
That othir thyng than fruyt of byttirnesse
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.

Musynge vpon the restlees bysynesse
Whyche that thys troublly world haþ ay on honde,
That oþer thyng than fruyt of bytirnesse
Ne ȝyldeth nouȝt as I can vnderstonde,
At Chestres Yn ryst fast by the Stronde
As I lay in my bedde vpon a nyȝt
Thogȝt me berefte 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

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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 bryngē it aboute 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 I[A]719*); or “This Nicholas his dore faste shette” (*CT I[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 noȝt 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 settyth by mesourys lawe” (line 500) edited: “He no prys 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

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uncommon in Chaucer. Arundel loses that distinctive rhythm, in its spelling of the word for “heart,” for Hoccleve always spells that word *herte*, 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

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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 envoi 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 genre 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:

Whán to the thóghtful wight is tóld a téale,
He héerith it as thógh he thénnes wére;
His hévy thóghtes him so plúkke and hále
Hídir and thídir, and him gréeve and dére,
That his éres aváille him nát a pére;
He úndirstándith nóthyng whát men séye,
So béen his wíttes fér goon hèm to pléye. (lines 99–105)

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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 grâve 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 "thennes," 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 irregularites come not in passages of narrative or dialogue but in passages of moral discourse where it is difficult

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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:

Weenest thou that thou doost nat wikkidly
That so many a mannes sustenance
Thyself withholdist soul? Yis, hardily,
Thow that of richesse hast greet habundance
And to the needy gevest no pitance,
No lesse offendist thou 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

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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 , 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 *Series* 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*.

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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*.]

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[Prologue]

	Musynge upon the restlees bysynesse Which that this troublly world hath ay on honde, That othir thyng than fruyt of bittirnesse Ne yldith naght, as I can undirstonde,	<i>restless worry</i> <i>troubled; always on hand</i> <i>bitter fruit</i>
5	At Chestres In, right faste by the Stronde, As I lay in my bed upon a nyght, Thoght me byrefte of sleep the force and might. ¹	<i>Yields nothing; am able to</i> <i>Inn; very near to the Strand</i>
	And many a day and nyght that wikkid hyne Hadde beform vexed my poore goost	<i>cruel fellow</i> <i>before that time; spirit</i>
10	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,	<i>torment</i> <i>anywhere in any region</i> <i>say; person; boast</i> <i>anxiety; better</i>
	For to the deeth he wel ny hath me feynted.	<i>nearly; exhausted</i>
15	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;	<i>turned over</i> <i>uncertain well-being</i> <i>easily</i>
	And of the brotilnesse of hir nature	<i>it pleases her; no longer lasts</i>
20	My tremblynge herte so greet gastnesse hadde That my spirites were of my lyf sadde.	<i>fragility</i> <i>great terror</i> <i>weary</i>
	Me fil to mynde how that nat longe agoo Fortunes strook doun thraste estat rial Into mescheef, and I took heede also Of many another lord that hadde a fal.	<i>I remembered</i> <i>thrust down royal estate</i> <i>disaster</i>

¹ Anxiety deprived me of the efficacy and power of sleep

The Regiment of Princes

	In mene estat eek sikirnesse at al Ne saw I noon, but I sy atte laste Wher seuretee for to abyde hir caste.	<i>middling rank also any certainty saw finally security; prepared to dwell</i>
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 Deffende him may; and thus in my musynge I destitut was of joie and good hope, And to myn ese nothyng cowde I grope.	<i>pitched her tent abasement Except; living creature himself for my relief; grasp</i>
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 noght With me abyde; it is nat to hir pay Ther to sojourne as shee descende may. And thus unsikir of my smal lyfode, Thoght leide on me ful many an hevy lode.	<i>just as quickly lose judged; not pleasure dwell unsure, livelihood imposed; load</i>
45	I thoghte eek, if I into povert creepe, Than am I entred into sikirnesse; But swich seurtee mighte I ay waille and weepe, For povert breedith naught but hevynesse. Allas, wher is this worldes stableness? Heer up, heer doun; heer honour, heer repreef; Now hool, now seek; now bountee, now mescheef.	<i>also; poverty; crawl Then such; forever wail nothing; oppressiveness world's stability Here; shame healthy; sick; distress</i>
50	And whan I hadde rollid up and doun This worldes stormy wawes in my mynde, I sy wel povert was exclusioun Of al welfare regnynge in mankynde;	<i>turned over waves saw; poverty well-being reigning</i>
55	And how in bookest thus writen I fynde, “The werste kynde of wrecchidnesse is A man to han be weleful or this.”	<i>(see MLG) worst to have been happy before this</i>

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

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 accordre aright.
 As discordant as day is unto nyght,
 And honour adversarie is unto shame,
 Is hevynesse so to joie and game.
- Whan to the thoghtful wight is told a tale,
 100 He heerith it as thogh he thennes were;
 His hevy thoghtes him so plukke and hale
 Hidir and thidir, and him greeve and dere,
 That his eres availle him nat a pere;
 He undirstandith nothyng what men seye,
 105 So been his wittes fer goon hem to pleye.
- The smert of thoght I by experience
 Knowe as wel as any man dooth lyvynge.
 His frosty swoot and fyry hoot fervence,
 And troublly dremes drempet al in wakynge,
 110 My mazid heed sleeples han of konnyngne
 And wit despoillid, and so me bejapid
 That aftir deeth ful often have I gapid.
- Passe over; whan this stormy nyght was goon
 And day gan at my wyndowe in to prye,
 115 I roos me up, for boote fond I noon
 In myn unresty bed lenger to lye.
 Into the feeld I dressid me in hye,
 And in my wo I herte-deep gan wade,
 That was bareyne of thoghtes 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!"
 120 But I no word, for my seekly distresse
 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
Hither; thither; burden; hurt
ears; pear
- gone far off to play (see note)
- sting
- 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

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	Til he took heede to my drery cheere, And to my deedly colour pale and wan.	<i>heed of; sad expression deathly</i>
130	Than thoghte he thus: "This man that I see heere Al wrong is wrestid, by aght I see can." He stirte unto me and seide, "Sleepstow, man? Awake!" and gan me shake wondir faste, And with a sigh I answerde atte laste:	<i>twisted; anything suddenly moved toward; Do you sleep very vigorously</i>
135	"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.	<i>old man here spoke anything Then go</i>
140	"Voide fro me, me list no compaignie. Encresse nat my greef, I have ynow." "My sone, hast thou good lust thy sorwe drye And mayst releaved be? What man art thou? Wirke aftir me: it shal be for thy prow. Thow nart but yong and hast but litil seen, And ful selde is that yong folk wyse been.	<i>Go away; I desire; company Increase; enough strong desire; to suffer advantage are only seldom</i>
145	"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 reconysle Which that me thynkith is fer fro thee went Thurgh the assaut of thy grevous torment.	<i>relieved Allow me at all educated; Yes; somewhat Saint Giles restore far assault</i>
150	"Lettred folk han gretter discretion And bet conceyve konne a mannes sawe, And rather wole applie to reson, And from folie sonner hem withdrawe, Than he that neithir reson can ne lawe, Ne lerned hath no maner letterure. Plukke up thyn herte — I hope I shal thee cure."	<i>are able to better comprehend; speech sooner; conform sooner withdraw themselves knows neither reason nor any sort of learning</i>
155		43

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- “Cure, good man? Yee, thou art a fair leech!
 Cure thyself that tremblest as thou goost,
 For al thyn aart wole enden in thy speeche.
 It lyth nat in thy power, poore goost,
 To hele me; thou art as seek almoost
 As I! First on thyself kythe thyn aart,
 And if aght leve, let me thanne have paart.
- likely physician
 yourself [you] who; walk
 craft; with your words (i.e., only rhetoric)
 lies; spirit
 heal; almost as sick
 demonstrate
 anything is left*
- 165
- “Go foorth thy way, I thee preye, or be stille;
 Thow doost me more annoy than that thou weenest.
 Thow art as ful of clap as is a mille;
 Thow doost naght heer but greevest me and teenest.
 Good man, thou woost but litil what thou meenest.
 In thee lyth naght redresse my nusance,
 And yit thou maist be wel-willid, par chance.
- beseech
 suppose
 noise; mill
 nothing; vex
 know; mean
 lies nothing to set right my trouble
 kindly disposed*
- 170
- “It muste been a gretter man of might
 Than that thou art that sholde me releeve.”
 “What, sone myn, thou 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*
- 175
- “What that I may or can ne woost thou noght.
 Hardily, sone, telle on how it is.”
 185 “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 thyn estat
 Amende I shal but thou 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 enforme?
 If thou it weyve and take another forme,
 195 Aftir thy childissh misreuled conceit,
 Thou doost unto thyself harm and deceit.
- do not wish; teaching; adapt yourself
 such case
 as I best can; instruct
 neglect; follow another model
 According to; unruly thought*

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	"O thyng seye I, if thow 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 thow art soul, thought his wastyng seed Sowith in thee, and that in greet foysoun, And thow reedlees nat canst voide his poisoun.	<i>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</i>
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 persone; 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) with respect to you found; alone; all your wits widely scattered guide</i>
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.	<i>may lead you; your wits groping always go astray; doubt teaching comfort Lessen</i>
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 sadness (see MLG) dry up by its affliction a joyful heart; vigorous advise; assuage</i>
230	"He seith: 'As motthes to a clooth annoyen And of his wolle maken it al bare, And also as wormes a tree destroien Thurgh hir percynge, 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?	<i>moths; are harmful (see MLG) its wool By means of their piercing, just so Deprive abridge advantage; sorrowful</i>

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- “Now, goode sone, telle on thy grevance:
 What is thy cause of thoght in special?
 Haast thow of worldly goodes habundance
 235 And carist how that it ykept be shal?
 Or art thow needy and hast nat but smal,
 And thirstist sore a ryche man to be?
 Or louest hire that nat loveth thee?”
- “I have herd seyn, in keepynge of richesse
 240 Is thoght and wo and bisy awayt alway.¹
 The poore and needy eek hath hevynesse,
 For to his purpos nat atteyne he may;
 The lovere also seen men day by day
 245 Prolle aftir that that he shal nevere fynde;
 Thus thoght tormentith folk in sundry kynde.”
- “If thou feele in any of thise ygreeved
 Or elles what, telle on, in Goddes name.
 Thow seest al day the begger is releaved
 That sit and beggith blynd, crookid, and lame,
 250 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.”
- “For and he keepe him cloos and holde his pees, if; remains in seclusion; keeps quiet
 And nat out shewe how seek he inward is,
 255 He may al day so sitten helpelees;
 And, sone myn, althogh he fare amis
 That hydeth so, God woot, the wyt is his;
 But this begger his hurtes wole nat stèle;
 He wole telle al and more — he can naght hele.”
- “Right so, if thee list have a remedie
 Of thyn annoy that prikkith thee so smerte,
 The verray cause of thyn hid maladie
 260 Thow moot deskevere and telle out al thyn herte.”
- anxiety in particular
 are concerned; kept
 only a little
 crave intensely
 her who*
- protecting riches
 also
 men see
 Search for that which
 different ways*
- these [respects] oppressed
 whatever else
 all the time
 who sits; crippled
 he does not refrain out of any shame
 injuries; reveal
 walk; on the street*
- if; remains in seclusion; keeps quiet
 does not reveal; sick
 destitute of help
 knows; blame
 conceal
 hide nothing*
- Just so
 For your trouble; stings; sharply
 true; hidden
 must; uncover*

¹ Anxiety, sorrow and restless watchfulness are always [present]

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- | | | |
|-----|---|---|
| 265 | If thou hyde, thou shalt nat asterte
That thou ne falle shalt in sum meschance;
For thy amende thou thy governance. | <i>avoid
on some disaster</i> |
| 270 | "Be waer of thoght, for it is perillous;
He the streight way to desconfort men ledith;
His violence is ful outrageous;
Unwys is he that bisy thoght ne dredith.
In whom that he his mortel venom shedith,
But if a vomyt aftir folwe blyve,
At the port of despeir he may arryve. | <i>He [Anxiety]: leads
very excessive
fears
he [Anxiety] pours his deadly poison
Unless; follow quickly after</i> |
| 275 | "Sone, swich thoght lurkyng thee withynne,
That huntith aftir thy confusiou恩,
Hy tyme it is to voide and lat him twynne,
And walke at large out of thy prisoun.
Be waer the feendes sly conclusiou恩,
For if he may thee unto despeir brynge,
Thow mourne shalt, and lawhe he wole and syngue. | <i>within you
pursues; ruin
High; expel; depart
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 error holdith, and can nat flecche
For no conseil ne reed, as dide a wrecche
Nat fern ago, which that of heresie
Convict and brent was unto asshen drie. | <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 leeved 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
As a rakers or swich another wight,
And to make it hadde no gretter might. | <i>bread; believed
discomfited nor disinclined
only material bread
priest's
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

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| 300 | <p>Thristynge sore his sauvacioun.
 Greet was his pitous lamentacioun
 Whan that this renegat nat wolde blynne
 Of the stynkyng error that he was ynne.</p> <p>“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 byleeve ageyn,
 He sholde of his lyf seur been and certain;
 And souffissant lyflode eek sholde he have
 Unto the day he clad were in his grave.</p> <p>“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.</p> <p>“But al for nught, 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 doutance.</p> <p>“Lat the dyvynes of him speke and muse
 Where his soule is bycome or whidir goon;
 Myn unkonnynge 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.</p> <p>330 “The more routhe is! Allas, what men been they
 That hem delyten in swich surquidrye?</p> | <p><i>Desiring eagerly</i></p> <p><i>cease</i>
<i>in</i></p> <p><i>pledged; intermediary</i></p> <p><i>completely</i>
<i>faith</i>
<i>sure</i></p> <p><i>sufficient income</i>
<i>clothed [for burial]</i></p> <p><i>May God reward him for</i>
<i>Before; piece of wood; ignited</i></p> <p><i>caused to be brought</i></p> <p><i>happen</i></p> <p><i>Christian</i>
<i>devil; agreeable</i>
<i>rational sign</i>
<i>inwardly</i>
<i>uncertainty</i></p> <p><i>theologians; reflect</i>
<i>What has become of; whither</i>
<i>ignorance</i></p> <p><i>everyone of those foes of Christ</i>
<i>believe; treated</i>
<i>more</i></p> <p><i>pity</i>
<i>pride</i></p> |
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The Regiment of Princes

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| 335 | 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. | <i>prove; faith</i>
<i>[Such] that; prove false</i>
<i>high</i>
<i>equal</i>
<i>never [so], certainly</i> |
| 340 | “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 Goddes 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 thoght? | <i>What</i>
<i>Unless</i>
<i>rightly</i>
<i>against</i>
<i>Who; created from nothing</i>
<i>Because; fix; mind</i> |
| 345 | “Was it nat eek a moustre 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 konnyng hid be and nat wist. | <i>a natural wonder</i>
<i>born</i>
<i>comprehend; ascertain</i>
<i>desires; not made public; (see MLG)</i> |
| 355 | “Our feith nat were unto us meritorie
If that we mighten by reson it preeve.
Lat us nat fro God twynnen and His glorie;
As Holy Chirche us bit, lat us byleeve.
But we therto obeye, it shal us greeve
Importably; lat us do as shee bit;
Oure goode fadres olde han folwed it. | <i>deserving of merit</i>
<i>prove it [true]</i>
<i>be separated</i>
<i>bids</i>
<i>Unless</i>
<i>Insupportably</i> |
| 360 | “Presumpcion, a benedicitee!
Why vexest thou folk with thy franesie,
Thogh nothyng elles were, I seye for me? <i>[As] though; were [the matter]; for my part</i>
But see how that the worthy prelacie,
And undir hem the souffissant clergie,
Endowid of profounde intelligence,
Of al this land werreyen thy sentence. | <i>bless us</i>
<i>madness</i>
<i>episcopal authority</i>
<i>properly qualified</i>
<i>make war against; opinion</i> |

The Regiment of Princes

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| 365 | <p>"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;
 Swich surquidrie in me shal have no place.</p> | <i>bridle (restraint)</i>
<i>guided</i>
<i>otherwise; in vain</i>

<i>wholly</i>

<i>pride</i> |
| 370 | <p>"Sone, if God wole, thow art noon of tho
 That wrappid been in this dampnacioun?"
 "I? Cryst forbeede it, 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 wit to derk is.</p> | <i>those</i>

<i>then</i>

<i>testing</i>

<i>too difficult</i> |
| 375 | <p>"Of our feith wole I nat despuite at al,
 But at o word, I in the sacrament
 Of the auter 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."</p> | <i>With</i>
<i>in sum</i>
<i>altar</i>

<i>will</i> |
| 380 | <p>"Now good thrift 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 thoghtful adversitee
 Nat haddest standen in thy feith aright;
 Now is myn herte woxen glad and light.</p> | <i>good luck; dear</i>
<i>spirit</i>
<i>countenance</i>
<i>afraid for you</i>

<i>has become; cheerful</i> |
| 385 | <p>"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." "Yee, sumdel," quod I.
 "My sone, in feith that is seid ful feyntly;
 Thy savour yit ful smal is, as I trowe,
 But or aght longe I shal the soothe knowe.</p> | <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> |
| 390 | | |
| 395 | | |

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| 400 | <p>“I woot wel, sone, of me thus wilt thou thynke:
 This olde dotid grisel halt him wys;¹
 He weeneth maken in myn heed to synke
 His lewde clap, of which sette I no prys.
 He is a noble prechour at devys;</p> | <i>fancies that he makes
 ignorant chatter; value
 clearly</i> |
| 405 | <p>Greet noyse hath thurgh his chynned lippes drye
 This day out past, the devel in his ye.</p> | <i>sound; cracked dry lips
 come out; eye</i> |
| “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 | <p>So smal yppynchid ne so fressh and gay —
 My reed in hap yit thee profyte may,
 And likly that thou deemest for folie
 Is gretter wysdam than thou canst espie.</p> | <i>finely pleated; clean
 advice perhaps
 probably; judge as
 notice</i> |
| “Undir an old poore habyt regneth ofte
Greet vertu, thogh it moustre poorely;
And whereas greet array is up on lofte,
Vice is but seelden hid — that wel woot I. | | |
| 415 | <p>But nat reporte, I preyee thee, inwardly,
 That fressh array I generally deprave;</p> | <i>garment; prevails
 moral excellence; appears
 where; display; on the outside
 seldom</i> |
| 420 | <p>Thise worthy men mowe it wel use and have.</p> | <i>new (gay); without exception condemn
 may well enjoy and possess</i> |
| “But this me thynkith an abusioun,
To see oon walke in gownes of scarlet
Twelve yerdes wyde, with pendaunt sleeves doun
On the ground, and the furrour therin set, | | |
| 425 | <p>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.</p> | <i>abuse
 a person
 hanging
 fur lining
 or more
 paid; money
 buy</i> |
| “For thogh he gette foorth among the prees
And overlooke every poore wight,
His cofre and eek his purs been penylees; | | |
| 430 | <p>He hath no more than he gooth in right.</p> | <i>struts; crowd
 looks down on
 treasure chest
 (see note)</i> |

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

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	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	wrong imitate opinion Certainly; great dare say; let
440	Usurpe swich a lordly apparaille; It is nat worth, my chyld, withouten faille.	attire worthy; for certain
445	“Sumtyme afer men mighten lordes knowe By hir array from othir folk, but now A man shal studie and musen a long throwe Which is which. O lordes, it sit to yow Amende this, for it is for your prow;	Once from a distance; distinguish must deliberate; reflect; space of time it is fitting advantage
	If twixt yow and your men no difference Be in array, lesse is your reverence.	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 inductyf	fashion waste adornment attached to hood
455	Unto stelthe. Waar hem of hempen lane, For stelthe is medid with a chekelewe bane.	broad; yard long inducement theft; Beware; i.e., the gallows rewarded; choking death
460	“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;	forbid I assure you banish it
465	It is a synne outrageous and vyl; Lordes, if yee your estat and honour Loven, fleemeth this vicious errore.	sin rank banish; wicked
	“What is a lord withouten his meyne? I putte cas that his foos him assaille Sodeynly in the street: what help shal he	retenue give as an example; foes

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	Whos sleeves encombrous so syde traillé 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.	cumbersome; hang low be of use is only in the place of
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 sprede and folde	just enough; do cut (cloth); field their table; eagerly wanted to into; fashioned whole; nothing
475	On hir bord, thogh they nevere so fayn wolde, The clooth that shal been in a gowne wroght; Take an hool clooth is best, for lesse is noght.	 furrier; must [go] cramped and narrow practice
480	“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. O lordes, geve unto your men hir pars	give; assignment (in military) better when put to the test
	That so doon, and aqweynte hem bet with Mars, God of bataille; he loveth noon array That hurtith manhode at preef or assay.	 He who; carry; together gay reputation gallant; called for sure clothiers prayer let fall garments
485	“Who now moost may bere on his bak at ones Of clooth and furrour hath a fressh renoun; He is a lusty man clept, for the nones. But drapers and eek skynnners in the toun	 modest Sufficed; mean filled with provisions frugal; spare
	For swich folk han a special orisoun, That droppid is with curses heer and there, And ay shal til they paied be for hir gere.	goods; cut or gather may not maintain men
490	“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,	 would rather carry; belly extravagant
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.	

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500	He no prys 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
510	The same get sholde up be take and usid, And al this costlewe outrage refusid.	fashion costly extravagance; rejected
515	"Of Lancastre Duk John, whos soule in hevene I fully deeme and truste sit ful hye — A noble prince, I may allegge and nevene — Othir may no man of him testifie; I nevere sy a lord that cowde him gye	name Otherwise; attest rule himself
	'Bet lyk his estat; al knyghtly prowesse Was to him girt — o God, his soule blesse!	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;	garments; very large wonderfully
525	And lordes mighte helpe al this, if they wolde The old get take, and it foorth use and holde.	Banished fashion adopt; maintain
530	"Than mighte 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,	circulate; abundantly set; goal enough
	That with the world wrastlen, mighte han plentee Of coyn, whereas yee han now scarsetee.	struggle money; deficiency

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- “Now hath this land but litil neede of bromes
To sweepe away the filthe out of the street,
535 Syn syde sleeves of penylees gromes *Since hanging; men
Wole it up likke, be it drie or weet.* *lick; wet*
O Engeland, stande upright on thy feet!
So foul a waast in so symple degree
Banisshe, or sore it shal repente thee. *lowly rank
sorely; give cause to repent*
- 540 “If a wight vertuous but narwe clothid *meanly*
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 *In their conception*
But he that of array is outrageous.
- “But he that flatere can or be a baude,
And by tho tweyne fressh array him gete,
It holden is to him honour and laude.
550 Trouthe and clennesse musten men forgete *pimp
those two [means]; get
regarded; praise
Loyalty; modesty
consume (vex)*
In lordes courtes, for they hertes 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
560 That to the poore and old mannes doctryne
Ful seelde him deyneth bowen or enclyne. *discontent*

 “Senek seith, age is an infirmitee
That leche noon can cure ne it hele,
For to the deeth next neigheburgh is he.
565 Ther may no wight the chartre of lyf ensele;
The ende is deeth of male and of femele;
Nothyng is more certeyn than deeth is,
Ne more uncerteyn than the tyme, ywis. *Seneca (see MLG)
physician; heal
nearest
charter; ratify
(see MLG)
truly*

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☞ 570	<p>“As touchynge 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;</p>	<i>Concerning (see MLG)</i> <i>commands</i> <i>passage of writing</i> <i>reward</i> <i>old age; benefit</i>
575	<p>“And the reward of God may nat be smal; His giftes been ful noble and profitable; Forthy ne lakke thou nat age at al. Whan youthe is past is age sesonable; Age hath insighte how unseur and unstable</p>	<i>blame</i> <i>fitting</i>
580	<p>This worldes cours is by lengthe of his yeeres, And can deffende him from his sharpe breres.</p>	<i>path; its years</i> <i>protect; briers</i>
585	<p>“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 abide</p>	<i>a difficult matter</i> <i>ways; ridden along</i>
	<p>There he in youthe wroghte mis or dide, His age it seeth and bit him it eschue And seekith weyes covenable and due.</p>	<i>period of life lived through</i> <i>Where; amiss</i> <i>sees; shun</i> <i>suitable; fitting</i>
590	<p>“Whan that thou hast assayed bothe two, Sad age, I seye, aftir thy skittissh yowthe, As thou moot needes atteyne thereto Or sterve yong, than trowe I thow wilt bowe thee</p>	<i>tried (tested)</i> <i>Stable; frivolous</i> <i>reach that [state]</i> <i>die; believe; submit</i> <i>now</i>
595	<p>To swiche conceites as I have nowthe, And thanke God devoutly in thyn herte That He hath suffrid thee thy yowthe asterte.</p>	<i>allowed; to escape</i>
600	<p>“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;</p>	<i>regard</i> <i>piety</i> <i>part</i>
	<p>To Bachus signe and to the levesel His youthe him halith, and whan it him happith To chirche goon, of nycetee he clappith.</p>	<i>Bacchus'; leafy bush (as inn sign)</i> <i>pulls</i> <i>out of foolishness; proclaims loudly</i>

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

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| | “But this condicioun, 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. | <i>stipulation</i>
<i>blows; departed
comrades; physician
injury; seek
enforced fear</i> |
| 640 | | |
| 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 prude and leccherie was al my thoght.
No more I hadde set therby or roght
A wyf or mayde or nonne to deffoule
Than sheete or pleyen at the bal or boule. | <i>Then; in a year</i>
<i>Everything deducted; chatter</i>
<i>thought nothing of; cared
nun; violate
shoot [an arrow]; ball; bowling</i> |
| 650 | | |
| 655 | “Right nyce girles at my reteneue
Had I an heep, wyves and othir mo —
What so they were, I wolde noon eschue;
And yeeres fele I continued so.
Allas, I nothyng was waor of the wo
That folwed me; I lookid nat behynde;
Conceites yonge been ful dirk and blynde. | <i>Very foolish; command</i>
<i>great number</i>
<i>Whoever</i>
<i>many</i>
<i>aware</i>
<i>dark</i> |
| 660 | | |
| 665 | “An office also hadde I lucratyf,
And wan ynow, God woot, and mochil more,
But nevere thoghte I in al my yong lyf
What I unjustly gat for to restore,
Wherfore I now repente wondir sore;
As it misgoten was, mis was despended,
Of which our lord God greetly was offendid. | <i>job</i>
<i>profited enough</i>
<i>got; return</i>
<i>wrongfully [it] was spent</i> |
| 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 cursid synne;
No more good have I than I stonde ynne. | <i>would not</i>
<i>From; wrongdoing
pleasure; [He] withdrew</i>
<i>low water</i>
<i>endowed [as feudal gift]</i>
<i>punishment</i>
<i>possessions; am wearing</i> |

The Regiment of Princes

- | | | |
|-----|---|--|
| | “Gold, silver, jewel, clooth, beddyng, array — | |
| 675 | Ne have I noon othir than thou maist see; | |
| | Pardee, this bare old russet is nat gay, | <i>Certainly (By God); ordinary wool cloth</i> |
| | And in my purs so grete sommes be | <i>sums</i> |
| | That ther nis contour in al Cristientee | <i>accountant; Christianity</i> |
| | Which that hem can at any noumbre sette. | <i>value</i> |
| | That shalt thou see, my purs I wole unshette. | <i>open</i> |
| 680 | “Come hidir to me, sone, and looke whethir | |
| | In this purs ther be any crois or crouche | <i>coin marked with cross</i> |
| | Sauf nedel and thred and themel of lethir; | <i>leather thimble</i> |
| | Heer seestow naught that man may handele or touche. | <i>you see nothing</i> |
| 685 | The feend, men seyn, may hoppen in a pouche | <i>dance; moneybag</i> |
| | Whan that no crois therynne may appeere, | |
| | And by my purs the same I may seye heere. | <i>with respect to</i> |
| 690 | “O, where is now al the wantoun moneye | <i>unrestrained</i> |
| | That I was maistir of and governour, | <i>master</i> |
| | Whan I kneew nat what povert was to seye? | <i>meant</i> |
| | 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, | <i>knew</i> |
| | But now I knowe and see Him in this glas. | |
| 695 | “And where be my gownes of scarlet, | |
| | Sangwyn, murray, and blewes sadde and lighte; | <i>Ruddy; purplish red; dark</i> |
| | Greenes also, and the fair violet; | |
| | Hors and harneys, fressh and lusty in sighte — | |
| | 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. | <i>completely</i> |
| 705 | “O whyle I stood in wele, I was honurid | |
| | And many oon of my compaignie glad, | <i>Once; (see MLG)</i> |
| | And now I am mislookid on and lourid; | |
| | Ther reckith noon how wo I be bystad. | <i>looked on unfavorably and scowled at</i> |
| | O Lord, this world unstable is and unsad; | <i>reckon; distressed</i> |
| | This world honureth nat mannes persone | <i>unreliable</i> |
| | For himself, sone, but for good allone. | <i>worldly goods</i> |

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 hir flaterynges
Heelden with me what that I wroghte or seide;
Now disobeyen they that thanne obeide.
- 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 lien, also God me blesse;
They me conforted ay in myn excesse,
- 720 And seide I was a manly man withalle;
Hir hony wordes tornen me to galle.
- “God, which of His benigne courtesie,
And of His cheere lovyng tendrenesse,
He of the synful hath nat wole he die,
But lyve for to amende his wikkidnesse;
Him thanke I and His infynyt goodnesse;
- 725 His grace lykith that thurgh worldly peyne
My soule eschape may the feendes cheyne.
- “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 aftirward, God al his hevynesse
- 730 Torned to joie, and so may He do myn
Whan that it lykith to His myght devyn.
- “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.
- 735 A! Lord almighty, in my lyves space,
Of my gilt graunte Thow me repentance,
And Thy strook take in greable souffrance.
- Since; something worth money has gone
Thwart; wishes; orders
cajoling
Sided with; did
- always knew
foolish liberality
lie
as well
bitter (gall)
- dear
willed that he not die
chain
- Godly power
- to be sure
redeemed for us
follow
in the space of my life
willing endurance

The Regiment of Princes

- “I cowde of youthe han talkid more and told
 Than I have doon, but the day passith swythe,
 745 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 thou 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 preye yow and byseeche,
 What I first to yow spak, be nat displesid;
 It reewith me if I yow have disesid,
 755 And meekly yow byseeche I of pardoun,
 Me submittynge unto correccioun.
- “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
 760 Ful angry dremes; thought ful bysly
 Vexid my goost so that nothyng wiste I
 What that I to yow spak or what I thoughte,
 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 privetee,
 770 That yee mighten my greef thus han abregged
 As yee han doon, so sore I was aggregated.
- “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;
 775 Your wys reed hope I hele shal my wownde;
 My day of helthe is present, as me thynkith;
 Your confort deepe into myn herte synkith.

quickly
I would rather; many times over
dwells; near
hurry

causes regret in; distressed

Thank you

earnestly

met

dreamed

sought out (pursued)

judge; scorn
because of
meant; 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

- “Myn herte seith that your benevolence,
Of routhe meeved and verray pitee
780 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,
Which wel ny 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
790 Of love which to agid folk yee have
And myn, althogh yee deeme I hem deprave.
- “For if that I the soothe shal confesse,
The lak of olde mennes cherisshyne
Is cause and ground of al myn hevynesse
795 And encheson of my woful mournyng.
That shal yee knowe, if it be your lykyng
The cause wite of myn adversitee.”
“Yis, telle on in the name of Cryst,” seide he.
- “Sauf first, or thow any ferther proceede,
O thyng of thee wite wolde I, my sone:
800 Wher dwellist thou?” “Fadir, withouten dreede,
In the office of the Privee Seel I wone
And wryte — there is my custume and wone
Unto the Seel, and have twenti yeer
805 And foure come Estren, and that is neer.”
- “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 reste a whyle; it is penance
810 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
Who
prevails
heat; fervency
defame
nourishing
cause
to know
assuredly (see MLG)
Privy Seal; dwell
customary service; dwelling
Easter
surely; sizable period of time
omen; continuation
good [son]
scarcely; bend

The Regiment of Princes

- Whan 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*
- 820 “In th’ eschequer, he of his special grace
 Hath to me grauntid an annuitee
 Of twenti mark whyle I have lyves space.
 Mighete I ay payd been of that duetee,
 It sholde stonde wel ynow with me;
- 825 But paiement 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 sterve.
- nowadays
badly frightens me*
- “For syn that I now in myn age greene,
 835 And beynge in court, with greet peyne unnethe
 Am paid, in elde and out of court, I weene,
 My purs for that may be a ferthyng shethe;
 Lo, fadir myn, this dullith me to dethe.
 Now God helpe al, for but he me socoure,
 840 My future yeeres lyk been to be soure.”
- vigorous, young
effort; with difficulty
old age; imagine
holder for a farthing
stuns
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.
- not something inheritable
cottage; there is no denying
withdraw
time*

The Regiment of Princes

- “Ther preeve I shal the mutabilitee
Of this wrecchid worldes affeccion,
Which, whan that youthe is past, begynneth flee.
Frendshipe, adieu! Farwel, dileccion!
Age is put out of your proteccion;
His look unlusty and his inpotence
Qwenchith your love and your benevolence.
- prove [true]
- 850
- 855 “That aftirclap in my mynde so deepe
Yficchid is, and hath swich roote ycought,
That al my joie and mirthe is leid to sleepe;
My ship is wel ny with despeir yfraght.
They that nat konne lerned be ne taght
By swiche ensamples smerte as they han seen,
Me thynkith certes over blynde been.
- unfortunate consequence
Fixed firmly; taken root
loaded down
- 860
- 865 “Allas! I see routhe and pitee exylid
Out of this land. Allas, compassiou!
Whan shul yee thre to us be reconsylid?
Your absence is my grevous passiou;
Resorte, I preye yow, to this regiou;
O, come ageyn! The lak of your presence
Manaceth me to sterve in indigence.
- painful examples
very blind
- Return
- Threatens; die
- 870 “O fikil world, allas thy variance!
How many a gentil man may men now see
That whilom in the werres olde of France
Honured were and holde in greet cheertee
For hir prowesse in armes, and plentee
Of freendes hadde in youthe, and now, for shame,
Allas, hir frendshipe is crookid and lame!
- wars
held; fondness
- 875
- 880 “Now age unourne 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 biried, by my trouthe.
- wretched
flourishing; in its time
- frightened
those; beaten; rod
- pity

The Regiment of Princes

- “If shee be deed, God have hir soule, I preye,
And so shal mo heeraftir preye, I trowe.
- 885 He that pretendith him of moost nobleye,
If he hir lakke, shal wel wite and knowe
That crueltee hir fo 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 overthowе;
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 heeraftir 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 waар 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 waар, 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 othir 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.
- 915 God as him list visitith folk and smit;
Wherfore I deeme and holde it grace and wit
In hy estat, man God and himself 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. | <i>desires</i> |
| 920 | And syn tho men that been in armes preeved
Been into povert falle, treewely
Yee men of armes oghten specially
Helpe hem. Allas! han yee no pitous blood
That may yow stire for to doon hem good? | <i>tested</i>
<i>move</i> |
| 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 | <i>end</i>
<i>cut and chop</i> |
| 930 | And muse so that unto lyte I madde,
And lever die than lyven I hadde. | <i>reflect; very nearly I go mad</i>
<i>rather</i> |
| 935 | "In feith, fadir, my lyflode, 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 scars it is, if that that othir faille,
That I nat glade can but mourne and waille. | <i>livelihood</i>
<i>at no time</i>
<i>presses on</i>
<i>rejoice</i> |
| 940 | "And as ferfoorth as I can deeme or gesse,
Whan I at hoom dwelle in my poore cote,
I fynde shal as freendly slipirnesse
As tho men now doon, whos frendshipe is rote.
Nat wolde I rekke 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 noght;
And if that I sholde in my yeeres hore
Forgo my duetee that I have boght
With my flesssh and my blood, that hevy thought,
Which I drede ay shal falle as I it thynke,
Me hastith blyve unto my pittes brynde. | <i>Two thirds</i>
<i>assuredly</i>
<i>old</i>
<i>Lose; 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 byfore knownen me, Faylynge good, me faille wole also. Who no good hath is fer his freendes fro. In muk is al this worldes freendlyhede; My goost is wrappid in an hevy drede.	<i>money; i.e., stop supporting is far from his friends worldly gain; friendship spirit</i>
960	"If that I hadde of custume or this tyme Lyved in indigences wrecchidnesse, The lesse heeraftir sholde it sit by me; But in myn age wrastle with hardnesse, That with him stroglid nevere in the grennesse	<i>by habit poverty's affect to wrestle; hardship [I] who; contended</i>
965	Of youthe — that mutacion and chaunge Anothir day me seeme sholde al straunge.	
970	"He that nevere kneew the swetnesse of wele, Thogh he it lakke ay, lesse him greeve it shal Than him that hath been welthy yeeres fele, And in effect hath felt no greef at al. O povert, God me sheelde fro thy fal!	<i>prosperity many</i>
	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 In housbondrye lerned worth a myte; Scarsely kowde I charre away the kyte	<i>little</i>
	That me byreve wolde my pullaille, And more axith housbondly governaille.	<i>farming; coin of little value drive off the bird of prey rob; poultry 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 load; wheelbarrow before</i>
985	My bak unbuxum hath swich thyng forswn, At instaunce of wrytynge, his werreyour, That stowpyng hath him spilt with his labour.	<i>back unwilling to bend has At the urging of; his (back's) persecutor stooping; ruined; its</i>

The Regiment of Princes

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

The Regiment of Princes

- “What man that three and twenti yeer and more
 In wrytynge 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.
- pains
vein
eyes
ruined
- 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
- as much as
punishment

sure
- 1035 Yow for to herkne me thus jangle and clappe,
 So lewdly in my termes I me wrappe.
- hear; babble; chatter
ignorantly; jargon
- “But, nathelees, truste I your pacience
 Receyve wole in gree my wordes alle,
 And what misseid 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 reste.”
- favorably
said wrongfully
ignore

advise; [what is] best
- 1045 “Now, sone myn, hastow 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
 Than I before spoken have and said.”
- seems good to you; Yes; for now
locked
Come on
- 1050 “A Goddes half, sone, I am wel apaid.
- In God's name; satisfied
- “Conceyved have I that thou greet fere haast
 Of povert for to fallen in the snare;
 Thow haast therynne caugt so deep a taast
 That of al joie thou art voide and bare.
 1055 Thow ny despeired art of al welfare,
 And the strook of povert art thou fer fro;
 For shame, why makist thou al this wo?
- fear

The Regiment of Princes

- | | | |
|------|---|---|
| 1060 | <p>“I putte cas, as God therfro thee keepe,
 Thow were yfalle in indigent povert.
 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.</p> | <i>give as example; [may] protect
 fallen into
 complain; shed tears over
 sick or healthy
 pain
 Do not be proud
 trouble yourself</i> |
| 1065 | <p>“Povert hath in himself ynow grevance
 Withouten that that man him more purchace;
 Whoso it takth in pacient souffrance,
 It is ful plesant beforne Crystes face;
 And whoso grucchith, forfeitith that grace</p> | <i>itself</i> |
| 1070 | <p>That he sholde han if that his pacience
 Withstood the greef and made it resistence.</p> | <i>resisted it</i> |
| 1075 | <p>“My sone, as witnessith Holy Scripture,
 Discreet and honest povert many fold
 Commendid is. Cryst Himself, I thee ensure,
 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:</p> | <i>Prudent; honorable; often
 assure
 desired</i> |
| 1080 | <p>¶ “Beholde the lyf of our Sauveour,
 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
 Swich lyf, syn God that same wolde ay sue?</p> | <i>(see MLG)
 author
 evidence
 follow</i> |
| 1090 | <p>¶ “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
 Of no richesse — He deyned it nat gete;
 He lyved poorely and povert chees,
 That mighte han been ful ryche, it is no lees.</p> | <i>(see MLG)
 food
 have to do with
 it did not seem proper to Him
 chose
 lie</i> |

The Regiment of Princes

- 1095  “The poore man sleepith ful sikirly
On nyghtes, thogh his dore be nat shit,
Whereas the riche abedde bysly
Castith 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 1105 “And whan the deed sleep fallith atte laste
On him, he dremeth theeves comen yn
And on his cofres knokke and leye on faste;
And some hem pyke with a solit gyn,
And up is broken lok, hasp, barre, and pyn,
And in the hand gooth, and the bagge out takith,
For sorwe of which, out of his sleep he wakith;
- 1110 “And up he rysith, foot and hand tremblynge,
As that assaillid him the palesie,
And at a stirt, withouten taryyngne,
Unto his cofre he dressith him in hye;
Or he ther come, he is in poyn特 to dye;
He it undoorth and opneth for to se
If that his false goddes therin be.
- 1115 1120 “He dredith fynde it as that he hath dremp特.
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.
And, sone, by my reed thou shalt do so,
And by desir of good nat sette a slo.
- 1125 “Wilful povert in princes ancien
So ferfoorth was that they desired more
Good loos than good, but now adayes men
Yerne and desyren aftir muk so sore
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
reckons; mind
[bolting] bars
profound sleep
chests; attack
some pick the lock; clever contrivance
goes; in haste
on the point of dying
gods
(*see MLG*)
sufficiency (*satisfaction*)
care nothing; sloeberry
Voluntary; of former times
So extensive
reputation
have had no effect on for a long time
soak
drown; grab

The Regiment of Princes

- ¶ “Of Sysile whilom ther was a kyng
 With eerthen vessel served at his table,
 1130 And men wondrynge faste upon this thyng
 Seide unto him, it was nat honourable
 To his estat, ne nothyng commendable,
 Axynge him why him list be served so;
 To which demande he answerde tho:
- Sicily once; (see MLG)
 clay tableware*
- 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.
 Fortunes variaunce I drede alway;
- period of time*
- 1140 Right as shee made me to clymbe on highte,
 Sodeynly so shee may me make alighte.
- descend*
- “I thynke alway of my nativitee,
 And of my poore lenage and my blood;
 Eerthen vessel to swich a man as me
 1145 Ful sittynge is and acceptable and good.’
 O fewe been ther now left of the brood
 That he cam of — he loved bet profyt
 Commun than his avantage or delyt.
- ancestry*
- “How seistow by Affrican Scipion —
 1150 Africian 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,
 1155 But the commun cost made his enterynge.
- fitting*
- called; won*
- “Beform the senat was he bore on honde,
 Ones aftir he Affrik wonnen hadde,
 That he was ryche, as they cowde undirstonde,
 Of gold, to which with wordes sobre and sadde
 1160 Answerde he thus: ‘Thogh I be feeble and badde,
 The soothe is, unto your subjeccioun
 I gat Affrik, of that have I renoun.
- died*
With which
public expense; burial
- accused*
Once
- serious*
weak; ill
truth; in your service
won; for which

The Regiment of Princes

- “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.
- the only purpose
 before; there
 fame
 visible; concealed
 received
- 1165
- “Of covetyse he was nothyng coupable;
 He sette nat therby, thow maist wel se.
 Fy on the greedynesse insaciable
 Of many a man that can nat content be
 Of muk, althogh nevere so moche have he!
- to blame
 valued nothing by it
- 1170
- 1175 The kynde is evere of wrecchid covetyse
 To coveite ay and have and nat souffyse.
- nature
- “I wolde every knyght dide now the same,
 And were of good no more coveitous
 Than he was. What! To gete a noble fame
 To knyghthode is tresor moost precious;
 But I was nevere so adventurous
 Renoun to wynne by swerdes conquest,
 For I was bred in a peisible nest.
- reared; peace-loving home (nest)
- 1180
- “Upon my bak cam nevere haburjeon,
 Ne my knyf drow I nevere in violence.
 I may nat countrefete Scipion
 In armes, ne his worthy excellence
 Of wilful povert, but of indigence
 I am as ryche as was evere any man;
- jacket of mail armor
 imitate
- 1185
- 1190 Suffre it in pacience if that I can.
- “No rycher man am I than thow maist see.
 Of myne have I nothyng to take to;
 I lyve of almesse. 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.
- to take in hand
 on charity; circumstances were
 restricted; you lived
 twice as much
 alone
 livelihood
- 1195

The Regiment of Princes

- 1200 “Salomon gaf conseil men sholden preye
Two thynges unto God in soothfastnesse.
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 conpelle’ —
In his proverbes thus, lo, can he telle.
- 1205 “But this povert mene conseillid he
Men to desire that was necessarie
To foode and clothe, dredynge lest plentee
Of good hem mighte make to miscarie
And fro the knowlechynge of God to varie,
1210 And lest smert neede made hem God reneye.
Now be waar, sone, lest that thou foleye.
- 1215 “Sone, in this mene povert holde I thee,
Sauf that thou canst nat taken it ful weel.
What thogh thou leese thyn annuitee?
Yit maistow lyven on that othir deel,
Thogh nat ful delicat shal be thy meel.
1220 Of six marc yeerly, mete and drynke and clooth
Thow gete maist, my chyld, withouten ooth.”
- 1225 “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.
1230 Six marc yeerly to scars is to susteene
The charges that I have, as that I weene.
- “Tow on my distaf have I for to spynne
More, my fadir, than yee woot of yit,
Which yee shul knowe or that I fro yow twynne,
If your good lust be for to heeren it.
But for as moche as it nat to me sit
Your tale for to interrupte or breke,
Heeraftir to yow wole I therof speke.
- gave (see MLG)
- Elevate
- Such that
- moderate poverty
- come to grief
- deviate
- dire; renounce
- act foolishly
- regard
- accept; well
- lose
- portion
- refined; meal
- marks
- assuredly
- faultless
- severe circumstance
- too insufficient
- responsibilities
- Straw (Domestic trouble)
- depart
- pleasure
- Later

The Regiment of Princes

- “Yit o word, fadir. I have herd men seyn,
 Whoso no good hath, that he can no good;
 1235 And that fynde I a plat soothe and a pleyn.
 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.
- “But now, for that I have a large lyte,
 And likly am heeraftir to han lesse,
 My dul wit can to me nothyng profyte;
 I am so drad of moneyes scantnesse
 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.”
- “Sone, as for me, neithir avaunte ne rere
 But if disese algates shal betyde,
 For to be pacient rede I thow lere;
 1250 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.
- “My sone, they that swymmen in richesse
 1255 Continuelly, and han prosperitee,
 And nevere han felt but weleful swetnesse,
 Unscourgid ay of any adversitee,
 Lest God forgete hem, oghten ferdful be,
 1260 Syn God in Holy Writ seith in this wyse:
 ‘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 of] little

fearful
happiness
Instruct; i.e., money
share equally

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

happy pleasure

(see MLG)

Once; towards Rome
Tuscany
host; lodging

The Regiment of Princes

- “Right at my lust have I al worldly welthe;
 Myn estat hath been ay good, and yit is;
 1270 Richesse have I, frendshipe, and bodyes helthe;
 Was nevere thyng me happid yit amis.’
 And Seint Ambrose, astoned sore of this,
 Anoon right rowned 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 litil space,
 Aftir they were agoon, shoop this meschance:
 The ground claf and made disseverance,
 1280 And in sank man, womman, chyld, hous, and al
 That to him appartened, grete and smal.
- Go
happened
split; separation
belonged
- “Whan this cam to Ambroses audience,
 He seide to his felawshipe thus:
 ‘Lo, brethren, seeth heere in experiance
 1285 How merciably our lord Jhesus,
 Of His benigne grace, hath sparid us.
 He sparith hem that unwelthy heere been,
 And to the welthy dooth as that yee seen.’
- hearing
mercifully
- “This lyf, my sone, is but a chirie feire;
 1290 Worldly richesse, have ay in thy memorie,
 Shal passe, al looke it nevere on men so feire.
 Whyl thou art heere in this world transitorie,
 Enable thee to wynne eternel glorie,
 Wher no povert is but parfyte richesse
 1295 Of joie and blisse and vertuous gladnesse.
- cherry fair
always remember
although; kindly
- “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 torne shal to galle.
 1300 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 | <p>“Sum ryche is large and his good misdespendith
 In maintenance of synne and harlotrie —
 To swiche despenses his lust him accendith;
 And on that othir part, his nygardrie
 Suffrith his neighbourgh by him sterue and die,
 Rather than with a ferthyng him releeve.
 Tho two condicions been to repreeve.</p> | <i>One rich man; squander
 loose living
 expenditures; incites
 miserliness</i>

<i>coin of slight value
 circumstances; to be objected to</i> |
| 1310 | <p>“Whoso moost hath, he moost of shal answere;
 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 comth of ire and of vengeance,
 Than shal men seeme how in this world, I gesse,
 Richesse is povert and povert richesse.</p> | <i>shall be responsible for
 One</i>

<i>to have had
 comes; anger
 think; suppose</i> |
| 1315 | <p>“Whyler, my sone, tolde I nat to thee
 What habundance in yowthe I hadde of good?
 And how me blente so prosperitee
 That what God was I nothyng undirstood?
 But ay whil that I in my welthe stood,
 Aftir my flesshly lust my lyf I ledde,
 And of His wreche nothyng I me dredde.</p> | <i>A while ago</i>

<i>blinded</i>

<i>In pursuit of
 vengeance</i> |
| 1320 | <p>“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 sook,
 Or that I was aqweyntid wel with it,
 That ny it hadde reft fro me my wit.
 But sythen, thanke I God, in pacience
 I have it take and shal for myn offense.</p> | <i>blood (humor); sucked</i>

<i>since then
 accepted; shall [accept]</i> |
| 1325 | <p>“If thee list flee that may povert engendre,
 First synne eschue and God honure and drede.
 Also, for thy lyfplode is scars and sclendre,
 Despende nat to largely, I rede.</p> | <i>that which
 avoid sin</i>

<i>freely</i> |
| 1330 | <p>Mesure is good, let hir thee gye and lede;
 Be waar of outrage, and be sobre and wys;
 Thus thow exclude him shalt, by myn avys.</p> | <i>Moderation</i>

<i>extravagance</i>

<i>him [outrage]; in my opinion</i> |
| 1335 | | |

The Regiment of Princes

- 1340 “Nathelees, thou maist ageyn me replie:
 ‘To sum folk, thogh they doon al as I seye,
 Ageyn povert it is no remedie;
 They mowe it nat eschue by no weye.’
 I graunte wel, but than take heede, I preye.
 The jugementz of God been to us hid;
 Take alle in gree, so is thy vertu kid.
- in answer to
 favorably; demonstrated
- 1350  “To the plesaunce of God thou thee conforme;
 Aboute that be bisy and ententyf.
 That thou misdoon hast, thou blyve it reforme;
 Swich laborer thee kythe heere in this lyf
 That God thy soule, which that is His wyf,
 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
- 1355 “O thou Fortune, fals and deceyvable,
 Ful sooth is it, if thou do a good deede,
 Thow nat purposist it shal be durable;
 Of good entente shal it nat proceede.
 Wel oghte 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
- 1360 “Hadde I doon, sone, as I thee consaille
 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,
 Hir gladsum look me made truste hir weel.
- face
 Laughed; without
- 1365 pleasing; bounty
- 1370 “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
 To him that woful is, that hir usage
 Is for to flitte fro place to place;
 Hir variaunce is unto sum folk grace.
- supposed
 wore
 move
 fickleness; a favor

The Regiment of Princes

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

The Regiment of Princes

- ¶ “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 accepte hem for the office
 And nat for the profyt that by hem hongith,
 For that conceit nat to presthode longith. prebend (stipend)
grasp; snatch
results from
befits
- 1415 “A dayes now, my sone, as men may see,
 O chirche unto o man may nat souffyse;
 But algate he moot han pluralitee,
 Elles he can nat lyven in no wyse.
 Ententyfly he keepith his service more than one benefice
 1420 In court; his labour there shal nat moule;
 But to his cure looketh he ful foule. Attentively
grow moldy
spiritual duty; shamefully
- 1425 “Thogh that his chauncel roof be al totorn
 And on the hy auter 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 eastern part of church; damaged
high altar
avoided
 Undir his cure, he takth of it no keep;
 He rekkith nevere how rusty been his sheep. [person off] depraved appearance
spiritually corrupted
- 1430 “The oynement of holy sermonyng
 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 ointment; preaching
parish priest
knows nothing; pretends to be wise
 1435 Therto, but from his cure he him absentith,
 And what therof comth, greedyliche he hentith. seizes
- 1440 “How he despendith it, be as be may,
 For unto that am I nothyng pryyve; privy (informed)
 But wel I woot, as nyce, fressh, and gay
 Some of hem been as borel folkes be, ignorant
laymen
 And that unsittyng is to hir degree;
 Hem owith to be mirours of sadnessse, unsuitable
 And weyve jolitee and wantonnesse. They ought; soberness
avoid

The Regiment of Princes

- “But nathelees, I woot wel therageyn,
That many of hem gye hem as hem oghte,
1445 And elles were it greet pitee, certeyn.
But what man wilt thou be, for Him thee boghte?”
“Fadir, I may nat cheese. I whilom thoghte
Han been a preest; now past am I the raas.”
“Than art thou, sone, a weddid 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 weddid atte laste.
And God it woot, it sore me agaste
1455 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*
- “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.”
1460 “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 plese,
And to thyne herte do confort and ese.
- “So longe as thou, sone, in the Privee Seel
1465 Dwelt hast and woldest fayn han been avanced
Unto sum chirche or this, I deeme weel
That God nat wolde have thee enhanced
In no swich plyt; I holde thee wel chanced;
God woot and knowith every hid entente;
1470 He for thy beste a wyf unto thee sente.
- trouble (straw); spoke
Cross
supported
position; fortunate
as best for you*
- “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 thou thee haddest tyed
1475 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 undirstonde 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 aftir hir governance. *in accord with*
- 1485 “But how been thy felawes lookid to
 At hoom? Been they nat wel ybeneficed?” *companions; taken care of*
 “Yis, fadir, yis. Ther is oon clept Nemo:
 He helpith hem, by him been they chericed; *provided with a benefice*
 Nere he, they weren poorely chevyced; *Nobody (Latin)*
 1490 He hem avanceth, he fully hir freend is;
 Sauf oonly him, they han but fewe freendes. *looked after*
Were it not for him; provided for
- “So many a man as they this many a yeer
 Han writen 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 mighte availle,
 For swich folk is unlusty to travaille. *As many men*
for
deeply concerned
once; move (ride or walk)
indisposed; work
- “But if a wight have a cause to sue *plead*
 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, *is of concern to*
 1505 Wher the revers of that, God woot, sooth is.
- “His lettre he takith and foorth gooth his way,
 And biddith us to douten us nothyng; *fear; not at all*
 His lord shal thanken us anothir day;
 And if we han to sue to the kyng,
 1510 His lord may there have al his axyng. *all he asks for*
 We shul be sped as fer as that our bille *succeed to the extent that our petition*
 Wole specifie th'effect of oure wille. *state plainly; execution*

The Regiment of Princes

- “What shul we do? We dar noon argument
 Make ageyn him, but faire and wel him trete,
 1515 Lest he reporte amis and make us shent; *put to shame*
 To have his wil we suffren him and lete.
 Hard is be holden suspect with the grete;
 His tale shal be leeved but nat ouris,
 And that conclusioun to us ful soure is.
- 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 lord nat woot of al this sotiltee, *concluded*
 1525 Ne we nat dar lete him of it to knowe,
 Lest our compleynte ourselven overthrowe.
- “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 *scoundrel*
 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.
- “Ful many swiche pursuours ther been
 1535 That for us take, and geve us nat a myte; *plaintiff (petitioner)*
 This makith us that we may nevere theen.
 Eek whereas lordes bidde hir men us qwyte *receive*
 Whan that we for hemself laboure and wryte,
 And been allowed for our paiement, *prosper*
 1540 Oure handes therof been ful innocent. *pay*
- “Nat seye I alle lordes men thus do
 That sue unto our court, but many I seye
 Han thus doon ofte. Lo, my fadir, lo!
 Thus bothe our thanke and lucre goon aweye. *good will; profit*
 1545 God geve hem sorwe that so with us pleye,
 For we it fynden ernest at the fulle; *serious thoroughly*
 This makith us of our labour to dulle. *to be bored*

The Regiment of Princes

- “Now, fadir myn, how thynkith yow heerby?
Suppose yee nat that this sit us sore?” *by this
affects*
- 1550 “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 bisly 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 children lawfully,
And in clennesse to lede thy lyf,
Or for lust or muk — what was thy motyf?” *sincerely
beget
purity
motive*
- 1560 “Fadir, nothyng wole I it qweynte make;
Oonly for love I chees hir to my make.” *speak elaborately
mate*
- 1565 “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 oghest thee forbere
And in which nat — canst thou to this answer?” *interchangeable
Perchance
permissible
aware*
- 1570 “Fadir, me thynkith al is good ynow.
Shee is my wyf — who may therof me lette?” *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 unshetche
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  “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 dettour
Unto thy wyf, and othre ententes alle
Leye hem apart for aght that may befalle. *(see MLG)
Repay; [conjugal] debt
purposes
Put them aside*

The Regiment of Princes

- “For thise causes thou here use must
 And for noon othir, on peyne of deedly synne.” enjoy
mortal
- 1585 “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 undirstonde 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 oonly, 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 leccherie;
 Th’entente is al; be waar ay of folie. lawful
procreation
commands; assure you
-  “Weddid folk many leden holy lyf,
 For thogh hir flesshly lustes hem assaille
 And stire hem often, the man to the wyf
 And shee to him, they maken swich bataille
 And stryf ageyn hir flessh 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 hly God offende.
 Swich folk holde I homicydes 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
Was unto noon othir entencioun
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 — | <i>the reason</i>
<i>inclination</i> |
| 1620 | “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 for good love bownden were and knyt;
God loveth love and He wole forthere it. | <i>separate</i>
<i>help</i> |
| 1625 | At long rennyng love best shal preeve;
Thus hath it been and ay shal, I byleeve. | <i>In the long run</i> |
| 1630 | “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,
As for the more part, twixt hem echone,
That al hir lyf they lede in hevynesse;
Swich is the fruyt to wedde for richesse. | <i>wealth</i>
<i>known</i>
<i>habit</i>
<i>mostly</i> |
| 1635 | “Among the ryche also is an usage:
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 —
Til yeeres come of hir discreciooun. | <i>to wed</i>
<i>their; pledged</i>
<i>know</i>
<i>old enough to judge</i> |
| 1640 | “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;
This makith many a couple for to smerte.
O covetyse, thyn is al the gilt
Of this, and mo deceyve yit thow wilt! | <i>rush</i> |
| 1645 | | |
| 1650 | | |

The Regiment of Princes

- “Also they that for lust cheesen hir make
 Oonly, as othirwhyle it is usage,
 1655 Wayte wel whan hir lust is overshake,
 And therwith wole hir loves hete asswage.
 Thanne is to hem an helle hir mariage;
 Than they desyren for to been unknyt,
 And to that ende studie in al hir wit.
- ¶ “Styntyng cause, th’effect styntith 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 muk ne for lust, that man
 1665 The forme due of matrymoyne sueth,
 And soules hurt and bodyes grief eschueth.
- “I dar nat medle of lordes mariages —
 How they hem knytten, hir makes unseen.
 But as to me, it seemeth swiche usage is
 1670 Nat worth a straw, for also moot I theen,
 Reportes nat so sikir juges been
 As man to see the wommannes persone.
 In swich a choys let man himself allone.
- “Weddyng at hoom in this land holsum were,
 So that a man him wedde duely.
 To see the flessh 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,
 1680 But passe I wole and slippe away therfro.
- “Now sythen thou hast, to my jugement,
 Thee maried unto Goddes plesance,
 Be a treewe housbonde as by myn assent;
 Keepe thy bond, be waar of th’encombrance
 1685 Of the feend which, with many a circumstance
 Ful sly, him castith thee wrappe in and wrie
 To stire thee for to doon advoutrie.

sometimes

Observe; abated

divorced

with all their

Ceasing (see MLG)

provider; sweetheart

proper form

interfere with
get married; marriage partners

so may I prosper

Rumors; dependable
appearance, body

harm

consider

Before

approval

the hindrance

factor [contributing to sin]

contrives; entwine; cover

stimulate; adultery

The Regiment of Princes

- | | | |
|------|--|---|
| | “Advoutrie and perjurie and wilful slaghstre,
The book seith, lyk been and o peys they weye.” ¹ | <i>murder (see MLG)</i> |
| 1690 | Waar advoutrie, it is no play or laghtre
To doon it. Flee also thise othir tweye,
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>Beware</i>

<i>(see MLG)</i>
<i>As a punishment</i> |
| | “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 thow art fair, it is no nay;
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> |
| 1700 | “They wolen kille me and thee reserve;
Forthy unto hem seye, I thee byseeche,
Thow art my suster, lest I for thee sterve;
Thus may I wel been esid by thy speeche;
And thus thow mayst lengthe my lyf and eeche.”
And whan they into Egypt entred were,
Th’Egipcians faste byheelden here, | <i>save</i>

<i>be killed</i>

<i>increase</i> |
| 1705 | “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 wommannes sake,
And greet despert and cheere men hem make.
But for Saray greviously Pharao
Punysshid was and eek his hous therto. | <i>quickly</i>

<i>entertainment; hospitality; them</i>

<i>(see MLG)</i>
<i>household</i> |
| 1710 | “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 womman wyf was unto thee?’ | <i>summoned; upbraided</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 wyf heere'
 Quod he, 'and bothe go your way in feere.'
- intention (reason)
together
- 1725 "The Bible makith no manere of mynde
 Whethir that Pharao lay by hir aghth,
 But looke in Lyre and there shalt thou fynde
 For to han doon it was he in ful thoght;
 But God preserved hir; he mighte noght.
 And syn for wil God him punysshid so,
 How shal the dede unpunysshid go?
- does not record
[Nicholas off] Lyra
with full intention
not [achieve his intention]
since
act (versus will)
- 1730 "Also nat kneew he that a wyf shee was.
 Now thanne, they that wyves wityngly
 ¶ Taken and holde and with hem doon trespass
 Stonde in hard plyn. Sone, be waarr, rede I,
 If thou therynne agilte, eternelly
 Thow smerte shalt, and in this lyf present
 Han sharp aduersitee and greet torment.
- women knowingly*
(see MLG)
suffer
- 1740 ¶ "And to Abymalech God bad he sholde
 Yilde Sara also to hir 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,
 ¶ For God stoppid eek the concepciou
 Of every womman of his mansioun.
- Abimelech, King of Gerara; (see MLG)*
Give back (Yield)
(see MLG)
of his household
- 1745 ¶ "Ne that shee was a wyf wiste he nothyng,
 Ne nat here kneew in no flesshly folie.
 My goode sone, rede of David kyng,
 How he took Bersabee, wyf of Uriel,
 Into his hous and dide advoutrie;
 And how he made Uriel slain to be,
 1750 And how therfore punysshid was he.
- (see MLG)*
Bathsheba
- ¶ "How was the tribe also of Benjamyn
 Punysshid and put to destruccion
 For advoutrie which they lyved yn,
- (see MLG)*
in

The Regiment of Princes

- 1755 In the abhominable oppression
 Of the Levytes wyf? 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 wyf
 Is cursid, and who is an advoutour
 The kyngdam faille shal of endles lyf;
 Of that ne shal he be no possessour.
 Allas, this likerous, dampnable error
 In this lond hath so large a threde ysponne
 That werte peple is noon undir the sonne.
- lies; (see MLG)
 (see MLG)
lecherous
broad; spun
- 1765 1770 “Of swiche stories cowde I telle an heep,
 But I suppose thise shul souffyse,
 And forthy, 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
- 1775 “And of a treewe man, byheeste is dette.”
 “Fadir, God yilde it yow, and so yee diden;
 Yee highten me in ese me to sette.”
 “Now, sone, and thogh I longe have abiden,
 Thy greef is nat out of my mynde sliden;
 To thy grevance wole I now resorte,
 And shewe thee how thou thee shalt conforte.
- faithful; promise is debt*
promised
waited
return
- 1780 1785 “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
 Unnethes maist it gete, it is so streit —
 Thus undirstood I, sone, thy conceit.
- cause of your grief*
reward
withheld
With difficulty; restricted
- “For of thy lyfplode is it the substance —
 Is it nat thus?” “Yis soothly, fadir, it.”
- it [is]*

The Regiment of Princes

- | | | |
|------|--|--------------------------------------|
| | "Now, sone, to remedie this grevance,
Canstow no weyes fynden in thy wit?" | |
| 1790 | "No certes, fadir, nevere kowde I yit."
"May no lordshipe, sone, thee availle
For al thy long service and thy travaille?" | |
| | "What, fadir, what? Lordes han for to doone
So moche for hemself that my mateere | <i>situation</i> |
| 1795 | Out of hir mynde slippith away soone.
The world is nat swich now, my fadir deere,
As yee han seen. Farwel, freendly maneere!
So God me amende, I am al destitut | <i>immediately</i> |
| | Of my lyfplode. God be my refut. | <i>manners</i> |
| | | <i>God help me</i> |
| | | <i>refuge</i> |
| |  "I am unto so streit a poynt ydryve,
Of thre conclusions moot I cheese oon:
Or begge, or stele, or sterve; I am yshryve
So ny that othir way ne see I noon;
Myn herte is also deed as is a stoon; | <i>condition driven; (see MLG)</i> |
| 1805 | Nay, there I faille; a stoon nothyng ne feelith,
But thoght me brenneth and freesyngly keelith. | <i>have received confession</i> |
| | | <i>closely</i> |
| | | <i>burns; cools</i> |
| | "To begge, shame is myn impediment;
I woot wel rather sholde I dye and sterve;
And stelthes guerdoun is swich paiement
That nevere thynke I his wages disserve.
Wolde honest deeth come and me overterve | <i>From begging shame hinders me</i> |
| 1810 | And of my grave me putte in seisyne,
To al my greef that were a medecyne." | <i>the reward of stealth</i> |
| | | <i>respectable; overturn</i> |
| | | <i>possession</i> |
| | "What, sone! How now? I see wel smal effect | |
| 1815 | Or elles noon my wordes in thee take;
Outhir ful symple is thyn intellect,
Or hokirly thou hast hem overshake,
Or thy goost slept hath. What, my sone, awake! | <i>Either</i> |
| | Whileer thou seidist thou were of me glad, | <i>scornfully; shaken off</i> |
| 1820 | And now it seemeth thou art of me sad. | <i>A while ago</i> |

The Regiment of Princes

- “I deeme so syn that my long sermoun
Profitith naught — it sore me repentith.”
- “Fadir, beeth nat of that oppinioun;
For as yee wole, I do; myn herte assentith.
- 1825 But ay among, fadir, thoght me tormentith
So sharply, and so troublith and despeirith,
That it my wit foule hyndreth and apeirith.”
- 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 telle on pleyn and plat:
My lord the Prince, knowith he thee nat?
If that thou stonde in his benevolence,
He may be salve unto thynd 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 wilt be ful of myn accord,
- 1840 Thow shalt no cause have more thus to muse,
But hevynesse voide 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 benigne 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 werne his grace.
To him pursue and thy releef purchace.
- is kind and gentle*
overcome
haughty reserve; devoted
consent; refuse to accept
- “Complayne unto his excellent noblesse,
1850 As I have herd thee unto me complayne,
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 oghitest be wel leerid, 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 nathelees I trowe Thow canst do bet than thou wilt do me knowe.	<i>shamefully</i>
	“What shal I calle thee, what is thy name?” “Hoccleve, fadir myn, men clepen me.”	(see MLG)
1865	“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>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 Frencshe neithir canst but smal endyte, 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 torné shal Into gladnesse — I doute it nat at al.	
	“Syn thou maist nat be payed in th’ eschequer, Unto my lord the Prince make instance That thy patente into the hanaper	<i>the Exchequer</i> <i>request</i>
1880	May chaunged be.” “Fadir, by your souffrance, It may nat so by cause of th’ ordenance: Longe aftir this shal no graunt chargeable Out passe — fadir myn, this is no fable.	<i>licence; department of the Chancery</i> <i>permission</i> <i>decree</i> <i>i.e., annuity (see note)</i> <i>issue</i>
	“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,	<i>equal exchange</i> <i>burden; in practice</i>
	Let him be waar to walke in any mede. Assaye, assaye, thou symple hertid goost!	<i>you</i>
1885	What grace is shapen thee thou nat ne woost.”	<i>meadow</i> <i>Try it</i> <i>planned</i>
1890		

The Regiment of Princes

- “Fadir, as sikir as that I stande heere,
 Whethir 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.”
- timid*
this year
under control
- “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.
- difficult matter*
pleasant
amuse himself
alight
- 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 prudence hath insighte verray
 To juge if it be wel ymaad or nay.
- willingly*
Display
true understanding
- 1910 Wherfore, sone, it is unto thee neede
 Unto thy werk take the gretter heede.
- “But of o thyng be wel waarr 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 freendes talke,
 Spreden a net byforn hem wher they walke.’
- build*
(see MLG)
dissembling; abound
flatteringly
- 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 clappid
 With his freend tretyng of pees openly,
 He in awaity lyth of him covertly.
- suck; (see MLG)*
devil (malicious person)
Flattery; gone wrong
chattered; (see MLG)

The Regiment of Princes

- | | | |
|------|---|--|
| 1930 | <p>“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 hertes swelle,
 If that oon can bet than othir deceyve,
 And swich deceit lordes blyndly receyve.</p> | <i>greatest want; (see MLG)</i>
<i>in flattery; sweat</i>
<i>spread scandal</i> |
| 1935 | <p>“The worldly ryche men han no knowleche
 What that they been of hir condicioun;
 They been so blent with Faveles gay speeche
 Which 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;</p> | <i>(see MLG)</i>
<i>character</i>
<i>blinded; Flattery's</i>
<i>held sacred</i>
<i>a bit</i> |
| 1940 | <p>“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 thow were in it deffectyf.
 Syn my lord the Prince is, God holde his lyf,</p> | |
| 1945 | <p>To thee good lord, good servant thou thee qwyte
 To him, and treewe, and it shal thee profyte.</p> | <i>repay</i> |
| 1950 | <p>“Wryte him nothyng that sowneth into vice.
 Kythe thy love in mateere of sadness.
 Looke if thow fynde canst any tretice
 Growndid on his estates holsumnesse.
 Swich thyng translate and unto his hynesse,</p> | <i>Show; serious material</i>
<i>treatise</i>
<i>moral soundness</i> |
| 1955 | <p>As humblye as that thow canst, presente.
 Do thus, my sone.” “Fadir, I assente.”

 “With herte as tremblyng as the leef of asp,</p> | <i>aspen tree</i> |
| 1960 | <p>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
 That the honour of Englisshe tongue is deed,
 Of which I wont was han conseil and reed.</p> | <i>free</i> |

The Regiment of Princes

- “O maistir deere and fadir reverent,
 My maistir Chaucer, flour of eloquence,
 Mirour of fructuous entendement,
 O universel fadir in science!
- 1965 Allas that thow thyn excellent prudence
 In thy bed mortel mightest nat byqwethe!
 What eiled deeth? Allas, why wolde he sle the?
- “O deeth, thow didest nat harm singuler
 In slaghtre of him, but al this land it smertith.
- 1970 But nathelees yit hastow no power
 His name slee; his hy vertu astertith
 Unslayn fro thee, which ay us lyfly hertith
 With bookees of his ornat endytyng
 That is to al this land enlumynyng.
- 1975 “Hastow nat eek my maistir Gower slain,
 Whos vertu I am insufficient
 For to descryve? I woot wel in certayn,
 For to sleen al this world thow hast yment.
 But syn our lord Cryst was obedient
- 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 konnyng may no hyer reeche;
- 1985 My wit is also slipir as an eel.
 But how I speke, algate I meene weel.”
 “Sone, thow seist wel ynow, as me seemeth;
 Noon othir feele I, so my conceit deemeth.
- “Now farwel, sone, go hoom to thy mete;
 1990 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;
 1995 I may nat but preye for thy welfare.”
- respected
 most excellent in
 fertile intellect
 learning
 wisdom
 was the matter with; slay you
 hurts
 escapes
 vividly gives pleasure
 rhetorical embellishing
 illuminating
 intended
 however
 dinner*

The Regiment of Princes

	“What, fadir, wolden yee thus sodeynly Depart 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!” “Yis, sône, as God me speede.” “Now, fadir, syn it may noon othir tyde, Almighty God yow save and be your gyde;	Peter
2000	“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 eft meete?” “Sone, in soothfastnesse, I every day heere at the Carmes messe, It faillith nat, aboute the hour of sevene.” “Wel, fadir, God bytake I yow of hevene.”	happen <i>again</i> <i>Carmelite's refectory</i> <i>entrust</i>
2005	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 hente, And to parfourme his wil and his entente	<i>Recalling</i> <i>dinner</i> <i>parchment I took</i>
2010	I took corage, and whyles it was hoot, Unto my lord the Prince thus I wroot:	<i>took heart; fresh</i>
2015		

[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 enteer and spirit of meeknesse;	<i>devoted; solicitous</i> <i>I commend myself</i> <i>sincere</i>
2020		

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 2156) 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

	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 My lyf hath qweynt and me byrefit my breeth.	<i>asking</i> <i>As far as is able</i> <i>inner; longs for</i> <i>extinguished</i>
2025	Thogh that my lyfode and possessiouin Be scant, I ryche am of benevolence; To yow therof can I be no nygoun. Good have I noon by which your excellence May plesid be, and for myn inpotence Stoppith the way to do as I were holde, I wryte as he that your good lyf fayn wolde.	<i>miser</i> <i>because; poverty</i> <i>obliged</i> <i>desire</i>
2030	Aristotle, moost famous philosophre, His epistles to Alisaundre sente, Whos sentence is wel bet than gold in cofre, And more holsum growndid on treewe entente. For al that evere tho epistles mente, To sette was this worthy conquerour In reule how to susteene his honour.	<i>teaching</i> <i>put in writing</i>
2035	The tendre love and the fervent cheertee That this worthy clerk ay to this kyng beer, Thristynge his welthe durable to be, Unto his herte stak and sat so neer, That by wrytyng his conseil gaf he cleer	<i>fondness</i> <i>bore</i> <i>well-being lasting</i> <i>pierced; remained</i>
2040	Unto his lord to keepe him fro nusance, As witnessith his book of governance;	<i>harm</i>
2045	Of which, and of Gyles of Regiment Of Princes, plotmeel thynke I to translate. And thogh that symple be my sentement,	<i>Giles of Rome (Egidius Romanus)</i> <i>piecemeal</i> <i>character</i>
2050	O worthy Prince, I yow byseeche algate, Considereth how endytyng hath in hate My dul conceit, and nat accorde may With my childhede — I am so childissh ay.	<i>hates</i> <i>thought</i> <i>immaturity</i>
2055		

The Regiment of Princes

- | | | |
|------|---|--|
| 2060 | Also byseeche I that the altitude
Of your estat, thogh that this pamphlet
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
Deskevere I wole that now is nat wist. | <i>height</i>
<i>small book (poem)</i>
<i>keeps; contains in itself</i>
<i>together</i>
<i>Reveal; known</i> |
| 2070 | Nathelees, swich as is my smal konnyng,
With also treewe an herte, I wole it oute
As tho two dide or evere clerk lyvynge.
But tremblynge is my spirit, out of doute,
That to parfourme that I am aboute.
Allas, the stuf of sad intelligence
Me faillith to speke in so hy presence. | <i>make known</i>
<i>before</i>
<i>substance; serious</i> |
| 2075 | Symples is my goost and scars my letterure
Unto your excellency for to wryte
Myn inward love, and yit in aventure
Wole I me putte, thogh I can but lyte.
My deere maistir, God his soule qwyte,
And fadir, Chaucer, fayn wolde han me taght,
But I was dul and lerned lyte or naght. | <i>learning</i>
<i>taking a chance</i> |
| 2080 | Allas, 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 | <i>vengeful harshness</i> |
| 2085 | Of rethorik, for unto Tullius
Was nevere man so lyk amonges us. | <i>Robbed</i>
<i>Cicero</i> |
| 2090 | Also who was heir in philosophie
To Aristotle in our tonge but thow?
The steppes of Virgile in poesie
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. trouble-maker (*see note*); slew
 Wolde I slayn were! Deeth was to hastyf
 To renne on thee and reve thee thy lyf. charge at; take away
- Deeth hath but smal consideracioun
 Unto the vertuous, I have espyed;
 No more, as shewith the probacioun,
 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 hir 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 brynghe lyk to thee;
 And hir office needes do moot shee.
 God bad hir 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 waar,
 I that have aventured many a yeer
 My wit therin, but lyte am I the neer,
 Sauf that I sumwhat knowe a kynges draght;
 Of othir draghtes lerned have I naught.
- And for that among the draghtes echone
 That unto the ches apparteene may,
 Is noon so needful unto your persone
- as experience shows
 master rogue notorious
 overcome
 By her
 alike; (*see MLG*)
- equal
 isle
- as far as
 Suffice
- palisades; 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 draght reporte I shal now heere. *true fondness*
move (training); relate
- I am seur that tho bookes 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 excellence,
 In short yee mowen beholde heer and rede *intelligence*
at your pleasure
- 2135 That in hem thre is scattered fer in brede. *far and wide*
- And althogh it be no maneere of neede
 Yow to consaille what to doon or levee,
 Yit if yow list of stories taken heede,
 Sumwhat it may profyte, by your levee; *refrain from*
- 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. *At least*
wile away
- To your hynesse thynke it nat to longe,
 Thogh in that draght 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 maynteene and keepe,
 And I byseeche your magnificence
 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, *scholarly*
service
urges
throbs
- 2155 So dredful am I of myn ignorance;
 The Crois of Cryst my werk speede and avance.

The Regiment of Princes

Explicit prologus, de principum regimine; incipiendo de fide observanda

- | | | |
|------|---|---|
| 2160 | Now gracious Prince, ageyn that the corone
Honure yow with rial dignitee,
Byseechith Him that sit on hy in trone,
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>in anticipation; crown</i>
<i>experience</i>
<i>reputation</i> |
| 2165 | First and forward, the dignitee of kyng
Impressith in the botme of your mynde,
Consideryng how chargeable a thyng
That office is, for so yee shul it fynde.
Unto good reule yee yow knytte and bynde;
Of Goddes wreche have ay drede and awe; | <i>Imprint</i>
<i>important</i> |
| 2170 | Do right to grete and smale, and keepe lawe. | <i>punishment</i> |
| 2175 | Ones ther was a kyng, as I have rad,
Whan his corone was unto him broght,
Or he it took, in thoght he stood al sad,
And thus he seide, aftir he had thoght:
“O thow corone, noble and faire ywroght!
What man that thee receyveth or admittith, | <i>crown</i>
<i>soberly</i> |
| | More ese than he weeneth from him flittith. | <i>supposes; departs</i> |
| 2180 | “Whoso the peril kneew, and charge and fere
That is in thee, thogh thow at eerthe lay,
He wolde nat thee up areise or rere,
But let thee lye stille and go his way.
For sooth is this, and hath, and shal been ay: | <i>burden; fear</i>
<i>on the ground</i> |
| | 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 creacioun
Shul thurgh your tonge passe, hem wel observe.
Lat no coloured excusacioun | <i>elevation [to king]</i>
<i>spurious justification</i> |
| 2195 | Yow make from hem slippe asyde or swerve.
Holde up hir lyf, lat hem nat in yow sterve.
It is nat kyngly from an ooth to varie;
A kyng of trouthe owith been exemplarie. | |
| | | <i>ought to be</i> |
| 2200 | Lo, thus this Aristotle in his book seith
To Alisaundre, and to be waer him bit
That he ne breke his bondes ne his feith,
For unto folk untreeewe longith it.
He seith that grace nat in him abit,
But wikkid ende and cursid aventure | |
| | | <i>[such behavior] is characteristic</i>
<i>abides</i> |
| 2205 | Him folwith, that forswere him hath no cure. | <i>to break an oath</i> |
| | | |
| 2210 | By feith is maad the congregacioun
Of peple and of citees enhabitynge;
By feith han kynges dominacioun;
Feith causith eek of men the communynge;
Castels by feith dreden noon assailynge; | |
| | | <i>unattacked</i> |
| | By feith the citees standen unwerreied,
And kynges of hir sogettes been obeied. | <i>by their subjects</i> |
| | | |
| 2215 | Who leesith feith, gretter thyng may noon leese.
Or a man speke, or bynde him by his seel,
And hath his ful libertee, and may cheese
What he do shal, him oghe avyse him weel
Or he promette. Heete nat a deel | |
| | | <i>makes a promise; Promise nothing</i> |
| | By word ne bond but if he wole it laste;
For whoso dooth, shal smerten at the laste. | <i>is willing to keep it</i> |
| | | |
| 2220 | Litol enchesoun hath he for to speke,
To whos wordes is geven no credence.
Perillous is a man his feith to breke.
Feith by necessitee ne indigence | <i>reason</i>
<i>need</i> |

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
deceit
Drives out</i> |
| 2230 | What was the cause of the destruccioun
Of the peple of Scites and Arabee,
But for hir kynges in decepcioune
Of men and citees ny to hir contree,
Hir oothes useden, by sotiltee,
Brekynge bondes that stablishid were
Mankynge to profyte and nat to dere. | <i>Scythia; Arabia
their
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, allas! The ordre of chivalrie
Dampneth it; thogh that the persone it use,
Knyghthode itself moot algate it refuse. | <i>madness</i> |
| 2240 | To God truste I, no lord in al this lond
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 sette. | <i>improper act
promise; pledge
action harbor
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 lede
This prisoner; and afir sent was he
By hem to Rome, his owne contree,
Sworn to retourne to Cartage ageyn,
As Tullius and eek Seint Austyn seyn. | <i>(see MLG)
sea
Carthage
Cicero; Augustine</i> |
| 2250 | The cause why they him to Rome sente
Was for to do to Romans hir message,
Witynge of hem if that they wolde assente | <i>give
Knowing from</i> |

The Regiment of Princes

- That, syn ther were Romans in Cartage
In prison, and Romans hadde eek in cage *confinement*
2260 Cartagiens, suffre hem at large go
And the Romans go sholde at large also.
- Whan Marcus doon hadde as that he was bode, *asked*
The senat axid him what was his reed,
And he answerde and seide thus: "For Gode,
2265 Al 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 *locked*
2270 Been but yong froth, unlerned in bataille, *weak youngsters*
And othir feeble folk with age ybroke,
Of which I am oon; we may nat availle.
Of us no los is but, withouten faille, *loss*
2275 Your prisoners been myghty men and wyse,
And folk in armes preeved at devyse." *perfectly*
- 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 thoghte nat in his contree sojourne,
2280 Do what hem list, whethir they glade or mourne.
Unto his foos as blyve he him dressith,
And kneew wel to be deed, the book witnessith. *that he would die*
- He heeld it bet his ooth for to observe
And dye in honour as that a knyght oghte,
2285 Than by perjurie his lyf for to preserve;
Of swiche unknyghtly tukkes he nat roghte. *abuses; cared for*
I trowe now adayes, thogh men soghte,
His heir ful hard were in this land to fynde.
Men list nat so ferfoorth to trouthe hem bynde. *to such an extent*
- 2290 Yit nat oonly to preise is this Marcus
For trouthe, but eek, as it seemeth me,

The Regiment of Princes

- His renoun oghte doublid been, as thus:
 Whereas th' eschange mighte han maad him free,
 Qwit of his foos prison, gretter cheertee
 2295 He hadde of the profyt universel
 Than of himself — his deeth it preeved wel.
- fondness*
- Amonges alle thynges in a knyght,
 Trouthe is a thyng that he ne lakke may
 If his honur shal bere his heed upright.
 2300 Valerie tellith how with greet array
 Kyng Alisandre and his oost on a day,
 Meeved of ire and of malencolie,
 Unto a citee dressid him in hye,
- its*
Valerius Maximus; (see MLG)
army
Provoked by
- Which that yclept and callid was Lapsat,
 Purposynge him bete it to the eerthe adoun.
 And or that this kyng fully cam therat,
 2305 Ther was a philosophre in the toun,
 A man of excellent discrecioun,
 That to this kyng sumtyme had maistir be,
 Ful sore abasht of him and his meynhee.
- named*
quite there
tutor
frightened; troop
- Out of the town he spedde him on his weye,
 As hastily as that he cowde or mighte,
 Toward the kyng, of grace him for to prey.
 2310 And as swythe as the kyng hadde of him sighte,
 He kneew him and his meenynge, and on highte
 He seide him thus: “By the goddes I swere,
 Al thy labour shal nat be worth a pere.”
- quickly*
purpose; aloud
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 prey I thee unto the toun thee speede
 And it destroye, bothe in lengthe and brede;
 Have on it no pitee, but al doun caste;
 This prey I thee that may be doon as faste.”
- as quickly as possible*

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- 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
 2330 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 repreef 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 arn the wordes that he writ to us:
 “What man the custume of othes nat lettith
 In sweryng ofte, what he seith forgetith.
 Usage of othes of perjurie is cause.”
 2345 And more he seith eek in the same clause.
- He seith, “Perjurie engendrid is of othes,
 For right as he that custumably
 Clappith and janglith and to stynte looth is,
 2350 Moot othirwhyle speke unsittyngly,
 Right so usage of sweryng enemy
 To trouthe is, and makith men hem forswere.”
 Ful necessarie is othes to forbere.
- ¶ Sweryng hath thise thre condicions
 Folwyng, as trouthe, doom, and rightwisnesse.
 2355 Ooth axith trouthe and no decepcions,
 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

- | | | |
|------|---|--|
| | Quintilian seith that unto hy degree
Unsittyng 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
Wel more than oghte a marchantes ooth,
And to go therageyn be more looth. | (see MLG) |
| 2365 | | against that |
| | And syn a princes ooth or his promesse,
Whan they nat holden been, him deshonure,
His lettre and seal, which more open witnesse
Beren than they, good is take heede and cure
That they be kept; wrytyng wole endure.
What a man is, it prest is for to preeve;
Outhir honure it shal him or repreeve. | seal

manifest; ascertain
disgrace |
| 2370 | | |
| | Now if it happe, as it hath happid ofte,
A kyng in neede borwe of his marchantes,
Greet wysdam were it trete faire and softe,
And holde hem treewely hir covenantes;
For truste it wel, whan hir covenant is
Nat to hem kept, as that hir bond requerith,
The kyng hath shame, and eek it hem mischerith. | negotiate; agreeably
agreements

angers |
| 2375 | | |
| | Looth wole hem been eftstones for to lene;
He that is brent, men seyn, dredith the fyre;
Be his day kept, he rekkith nat a bene,
But elles, sikir, dun is in the myre.
Withouten doute, a marchantes desyr
Is with good herte his kyng honure and plese,
And to his might refresshe and doon him ese. | Unwilling; again; loan

bean
the horse is mired

To the extent that he is able; nourish |
| 2380 | | |
| | In hem is the substance of every lone.
What folk chevyce as mochil as doon they?
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 |
| 2385 | | |

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- 2395 If that a poore man breke 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 unfettre; *one who gives surety for another; release*
 2400 And yit he moot the cours of lawe abyde,
 Or his maynpernour 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 rekke. *reckon*
- And syn a kyng by way of his office
 2410 To God ylikned is, as in maneere, *according to custom*
 And God is trouthe itself, than may the vice
 Of untrouthe nat in a kyng appeere,
 If his office shal to God refeere. *relate*
 A bisy tongue bryngith in swich wyt,
 2415 He that by word nat giltith is parfyt. *reproach*
(see MLG)
- A! 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 tongue with mesures reyne
 Governe, thanne his honur it conserveth;
 And by the revers, dieth it and sterveth.
chatter; stain
- Bet is the peoples eres thriste and yerne
 Hir kyng or princes wordes for to heere,
 2425 Than that his tongue go so faste and yerne
 That mennes eres dulle of his mateere;
 For dullyng hem, dullith the herte in feere
 Of hem that geven to him audience. *together*
 2430 In mochil speeche wantith nat offense. *is not lacking; (see MLG)*

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- | | | |
|---|--|--|
| ¶ | Whoso that hatith mochil clap or speeche
Qwenchith malice, and he that his mowth keepith,
Keepith his soule, as that the bookest teche.
Unbrydlied wordes ofte man byweepith;
Prudence wakith whan the tonge sleepith,
And sleepith ofte whan the tonge wakith.
Moderat speeche engendrith reste and makith. | (see MLG)
<i>Extinguishes; guards</i>
<i>laments</i>
<i>begets; creates</i> |
| ¶ | 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, fisshith clap and foulith.
The tonge of man al the body deffoulith. | (see MLG)
<i>shown</i>
<i>guardian</i>
<i>fishes and hunts for chatter</i>
<i>pollutes; (see MLG)</i> |
| ¶ | 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 shal alway.
In mochil speeche sum byheeste may
Lightly asterte that may nat be holde,
And thanne trouthe begynneth to colde. | <i>carry</i>

<i>Easily escape</i>
<i>grow cold</i> |
| ¶ | 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 untrouthe a knyght unlaceth
And his renoun al uttirly defaceteth. | <i>deeply</i>

<i>Held; turned</i>
<i>disarms</i>
<i>obliterates</i> |
| ¶ | 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 rightwisnesse, which out of this yle
Purpositly fully for to fare and weende,
So is our reule unthrifte and untheende. | <i>is a characteristic of</i>
<i>way of life</i>

<i>justice</i>
<i>Intends</i>
<i>wasteful; unprosperous</i> |

The Regiment of Princes

De justitia

- ¶ Seint Anselm seith, justice is libertee
Of wil, gevynge unto every wight
That longith to his propre dignete:
To God obedience, as it is right;
And he that poore is of degree and might,
Unto his bettre, honour and reverence;
The grete eek to the smal, lore and science;
- To thyn egal, concord; unto thy fo,
Souffrance; and to thyselfen, holynesse;
To the needy, greeved with wrecchid wo,
- 2470 Mercy in dede and releeve his distresse;
¶ Aftir thy power, do thow thyn almesse,
And reewe upon him if that thy might faille,
For that wil shal thy dede contrevaille.
- ¶ Whoso it be that justice verray
Desirith folwe, first moot he God dreede
And love as hertly as he can or may.
- 2480 It nat souffisith do no noyous deede,
But who annoye wolde, him it forbeede;
For nat annoye is no rightwisnesse,
- 2485 But it is abstinence of wikkidnesse.
- ¶ Of conseil and of help been we dettours,
Eche to othir, by right of brethirhede;
For whan a man yfalle into errour is,
- 2490 His brothir owith him conseil and rede
To correcte and amende his wikkid dede;
And if he be vexid with maladie,
- 2495 Ministre him help his greef to remedie.
- Every man owith studien and muse
To teche his brothir what thyng is to do
And what behovely is to refuse;
- needful
That that is good, provokynge him thereto.
And thus he moot conseille his brothir, lo,

(*see MLG*)

giving

What; rank

superiors

high-ranking; humble

virtue

*According to; give alms; (*see MLG*)*

have pity for

compensate for

(*see MLG*)

sincerely

*causing annoyance; (*see MLG*)*

offend

i.e., is merely

(*see MLG*)

advice

needful

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- Do that right is and good to Goddes pay, *pleasure*
 In word nat oonly but in werk alway.
- 2505  Lawful justice is, as in maneere, *so to speak; (see MLG)*
 Al vertu, and who wole han this justice,
 The lawe of Cryst to keepe moot he leere.
 Now if that lawe forbeede every vice,
 And commande al good thyng and it cherice,
 Fulfille lawe is vertu parfyt *To fulfill*
 And injustice is of al vertu qwyt. *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 conpleyned.
 Justice deffendith possessions,
 And peple keepith from oppressions.
- 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 coronacioun
 Bownde to justices sauvacioun. *bold*
- 2520 And a kyng in fulfillyng 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
 Unto his peple as plentee or largesse
 Of eerthely good, and bettre than reyn
 Fallyng at eeve from hevene,” they seyn. *India*
- 2530 Ful often sythe it is wist and seen
 That for the wrong and the unrightwisnesse
 Of kynges ministres, that kynges been
 Holden guilty; whereas, in soothfastnesse,

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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 naght 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 governe;
Oppressioun regneth in every herne. *corner (hiding place)*

- A kyng, me thynkith, for the seuretee
Of his good loos, byhoveth it enquere
Of hem that han his estat in cheertee,
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. *reputation*

- Excuse shal him nat his ignorance;
2550 He moot enquere 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,
2555 He may by right be clept no governour,
But of his peple a wilful destroyour. *to protect*

- O worthy Kyng benigne, Edward the laste,
Thow haddist ofte in herte a drede impressid,
Which that thyn humble goost ful sore agaste;
And to knowe if thow cursid were or blessid,
2560 Among the peple ofte hastow thee dressid
Into contree in symple array allone
To heere what men seide of thy persone. *frightened*

- ¶ Althogh a kyng have habundance of might
In his land at his lust, knyt and unknyt,
2565 Good is that he his power use aright, *(see MLG)
joined together*

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- That fro the way of justice he nat flitte, *vary*
 Lest our lord God him from His grace shut,
 Of whom al rightwys power is deryved;
 For if he do, of blisse he shal be pryved. *shut*
exiled
- 2575 I fynde how that Theodorus Sireene, *(see MLG)*
 For that he to the kyng of Lysemak
 Tolde his deffautes, the kyng leet for teene
 Crucifie him, and as he heeng and stak *vexation*
 Upon the Crois, thus to the kyng he spak:
 “This peyne, or othir lyk therto, moot falle
 Upon thy false conseilloures alle. *hung; was nailed*
- 2580 “Nat rekke I thogh I rote on hy or lowe, *rot; high*
 As he that of the deeth hath no gastnesse; *fear*
 I dye an innocent, I do thee knowe;
 I dye to deffende righewisnesse. *cause you to know*
 Thy flaterers enhaunced in richesse
 Dreden to suffre for right swich a peyne, *just such*
 But I therby nat sette risshes tweyne.” *rushes*
- 2585 Ther was a duc Romayn clept Camilus, *(see MLG)*
 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 *(A city in Etruria)*
 2590 Bytook hir children by wey of lernynge. *Entrusted*
- 2595 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 tentes he him spedde,
 And the duc thus conseillid 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 hir owne list. *will*

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- 2600 In hy and lowe, aftir hir ordinance
 Is al thyng doon. Whan it is to 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 thow be fals unto thyn owne toun,
 And rekkist nat of shame or deshonour,
 But par cas for to gete of me guerdoun,
 Desirest Faliskes destruccioun,
- 2610 Nat were it knyghtly me to thee consente
 That taken hast so traiterous 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, doutelees
 Ther sholde no chyld among al the prees
 For us han greeved be. We armes bere
 Ageyn the armed men, hem for to dere,
- "And nat ageyn children undefensable.
 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 therto.
 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.

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- Alle, they seiden, of hy gentillesse,
 Growndid upon justice dide he this,
 2635 And also of a chivalrous proesse. *virtue*
- They seiden, “It to us moost sittyng is
 Oure gates opne and offre us to been his.
 Is noon so good as lat us mollifie
 Oure hertes stoute to his genterie; *bold; noble behavior*
- 2640 “And of his pees, requeren him and prey.”
 They diden so, but what was folewynge,
 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 writen and auctorysid — *vouched for*
 2650 Why sholde I nat thee rekne amonges tho
 That in hir tyme han justice excercysid?
 Yit that vertu oonly nat hath souffysid
 To thee, but al that longith to knyghthode
 Was inned in thyn excellent manhode. *stored*
-  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 *physician*
 Involved and ywrappid in the vice *enveloped*
 Of covetyse, shoop him for to tryce *snatch*
 His owne lord the kyng and him to kille
 2660 If that it hadde been Fabrices wille.
- This leche unto Fabrices hous by nyght,
 As pryvely as that he cowde, wente, *secretly*
 And unto him ensured and behighte *assured*
 If that him list to the dede consente,
- 2665 He was so glad to plesse him and contente,
 His lord the kyng with venom wolde he feede
 So that therthburgh he sterfe sholde neede.

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- This lord with that bad men his handes teye, *tie*
 And lede unto the kyng this traiterous wight,
 2670 And al this treson unto him bywreye. *reveal*
 Whan this was doon, the kyng seide anoon right:
 “See heere a trouthe and manhode of a knyght.
 Men may the sonne as lightly his cours reve
 As this Fabrice make his trouthe leve.” *sun; easily; take away*
- ¶ In Perse ones ther was by judgement *Persia; (see MLG)*
 A man to deeth dampned in wronge wyse
 For wratthe and hate and the irous talent
 That to this ilke man baar the justice. *judge*
 And whan the knowleche of this fals jewyse
 2680 Was come unto the kynges audience, *sentence*
 This doom he gaf as blyve and this sentence. *judgment*
- He bad men fleen him qwik out of his skyn, *flay alive*
 And therwith kevere the judicial see,
 And made his sone to be set theryn,
 2685 That juge astir his fadir sholde be,
 To this ende and entencioun, that he
 Sholde be waarr how he his doomes gaf,
 And lene alway to rightwisnesse staf. *throne* *always lean on*
- Nat oghte 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 clearerith,
 Chacyng away thoghtes on wrong ygrowndid.
 2695 Who jugeth wrongfully is feendly wowndid. *for the sake* *Justice* *clears* *severely*
- ¶ What juge in doom eek geveth just sentence *(see MLG)*
 Awaytyng upon a golden dragee,
 To God he dooth displesance and offense;
 For the justice which of duetee
 2700 He sholde do, cursidly sellith he,
 For love of meede him provokith therto,
 And rightwisnesse nothyng so to do. *reward, bribe* *reward*

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- | | | |
|------|---|---|
| 2705 | To swich a juge, withdrawe the hope
Of moneye, and he fro justice flittith. | <i>(see MLG)</i> |
| | Where he supposithe moneye to grope,
Just jugement he in his herte admittith; | <i>touch</i> |
| 2715 | But whoso that his hand fro giftes shittith,
As unto us witnessith Isaye,
He shal in hevene dwelle and sitten hye. | <i>(see MLG)</i>
<i>Isaiah</i> |
| 2725 | Cristen men yilde ogheten just jugement
Freely, for unleefful is it to selle,
Thogh it be leefful and convenient
A wys man for reward his reed to telle.
A judges purs with gold nat sholde swelle.
If on justice he shape his doom to bilde,
His judgementz he giftlees muste yilde. | <i>(see MLG)</i>
<i>unlawful</i>
<i>appropriate</i>
<i>advice</i>
<i>contrives</i>
<i>give</i> |
| 2730 | And he that dooth of justice rigour,
Let him be waer he have no delyt
In punysshynge of the offendour
That hath ydoon the trespass or the wyt,
Ne him rejoise of his annoyous plyt,
Ne the manere excede in swiche cas,
Or quantitee of the gilt or trespass, | <i>harsh justice; (see MLG)</i>
<i>offense</i>
<i>distressing</i> |
| 2735 | Evene as a soule is bodyes lyflynesse,
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;
And lost is al if that absent be shee. | <i>animating force; (see MLG)</i> |
| 2740 | Ther was a lawe ymaad upon a tyme
At Rome, by the consules assent,
That whoso were gilty of the cryme
Of advoutrie and were therin hent,
His yen bothe sholden out be brent.
Now fil it so, a man that sone was
To a consul was take in this trespass. | <i>(see MLG)</i>
<i>taken</i>
<i>eyes</i> |

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- 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 execucioun
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 alleged 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.” *By my faith proceed*
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 lust obeye. *part*
- “Now,” quod he, “syn that it may be no bet, *better*
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 morrowe 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

- | | | |
|------|--|---|
| 2774 | Prince excellent, have your lawes cheer; | <i>hold; precious; (see MLG)</i> |
| | 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 doutees, if that fordoon be lawe,
A princes power may go pleye him thenne;
For they that naght ne han, with knyf ydrawe
Wole on hem that of good be mighty renne,
And hurte hem and hir houses fyre and brenne, | <i>abrogated</i> |
| 2785 | And robbe and slee and do al swich folie,
Whan ther no lawe is hem to justifie. | <i>have nothing
i.e., the rich; attack
bring to justice</i> |
| 2790 | Now in good feith, I preye God it amende,
Lawe is ny fleemed out of this contree,
For fewe been that dreden it offende.
Correccioun and al is longe on thee:
Why suffrest thou so many an assemblee
Of armed folk? Wel ny in every shire
Partie is maad to venge hir cruel ire. | <i>banished
dependent on
There is dispute to exact satisfaction for</i> |
| 2795 | They with hir hand wrong to hem doon redresse.
Hem deyneth nat an accioun attame
At commun lawe; swich unbuxumnesse
Suffred us make wole of seurtee lame.
Whoso may this correcte, is worthy blame
That he ne dooth naght. Allas, this souffrance
Wole us destroye by continuance. | <i>It does not seem proper to attempt a law suit
common law (see note); disobedience
Permitted
continued occurrence</i> |
| 2800 | Is ther no lawe this to remedie?
I can no more, but and this foorth growe,
This land shal it repente and sore abyne,
And al swich maintenance, as men wel knowe,
Susteeden is nat by persones lowe,
But cobbes grete this riot susteene.
Correcte it good is whil that it is greene; | <i>know
pay for
behavior
of low station
gang leaders(?)</i> |

The Regiment of Princes

- For and it hoore, this land is but lost. *mature*
 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 bettre, hem take and hente,
 And punyssh hem by lawful rrightwisnesse,
 And suffre nat eche othir thus oppresse.
- 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 gnattis *cobwebs*
- 2820 Taken and suffre grete flyes go,
 For al this world, lawe is now reuled so.
- 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;
- 2825 He snybbid is and put to tormentrie. *chided at*
 He nat asterte may, he shal abyte;
 He caught is in the webbe and may nat twynne.
 Mochil good reule is sowe and spryngith thynne. *sparsely*
- 2830 Of this growth stryf, bataille, and discord;
 And by the grete, poore folk been greeved;
 For he that noble is of blood and a lord
 In style, and naght hath, stired is and meeved *title*
 Unto rapyne; this is often preeved;
 The poore it feelith. Thus of lawe lak *robbery; manifest*
- 2835 Norissbeth wrong and castith right abak. *back*
- 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*
- 2840 And shal han gretter meede, it is no lye,
 Than they that swich a cure han noon on honde.
 Thus fynde I writen, as I undirstonde. *reward; lie*

The Regiment of Princes

- Whoso that in hy dignitee is set
 And may do grevous wrong and crueltee,
 2845 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.
- Hy dignitee, the Philosophre writith,
 Preeveth a man what he is in his dede.
 Whan that a prince in vertu him delitith,
 Than is his peple warishid of drede;
 Than may they seye and synge alowde and grede:
 2855 "Honur, long lyf, joie, and Crystes blesyng
 Moot have our sustenour, our prince and kyng!"
- Whan that an emperour in dayes olde
 Coroned was, aftir as blyve anoon
 Makers of toumbes come unto him sholde
 2860 And axe him of what metal or what stoon
 His toumbe sholde been, and foorth they goon
 With swich devys as the lord list devyse,
 And up they make it in hir beste wyse.
- This was doon for to brynge unto memorie
 2865 That he was nat but a man corruptible,
 And that this worldes joie is transitorie,
 And the trust on it slipir and fallible.
 Al this considered, oghte him be penible
 His reme wel for to governe and gye,
 2870 For whoso lyveth wel, wel shal he dye.
- Lyk a brydil is dethes remembrance,
 That mannes herte restreyneth fro vice.
 That kyng that kyngly is of governance,
 That is to seyn, dooth justly his office,
 2875 Of love and pees and reste he is norice.
 And whan that he is out of this world went,
 Thus seyn men that goon by his monument:

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 harmlees;
 In his comynge, glad was al the prees,
 And sory weren of his departyng.”
 O gracious Prince, swich be your wirkynge!
- unharmed
crowd (multitude)
- 2885 Thus, my good Lord, wynneth your peples vois,
 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.
 2890 “No good dede unrewarded is or qwit,
 Ne evel unpunysshid,” seith Holy Writ.
- (see MLG)
died
- 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 Him beforne your myndes ye
 Fro whom noon herte hyde may ne wrye
 His secree thoghtes. God al woot and weyeth;
 Him love and drede, and His lawes obeyeth.
- always
stealthily
eye
turn away
considers
- 2900 Now syn a kyng is to his lawes swore,
 And lawe biddith free eleccioun
 In chirches passe, my good Lord, therfore;
 Let no favour ne noon affeccioun
 So meeve your wys circumspeccioun
 To lette hem of hir lawful libertee;
 2905 Lat hem rejoise hir propre duetee.
- (see MLG)
commands
to proceed
- obstruct from
- The chapitre of a chirche cathedral, *assembly of church canons; cathedral church*
 Whan they han chosen hir heed and pastour,
 Which as hem thynkith souffissant at al
 Hem for to reule and been hir governour,
 2910 Writith unto the Pope in hir favour,
 Byseekyng humblyly his fadirhede
 It to confermc, and that is a just dede.

The Regiment of Princes

- And if the lawe suffre yow to wryte
 For any man apart, herkneth now me: *separately*
 2915 Let vertu thanne therto yow excyte.
 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 konnynghe.
- 2920 If the Pope to that estat provyde *position*
 A persone at your preyere and instance,
 Your soonde he takith to the bettre syde;
 He holdith the persone of souffissance *parson*
 To have swich a cure in governance,
 2925 For so witnessith the suggestioune *message*
 That to him maad is for provisioun. *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 preyere,
 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, *rightfully allowable*
 2935 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. *turn aside*
 Weyve Favel with his polisshid speeche,
 2940 And helpe him that wel dooth and wel can teche.
- But certes Favel hath caught so sad foot *seized; firm*
 In lordes court, he may nat thennes slyde;
 Who come or go, algate abyde he moot.
 His craft is to susteene ay the wrong syde,
 2945 And from vertu his lord for to dyvyde.
 And, for sooth sawes been to lordes looth, *words*
 Nat wole he sooth seyn, he hath maad his ooth.

The Regiment of Princes

- Let Favel passe, foule moot he falle!
Foorth in justice wole I now proceede.
- ¶ 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 yrاد, They made hem wondir wrooth, and seiden alle,
They weren nat so nyce ne so mad
To hem assente for aght may befalle;
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, doutelees!”
- “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 streite been,
- 2975 And do my never right wel, yee shul seen.
- “But or I go, yee shul unto me swere
Tho lawes keepe til I ageyn come,
And breke hem nat,” to which they gan awerse:
“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
urged
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 citee
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
- 2990 Syn I spoke have of justice, as yee knowe,
Unto pitee — which moot been had algates,
And namely in princes oghte it growe —
Wole I me dresse. Shee opneth the gates
Of helthe to him that in seek estat is;
- especially*
attend
- 2995 Shee esith many a wight that is distressid
That, nere hir help, sholde be sore oppressid.
- were it not for*

[De] pietate

- Pitee nat elles is to undirstonde
But good wil inward of debonaire herte
And outward speeche, and werk of man to fonde
3000 To helpe him that men seen in mescheef smerte.
Men selde him seen into wikkid deeth sterte
That pitous is, but they han cruel deeth
Often, whos crueltee cruelly sleeth.
- gentle*
attempt
those whose
- 3005 Whilom ther was a tirant despitous,
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)*
subtle
- 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 bull*
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 brennen and bake. *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 crye hem conpellid hir wo,
Hir vois was lyk a boles everemo,
And nothyng lyk a mannes vois in soun,
As the scripture makith menciou. *a bull's*
- 3025 But our lord God, of pitee the auctour,
Displesid 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. *flatterer*
made him dejected
test; fiendish device
torment
torture
- For whan the kyng this cruel werk had seyn,
The craft of it commendid he ful wel,
But the entente he fully heeld ageyn, *seen*
- 3035 And seide: "Thow that art more cruel
Than I, the maydenhede of this jewel
Shalt preeve anoon; this is my jugement."
And so as blyve he was therin ybrent. *opposed*
-  3040 Men may seen heere how Favel him enclyneth
Ay to his lordes lust what so it be;
Unto that ende he bysyeth him and pyneth,
And no consideracion hath he *(see MLG)*
- 3045 Thogh it be harm to his lordes degree,
Or ageyn feith, honour, or conscience;
In fals plesaunce is al his diligence. *strives*
- To what thyng it be, if it his lord lyke,
He him conformeth. He nevere denyeth
His lordes recons, but a thank to pyke, *reputation*
to gain favor

The Regiment of Princes

- His lordes wil and wit he justifieth.
 3050 Whyl Favel lyveth, no fals conseil dieth.
 Favel is weddid to plesant deceit
 And in that wedlok treewe is his conceit.
- Ground of treson, o thouw cursid Favel!
 How longe shalt thouw been a potestat?
 3055 In lordes court thouw pleyst thy parcel *power*
 So that it strecchith to thy lordes maat;
 For thouw hast nevere thy lordes estaat *part*
 To herte cheer, but al thy bysynesse
 Is for thy lucre and thy cofres warmnesse. *floor or bed covering*
 At heart
- 3060 Favel was nevere freendly man unto.
 Lordes, beeth waer it needith, trewely.
 ☛ Senek by hem that folweden Nero *concerning: (see MLG)*
 Seith thus: "A flie folwith the hony,
 The wolf, careyne," he seith. So wel woot I
 3065 That compaignie folweden hir pray, *carriion*
 And nat the man, and so do men this day. *prey*
- Whil that the swetnesse of richesse endurith,
 Unto the ryche is many a man plesant;
 Oonly the richesse thereto hem lurith;
 3070 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 marchant artow oon, *are you; (see MLG)*
 3075 That for worldly good and grace and favour
 Which faille shal and passe and overgoon,
 Swich diligence doost and swich labour *pass away*
 That thow thy soule from our Sauveour
 Twynnest and sleest thy lordes soule also,
 3080 And causist hem to peyne eternel go.
- Ther is a long and large difference
 Twixt vertuous plesaunce and flaterie. *pleasingness*

The Regiment of Princes

- Good plesaunce is of swich benevolence
 That what good dede he may in man espie,
 3085 He preisith it and rebukith folie.
 But Favel takith al another paart;
 In wrong preyng is al his craft and aart.
- ☞ A gloser also keepith his silence
 Often where he his lord seeth him mistake.
 3090 Lest that his answer mighte 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 therto by mannes jugement.
- ☞ Whoso that woot the purpos of a wight
 That is ygrowndid upon wikkidnesse
 And nat ne lettith it unto his might,
 ☞ Favourith it, as the book can expresse.
 Whoso it lookith, 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.
- ☞ A prince moot been of condicioun
 Pitous, and his angyr refreyne and ire,
 Lest an unavysid commocioun
 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 errorur, and qwenche that fyry lowe.
- 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,
 ☞ That unto him reserved is vengeance;
 3115 Whoso that sleeth shal have the same chance.
- flatterer; (see MLG)*
utter
(see MLG)
prevents; ability
(see MLG)
lie
turn
by nature; (see MLG)
ill-considered disturbance
inflame
confagation
admonishes
(see MLG)
lot

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 lisible — *permissible*
 3120 That slaghtre beforne God is admittible;
¶¶ And if a kyng do swiche murdrers grace *(see MLG)*
 Of lyf, he boldith hem eft to trespace. *emboldens*
- ¶¶ A kyng of this lond, whilom herde I seyn,
 For mannes deeth a pardoun hadde grauntid *(see MLG)*
 3125 Unto a man, which aftirward ageyn
 The same gilt hadde in anothir hauntid;
 Aftir whos deeth, he hoomly hath avauntid,
 He nas nat so frendlees he wolde do
 Wel ynow, thogh he had slain othir two. *offense; practised
plainly; boasted
another*
- 3130 “Of freendes,” quod he, “have I large wone,
 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. *resource*
 Thidir wole I go, streight as any lyne;
 3135 And they that now annoyen me or greeve,
 I shal hem qwyte heereaftr, as I levee.” *completely subvert his feelings
trust*
- He cam unto the kyng and axid grace
 Of that he wroght 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;
 Forgeve 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 dissent was routhe,
 The lawe him gaf that longid to his meede.
 My tale is doon. Now soothly, it is neede
 Tho grauntes to withstande that procure
 Meschevous deeth to many a creature.
- 3165 Pitee availlith 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 oghte him have
- 3175 That commandith this gilty man deed be
 Than he that lyf him grauntith. Why? Lat se!
 The gilty 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 murdre 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 therto the kyng meevelth,
 3185 Wel more than he woot his soule greevelth.

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 beste
 Tho requestes to werne and voide clene — *refuse; dismiss*
 3190 Of swiche, in soothe, as murdrers been, I mene.
 But and oon be by malice of his foos *if one*
 Endited, pardoun be to him nat cloos. *Indicted; 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 giltelees tormente.
 Pitee shal soule of man to God presente,
 And God, that gaf us ensample of pitee,
 To pitous folk sauvacion shal be.
-  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 Valerie writh in a storie,
 Whan this Marc obteened had the victorie
 3205 By sege leid to men of Siracuse,
 As I shal seyn, he hevly gan muse. *sadly*
- He wente him up on hy upon a tour
 Where he beholde mighte 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 mighte 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 othir syde
 Rathere hadde put him to the outrance *defeated him*
 Than he hadde had of hem so fair a chance.
 O worthy knyght, who shal thy steppes sue?
 3220 Thy successour halt him to longe in mue. *follow*
hides himself; mew

The Regiment of Princes

- O citee, syn Fortune was contrarie
 To thee in o part, yit hir gentillesse
 Purveied thee a benigne adversarie!
 Thanke hire of that, for thy diseise is lesse
 3225 Falle in the daunger of lambes humblesse
 Than be with cruel wolves al tofrete;
 A lamb is nat so greedy on hir mete.
- suffering
To come into; power
torn to pieces
- Ther nis nothyng, as witnessith a storie,
 Makith a knyght so shynyng 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 effusioun.
 A beestes kynde is, that is wylde and wood,
 Victorie nat desyre but the blood.
- avoid bloodshed
nature
- Also, whan that the kyng of Hermenye
 Venquisht was in bataille by Pompeye,
 This kyng fil doun unto his foot in hye
 And from him caste his diadeeme aweye.
 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.
- Armenia; (see MLG)*
in haste
crown
expended
- He dide his might him to conforte and qweeme;
 And right anoon, withoute any delay,
 Upon his heed bad sette his diadeeme
 3245 Ageyn; and so was doon, it is no nay.
 Also, whan Cesar Emperour eek on a day
 Pompeye saw byforn him led and bownde,
 Cesar in teeres salte gan habownde.
- please*
(see MLG)
overflow
- Also, whan Alisaundre, as Valerie hath told,
 3250 Was in a tyme in the feeld with his hoost,
 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;
- (see MLG)*
army
vital; lost
seat; hastened

The Regiment of Princes

- And by the hand this olde knyght he took,
Confortynge him in his beste maneere,
And ledde him to his tente, as seith the book,
And in his real seege and his chayeere
3260 As blyve him sette. Thus may kynges leere
Distressid knyghtes to helpe and releeve;
To take ensaumple of this it shal naght greeve.
- royal throne*
- 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 conserve,
Than his estat keepe and hem suffre stervey?
Yit hope y seen his heir in this province;
And that shal yee be, my good lord the Prince.
- he would rather
preserve*
-  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 heed,
To his lord Cesar cryde a lowde right,
Byseechynge him that, of his gracious might,
3275 He wolde him helpe and reewe on his estat;
And Cesar sente him a good advocat.
- (see MLG)*
loud voice
- 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 forgote how sharpe it with yow ferde
Whan yee were in the werres of Asie?
Maffeith, your lyf stood there in jupartie;
- aloud*
fared
By my faith; at risk
- And advocat ne sente I noon to yow,
3285 But myself putte in prees and for yow fught;
My wowndes beren good witnesse ynow
That I sooth seye, and lest yee leeve it naght,
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.
- 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 mone;
He heeld himselven worthy to be blamed.
“My freend,” he seide, “let me now allone;
3295 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.
- complaint*
leave it to me
obliged
- He dredde him, if he nadde thus ywroght,
The peple him wolde han for a proud man deemed,
3300 And ungentil, and that he cowde noght,
As that it sholde eek have unto hem seemed,
Thanke hem that worthy were to be qweemed.
“What prince,” quod he, “peyneth him nat wynne
His knyghtes love, his love is to hem thynne.”
- done*
pleased
feeble
- 3305 Out of pitee growth mercy and spryngith,
For pitelees man can do no mercy;
What prince hem lakkith, nat aright he kyngith.
And for that they been neigheburghs so ny,
To pitee mercy joyne now wole I.
- 3310 Excellent Prince, have in hem good savour,
And elles al in waast is your labour.

De misericordia

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

The Regiment of Princes

- Thus fynde I writen 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 forgeve, it shal him reewe.
 Whereas oure werkes muste been avowed,
 3330 The unmerciable shal be disallowed.
 Who nat forgeweth, 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 becam to pourge our synful dede.
 Him lothid nat His precious body sprede
 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 lerne.
 This lyf present shul but a whyle dure,
 And, lastyng it, your mercy nat ne werne,
 O worthy Prince, for to God eterne
 3345 It ful plesant is; dooth your mercy heere,
 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 coupable.
 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 spirites benigne and peisable
 Thoghten 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*
- grandfather; (see MLG)*
- repay him*
- culpable*
- peace-loving
objectionable; loathsome*

The Regiment of Princes

- And forbaar it; they kneew it unlisible. *not permissible*
 To mercy were hir hertes ay flexible; *inclined*
¶ Forwhy with mercy God shal qwyte hem wel, *(see MLG)*
 3360 Aftir the wordes write in the Gospel.
- It is to leeve and deeme, if a kyng shyne *to be believed and supposed*
 In vertu, that his sone sholde sue
 And to his fadres maneeres enclyne
 And wikkid tecches and vices eschue. *bad habits*
 3365 Thus oghte it be, this to nature is due.
 He moot considere of whom he took his kynde,
 And folwe his vertu, as men writen fynde.
- ¶** He moost is lyk to God, as seith Bernard, *(see MLG)*
 That holdith nothyng more precious
 3370 Than to be mercyful. It is ful hard
 To lakke mercy and been unpitous.
¶ “Mercy wole I,” seith our Lord glorious. *(see MLG)*
 He that denyeth God that he wolde have,
 God nayte him shal that he wole axe or crave. *refuse*
- 3375 Senek seith how the kyng and the ledere *leader*
 Of bees is prikkelees; he hath right noon *lacking a sting*
 Wherwith to styngen or annoye or dere;
 But othir bees prikkes han everichoon.
 Nature wolde shee sholde it forgoon
 3380 And do no crueltee unto the swarm,
 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 tiranny,
 And to pitee hir hertes bowe and wrye, *incline*
 And reule hir peple esyly and faire. *gently*
 It is kyngly be meek and debonaire.
- ¶** I rede of a kyng that Pirus was named, *(see MLG)*
 3390 Whan him was told how that men of Tarente *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 oon 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,
Havyngre reward to the wordes badde
That we thoghte 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 disposicioun
3405 Dispensid with tho men and grace hem dide,
And thriste undir foot crueltee adoun.
O mighty Prince, this condicioun
To your hynesse is ful accordant,
And unto God almighty right plesant.
- Power withouten mercy a kyng torneth
Into a tirant — waar 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 trone is strengthid.” What man that a kyng is,
But if that he amonges othir thynges
Endowid be with alle thise three,
Men seyn he haltith in his hy degree.

slandered

were not

Considering

place

(see MLG)

beware; act

blot

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.
 Ther was a duc callid Pisistarlis,
That a yong doghtir hadde, a fair may,
Which with hir modir walkid on a day,
Nat seith the book whidir ne what to doone,
3430 But thus it shoop, as I shal telle soone.
- (see MLG)
maiden
- A yong, fressh, 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,
- good looking
road
knew
- Shee right anoon hir lord the duc besoghte
To putte him to the deeth for his trespass.
3440 He seide, nay, to do that nevere he thoghte.
“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 telle 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.
- reaches
endeavors
Punishment

The Regiment of Princes

De Paciencia

- | | |
|---|---|
|  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.

 Socrates seith, no mannes governance
Is wys but it be by souffrance preeved;
3465 A good man souffreth wrong and is nat meeved. | <i>(see MLG)</i>
<i>gentle</i>
<i>angry</i>

<i>(see MLG)</i> |
| 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 naght wherwith to sette a tonge afyre. | <i>avenge</i>
<i>vexation</i>
<i>bar; expel</i> |
| 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. | <i>provoked; malevolent</i>
<i>bitter</i>
<i>to exhibit cruelty</i> |
|  As this kyng ones cam to Bahurim,
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,

 That wondir was; for which oon Abusay
Wolde have him slain, but the kyng seide, "Nay!" | <i>(see MLG)</i>

<i>(see MLG)</i> |
|  "Let him curse aftir the commandement
Of God; whan he seeth myn afflicioun
And my diseise and my grevous torment,
3490 He wole for this dayes malicioun,
Par aventure, do me sum guerdoun." | <i>(see MLG)</i>

<i>cursing</i> |

The Regiment of Princes

- Thus undirstonde I write is in the Bible,
Which is a book autentik and credible.
- 3495 The pacience of Job men may nat hyde;
 The commun vois wole algate it bywreye.
(see MLG)
¶ And Alisaundre, whos fame is sprad ful wyde,
 Ful pacient was, as the booke seye.
 A sad, wys knyght of his, with lokkes greye,
 Grucchynge ageyn his flesshly lustes, seide
 Unto his lord and thus he him upbreide:
*Complaining
reproached*
- 3500 “O Alisaundre, it is uncovenable
 Thee for to have of peple regiment
 Syn thy lust bestial and miserable
 Hath qweynt thy reson and entendement
 So ferfoorth that the hete violent
 Of leccherie is in thee, Lord and Syre.
 Repreef, I drede, qwyte shal thyn hyre.
*unfitting
governance*

*understanding
To such an extent*
- 3510 “Fy, shamelees, unworthy Gouvernour!”
 And whan the knyghtes tale was al endid,
 The kyng answerde: “I knowe myn errour;”
 And paciently seide, “I have offendid,
 I woot it wel, and it shal been amendid.”
(see MLG)
¶ A man also to Julius Cesar ones
 Crabbidly seide and shrewdly for the nones,
Bitterly; for the occasion
- 3515 And among othir 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;
 Weenest thou nat that I can tellen how
 Thy fadir was a bakere? O let be,
 Ne make it nat so qweynte, I preye thee.”
do not put on airs

act so proudly
- 3520 Smylynge unto him spak this emperour:
 “Whethir supposist thou bet that noblesse
 Begynne in me, or noblesse and honour
 Deffaille in thee?” This question, I gesse,
Decays (Is lacking)

The Regiment of Princes

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

jest

- | | | |
|--|---|---|
| | To the chivalrous, worthy Scipio
Of Affrik 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,
And foorth me broghte, and no fightere at al.” | (see MLG) |
| | Senek seith how the kyng Antigone
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) |
| | Of Duk Pisistarlis eek wole I telle.
He hadde a freend, Arispus was his name,
Which ones hastily with wordes felle
Rebukid so this duc that it was shame
To heeren it; and yit with sorwe and grame
He in despyst spette in this dukes face,
And he therto no word spak in that place. | (see MLG) |
| | He hadde him so in port and word and cheere
Right as him had be do no vilenye,
But lookid foorth in a freendly maneere.
Now ther were in this dukes conpaaignie
His sones two, that buskid hem in hye
To this Arispus and wolden ful fayn,
Nad hir fadir hem let, have him yslayn. | bearing
angry
grief
spit |
| | The nexte day aftir, this Arispus
To take gan consideracioun
How that he to the duc misbaar him thus, | went
<i>Had not; prevented</i>
misbehaved |

The Regiment of Princes

- 3560 And made more waymentacioun *lament*
 Than I can make of nominacioun;
 He wolde han slain himself, it is no lees,
 But that this duc broghte al to reste and pees. *lie*
- 3565 Whan he kneew 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 qwenchid al this offense.
- ✠ Salomon seith, in him is sapience *wisdom; (see MLG)*
 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 *Himself*
 Whan He Him wrappid in our mortel rynde:
 That oghte a mirour be to al mankynde. *skin*
- ✠ Plesant to God was the virginitee *(see MLG)*
 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? *Abiding*
- ✠ Thogh that the humble were a foul habyt, *wear; (see MLG)*
 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.
- ✠ What hy estat that a man represente, *Whatever; (see MLG)*
 3591 Humble to be let him sette his entente.
- ✠ Humilitee verray, as seith Cesarie, *Cesarius; (see MLG)*
 May nevere be withouten charitee,

The Regiment of Princes

- ¶ And shee is a vertu moost necessarie;
 Amonges alle vertues that be,
 Shee on hem alle obteeneth dignitee.
 They fro the regne of God hemself dyvyde
 That charitee weyven and caste asyde.
- (see MLG)
- ¶ 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
 Doon as hem list if they been charitable,
 But lakkynge it, is nothyng profitable.
- (see MLG)
- ¶ 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.
 ¶ No seit to hevene cometh, as rede I,
 But by keepyng of pacience; and how
 Men may it leere wole I shewe yow.
- (see MLG)
- Take heede how, whan that Cryst our Sauveour
 Was bobbid 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;
 Yit for al this torment, no word He speek,
 So was He pacient, benigne, and meek.
- beaten; spat upon
humiliation*
- gallows (Cross)
- 3615
 3620 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 sorwe for the blame
 That God shal konne him that hath doon the grame
 Than for the harm that the greeved hath hent;
- be able [to do to]; harm*
- 3625 So dooth the charitable and pacient.

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 uncleynesse 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
3635 Honured is with clothes precious,
So oghte his herte clothid been inward
With vertu, and him kythe vertuous.
Fressh appareil and herte lecherous
Unsittyngly been in a prince joynt — *united*
3640 Namely in a Cristen kyng enoynt. *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 excellency.
- 3645 Honour nat elles is in existence
Than reverence geven in witnesse
Of vertu, as the scriptures expresse.
- Honour which was gotten vertuously
Ne was nat first by dignitee purchaced, *acquired*
3650 As that Boece tellith expressly, *Boethius; explicitly*
But dignitees honour was embraced
With vertu; dignitee had been unlaced
And ungirt of honour nad vertu be, *Unless; encompassed*
For vertu hath hir propre dignitee. *unfastened
deprived; if virtue had not been*
-  Aristotle conseillid Alisaundre *(see MLG)*
To lecherie 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; *disgrace*

The Regiment of Princes

- 3660 For of body it is destruccioun,
And eek of al vertu corrupcioun.
- Syn they that nat were of Cristen bapteeme
Conseillid men eschue leccherie,
Than oghte us Cristen men that vice fleeme
And swiche lustes in us mortifie. *banish*
- 3665 Whoso entendith into blisse stye,
That fyry sparcle algate he muste qwenche
And lustes leve of lady and of wenche. *to ascend*
spark
-  3670 The Scripture seith, no fornicatour (see MLG)
The regne of Cryst and God shal enherite;
It seith eek that him and the advoutour
God deeme shal; He can hir labour qwyte
Ful sharply that in tho tweyne delyte;
And so He wole but correccioun
Be mannes sheeld and his proteccioun. *adulterer*
-  3675 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, *subjection*
3680 Ther was a mayde sent him in hostage,
Of yeeres rype ynow, and of beautee
Moost excellent that men mighthe owhere see. *anywhere*
- And whan this worthy yong prince honourable
This womman sy, of here he took good yeeme,
3685 Thynkyng that shee was of beautee able
The worthyeste on lyve for to qweeme,
And in him multiplied thoghtes breeme.
But nathelees, for al his bysy thought,
Enquere he gan if shee wyf were or noght. *great heed*
gratify
tempestuous
- 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. *betrothed*

The Regiment of Princes

- 3695 They at his heeste cam unto him tho,
And in hir clene virginal estat
Restored he this maide inviolat. *command*
- 3700 The gold eek that for hir redempcioun
Purveied was, forgaf he uttirly,
In help and encrees and promocioun
Of hir wedlok; and whan Judibal sy
And kneew how Scipio thus nobly
Demened him, he was ful wel apayed
Of that he grucchid first and was affrayed. *Treated; satisfied*
- 3705 He wente unto th'estates of the toun
And tolde hem al the cas as it befyl;
And they this lord gaf laude and hy renoun
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
- 3715 Or Marcus Marcellus had the citee
Of Ciracuse taken or ynome,
He leet do crye amonges his meynee
That, whan the citee he had overcome
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 lent
Of shap and beautee, that ther nas womman
That ones had a look on him despent
But that hir herte gaf flesshly consent;
And nathelees, eschued he the taast
Of unclenesse and kepte his body chaast. *(see MLG)*
was not
- 3725 By toknes kneew he hir unclene entente,
And with his nayles cracchid he his face,
And scocchid it with knyves and torente, *signs*
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 Jovnyan,
A fair womman, a mayde clept Ulie,
Yweddid was unto an aged man,
3735 A Romayn smiten with the palesie;
But shee in chastitee was set so hie
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;
Wheroft he took greet hevynesse and greef.
He gooth hoom to his wyf and this mescheef
Ful hevlyly 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,
Ywarned 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 hlyly 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 awayte wel whan the wynd south is
And north at ones, blowyng 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 wyldernesse (see MLG)

The Regiment of Princes

- For to restreyne flesshly nycetee;
 And his disciples loved so clennesse,
 And for to fallen hadden swich gastnesse,
 Hir yen they out of hir heedes brente
 Lest sighte of hem spotte mighte hir entente. *stain*
- 3765
- ¶ Demostenes his handes ones putte
 In a wommannes bosom japyngly,
 Of face fair but of hir body a slutte. (see MLG)
in jest
- 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. *copulate*
would not
- ¶ I fynde how two doghtres of a duchesse,
 The flesshly touches of men for to flee
 Whan men of Ungarie hem wolde oppresse,
 In conservynge of hir virginitee,
 They hem purveied a good sotiltee:
 They chekenes flessh putte undirnethe hir pappes,
 Hem to deffende from unclenly happenes. (see MLG)
Hungary
provided for themselves
chickens; breasts
occurrences
- 3775
- Beholde of wommen heer a noble wyle.
 In short avisament, who can do bet?
 By that this flessh thus hadde leyn a whyle
 And that it was ychaufed wel and het,
 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. *excellent trick*
On reflection (On short notice)
- 3780
- 3785
- O wommanhode! In thee regneth vertu
 So excellent that to feeble is my wit
 To expresse it, wherfore I am eschu
 To medle or make a long sermoun of it.
 Sum mannes mowth yit wolde I were yshit
 That vice of wommen sparith nat bywreye,
 For alle soothes been nat for to seye. *disinclined*
shut
to divulge
- 3790

The Regiment of Princes

- 3795 But for to talke foorth of continence
 Or chastitee: whoso chaast lyve shal
 Moot scourge his flesshly lust with abstinence;
 Thriste him adoun, geve him no place at al.
 Metes and drynkes make a soule thral
 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 pryvee.
 Glotonye is ful plesant to the feend;
 3805 To leccherie redy path is shee.
 The feend lyth in awayt of our freeltee
 And stireth man to drynkes delicat
 To make ageynes chastitee debat.
- A man sholde ete and drynke in swich a wyse
 3810 As may be to his helthes susteenyng,
 Aftir the doctrine of Senek the wyse.
 Sum man drynkith the wyn to his weenyng
 Whan he drynkith his wit. More is preysynge
 3815 And honourable a man compleyne on thrist
 Than dronken be whan he the cuppe hath kist.
-  Thus seide Jerom unto a virgyne:
 “O doghtir, syn th’apostle sore dredde
 Lust of his flessh and dide his body pyne
 And heedit lowe and symplely it fedde,
 3820 Wherburgh the vice of unclennesse he fledde,
 Of continence how maistow sikir be
 Of foode delicat that hast plentee,
-  “And specially now in thy youthes hete?”
 For whoso wilneth to be continent,
 3825 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*
- (see MLG)*
- tortured
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
 Of conseil; they outrayen pacience;
 They kyndlen ire and fyren leccherie,
 And causen bothe body and soule die.
- take
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.
 Ful many a man hath excesse overthowre.
- 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 deffectyf,
 It of his deeth was verray causatyf;
 By nyghtirtale he slain was by Kyng Darie;
 Thus paith glotoun excesse hir salariie.
- (see MLG)
aware
cause
nighttime; Darius
- 3855  Thurgh dronkenesse how took his deeth Nabal
 And how slow Tholomé also Symoun?
 Allas, that drynge so man serve shal!
 How leide Lothes doghtres hem adoun
 3860 By hir fadir? Whan his discrecioun
 Was dreynt with wyn, he with hem flesshly delte,
 And therof nothyng ne wiste ne felte.
- (see MLG)
Ptolemy; (see MLG)
Lot's; (see MLG)
overcome; copulated
-  How was eek Oloferne by Judith
 The womman slain but thurgh his dronkenesse?
 3860 What prince it be that spottid is therwith,
 His welthe hath but a brotil stablenesse.
 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)

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- 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.
- upsets; distresses
- 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 leccherie, as techith smertes lore,
 The body waastith and the soule greeveth,
 And foode delicat therto man meeveveth.
- inwardly devours
- Beholde also, whan that the paunce is ful,
 A fume clymbith up into the heed
 And makith a man al lustlees and dul;
 He wexith hevy as a pece of lead.
- 3880 Whoso that thanne wolde geve him reed
 To looke in a book of devocioun,
 I trowe in ydil were his mocioun.
- Similar thanks
 pain's
- 3885 I trowe in ydil were his mocioun.
- in vain; suggestion
- But consaille him to trotte unto the wyn
 And, for al his excesse and his outrage,
 He therto wole assente wel afyn,
- 3890 And there wole he outen his langage,
 And do to Bachus and Venus homage,
 For noon of hem two can be wel from othir;
 They love as wel as dooth suster and brothir.
- utter
- And aftir moot he rowne with a pilwe
 His lyflees reson there to despende.
- 3895 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
 And al thyng that is fo to chastitee.
- 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 stabbishid hir sete. *seat*
Yee, gracious Prince, of blood and of lynage
Descendid been to have it in usage. *as a habit*
- 3905 Mars hath been ay freend to your worthy lyne;
Yee moot of kynde to manhode enclyne.
- He that is strong of corage and of herte,
If he lordshipes have or greet richesse,
Or that Fortunes styng him overthwerte, *thwart*
3910 Is alway oon in welthe and in distresse;
He lucre and los weyeth 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, *disposition*
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 *realm; betake himself*
That unto the perilles of bataille
3920 He moot him putte, and in hem travaille,
- And in deffense of Holy Chirche also, *at risk*
And for our feith putte him in jupartie;
Othir causes been ther but fewe mo
Why a kyng oghte to bataille him hye *hasten*
- 3925 And in tho causes drede 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 perisse 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 hy renoun; *undertakings*
 Renoun is callid glorie and honour.
 Magnanimus hath this condiciooun,
 That in bataille, how sharp that be the stour, *conflict*
 Him lever is to suffre dethes shour
 Rather; assault
- 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;
 3945 And swich a drede hath for to be repreeved
 That, unto thyng that may be knowe or preeved
 For villenous or foul or repreevable,
 He nevere obeyeth, this knyght honurable.
- I have yred of oon clept Coadrus
 That was prince of the oost of Athenyens, *army; (see MLG)*
 How in the feeld a lawe maad was thus
 Twixt his oost and hem of Polipolens: *the Peloponnesians*
 With triumphe sholde that part go thens
 Whos duc or prince were unarmed slaw
 3955 In habyt strange — lo! swich was the lawe. *side* *foreign (unfamiliar) dress*
- Him lever was himselfen for to dye
 And his men lyve, than see hem bystad *hard pressed*
 So streite that by violent maistrie
 His foos hadde hem venquissh or overlad. *dominated*
- 3960 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 discreciooun, *Mixed*
 3965 That yee shul make many a knyghtly rode
 And the pryde of oure foos thristen adoun. *military expedition*

The Regiment of Princes

Manhode and wit conqueren hy renoun,
And whoso lakkith 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.
Presumpcioun is disobedient *easily constrained*
- 3975 Alday and by wysdam nat wole him gye; *Always; guide himself*
Al justifieth his obstinacie.
- Ofte in batailles hath be seen or this
A syde souffred hath disconfiture
Which an unwys heed gyed hath amis. *led*
- 3980 What knyght on him takith that charge or cure,
If he in knyghtly honour shal endure,
Him oghe endowid been of sapience,
And have in armes greet experience.
- Experience and art in a bataille, *skill*
3985 Of the prudent knyght, more may profyte
Than hardynesse or force may availle
Of him that therof knowith naght or lyte.
Hardynesse in effect nat worth a myte
Is to victorious conclusioun,
3990 But with him medle aart, wit, and resoun. *Unless*
- 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, *disciplined mind*
- 3995 And wit restreyne his wil can and asswage
In tyme due and in covenable;
And thus tho two joynt been ful profitable. *attack together*
- But be a knyght wys or corageous,
Or have hem bothe at ones at his lust,
4000 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, *corrode*
And graunte hem picche in souffissance hir ancre. *to cast; anchor*

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

- 4005 Now for as moche as magnanimitee
 May no foot holde if that the herte of man
 Greetly 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 ficchid 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 empryse,
 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
 Torne 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

- ¶ Whan that Marcus Curcius, a Romeyn,
 Unto the Beneventans seege 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 seege; 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
 tell in advance
 deceived
- 4045 To venquishe him, for there hir aart shal faille;
 Hir blynde profers shal hem nat availle.”
- ¶ To Alisaundre, as I shal tellen heere,
 A knyght which was unto him special
 Thus spak and blamed him in this maneere:
 (see MLG)
- 4050 He seide, “If oure goddes thy body smal
 To thy greedy desir had maad egal,
 Al the world hadde nat be soufissant
 To han receyved so large a geant;
 equal
 giant
- “For with thy right hond thow the orient
 4055 Sholdest han touchid — I am seur of that,
 And with thy lyft hond eek the occident.
 Now syn that thy body answerith nat
 Unto thy wil, what may I seye, what?
 Outhir thow art a man, or god, or noght;
 nothing
- 4060 Mochil of thee mervaille I in my thoght.
- “If thow be god, thow folwe muste his trace
 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 leeve,
 4065 Thow art mortel — thow maist be deed or eeve.
 If thow be nothyng, thee putte out of mynde
 As he that is of no nature or kynde.
 example
 evening
 forget yourself

The Regiment of Princes

- “Ther is noon hy estat so sad and stable,
Remembre wel, let it nat be forgete,
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
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;
Ther is nothyng 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,
Thereof now thynke I trete a litol stownde.
 A prince and kyng of al a regiou
Moot avarice thriste adoun to grownde.
To him that lyth in helle deepe ybownde,
Thee, avarice, bytake I to keepe.
Thow pynepeny, there ay moot thow sleepe!
- Gold wolde of fals enprisonyng a writ
Sue ageyn thee if he at large were,
But he so faste is in thy cofre shit
He may nat out. O fals enprisonere!
Largesse wolde be with sheeld and spere
Evene in thy berd if he brak out morowre,
And for his sake do thee care and sorwe.
- firmly established*
bird's food
devour
(see MLG)
surpassed
goods
compared to
reputation
generosity
period of time
(see MLG)
entrust
pinchpenny
injunction
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 hirself, 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;
- 4115 Thow sleest an heep which that shee wolde save;
 Thow no wight helpist thogh he thyn help crave.
- bound
- Me list no more speke of thee this tyme,
 But of myn helpy lady sovereyne,
 Largesse, my lady, now wole I ryme;
 4120 And aftirward, 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
 carcass

De virtute largitatis et de vitio prodigalitatis

-  Aristotle of largesse tellith this:
 4125 Who vertuously 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 MLG)
 generous desires
 can afford
 occasions; need
 generous
 spent
- And who dooth othirwyse in his gevynge
 Largesses reule passith and excedith;
 He neithir worthy is thank ne preysyng
 That to him that no neede hath giftes 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 anoon povertes bittirnesse;
- 4140 Fool largesse is therto a verray lure.
 Of him also he berith the liknesse *resembles*
 That on himself, as the book can witnesse, *by*
 Victorie geveth to his enimys;
 And he that so despendith is nat wys.
- 4145 Largesse stant nat in mochil gevynge, *is grounded*
 But it is aftir the wil and the might
 Of him that geveth aftir his havyng;
 For it may sumtyme happe that a wight
 Which of richesse berith nat but light
- 4150 Geveth but smal and yit largere is he *a small amount*
 Than he that geveth gretter quantitee. *little*
- Aftir his good man may geve and despende
 Whereas neede is, but he that al despendith
 And waastith shal himselfen first offend;
- 4155 Fool largesse alday wrecchidly endith. *Foolish*
 Many a man hir foul outrage shendith;
 But of largesse is good the governance;
 Bothe to God and man it is plesance. *extravagance ruins*
- Evene as a mannes blood is norisshyng
 4160 To his body if it corrupt nat be,
 So been richesses to soules feedynge
 Holsum if they, whereas necessitee
 Axith, despent been, and also if he
 Which that hem wan, gan hem with rightwisnesse; *gained*
 4165 For hevene and helle is gote by richesse. *won*
- 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, *crippled; improved*

The Regiment of Princes

- 4170 And his richesses gote hath of rapyne, *plunder*
 And also evele as man can ymagyne,
 Despendith hem, nat for hem the bet is,
 But mochil wers; good is take heede of this.
- 4175 He that his flessh despendith and his blood, *offer*
 My Lord, in your service, him giftes beede;
 There is largesse mesurable good.
 A kyng so bownde is, he moot do so neede.
 Service unqwyt and murdre, it is no dreede, *unrequited; doubt*
 As clerkes writen, and desheritance, *dispossession*
 Byfore almighty God axen vengeance.
- 4180 Of fool largesse wole I talke a space, *know not*
 How it befyl, y not in what contree,
 But ther was oon named John of Canace,
 A ryche man, and two doghtres had he,
 That to two worthy men of a citee
- 4185 He wedde leet, and there was gladnesse *permitted*
 And revel more than I can expresse.
- 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 be bettre at ese,
 They cowden him so wel cherice and plese; *indulge*
- 4195 For he as mochil hauntid in partie *frequented*
 Hir hous as that he dide his owne hous.
 They heeld him up so with hir flaterie
 That of despenses he was outrageous,
 And of his good they were ay desirous.
 Al that they axid hadden they reedy;
- 4200 They evere weren upon him greedy.
- This sely man continued his outrage *extravagance*
 Til al his goode was disshid and goon; *spent*

The Regiment of Princes

- And whan they felte his despenses asswage,
They wax unkynde unto him anoon, diminish
became
4205 For aftir had he cherisshynege noon.
They weery weren of his compaignie;
And he was wys and shoop a remedie. devised
- He to a marchant gooth of his notice
Which that his trusty freend had been ful yore, acquaintance
for a long time
4210 Byseechynge him that he wolde him chevice
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 lend
sum
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. invited
resistance
How that they ferdan, lat I passe and go;
They ferdan wel, withouten wordes mo. fared
- 4220 To his konnynge he greet desport hem made;
He dide his might to cheere hem and to glade. *To the best of his ability*
- Aftir souper, whan they hir tyme sy,
They took hir levee and hoom they wolde algate;
And he answerde and seide hem sikirly: with assurance
4225 “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.” Say
And so al nyght he made hem for to abyde.
- The fadir logged hem of sly purpoos
4230 In a chambre next unto his joynynge,
For betwixt hem nas ther but a parcloos partition
Of bord nat but of an hoomly makynge,
Thurghout the which at many a chynnyng
In eche chambre they mighten beholde crack
4235 And see what othir diden if they wolde.

The Regiment of Princes

- I can nat seyn how they slepten that nyght,
 Also it longith nat to my mateere; *belongs*
 But on the morwe at the brood day light
 The fadir roos, and for they sholden heere
 4240 What that he dide, in a boistous maneere *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 unshit,
 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 *guileful; sly*
 But out this gold on a tapyt hath shot, *carpet; tossed*
 That in the bagges lefte ther no grot. *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 threew hem adoun; *roughly*
- And to the parcloos they hem haaste and hye
 To wite and knowe what hir fadir wroghte. *partition*
 In at the chynes of the bord they prye
 4260 And sy how he among the nobles soghte *chinks; peer*
 If deffectyf were any, as hem thoghte. *nobles (a gold coin)*
 And on his nayle he threew hem ofte and caste,
 And bagged hem and cofred at the laste; *scale(?) (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 thankhen 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*
Oon seide, “I wondre theron;” “And I eek,”
Quod another, “for also God me save,
4275 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 marchant paide it more and lesse,
Thankynge him often of his kyndenesse;
And thennes gooth he hoom unto his mete,
And to his sones hous whan he hadde ete. *all dinner*
- 4285 Whan he cam thidir, they made of him more
Than that they weren wont by many fold;
So greet despert they made him nat ful yore.
“Fadir,” quod they, “this is your owne houshold;
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 wiste 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 feere
4300 Sauf the fadir, and as they lowgh and pleide, *maintained a household; jointly*
Except (i.e., he not paying); laughed
His doghtres bothe with lawhyng cheere
Unto hir fadir spak and thus they seide,
And to assoille hir question, him preide:
“Now, goode fadir, how mochil moneye
4305 In your strong bownden chiste is, we yow prey?” *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 othir 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 — tarieth 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 writen 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 meyne — *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 exequies 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 noght
 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 othir 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 uttirly;
 The indigent men setten nothyng 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.
- So have I plukkid at my purses strynges
 4370 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.
- went*
place
left; became incensed
officer's club, mace
is responsible for
have no concern about
concerns
summons as witness
weigh; the same
picked
open wide
cloth; taken wing
destroyer
alleviate

The Regiment of Princes

- I me repente of my misreuled lyf;
Wherfore, in the way of sauvacioun
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 yearly guerdoun, myn annuitee,
That was me grauntid 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 promoote
My poore estat, and to my wo beeth boote.*remuneration*
relief
- 4390 And worthy 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
Thriste 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.*blame*
And trustith wel, al that my penne seith
Procedith of good herte and treewe in feith.
-  What kyng that dooth more excessyf despenses
4405 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 peoples care,
 For al that shee despendif hath and waastid
 They moot releeve — therto been they haastid. *restore; pushed*
- The tylere with his poore cote and land *tile-maker; cottage*
 That may unnethes gete his sustenance,
 4420 And he that naght 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, *patient*
 Whan his strook cometh, it is importable. *unendurable*
- 4425 Nat speke I ageyn eides uttirly — *taxes levied by Crown*
 In sum cas they been good and necessarie;
 But whan they goon to custumably, *come too habitually*
 The peple it makith for to curse and warie; *revile*
 And if they been despendif in contrarie
 4430 Of that they grauntid of the peple were,
 The more grucchen they the cost to bere. *complain*
- ¶ The pot so longe to the watir gooth *(see MLG)*
 That hoom it cometh at the laste ybroke;
 Whan that the peple with a cheere looth
 4435 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.
- But Favel nat reportith tho scriptures;
 4440 His lordes soules salve he from him hydith; *cure*
 He bisyeth him so in sly portraytures *verbal pictures*
 That hoomly trouthe nat with him abydith;
 The sweete venom of his tongue gydith
 His lord unto the valeye of dirknesse
 4445 If he governe him by his fikilnesse.

The Regiment of Princes

- The treewe man, if he may appareyve
 A deffaute in his lord, as othirwhyle
 It happith, he his lord it redith weyve
 And bit him to vertu him reconsyle.
 sometimes
 give it up
- 4450 And yit Favel, the net of fraude and gyle,
 The thank hath, and that othir the maugree —
 O God, that verray trouthe art for to see!
 ill-will
- ¶ Who that for drede of any lord or sire
 Hydeth the trouthe and nat wole it out seye,
 4455 He upon him provokith Goddes ire
 For that he more of man than God hath ye.
 They that the trouthe of hir hertes bywreye
 To lordes and telle hem hir wikkid lyf,
 No grace in hem fynden for hir motyf.
 observes
 favor; advice
- ¶ 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,
 4465 Heer is the weye to peyne or to blisse;
 Whoso wel dooth, of joie he may nat misse.
 (see MLG)
 flattery
 conjecture
- Eternel God, the blessid Trinitie,
 Which that every man of Cristen byleeve
 Knowith an undyvydid unitee,
 4470 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 hent.
 fare

De vitio avaricie

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

The Regiment of Princes

- | | | |
|------|---|--|
| | To thriste ay aftir more it is his gyse;
He is the swolwe that is never ful.
At avarice now have heer a pul! | style
throat
bout |
| 4480 | Shee may, as God forbide, 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
takings; greed
crams
encloses in her chest |
| 4490 | There is it hid, no sonne it seeth ne moone;
Thogh al the world sterfe sholde on a day
For lak of good, nat were it for to doone
To borwe of here; evere is hir awnere "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. | |
| | AVARICE | <i>(see MLG)</i> |
| 4500 | Avarice is a love immoderat
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
<i>idolatry (Muhammadanism) (see note)</i> |
| 4505 | Shee is a covetyse excessyf
Of othres good, and of hir owne shee
So streit and hard is and so retentyf
That it profyte may in no degree.
O, avaricious, what eilith thee?
The goodes whiche been unto thee lent
Why hydest thou? Ywis, thou wilt be shent. | unyielding; stingy
<i>destroyed</i> |
| 4510 | Weneest thou that thou doost nat wikkidly
That so many a mannes sustenance
Thyself withholdist soul? Yis, hardily, | <i>Suppose; (see MLG)</i>
<i>alone</i> |

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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 thefte: *conduct*
 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, *pay for*
 4520 But if so be, or thow go to thy beere,
 Thow correcte thy greedy appety
 And of streit keepyng empte thy delyt.
- ¶ The breed of hungry peple thow withholdist *(see MLG)*
 And shittist up the nakid mennes clooth
- 4525 That kevere hem sholde. If thow aght of God toldist, *reckoned*
 For to do so thow woldest be ful looth.
 Al that thow getist, to hid place it gooth;
- ¶ As many men hir good thow hem byrevest *(see MLG)*
 As thow releeve mightist and it levest. *desist*
- ¶ Whoso that fro the poore mannes cry
 Stoppith 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.
- ¶ Werse is nothyng than to love moneye, *(see MLG)*
 As that Ecclesiasticus can seye.
- ¶ Ambrose seith, “Waar man that thow ne shitte
 Withyn thy purs the needy peples hele,
 And to the burielles nat committe
- 4540 The lyf of poore men. “Geve hem and dele
 Part of thy good. O, thy bagges unsele;
 Opne hem — hir knytyng al to sore annoyeth;
 Thy pyned stuf many a man destroyeth.
- Thow seist par cas, “If I no man byreve *perhaps*
 4545 His good, what wrong myn owne is it to hyde

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 broghest naght; clayme no propretee
4550 Of thyng that oghte commune to bee.
-  Thy talkyng and thy clap is al of eerthe,
And the grownd forthy shal answe 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 heereafair, chynche,
Whereas thow shalt nat at the aountes 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 rapyne,
Thow hem affermest by good title thyne.
-  Feith and prowesse leyst thou 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 thou 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

- ¶ Fool largesse is a seeknesse curable
 4580 Outhor of indigence or elles age.
 He that fool large in youthe 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 eek seyn herkneth wel nowthe.
- (see MLG)
- Of neede eek may it cured been and helid;
 A man may so large despenses make
 Til al his good be despendid and delid;
 And whan his purs yemtid is and shake,
 4590 Thanne begynneth indigence awake,
 By which he cured is of the seeknesse
 Of prodigalitee or fool largesse.
- service
now
stolen
- ¶ But avarice, he seith, incurable is;
 4595 For ay the more a man therin procedith
 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,
 5000 His thoghtes stirten heer and theer and lepe.
- (see MLG)
- Now if the heed of al a regioun,
 By whom that al governed is and gyed,
 Be of so seekly a condicioun
 That it may by no cure be maistried,
 Thanne is he to the werse part applied,
 5050 And, as the Philosophre seith us to,
 The lesse wikkē is fool largesse of two.
- leap
bad; [the] two
- ¶ The Philosophre preeveth avarice
 Wel werse than is prodigalitee.
 By thre causes he halt it gretter vice:
 5100 First, he seith, it is bettre seek to be
 Of a seeknesse or an infirmitee
 Of which a man may have rekeverynge
 Than of swich oon as ther is noon helynge.
- (see MLG)
- considers

The Regiment of Princes

- | | | |
|------|--|---|
| 4615 | <p>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.</p> | <i>(see MLG)</i>
<i>much more</i>

<i>property</i>
<i>to give</i>
<i>no matter</i> |
| 4625 | <p>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 oghte nat to be;
 And for what cause also and for what skile
 He geve shal, noon heede he take wile.</p> | <i>too immoderate</i>

<i>reason</i> |
| 4630 | <p>And syn fool large on gold settith his herte
 No more than the liberal, than may
 Fool large into liberalitee sterte
 Lightly now, for vertu is kynges pray;
 He avarice eschue moot alway
 By cause shee more is contrarious
 To vertu than the large outrageous.</p> | <i>jump</i>
<i>prey</i> |
| 4635 | <p>The thridde skile is, for a kyng is set
 In his reme for his peples releef,
 For they sholden for him fare the bet;
 But the streit chynche qwenchith nevere greef;
 His gold is nevere salve to mescheef;</p> | <i>reason</i>
<i>realm</i> |
| 4640 | <p>Oonly to gadere and keepe he him delitith;
 But the fool large many a man profitith.</p> | |
| 4645 | <p>Yit vices been they grete, bothe tweyne.
 O worthy Prince, take on yow largesse;
 Dooth so, o gracious Lord, for Goddes peyne.
 Largesse yput is unto the liknesse
 Of vessels whos mowthes han greet wydnesse
 And hilde out hir licour habundantly;
 Thus seith the Philosophre treewely.</p> | <i>pour</i> |

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 strecche,
If he of his estat anythyng recche,
Than othir mennes, for hir inpotence
4655 Strecchith 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.
- ¶ Victorie and honour he shal him purchace
That is of giftes free, but waer alway
4665 That he nat tarie ne delaye his grace;
Dryve 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.
- ¶ 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,
4675 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 menyng and entencioun final
4680 On fals plesaunce is set for briberie;
He is the verray cofre of trecherie;
His doublenesse his lord doun overthrowith;
The seed of his confusion he sowith.

The Regiment of Princes

- | | | |
|--|--|---|
| ¶
4685
4690
4695
4700
4705
4710
4715 | <p>That man yborn is in a blessid hour
 Whom that pitee, dissent, or kyndenesse
 Stiren to geve or ministre him socour
 That infortunes strokes bittirnesse
 Ywowndid hath with povertes sharpnesse.
 Nat meene I hem that hyre and fees and wages
 Han at the dees lost and hir heritages,</p> <p>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.</p> <p>But weleaway, as hard as is a post —
 A post? Nay, as a stoon been hertes now!
 Lordes, for shame! What thyng eilith yow?</p> <p>A gentil herte for to begge hath shame;
 His rody shamefastnesse dar nat preye.</p> <p>Yee that of gentillesse han style and name,
 Lat nat your poore brethren by yow deye.
 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.</p> <p>Senek seith, he hath nat that thyng for noght
 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 appeere,</p> <p>For it is vois of wrecchidnesse and sorwe,
 Whan that a man shal preye or begge or borwe.</p> <p>Allas, thogh that a man deskevere and pleyne
 To many a lord his meschevous miserie,
 The lord nat deyneth undirstonde his peyne;
 He settith nat therby a blakberie.</p> <p>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.</p> | <i>(see MLG)</i>
<i>merit</i>
<i>Whom</i>
<i>payment</i>
<i>game of dice; inheritance</i>

<i>blushing; remorse</i>

<i>Circumstances are difficult</i>

<i>disclose</i>
<i>wretched</i> |
|--|--|---|

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.
(see MLG)
- 4725  What man a ledere is or a chiefteyn
 Of peple, his labour is al waast and veyn
 But he be free unto his sowdeours,
soldiers
 If that he seeke conqueste of honours.
- 4730 And specially, that he hir duetee
 Abregge nat, ne nat syncope hir wages
 That hem assigned been. In certeyntee
 Peril of shame folwen swiche usages;
 Whan al accounted is, tho avantages
 That fowndid been of wronges and repreef
 Been naght but avantages of mescheef.
owed money
reduce
opportunities for harm
- 4735 This makith covetyse or avarice
 Roote of alle harmes, fo to conscience;
 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.
ill-gotten gains
frugality
- 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 mesurable unto yow tye
desire
meanness
fasten
- 4745 And fool largesse voidith fro yow clene,
 For free largesse is a vertuous mene.
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 foure been vertues principal;
Prudence gooth byfore and geveth light
Of conseil what tho othir thre do shal,
That they may wirke, be it greet or smal,
Aftir hir reed, withouten whom no man
Wel unto God ne the world lyve can. | <i>temperance</i> |
| 4760 | 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
Of thynges past and been and that shul be;
The ende seeth and eek mesurith she. | <i>intellect</i> |
| 4765 | 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 tongue affyle,
That, lest the favour of frendships corde,
Othir than trouthe can shee nat recorde. | <i>nook</i> |
| 4770 | Shee byheetith by good avysament
And geveth more than hir list promette;
Shee geveth eek to men commandement
Nat in Fortune truste or by hir sette;
And al the trust out of hir herte shette
Of might of worldly dominacioun.
Vertu gyeth hir operacioun. | <i>plans to
decides</i> |
| 4775 | Shee byheetith by good avysament
And geveth more than hir list promette;
Shee geveth eek to men commandement
Nat in Fortune truste or by hir sette;
And al the trust out of hir herte shette
Of might of worldly dominacioun.
Vertu gyeth hir operacioun. | <i>polish
agreement</i> |
| 4780 | Prudence hath lever loved be than drad;
Ther may no prince in his estat endure,
Ne therin any whyle stande sad, | <i>pledges; deliberation
to promise</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*
- Now if that yee graunten by your patente *letter of authority (e.g., royal charter)*
 4790 To your servantes a yearly guerdoun,
 Cryst sheelde that your wil or your entente
 Be set to maken a restriccioun
 Of paiement; for that condiciooun
 Exylith the peples benevolence *shuts out*
 4795 And kyndlith hate undir pryvee silence. *secret*
- 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.
- 4800 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 offende;
 But he that drad and nat beloved is,
 4805 As Tullius seith, lightly may descende,
 And the lordshipe 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.” *its*
- 4810 Was nevere drede yit a good wardeyn
 To holde lordshipe in his sikerresse, *security*
 But oonly love is thyng moost sovereyn.
 Love is norice of welthe and of gladnesse;
 Love is norice of welthe and of gladnesse, *nurse*
 4815 But out of love spryngith ferdfulness,
 And fere is good which that on love him growndith;
 But othir fere nat helith but wowndith. *itself*
- 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 hir hertes is smal obeissance,
 And unto God they compleyne hir grevance.
- And swich a kyng is nat prudent ne wys
 4825 That of his peple purchaceth him hate,
 For love excedith 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 therwithal yee shul God hly plete.
- ¶ It apparteneth a kyng for to be *(see MLG)*
 A kyng in verray soothe and existence.
 4840 A kyng 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 kyng he berith certeynly. *title*
- ¶ As an archer may nat his arwe sheete *shoot; (see MLG)*
 Evene at a mark but if he the mark see,
 No more may a kyng, I yow byheete,
 Governe his peple in right and equitee
 But by prudence he reule his hy degree.
 4850 If that be wel, his peple hath sikernes
 Of reste and pees, welthe, joie, and gladnesse. *unless
assure*

The Regiment of Princes

-  Begynnynge of wysdam is God to drede; (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,
Aftir your worldly sceptre transitorie, reign
In hevene regne in perpetuel glorie.

De consilio habendo in omnibus factis

- | | | |
|------|--|--------------------------|
| | Now purpose I to trete 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, | <i>sole, for sure</i> |
| | And be his wit nevere so good, he may | |
| | Erre and mistake him othirwhyle among, | <i>sometimes</i> |
| 4865 | Whereas good conseil may exclude a wrong. | |
| | Excellent Prince, in axyngre of reed | |
| | Deskevereth nat your wil in no maneere; | |
| | What that yee thynke do, lat it be deed; | <i>dead, inoperative</i> |
| | As for the tyme, 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, | <i>secret</i> |
| | Til that yow lyke parfourme it in dede; | |
| | And if it shal be doon, let it nat tarie, | |
| 4875 | For that is perillous, withouten drede. | |
| | Ther is nothyng may make a lond miscarie | |
| | 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. | <i>kindly</i> |
| | Why nat, my goode Lord? What sholde yow eile? | |

The Regiment of Princes

- ¶ 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)*
- What he seith, up is to the clowdes bore;
 But, and the poore speke worth the tweye,
 His seed nat sprynge may — it nis but lore.
carried
- 4890 They seyn, “What is he this? Lat him go pleye!”
 O, worthy Prince, beeth wel waar, I preyne,
 That your hy dignitee and sad prudence
 No desdeyn have of the poores sentence.
lost
- Thogh men contrarie eek your opinioun,
 4895 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, impresse 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*
- 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
 4905 Loveth your estat and prosperitee.
 But he that redith yow your peple oppresse,
 He hatith yow certeyn — it is no lesse.
pawn
- And if a man in tyme of swich a neede
 Of his good geve yow a good substance,
 4910 Swich oon cherice and elles God forbeede.
 Konneth 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.
lie
- ¶ 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 *cease*
 4925 And uttirly putte it in abstinence; *do away with it*
 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 *(see MLG)*
 4930 Which 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 reedlees; do by conseillynge *(see MLG)*
 Of heedes wyse, and no repentance *heads*
 4935 Ther folwe yow shal in your governance.
- ☞ Commendable is conseil take of the wyse *(see MLG)*
 And nat of fooles, for they may nat love
- ☞ But swich thyng as hem lykith. In al wyse, *(see MLG)*
 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 — *(see MLG)*
 Hir wit and intellect is glorious;
- ☞ Of hir conseil holsum is the sentence. *(see MLG)*
 The olde mannes reed is fructuous;
- ☞ Waar of yong conseil, it is perillous. *fruitful*
 Roboas fond it so whan he forsook
- 4950 Th'entente woot I wel of the yong man *(see MLG)*
 As lovyng is and treewe as of the olde,

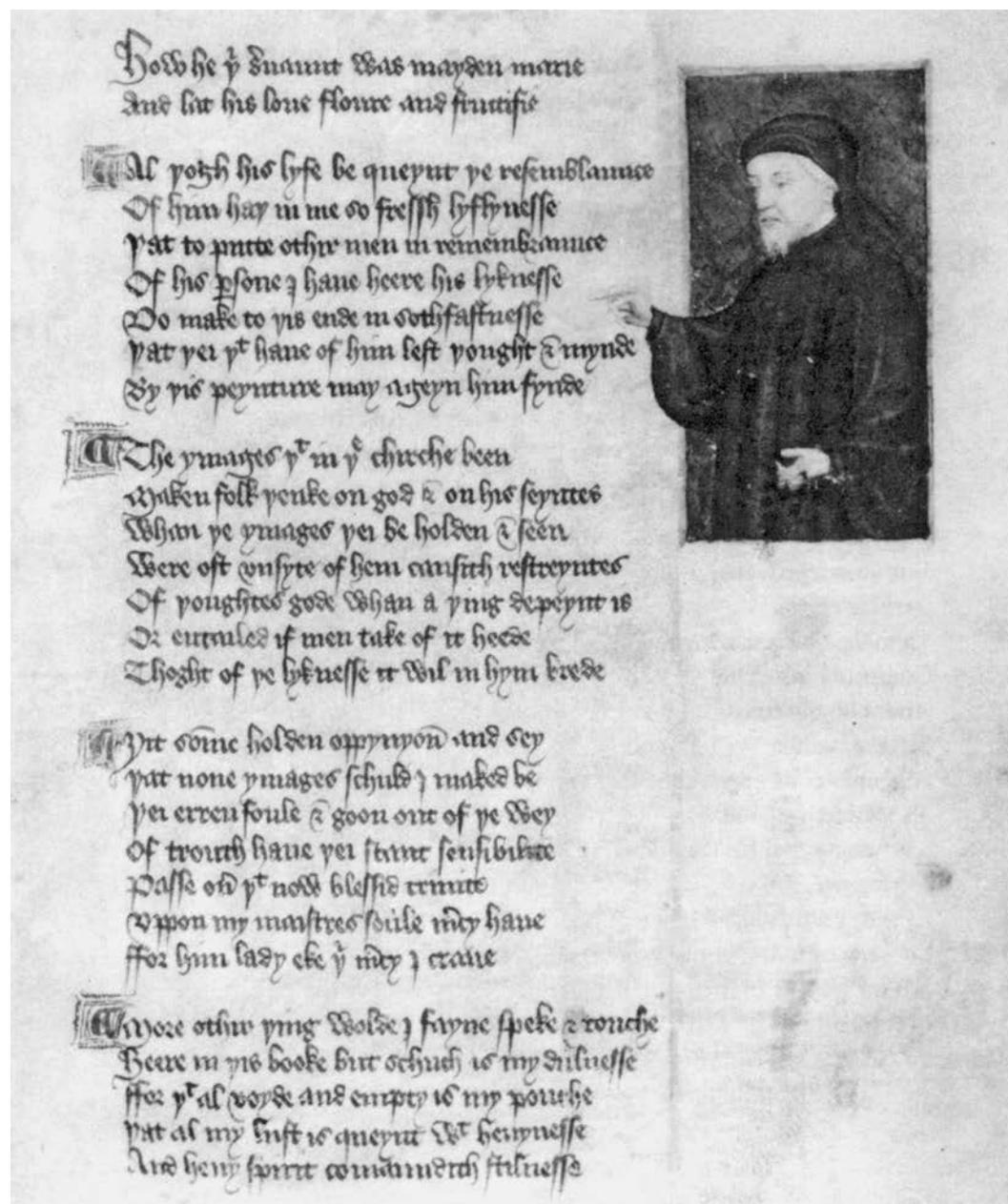
The Regiment of Princes

- Thogh that he nat so wel conseille can.
 Yonge men stronge been, hardy, and bolde,
 And more weldy to fighte if they sholde;
 But thogh the olde in tyme of pees or werre
 Rede and conseille, it shal nat be the werre.
- 4955 *vigorous*
 war
 worse
- He that is fressh and lusty now this day
 By lengthe of yeeres shal nothyng be so;
 Fresshnesse and lust may nat endure alway;
 Whan age is comen, he commandith ho.
 But let see, who considerith this, who?
- 4960 *halt*
 rule
- Good is that age sette a governaille
 And youthe it sue — thus may bothe availle.
- ¶ Excellent Prince, eek on the holy dayes
 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
 Of kynges alle, is wrooth with that errour.
- 4965 *(see MLG)*
 delay them
 would not be pleased
 commands; reckoned
- In the long yeer been werk-dayes ynowe,
 If they be wel despent for to entend
 To conseiles. To God your herte bowe
 If yee desyre men hir hertes bende
 To yow. What kyng nat dredith God offendre
 Ne nat rekkith do him disobeissance,
 He shal be disobeied eek, par chance.
- 4975 *attend*
- The firste fyndere of our fair langage
 Hath seid, in cas semblable, and othir mo,
 So hly 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.
- 4980 *inventor (originator)*
 similar
 folly

The Regiment of Princes

- 4985 As thou wel knowist, o blessid Virgyne,
 With lovyng herte and hy devocioun,
 In thy honour he wroot ful many a lyne.
 O now thy help and thy promocioun!
 To God thy sone make a mocioun,
 How he thy servant was, mayden Marie,
 And lat his love floure and fructifie.
- assistance
prayer
the love of him
- 4990
 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 thoght and mynde
 By this peynture may ageyn him fynde.
- extinguished
animating force*
*Caused to be made
memory*
- 5000 The ymages that in the chirches been
 Maken folk thynke on God and on his seintes
 Whan the ymages they beholde and seen,
 Where ofte unsighte of hem causith restreyntes
 Of thoghtes goode. Whan a thyng depeynt is
 Or entaillid, if men take of it heede,
 Thoght of the liknesse it wole in hem breede.
- lack of seeing; hindrance
painted
carved
nurture
- 5005
 Yit sum men holde oppinioun and seye
 That noon ymages sholde ymakid be.
 They erren foule and goon out of the weye;
 Of trouthe have they scant sensibilitee.
 5010 Passe over that! Now, blessid Trinitie,
 Upon my maistres soule mercy have;
 For him, Lady, thy mercy eek I crave.
- badly*
- 5015 More othir thyng 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 stilnesse.
 And have I spoke of pees, I shal be stille.
 God sende us pees, if that it be His wille.
- pocket*

The Regiment of Princes



British Library MS Harley 4866, fol. 88

(lines 4990–5017)

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The Regiment of Princes

De pace

- ¶ Touche I wole heere of pees a word or two
As that scriptures maken menciou,
And than my book is endid al and do.
To Cryst ordeyneth He a mansioun
Which in his hertes habitacioun
Embraceth pees; wher pees is, Cryst is there,
For Cryst nat list abyden elleswhere. *(see MLG)*
- ¶ Amonges Cristen folk, wrecche is he noon
That paciently suffrith a duresse;
But sikirly, a wrecche is he oon
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. *(see MLG)*
- ¶ Thynges 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
To Goddes wil; al thyng is in His might,
Sauf oonly that He may do noon unright. *(see note)*
- 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
Continually whos willes fully be
To Goddes wil conformyng. O pardee,
Ageyn God helpith ther no resistance,
So strong and mighty is His excellencie.
- 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. *big things; not [fit]; bag taste*

The Regiment of Princes

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

- | | | |
|------|--|--|
| 5055 | The thridde is eek tranquillitee of thoght,
That gydith man to pees, for as a wight
May in a bed of thornesreste noght,
Right so who is with grevous thoghtes twight
May with himself ne othir folk aright | <i>pulled</i> |
| 5060 | Have no pees; a man moot needes smerte
Whan irous thoghtes occupie his herte. | <i>angry</i> |
| | And evene as that upon a pilwe softe
Man may him reste wel and take his ese,
Right so that Lord that sitte in hevene alofte | <i>pillow</i> |
| 5065 | Herte peisable can so lyke and plese
That He wole entre therin and it sese
And occupie it as just possessour; | |
| | In place of pees restith our Sauveour. | (see MLG) |
| 5070 | But al another pees ther is also
Which is nat worth; it is envenymous,
For it is unto verray pees a fo. | |
| | Whan men in a purpos malicious
Accorden, that pees is to God grevous; | (see MLG) |
| 5075 | Swich pees was twixt Herodes and Pilat,
And in swich cas, pees wers is than debat. | Agree |
| | 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! | |
| 5080 | 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. | |
| | Men countrefete in wordes Tullius
And folwe in werk Judas or Genyloun; | <i>emulate; (see MLG)</i> |
| 5085 | Many an hony word and many a kus
Ther is; but wayte on the conclusioun | <i>Ganelon</i>
<i>kiss</i>
<i>wait for</i> |

The Regiment of Princes

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

- 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
Sueth 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,
Wherfore he dide as that shee him seide.
In that obedience he foldeide,
For God hire him bytook him to obeye;
But I adrad am that I thus fer seve.

- If that this come unto the audience
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;
And sum men sevn 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 sovereyn tee,
And hire housbondes make to hem louete.
 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 mennes, in certeyn;
And vit sum nyce men, of lewdenesse.

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In repreef of hem holden thereageyn; *against that*
 For crookid was that ribbe, and speke and seyn
 That also crookid is hir courtesie; *defective*
 But ageyn that, strongly wole I replie. *firmly*

❧ For in the wrytyng and in the scripture *(see MLG)*
 Of philosophres, men may see and rede,
 Cerclely shap is moost parfyt figure,
 Betokenyng in gemetrie 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.

5130 For therby shewith it that crookidnesse
 Strecchith unto gretter perfecciooun
 Than dooth a thyng that is of evennesse.
 5135 Of this helpith no contradiccioun,
 For it is sooth; it is no ficcioun.
 Every parfyt body that man can nevene
 Is rownd and crookid and nat streight ne evene. *straightness
is of use
name*

5140 Begynne first at hevene and rownd it is;
 The sonne and moone and the sterres also;
 Heed of man, yen, 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; *support*
 5145 So biddith pees, and that to folwe I meene.

❧ Now for to speke or touchen of the place
 In which that man and womman formed were:
 Almighty God to womman shoop swich grace *(see MLG)*
 That shee was formed in the worthyere —
 5150 In paradys men woot wel he made here;
 But man ymaad was out of paradys,
 In place of lesse worthynesse and prys.

And of the manere of formacioun
 Of bothe two, herkneth now wel I preye.

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- 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.
 Makynge of Eeve tokned the makynge
Of Holy Chirche and sacramentz of it;
As of the syde of Adam, him sleepynge,
Eeve was maad, so our lord Cryst dyngne
5165 Upon the Crois, Holy Chirche of His syde
And the sacramentz maad were in that tyde. *time*
-  Fro tyme eek Cryst was twelve yeer of age
Unto thritti, He with His modir ay
Was servynge hire with plesant corage; *(see MLG)*
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 wyf;
- 5175 For shee was bothe two, and syn shee had
So longe of hir housbonde the maistrie,
Wommen, I trowe, been nat now so mad
That style to forgo; nay, swich folie,
What man that can in a womman espie,
Is worthy shryned be; God save hem alle, *enshrined (canonized)*
5180 And graunte hir hy corage nat appalle. *grow pale*
-  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 undirstonde thus alwey:
Whan that housbondes hem mistake and erre,
Agyen that vice wyves maken werre. *(see MLG)*
however
what does it mean?

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- Thogh a womman hir housbonde contrarie
 In his opinioun 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 spryng;
 Housbondes pees is peisible suffryng.*violent*
- 5195 By concord smale thynges multiplien,
 And by discord, hate, ire, and rancour,
 Perisshen thynges grete, and waaste and dyen.
 Pees hath the fruyt of ese in his favour;
 To gete pees holsum is the labour,
 5200 And keepe it wel whan that man hath it cought,
 That ire ne discord banisshe it nught.
-  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
 5205 By angels delitable song and soun.*(see MLG)*
 Also, aftir His resurreccioun
 He pees bad, and whan unto hevene He sty,
 He lefte pees in eerthe treewely.*delightful*
ascended
-  That gifte of pees, that precious jewel,
 5210 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
 5215 Han so greet stryf that ther may no pees route.*(see MLG)*
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 vengeable
 Hath many a womman maad hem clothe in sable.*civil disorder*
angry
nimble

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- | | | |
|------|--|-----------------------------|
| | 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 wilneth to been exaltat;
Thogh he be greet, yit hyer wolde he go;
And thise arn causes of our stryf and wo. | |
| 5230 | Werre withyn ourself is moost harmful
And perillous, and moost is ageyn kynde;
Therwith this land hath wrastled many a pul; | |
| | The smert is swich, it may nat out of mynde, | <i>bout</i> |
| | For it hath cast our welthe fer behynde, | |
| 5235 | And ferther wole but tho werres stynte; | <i>cease</i> |
| | No good may come of werres wrathful dynte. | <i>blow</i> |
| | Whyles that Romains were in herte al oon
And undyvydid al hool stood, they were | |
| | Lordes of al the world; fo was ther noon | |
| 5240 | Outward, as who seith, mighte hem greeve or dere; | <i>External</i> |
| | 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
But avarice? Shee refte hem hir wele. | |
| 5245 | Whyles they hadde in cheertee and favour
Profyt commun, they hadden by the stèle | <i>disturbance</i> |
| | Prosperitee; but it away gan stèle | <i>fondness</i> |
| | Whan they hem drow to profyt singuler, | <i>handle of instrument</i> |
| 5250 | And of profyt commun nat weren cheer. | |
| |  Beholde how avarice creepith in
And kyndlith werre and qwenchith unitee. | (see MLG) |
| | O Favel, thou mightest been of hir kyn,
For swich a brekepees as that is shee, | |
| 5255 | Right swich anothir may I name thee;
Thow rekkist nat ne dreddist nat to weende | <i>breaker of peace</i> |
| | For muk to helle unto the ferthest eende. | <i>go</i> |

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- This Favel is of pees a destourbour;
 Twixt God and mannes soule he werre reisith. *rouses up*
 5260 This world is blent by this dissimulour; *deceived; dissembler*
 Vertu he blameth and vices he preisith;
 Sore in the bowe of treccherie he teisith;
 His shot is gay but it is envenymed;
 His fikil aart may nat aright be rymed. *Vigorously; aims [an arrow]*
fine
put in verse
- 5265 Vertuous trouthe, hyde thou thyne heed!
 Thow maist as wel, thyne aart may nat availle;
 Out of this worldes grace art thou as deed.
 But Favel, traitour, thy fals governaille
 Makith ful many shippes for to saille
- 5270 Into thy cofre; warm is thyne office; *comfortable*
 That trouthe leesith, wynne can thy vice. *What; loses*
- Allas, so many a worthy clerk famous
 In Oxenforde and in Cambrigge also
 Stonde unavanced, wher the vicious
 5275 Favel hath chirches and provendres mo *prebends (stipends)*
 Than God is plesid with. Allas that tho
 That werreyen vertu so been promootid,
 And they helpees in whom vertu is rootid. *attack*
- The knyght or squyer on that othir syde,
 5280 Or yeman, that hath in pees and in werris
 Despent with his lord 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;
- 5285 Grace of this world by Favel is devoured.
- 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.
 5290 France, no wondir thogh thyne herte colde *grow cold*
 And brenne also, swich is thyne agonye;
 Thyself manaceth thyself for to dye. *threatens*

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- Thyself destroie, 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.
- appeased
forbidden
- 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 whilom this was France of hy nobleye!”
- I am an Englissh 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.
- allegiance
- Allas also the greet dissencioun,
5315 The pitous harm, the hateful discord,
That hath endured twixt this regioune
And othir landes Cristen. He that Lord
Of remes alle is, the auctour of concord
And pees, sore is meeved therwith; but we
5320 Nat dreden for t'offende His magestee.
- Of France and Engelaland, 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 tongue
That mighte expresse how profitable and good
Unto al peple it were of Cristen blood.

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- Yee hem ensamplen, yee been hir miroures; *serve as models*
 They folwen yow. What sorwe lamentable
 5330 Is causid of your werres sharpe shoures *assaults*
 Ther woot no wight; it is irreparable.
 O noble Cristen Princes honourable,
 For Him that for yow souffred passioune,
 Of Cristen blood haveth conpassioune!
- Allas, what peple hath your werre slain!
 What cornes waastid and doun trode and shent! *fields of grain*
 How many a wyf and mayde hath be bylbyn,
 Castels doun bete, and tymbred howses brent *raped*
 And drawen doun and al totore and rent! *pulled; destroyed*
 5340 The harm ne may nat reckned be ne told;
 This werre wexith al to hoor and old.
- To wynne worldly tresor and richesse
 Is of your stryf the long continuance; *duration*
 Wherby it seemeth that yee han scantnesse
 5345 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. *judgment*
- Whan Alisaundre deed was and ygrave,
 5350 And his toumbe of gold wroght ful rychely
 As kynges dignitee wole axe and crave,
 Dyverse philosophres drow hem ny
 Therto, and as oon of hem stood therby,
 He seide thus among the folkes alle:
 5355 “Seeth swich a chaunge is neewe now befalle. *newly*
- “This Alisaundre made yistiday
 Of gold his tresor, but gold makith now
 Tresor of him, as yee beholde may.”
 Anothir philosophre seide eek how
 5360 Al this world yistiday was nat ynow
 To stoppen Alisaundres covetyse;
 And now three elnes of clooth him souffyse. *ell (a variable measure of cloth)*

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- O worthy Princes two, now takith heede,
As hardy deeth is yow for to assaille *bold*
 5365 As shee dide Alisaundre, whom in dreede
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 threew him doun to ground and lete him lie. *without fail*
- 5370 With how greet labour or with how greet peyne
Men wynne good, to the world leve it shal; *remain*
Unto the pit gooth naght but the careyne; *corpse*
And thogh gold were graven therwithal,
Nat mighte it helpe; beeth nat goldes thral. *buried*
- 5375 Souffysith to your good, Yee Princes bothe;
With pees and reste, arme yow and clothe. *peace of mind*
-  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 *(see MLG)*
 5380 The blood that Cryst with His blood boghte whanne
He on the Crois starf? O Lady Seint Anne,
Thy doghtir preye to byseeche hir sone
To stynte of werres the dampnable wone. *practice*
-  The book of Revelaciouns of Bryde *Saint Bridget of Sweden; (see MLG)*
 5385 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
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 *is the rightful heir*
By matrymoyne pees and unitee
 5395 Been had — Crystes plesaunce is swich. Thus he
That right heir is may the reme rejoise,
Cessyng al stryf, debat, or werre, or noyse.” *assume rule over disturbance*

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- 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 werre and stryf;
Frendshipe appeere and banisse 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 Considereth 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 rebelliou恩,
5420 What wil unbuxum, what unkyndenesse,
May He preeve in yow that destruccioun
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 Sueth 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.

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Upon the mescreantz to make werre,
And hem unto the feith of Cryst to bryng,
5435 Good were; therin may yee nothyng erre;
That were a meritorie werreyyng;
That is the way unto the conqueryng
Of hevene blisse that is endelees,
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 kynges ympe and princes worthynesse, *royal offspring*
Syn thow al nakid art of eloquence?
And why approchist thow his excellencie
5445 Unclothid sauf thy kirtil bare also? *tunic*
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 pryvee unto thy sentence, *intimate with*
5450 Thow haast and art and wilt been everemo
To his hynessee of swich benevolence,
Thogh thow nat do him due reverence
In wordes, thy cheertee nat is the lesse.
And if lust be, to his magnificence
5455 Do by thy reed; his welthe it shal witnesse.
- Byseeche him of his gracious noblesse
Thee holde excusid of thyn innocence
Of endytynge, and with hertes meeknesse,
If anythyng thee passe of negligence, *go by*
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; *ardor*
That knowith He Whom nothyng is hid fro.

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 *Musynge*) 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.

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- 7 *Thoght.* 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 icon 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 *Series*. 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: **Boicius 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 Cocus: 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

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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. Martin* (Bruges: De Tempel, 1948), 39–59. The passage has a proverbial ring to it but is not identified in Whiting.
- 151 *Seint 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 weenest. . . . thow woost but litil what thow meenest.* Compare the refrain in *Book of the Duchess*, lines 743–44, 1137–38, 1305–06, with its variation on “*hyt ys nat soo. / Thou 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.

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- 221–23 ☛ MLG: **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 ☛ MLG: **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 grevance: / What is thy cause . . . lovest 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 “errors” 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 cam nevere, I kan nat tellen wher.
Therfore I stynte; I nam no divinistre;
Of soules fynde I nat in this registre, | <i>astrological house; where</i>
<i>Since</i>
<i>stop speaking; theologian</i>
<i>official written record</i> |
|--|--|

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

*Nor do I like these
them even 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  **MLG: Fides non capit meritum ubi ratio praebet experimentum** (“Faith derives no merit where reason tries for proof”). The ultimate source of this commonplace is Gregory 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 prehour at devys.* Both the ironic tone and the idiom recall Chaucer’s Pardoner: “He was in chirche a noble ecclesiaste” (*CT I[A]708*), and the Pardoner’s remark to the Wife of Bath: “Ye been a noble prehour 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).

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- 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*[I]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. ☒ 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 ☒ 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 certeyn than deeth is, / Ne more uncerteyn 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 ☒ 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 *Bachus 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.

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- 617–18 *tythe, / . . . his duetee.* The tithe, the tenth part of one's annual income due the church, is instead spent at the tavern.
- 629 *Dismembred I with oothes grete.* Scanlon (1994, p. 305) argues that this passage "explicitly recalls the *Pardoner's Tale*." Compare the note to line 404 for other references to Chaucer's Pardoner.
- 668–69 *withdraw the flood . . . at 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 Ferster, 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, *CTI*[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).

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- 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 *pitee exylid.* 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 regiouen.* Compare "Lak of Stedfastnesse," line 25.
- 869 *O fikil world, allas 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 nevere . . . 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  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  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 hewis."

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- 995 ☈ MLG: **Nota** (“Take note”).
- 1079 ff. ☈ 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. ☈ 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. ☈ 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 iugi [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. ☈ 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

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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 ☈ 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 ☈ MLG: **Proverbiis 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 *Make of necessitee . . . vertu*. Proverbial. See Whiting V43 for sixteen or so instances. Compare *Troilus* 4.1586–87 and The Knight’s Tale (CTII[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 ☈ MLG: **Quem diligo 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 smoot me with the strook / Of povert*. On the instructive smiting of humankind by poverty, see Pope Innocent III, *De miseria condicionis humane*, 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 wastours” (B VI.173) to bring them back to work on Piers’ half acre. Gower also speaks of the “symplesse of my

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poverte” (*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 *variaunce* (1372), compare Boethius, *Consolation*, Book II, prose i, and Chaucer, *Book of the Duchessa*, 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  MLG, 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 Privy 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.

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- 1576  MLG, in later hand: **Nota tres causas matrimonii** (“Note the three reasons for marriage”). Compare Chaucer’s The Parson’s Tale, *CT X*[I]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*[I]940–41.
- 1597  In the margin is another crudely drawn pointing hand.
- 1608 *they receyven eek provocatives*. Compare The Parson’s Tale, *CT X*[I]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 *nat 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 *Nat 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 ingredeleretur Egiptum, dixit Saray uxori sue: Novi quod pulcra sis mulier, et quodcum te viderunt**

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Egipci, 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 plagis 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 Pharao and his house with most grievous stripes for Sarah, Abram’s wife. And Pharao 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 Pharao 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 Pharao and his household. Our expositors say that it involved a closing up of the womb, so that the wife of Pharao and her servants could not give birth.” Nicholas of Lyra, *Biblia latina cum posteillis*, 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”).

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- 1742 ff. ☈ MLG: **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. ☈ MLG: **Regum ii, Capitulis x et xi** (“2 Kings:10–11”).
- 1751 ff. ☈ MLG: **Judicum xx, Egressi sunt, et cetera** (Judges 20[:1]: “Then all [the children of Israel] went out, etc.”).
- 1758 ff. ☈ MLG: **Deutronomi xxvii: Maledictus qui dormierit cum uxore proximi sui** (Deuteronomy 27[:20]: “Cursed be he that sleeps with his neighbor’s wife”).
- 1759–60 ☈ MLG: **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 ☈ RMG: **Nota** (“Take note”). In a later hand than that of the main scribe.
- 1804 *deed as is a stoon*. Proverbial. See Whiting S759 and S759a for about four dozen examples.
- 1864 ☈ MLG: **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.

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- 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. ☛ MLG: **Proverbiarum xxix: Qui blandis fictisque sermonibus loquitur amico suo expandit rete [MS rethe] 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. ☛ 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. ☛ MLG: **Jeremie ix: In ore suo pacem loquitur cum amico suo et occulite 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. ☛ 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.

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- 1933 ff.  MLG: **I[t]em Seneca: Ignorant seculi potentes vires suas, dum se credunt tam magnos quanti predicantur** (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).

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- 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 Reginime principum* of Aegidius Romanus or Giles of Rome, see the Introduction.
- 2057–58 For the topoi 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 witte 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

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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 *Virgile*. 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 *combeeworld*. This noun-phrase ("trouble-maker") somewhat awkwardly derives from the verb *cumbren* (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, combre-world, that may of nothyng serve") where the vocative use draws on its verbal origin (*combre 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  **MLG: 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.

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- 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

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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.  **MLG: De fidelitate [MS: felicitate] Marci Reguli** (“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.  **MLG: Nota de Alexandri juramento tento** (“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 *nat be worth a pere*. Proverbial. See Whiting P85.
- 2339  **MLG: Crisostomus super Matthaeum omelia 12: Nisi consuetudo interdicatur, non possunt amputari perjuria. Ex juramento enim perjurium generatur; sicut enim qui habet in consuetudine multum loqui neccesse est ut aliquando importune loquatur, sic qui habet consuetudinem jurare in rebus ydoneis, frequenter et in rebus superfluis etiam nolens consuetudine trahente perjurat.** (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  **MLG: In Canone xxii, questio ii, Isti tres: Juramentum tres habet conditiones, videlicet, veritatem, judicium et justitiam. Veritatem, s[c]ilicet ut jurans sciat vel credat verum esse quod jurat. Judicium, id est discretionem, ut discrete juret, non precipitanter, et cetera** (Canons, 22,

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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 **MLG:** **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 wole 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. *maynpernour*. A mainpernour 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 **MLG:** **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 **MLG:** **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

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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 Pardon: “Myne handes and my tongue goon so yerne” (*CT VI[C]398*). There is no rapid tongue in the Latin source. On other evidence of the presence of the Pardon in Hoccleve’s poem, compare the note to lines 404 above and to 2439 ff. below.

2429 **MLG: Proverbiarum x: In multiloquio non deerit 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. **MLG: 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. **MLG: 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 tongue to be light;
For whoso mochil clappith, gabbith ofte.
The tongue of man so swift is and so wight
That w[h]an it is areisid up on lofte,
Reson it sueth so slowly and softe
That it him 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.

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- 2443 ☈ MLG: **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, foule moot he falle! / Foorth in justice wole I now proceede” (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. ☈ MLG: **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. ☈ MLG: **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 epistulam ad Parthos tractatus*, tract. 8, *PL* 35, col. 2038, line 37.
- 2479 ff. ☈ MLG: **Quisquis es qui justitiam veram sectari desideres, time prius deum, et cetera** (“Whoever you are who desire to follow true justice, first fear God,

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- etc.”). Compare Petrus Cantor, *Notae in verbum abbreviatum*, in *PL* 205, col. 507D.
- 2482 ff. MLG: **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. MLG: **Ipso jure fraternitatis et societatis humane, consilii et auxilii 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. MLG: **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. MLG: **Aristoteles, capitulo de forma et modo justitie: 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. MLG: **Sapientie v: Quia non recte judicastis, 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. MLG: **Refert Valerius Maximus qualiter Theodorus Sirenum crucifigebatur quia Regem de Lisemaco arguebat pro suis defectibus, et cetera** (“Valerius Maximus reports how Theodore Cyrenaicus was crucified

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

- 2584 ff. ☈ MLG: **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. ☈ MLG: **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. ☈ MLG: **Nota de justitia cuiusdam regis qui quendam judicem excoriari 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. ☈ MLG: **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. ☈ MLG: **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.

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- 2707 ff.  **MLG: 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.  **MLG: 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 liceat 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.  **MLG: Scriptum est, Qui rigorem justitie exercere intendit, caveat ne puniendo delectet vel injurias suas ulcisci glorientur; 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.  **MLG: Egidius in seconda 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.  **MLG: Nota bene qualiter satisfactum erat legi per quondam consulem Romanum** (“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.  **MLG: 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

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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 *commun 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]attis*, 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., *Auctoritates 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

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

- 2886 ☈ 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. ✉ MLG: **Nullum bonum irremuneratum, et cetera** (“No good deed is unremunerated, etc.”). *Auctoritates Aristotelis Senecae Boethii Platonis Apulei Porphyrii Gilberti*, opus 25, sententia 58.
- 2899 ff. ✉ MLG: **Quod elecciones sint in ecclesiis cathedralibus libere** (“That elections be free in cathedral churches”).
- 2950 ff. ✉ 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 not what men him 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* I[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. ✉ MLG: **Refert Horosius 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 ✉ MLG: **Contra blanditores** (“Against flatterers”).

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- 3062 ff. **¶MLG:** **Dicit Seneca de quibusdam qui Neronem sequebantur: 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. **¶MLG:** **Jeronimus: 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. **¶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. **¶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. **¶MLG:** **Canonum xxiiia, 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. **¶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.

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- 3114 ☛ MLG: **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. ☛ MLG: **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. ☛ MLG: **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. ☛ MLG: **De pietate Marci Marcelli** (“Concerning the compassion of Marcus Marcellus”). Compare Burt, p. 61, and Vignay, pp. 201–02.
- 3235 ff. ☛ MLG: **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. ☛ MLG: **De pietate Cesaris imperatoris** (“Concerning the compassion of Emperor Caesar”). See Burt, p. 61, and Vignay, p. 202.
- 3249 ff. ☛ MLG: **De pietati Alexandri** (“Concerning the compassion of Alexander”). Burt, p. 63; Vignay, p. 203.
- 3270 ff. ☛ MLG: **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. ☛ MLG: **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.

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- 3319 ff. ☛ MLG: **Matthaei vii: Qui enim dimitit injuriam et si non** [added above] **peccaverit ipse, dimitetur ei. Unde dominus in evangelio: Date et dabitur vobis; dimitte et dimittetur vobis; sed qui dimitit 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. ☛ MLG: **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 et nonaginta*, tract. 10, in *PL* 54, col. 164A.
- 3347 ff. ☛ MLG: **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. ☛ MLG: **Beati misericordes, et cetera** (“Blessed are the merciful, etc.”). Matthew 5:7.
- 3368 ff. ☛ MLG: **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. ☛ MLG: **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.

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- 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. ☛ MLG: **De miti animo regis Piri** ("Concerning the gentle mind of King Pirrus"). For the source see Burt, p. 16 and Vignay, p. 153.
- 3410 ff. ☛ MLG: **Potestas 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. ☛ MLG: **Proverbiarum capitulo xx: Misericordia et veritas regem custodint et roboratur clementia thronus eius** (Proverbs, chapter 20[:28]: "Mercy and truth preserve the king, and his throne is strengthened by clemency").
- 3426 ff. ☛ MLG: **De misericordia ducis Pisistarisi** [MS: *Pisastaris*] ("Concerning the mercy of Duke Pisistratus"). See Burt, pp. 14–15, and Vignay, p. 152.
- 3458–59 Latin rubric heading new section: **De patientia** ("Concerning patience").
- 3459 ff. ☛ MLG: **Gregorius dicit: Patientia vera est aliena mala equanimiter pati et contra eum qui mala rogat** [Harley: *irrogat*] **nullo dolore mor[der]i** (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. ☛ MLG: **Socrates 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. ☛ MLG: **Regum 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. ☛ MLG: **Dixit autem Abusay filius Sarvie: Quare maledicit canis iste? et cetera. Vadam et amputabo, et cetera** (And Abisai the son of Sarvia said to the

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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. ☈ MLG: **Et ait rex: Dimitte eum ut maledicit iuxta preceptum domini. Si forte respiciat dominus afflictionem meam et reddit michi bonum pro maledicione 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. ☈ MLG: **De patientia regis Alexandri** (“Concerning the patience of King Alexander”). See Burt, pp. 66–67, and Vignay, pp. 205–06.
- 3513 ff. ☈ MLG: **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. ☈ MLG: **De patientia Scipionis Africani bellicosissimi** (“Concerning the patience of the most warlike Scipio Africanus”). See Burt, p. 67, and Vignay, p. 206.
- 3536 ff. ☈ MLG: **De benignitate [et] patientia regis Antigone** (“Concerning the generosity [and] patience of King Antigonus”). See Burt, p. 68, and Vignay, p. 206.
- 3543 ff. ☈ MLG: **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. ☈ MLG: **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

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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.  **MLG: 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 I, fig. 202.

- 3585 ff.  **MLG: Basilus: Humilis licet habitu vilis sit; gloriosus 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.  **MLG: Isodorus: Quamvis sum[m]us 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.  **MLG: 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.

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- 3595 ff. **MLG: Isodorus:** **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. **MLG: 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. **MLG: Augustinus:** **Habere caritatem et fac quod vis, et cetera** (Augustine: “Have charity and do what you will, etc.”). A variant of Augustine, *In Johannis epistulam ad Parthos tractatus [dilige et quod vis fac]*, tract. 7, in *PL* 35, col. 2033, line 35.
- 3606 ff. **MLG: Gregorius in moralibus :** **Omnipotentis 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. **MLG: 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. **MLG: 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 I, part 1, ch. 8 in Trevisa’s translation, p. 21, lines 4 ff.

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- 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  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.  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”).
-  **Ad Ebreos iii: Fornicatores et adulteros judicabit deus** (To the Hebrews, 3 [13: 4]; “For fornicators and adulterers God will judge”).
- 3676 ff.  MLG: **De castitate Scipionis Africani** (“On the chastity of Scipio Africanus”). See Burt, p. 20, and Vignay, pp. 157–58.
- 3718 ff.  MLG: **De castitate cuiusdam juvenis** (“On the chastity of a certain young man”). See Burt, p. 93, and Vignay, p. 231.
- 3732 ff.  MLG: **De castitate cuiusdam femine Ulie numcunate** (“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.  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.  MLG: **De Demostenes castitate** (“On the chastity of Demosthenes”). Burt, p. 94, and Vignay, pp. 231–32.

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- 3774 ff.  MLG: **De 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: **Jeronimus ad filiam virginem: O filia, inquit, si apostolus castigavit corpus suum et in servitutem redegit** (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: **Seneca: Si 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: **Danielis vi: Eadem nocte interfectus est Baltasar rex Caldeus et Darius Medus successit in regno, et cetera** (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: Cor 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: Et cum 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: Veni, inebriemus eum vino, dormiamusque cum eo, ut reservare possimus ex patre nostro semen, et cetera** (Genesis 19[:32]):

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“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.  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 Segrave, representing John Mowbray (Lord Mowbray and Segrave, 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.  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.  MLG: **Qualiter Marcus Curtius dixit quod mallet divites habere suo mandato obedientes quam dives ipsem et esse** (“How Marcus Curtius said that

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

- 4047 ff. ☈ MLG: **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. ☈ MLG: **Pauper Diogenes ditior erat Alexandro** (“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 ☈ MLG: **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 vito prodigalitatis** (“On the virtue of generosity and the vice of prodigality”).
- 4124 ff. ☈ MLG: **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.

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- 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 *Sauf 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 clamaverunt 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.

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- 4453 ff. ☛ MLG: **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 ☛ MLG: **Augustinus: Melius est pro veritate pati [MS: patris] supplicium quam pro adulatio[n]e 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. ☛ MLG: **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 *maumetrie*. Although the word can signify Muhammadanism, here it is used as a figure for misdirected worship and attendant vices.

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- 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: **Proverbiarum 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: *timulo*] **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.

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- 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. **¶ MLG: 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 Cataline* 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. **¶ MLG: 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 I, part 2, ch. 18. Compare Trevisa translation, p. 77, lines 39–40.
- 4586 MLG, belongs one stanza later.
- 4593 **¶ MLG** (mistakenly given one stanza earlier): **Avaritia est morbus incurabilis, ut idem dicit** (“Avarice is an incurable disease, as the same [philosopher] says”). Egidius, Book I, part 2, ch. 18. Compare Trevisa translation, p. 77, line 41.
- 4607 ff. **¶ MLG: Respic 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. **¶ MLG: 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

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- 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. MLG: **Proverbiarum xxii: Victoriam et honorem adquiret qui dat munera. Item, ne dicas amico tuo, Vade et revertere et cras 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 MLG: **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. MLG: **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. MLG: **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. MLG: **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. MLG: **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

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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 ❧ MLG: **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. ❧ MLG: **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 ❧ MLG: **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. ❧ MLG: **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. ❧ MLG: **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” (*CTI[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. ❧ MLG: **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. ❧ MLG: **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.

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- 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 cecidit 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 sanctifies, 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

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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 Wycliffite 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, **De 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 preparit 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: **Proveriarum 12: Qui pacis ineunt consilia, sequitur eos gaudium.** Ciprianus dicit: **Sacrificium deo est pax nostra et fraterna concordia**

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

- 5034 ff. MLG: **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 MLG: **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. MLG: **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. MLG: **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 *Genyloun.* Ganelon, the betrayer in the legend of Roland.
- 5101 ff. MLG: **Contra talem pacem loquitur, Christus Matthaei 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 antifeminism.
- 5115 ff. MLG: **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. MLG: **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

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discussion of this commonplace in context and contemporary with Hoccleve, see Book 19, ch. 127 of Trevisa's translation of Bartholomæus (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. ☈ MLG: **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. ☈ MLG: **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. ☈ MLG: **Beatus Bernardus dicit: A tempore quo Christus erat duodedennis 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. ☈ MLG: **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

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understonde.") In his later *Series*, Hoccleve cites the Wife of Bath as an "authority" (*Dialogue*, line 694: "The wyf of Bathe take I for auctrice . . .") as Chaucer had done in "Lenvoy de Chaucer a Bukton." 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 cv: 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 diligentur. 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

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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* (EETS 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 beforn.* 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: *Whyt.* 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: *seekenesse.* A's reading is emended to the required plural form.
- 93 *wight.* A: *wyth.* 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 *drery.* 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.

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- 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 *n*.
- 159 *reson can*. 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: *thys*. 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: *mysruel*. 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: *sytytþ*. 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 *swich*. A: *whyche*. A's reading is emended for preferable sense.
- 344 *as in*. 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: *Togh*. 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: *put 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 *knyghtly.* A: *knyȝtly.* A's unique reading is emended for sense.
- 527 *peple.* A: *peuples.* 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.
- yset. A: *set.* A's reading is emended to the reading of the great majority of MSS, including those closely related to A.
- 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.
- 546 *he.* A omits. A's unique omission is here emended for sense.
- 580 *worldes cours is.* A: *worldes ys cours 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: *thynkys.* A's miswriting is emended for sense.
- 727 *worldly.* A: *wordly.* A's miswriting is emended for sense.
- 747 *hye.* 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

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- I” 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: *god*. 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: *seurly*. The uniqueness of A’s reading makes it suspect; in the holographs “*seurly*” occurs only once as against six occurrences of “*sikirly*.”
- 807 *continuance*. A: *contynance*. A’s reading is emended for sense.
- 809 *it is penance*. A: *yt ys my penaunce*. 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 *my*. A: *myn*. A’s form is emended for usage; the ending in *-n* 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: *bowte 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 *straunge*. A: *stronge*. A’s unique reading, rhyming with “*chonge*” in the preceding line, is emended to Hoccleve’s usage.

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- 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: *Wyth hym and wytth hym*. A is emended for meter.
- 1004 *But al*. A: *But of al*. A's unique reading is emended for meter and sense.
- 1008 *the elengere*. 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 *p* 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 thyng*.” 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 am*. 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: *lighnesse*. 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: *hym*. 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

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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*, *yit* 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: *iwyest*. A’s unique reading is emended; the *i* is here metrically superfluous.
1399 *agilt 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 *gasten*, 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 *hongith*. A: *longeth*. A’s reading, shared by a few closely related MSS, anticipates the rhyme word of the following line. All MSS read *longeth* 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: *many zeere*. A’s reading is emended for idiom and for agreement with the great majority of closely related MSS.
1507 *to douten us*. A: *to dowte*. A’s nearly unique reading is emended for meter.
1537 *bidde*. A: *biddyth*. A’s unique reading is emended for meter.

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- 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 *fynden.* A: *fynde.* A's reading is emended for meter, to avoid elision.
- 1563 *convertible.* A: *confortyble.* A's unique reading is emended for sense.
- 1586 *heeld . . . therynne.* A: *helden . . . pynne.* 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 *twynne.* A: *atwynne.* 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 *twynn-* form.
- 1606 *wommen.* A: *womman.* 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 *fynden.* A: *fynde.* Emended for meter, to avoid elision.
- 1658 *been.* 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: *seme.* A's reading, shared only by Harley, is emended for usage.
- 1673 *swich.* A: *whiche.* A's minority reading is emended for sense.
- 1728 *punysshid.* A: *punische.* 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: *suer.* A's unique miswriting is emended for sense and rhyme (with "demeur").

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- 1843 *denyed*. A: *denyded*. A's unique reading is emended for sense.
- 1858 *Thow of*. A: *Thou*. A's unique reading is emended for sense.
- 1860 *sone, thanne foule*. 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: *endendement*. A's miswriting is emended for sense.
- 1971 *His*. A: *He*. A's unique reading is emended for sense.
- 1989 *astertith*. A: *asteryth*. A's reading is emended for sense.
- 1991 *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.
- 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 aventured*. A: *aventuryd*. A's unique reading is emended.
- 2128 *now*. A: *nouȝt*. A's unique reading is emended for sense.
- 2159 *on hy*. A: *an hye*. Emended to Hoccleve's usage.
- 2165 *Impressith*. 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 *-eb*), 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.

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- 2193 *passe, hem.* A: *passe 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: *ben.* A's form, shared by only one other MSS, is emended for usage before a consonant.
- 2286 *tukkes.* This is the reading of Harley 4866 as well as A, but Furnivall in his edition of Harley misread it as *trikkes*, 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 "tuken" 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 *yclept.* 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 hys 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 *Unsittyngē.* A. *Unsynttyngē.* A's unique miswriting is emended for sense.
- 2418 *It sit.* A: *It syttyth.* 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.

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- 2476 *do thow thyn almesse.* 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 *restreyned.* A: *refreyned.* 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 *on.* A: *an.* 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 *admittith.* A: *amittyth.* 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 "honde," in all cases but one in rhyme position, is always singular.
- 2800 *continuance.* A: *contynaunce.* 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: *trespaste.* 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: *knyȝt.* 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 *knyghtly*.
 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

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- 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 *knyȝt* but where the other MSS almost unanimously read *knyghtly* 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 *konnynge*. A: *knowynge*. 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; *seyn* 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.
- 3030 *brennen*. A: *brenne*. A’s reading is emended for meter, to avoid elision.
was. A: *ys*. A’s almost unique reading is emended for tense consistency.

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- 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 anothir.* 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: *telle.* A's spelling is emended for meter, to eliminate the elision.
- 3153 *eft 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: *hys.* 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: *schame.* 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 *led.* 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.

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- 3276 *sente him.* A: *sente hym in.* A's unique reading is emended for meter and sense.
3280 *he him answerde.* A: *hym answerde.* 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 yf that.* A's unique word order is emended for sense.
- 3434 *tendre morsel.* A: *tender ȝong morsel.* A's reading is emended for meter. The reading was probably encouraged by the occurrence of *ȝong* 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: *manere 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 *yt* never *ite*.
- 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 amendid.* 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: *hemself.* 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.

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- 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: *naght 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 befil*. A: *as yt ful*. A's unique reading is emended for usage.
3706 *laude and hy renoun*. A: *loude 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 "herde" 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 *hem purveyed*. A: *purveyd hem*. A's unique word order is emended for meter.
3781 *wyle*. A: *whyle*. A's reading is emended for sense; A anticipates the word two
 lines later.
3798 *adoun*. 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 on 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 *paith*. A: *paieth*. This is a conjectural emendation, supported by only a few MSS,
 but more persuasively defended on the analogy of attested Hoccleve variants

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- “comth/ cometh.” There is some evidence, in the past participial forms of this verb, that Hoccleve recognized syllabic variance: compare “apaid” (past participle of “apaien”) 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 *hath stablisshid.* A: *stablisshid hath.* A’s unique wording is emended for meter; A’s reading prevents elision of the final *e* of *knyghthode.*
- 3903 *Yee.* 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 jupartie.* 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 *iu-*.
- 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 unwys.* A: *a unwys.* 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 *on.* A: *or.* A’s unique reading is emended for sense.
- 4013 *a foul 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: *declareth 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.

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- 4051 *thy*. A: *my*. A's unique reading is emended for sense.
4053 *han*. A: *ham*. A's miswriting is emended for sense.
4068 *hy*. A: *by*. A's miswriting is emended for sense.
4082 *leye apaart*. A: *leye paart*. A's unique reading is emended for sense.
4083 *peyne him*. A: *feyne*. A's unique reading is emended for sense.
4085 *is nothyng*. A: *nys nobyng*. 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 regiou*n. 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 him 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: *bagge 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 feere*. A: *hous in fere*. A's reading is emended for meter, supported by the great majority of MSS.
4303 *assioile*. 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.

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- 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 hem*. 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 *misreuled*. 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: *ȝoures*. 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 custumably*. A: *to I-custumably*. A's miswriting is emended for sense.
- 4436 *ny*. A: *nyth*. 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 acountes*. A: *the countes*. A's unique reading is emended for sense.
- 4561 *in nothyng*. A: *nobyng*. 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: *othere 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.

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- 4611 *Of a seeknesse or an infirmite.* A: *Of syknesse or infirmite.* 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 *Lightly.* 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 inpotence.* 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: *ȝe.* A's reading, supported only by 4 other MSS, is emended for sense. The error is a form of dittoigraphy, anticipating the *ȝe* with which the following word begins.
- 4684 *in a blesid 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: *ȝeveth eveth eke.* A's unique duplication is emended for sense.
- 4792 *maken.* A: *make.* A's reading is emended for meter.
- 4802 *of a covenauant.* A: *of covenauant.* 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.

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- 4846 *but if he.* A: *but he.* A's reading is emended for meter.
- 4868 *thynke.* A: *thyngē.* 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 weel conseyle*), others as a noun (*by wise counsaill*), but in context the latter makes poor syntactic sense. In addition, a simple writing error, *be* for *pe*, 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: *Were.* Harley's unique reading is emended for sense.
- 5006 *sum men.* H: *somme.* 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 *sum 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.

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- 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: *wommen.* A's reading, supported by only two MSS, is emended to
 the singular form matching the Latin of the gloss.
5166 *sacramentz.* A: *sacramentʒ.* A's minority reading is followed, substituting *z* for
 A's *ʒ*. The only occurrences of *ʒ* in the holograph are “mazidnesse,” “sanʒ,” and
 “servantʒ,” the latter case, as here, eliminating the disyllabic form “a(e)ntes”
 and thereby preserving metrical regularity.
5169 *servynge.* A: *servyce.* 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: *men.* A's reading is emended for agreement with singular *his*.
5234 *our.* A: *out.* A's unique reading is emended for sense: the possessive adjective is
 important to the sense.
5242 *himself.* 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: *unthreuthe.* 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: *continaunce.* 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 *kythith.* A: *kipeth.* A's miswriting, confusing *p* and *b*, is emended for sense.
- 5433 *mescreantz.* A: *mescreantz.* Compare to line 5166. While the majority of MSS read *-antes*, A has learned Hoccleve's practice of using *ȝ* as *z* for the purpose of reducing two syllables to one. Three other MSS give this reading.
- 5435 *therin.* A: *therynne.* 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>	corage <i>desire, inclination; courage</i>
aght <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, beeth <i>be</i>	deeth <i>death</i>
beere <i>bier</i>	deffende <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>	drede <i>fear; doubt</i>
cam <i>came</i>	eek <i>also</i>
can <i>can; knows</i>	elles <i>else; otherwise</i>
cas <i>circumstance; chance; supposition</i>	encesoun <i>cause</i>
caste <i>throw; direct, plan</i>	entente <i>intention, plan</i>
certes <i>certainly</i>	eschue <i>avoid, shun</i>
charge <i>burden, responsibility</i>	ese <i>comfort</i>
cheer <i>beloved, dear</i>	estat <i>rank; condition</i>
cheere <i>look, expression; behavior</i>	Favel <i>Flattery</i>
cheertee <i>affection, esteem</i>	feend <i>devil</i>
chees <i>choose</i>	fer <i>far</i>
cheese <i>choose</i>	fere <i>fear</i>
clept <i>called</i>	fool <i>foolish</i>
cofre <i>chest</i>	forth <i>therefore</i>
conceit <i>conception, notion</i>	fro <i>from</i>
conpaignie <i>company</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	
haast, hast has	maad made
han have	maist may; be able to
heed head	maistir master
heede heed	mateere matter, affair, subject
heere here; hear	mescheef misfortune, trouble
hem them	mete food, meal
herte heart	meynee followers
hevynesse sadness	might power, ability
hir(e) her; their	mighty be able to, might
hoom home	mo more
hy high	mochil much
hye high; hasten, haste	moot must
 	mowe(n) may, be able to
kynde nature	muk filth; worldly gain
kythe show	
large liberal, generous	naght nothing
largesse generosity	nat not
lat let	ne nor
lede lead	neede necessity
leere learn	noght no, nothing
leese lose	noon none
leeve believe; permission	ny near
leve leave, remain; permission	nyce foolish
lever rather	
lewde ignorant, unlettered	
light cheerful; easy; light	o one
lightly easily	ones once
	oon one
	or or; before
	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	tho then; those
	thoght 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; suit, 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*
woost, woot *know*
wys *wise*
wyse *manner; wise*
wyt *blame, reproach*

y *I*
ye(n) *eye(s)*
xee *you; yes*
yit *yet*
ynow *enough*