NOTICE

The quality of this microform is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original thesis submitted for microfilming. Every effort has been made to ensure the highest quality of reproduction possible.

If pages are missing, contact the university which granted the degree.

Some pages may have indistinct print especially if the original pages were typed with a poor typewriter ribbon or if the university sent us an inferior photocopy.

Reproduction in full or in part of this microform is governed by the Canadian Copyright Act, R.S.C. 1970, c. C-30, and subsequent amendments.

AVIS

La qualité de cette microforme dépend grandement de la qualité de la thèse soumise au microfilmage. Nous avons tout fait pour assurer une qualité supérieure de reproduction.

S'il manque des pages, veuillez communiquer avec l'université qui a conféré le grade.

La qualité d'impression de certaines pages peut laisser à désirer, surtout si les pages originales ont été dactylographiées à l'aide d'un ruban usé ou si l'université nous a fait parvenir une photocopie de qualité inférieure.

La reproduction, même partielle, de cette microforme est soumise à la Loi canadienne sur le droit d'auteur, SRC 1970, c. C-30, et ses amendements subséquents.

Canada

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

A CRITICAL EDITION OF JOHN LYDGATE'S FABULA DUORUM MERCATORUM

BY

PAMELA FARVOLDEN

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY.

DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH

Edmonton, Alberta

FALL 1993

ISBN 0-315-88050-3

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

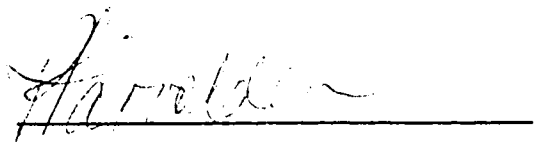
RELEASE FORM

NAME OF AUTHOR: Pamela Farvolden

TITLE OF THESIS: A Critical Edition of John Lydgate's Fabula duorum mercatorum

DEGREE: Doctor of Philosophy

YEAR THIS DEGREE GRANTED: Fall 1993



Box 684
Forestburg, Alberta
TOB 1NO

Date: Oct. 9/93

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled A CRITICAL EDITION OF JOHN LYDGATE'S FABULA DUORUM MERCATORUM submitted by PAMELA FARVOLDEN in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY.

Raymond J. S. Grant

Glenn D. Burger

Stephen R. Reimer

Richard J. d'Alquén

Derek S. Brewer

Date: 21 September 93

To my husband

This is also his

ABSTRACT

The Fabula duorum mercatorum is a Middle English narrative poem by John Lydgate, the most influential English poet of the fifteenth century. Based on Peter Alfonsi's twelfth-century exemplum "The Perfect Friend," the 910-line Fabula is a rhetorically complex and philosophical treatment of the theme of male friendship which, though it is one of Lydgate's best poems, a well-structured narrative which skillfully widens the scope of its original, has received little critical attention. Although the poem has been edited twice before, by J. Zupitza and G. Schleich in 1897 and by H. N. MacCracken in 1934, neither edition provides adequate introductory or critical material. The 1897 German edition is long outdated, while the 1934 edition presents only the text and an apparatus which is inaccurate in several particulars. Further, neither edition is based on a full collation of the seven manuscripts in which the poem survives, nor does either provide full descriptions of these manuscripts.

This new edition of the Fabula duorum mercatorum seeks to redress some of the shortcomings of the two previous editions and to add new information to the body of Lydgate studies. An introductory chapter provides some initial literary and textual contexts for the poem, and Chapter 2 describes in full the seven manuscripts and considers the relationships between and among them. Chapter 3 examines what is known about the date and authorship of the Fabula, and Chapters 4 and 5 consider in some detail the work's literary contexts: its narrative, medical, and philosophical sources and its relationship to certain of Chaucer's works, especially the "Knight's Tale." The conservatively-

edited text (based on Harley 2255) is based on a collation of all seven manuscripts, five of which the editor has seen and all of which were obtained on microfilm copies, and the textual apparatus contains all substantive variants. A commentary to the text, illuminating matters both textual and literary, is followed by a glossary of selected words. Two appendices, on the dialect of the Fabula and on punctuation and meter respectively, complete the study.

Acknowledgements

To all the members of my supervisory committee I extend my thanks: to Dr. Raymond Grant, for his reassurances and encouragement; to Dr. Glenn Burger, for many helpful comments and conversations; and to Dr. Stephen Reimer, without whose help and advice this dissertation could never have been completed.

Nor could it have been completed without the willing and cheerful help of my family: I am deeply grateful to Jim and Olga McGeean, Doris Farvolden, and especially Jamie and Carlyn, for their sacrifices of time, their patience, and their steadfast encouragement.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

John Lydgate (ca. 1370-1449) was the most popular and influential English poet of the fifteenth century. A Benedictine monk, he lived most of his life at Bury St. Edmunds in Suffolk, and his work is extraordinary for its quantity and variety. Best-known perhaps for the Fall of Princes, his expansion of Laurence de Premierfait's translation of Boccaccio's De casibus virorum illustrorum, Lydgate also wrote two pseudo-historical epics, the Siege of Thebes and the Troy Book, a number of saints' lives, and a variety of short poems, totalling the oft-repeated figure of 145,000 lines.[1] The Fabula duorum mercatorum[2] is a poem of 910 lines, a length which, compared with that of the Troy Book or the Fall of Princes, for example, must classify it as one of his

---

[1] Eleanour Hammond, English Verse (82), estimates the total at over 140,000, MacCracken, "Canon" (vi), at 100,000, and H. S. Bennett (138), at 145,500. Critics today settle at about 145,000. See, for example, the first page of Lois Ebin's Preface, Renoir and Benson (1809), and Pearsall, Lydgate, (4).

[2] The present title, adopted by Schleich and Zupitza and used by MacCracken, Hammond, and others, comes from the colophon to the text in two of the manuscripts in which it is found (A and Ha; see Chapter 2): Explicit ffabula duorum mercatorum De et super gestis Romanorum. Two other scribal explicits read duorum mecatorum [sic] ffideli de Amore (L) and de ffideli amore duorum marcatorum (V). The contemporary catalogue in R entitles the work "The marchaunt of Baldok." A later hand in this same MS refers to it as "An historye of two marchants," and the entry in A's catalogue (late) reads "Of 2 marchants 1 of Egipt ye other of Baldock." It appears under the name de duobus amantibus in the catalogues of Bale, Pits, Tanner, and Ritson, in the last of which it appears again, as if a different work, as Fabula duorum mercatorum. Wharton refers to "Lydgate's Tale of two Marchants of Egypt and of Baldad" (3.lxix), and Schick refers to it as de duobus mercatoribus. Since the edition of Schleich and Zupitza, the poem has been known as the Fabula duorum mercatorum.

shorter poems. Compared with the majority of his minor poems,[3] however, the poem is of substantial length. A narrative work, it exemplifies the friendship between two merchants, and although its source, a twelfth-century exemplum, is short and straightforward, Lydgate's treatment of the tale is rhetorically complex, philosophical, and elaborate, as well as didactic.

Although its survival in seven manuscripts suggests some contemporary popularity,[4] the Fabula duorum mercatorum has received very little critical attention,[5] and the three short treatments of it in the books of Schirmer, Pearsall, and Ebin seem to imply by their brevity the poem's relative insignificance. Schirmer's assessment of the poem is marred by an inaccurate plot summary[6] and by unjustified criticisms of Lydgate's characterization and style.[7] Ebin and Pearsall are more helpful, but again, their treatments are overly brief. Both

---

[3] Edited by H. N. MacCracken in two volumes. The first contains religious poems, the second, secular.

[4] London, British Library MSS Harley 2255, Harley 2251, Additional 34360, Lansdowne 699; Cambridge, University Library Hh.4.12, Oxford, Bodleian Library Rawlinson Poetry F. 32, and Leiden, University Library Vossius G.G.Q.9. Chapter 2 contains a full description of each manuscript.

[5] The little that is available is listed in Renoir and Benson's bibliography (2089-2099). The most extended treatments of the poem are in the books of Schirmer, Pearsall, and Ebin, discussed here.

[6] For example, Schirmer writes that the merchants become acquainted through a third person (237), that they "compete honorably" (237) for the hand of the woman they both love, and that the poem "closes with a panegyric to divine justice" (238). This is all inaccurate.

[7] Schirmer criticizes Lydgate's merchants for not behaving more like Chaucer's pilgrims and remarks on Lydgate's "revelling in sententious moralizing . . ." (238). For more on Schirmer's account of the Fabula, see Chapter 3, pp. 51-52.

focus on Lydgate's amplifications to and digressions from his original and give some consideration to their effect. Ebin writes that they "emotionalize the action and give the simple plot a new intensity. . . . [T]he digressions magnify the characters' sense of loss and their dilemmas in an uncertain and transitory world" (112). Pearsall's treatment is a little fuller (about two pages as opposed to Ebin's half-page), but he confesses to "a certain bafflement before this poem," and his assessment almost contradicts Ebin's: "The story . . . sinks beneath such a weight and is lost from sight . . ." (Lydgate 204). Nevertheless, he goes on, "as an exercise of style it is superb. . . . The poem must stand . . . as a warning against any underestimation of the range of Lydgate's skills" (204). It is interesting to note that Pearsall's judgement of the poem here is markedly more positive than it had been earlier: in an essay on "The English Chaucerians," he had written that in the Fabula, "Lydgate's epic techniques of style and amplification operate almost by reflex upon a simple fable, with absurdly pretentious results . . ." (204). His reconsideration, no doubt prompted by a closer reading of the text for his book-length treatment of Lydgate's works, is an indication that the Fabula may deserve more attention than it has hitherto received. This introduction hopes to justify such attention first by considering the Fabula's immediate literary context and, second, by indicating the scope of the present edition.

The Fabula is significant, first of all, as one of several medieval versions of "The Perfect Friend,"[8] an extremely popular tale of male friendship found in Peter Alfonsi's Disciplina Clericalis. This twelfth-century collection of exempla was compiled in Spain and circulated widely throughout Western Europe in the late Middle Ages.[9] Peter Alfonsi's tale became the source for a number of Continental and English tales of friendship, which fall into two main groups of analogues. The first group, to which Lydgate's poem belongs, follows the basic narrative pattern of Alfonsi's tale, and is found in many early European[10] and Middle English exempla collections, including the Alphabet of Tales (#57), the Gesta Romanorum,[11] and Caxton's Aesop (the first of the "Fables of Alfonce").

Boccaccio's prose tale of Titus and Gisippus in the Decameron (eighth day, tenth story)[12] became the source for a second group of

---

[8] The tale has ancient origins; it combines two folktale motifs which can be found separately or together in numerous analogues in Classical Greek, Roman, and Arabian literature. See Thompson, Motif Index P315 ("Friends offer to die for each other") and P325 ("Host surrenders his wife to his guest"). H1558.2 ("Test of friendship: Substitute as murderer") is also relevant. Lee, 334-338, has a particularly full list of ancient analogues to Alfonsi's tale; see also Hermes 180, n. 25, and Schwarzbaum, 288-290.

[9] For more on this collection and a summary of Peter Alfonsi's tale, see Chapter 4, pp. 54-56.

[10] According to Lee, some of these include the Bonum Universale de Apibus of the thirteenth-century Belgian monk Thomas Cantipratanus, the anonymous Speculum Exemplorum, and the Libro de' constumi e degli offizii d' nobili sopra il giuoco degli scacchi of Jacopo da Cessole (end of thirteenth century) (Lee 331).

[11] See Chapter 4, p. 56, for more information about this version.

[12] It is not impossible that Lydgate might even have known Boccaccio's version of the tale; although a complete English translation of the Decameron was not available in England until 1620 (Wright,

analogues to Peter Alfonsi's tale.[13] While Boccaccio's version differs significantly from Peter Alfonsi in details of plot and setting,[14] it is still recognizably the same story, and its existence in many English versions attests (along with Lydgate's poem and its analogues) to the contemporary popularity of this tale of friendship. The first English appearance of the tale of Titus and Gisippus was either William Walter's poem Tytus and Gesyppus, which may have been published in the 1530s,[15] or Sir Thomas Elyot's prose version, inserted in his Boke Named the Governour, published in 1531.[16] Both were probably based on Phillipo Beroaldo's Latin translation of Boccaccio's tale, published in Bologna in 1491 (Wright, Boccaccio in England 133), although Elyot in particular

---

Boccaccio in England 191), Duke Humphrey, one of Lydgate's most important patrons, had a copy of Laurence de Premierfait's French translation of the Decameron in his library (Wright, Boccaccio in England 114).

[13] H. C. Ward suggests that Boccaccio's version may have been based on a French adaptation of Peter Alfonsi's tale, the Roman d'Athis et Profilias. There is a copy in London, British Library, Additional MS 16441, dated about 1330. See Ward, Catalogue of Romances, 929.

[14] For example, the principals are named, the setting is Athens, and the two parts of the tale are more closely connected, the poverty of the original lover being caused by his yielding the woman to his friend.

[15] There is no date for this work, and little is known about William Walter. "Our knowledge of him is derived from the information given in his three works Guystarde and Sygysmonde, Tytus and Gesyppus, and The Spectacle of Louers. All three were printed by Wynkyn de Worde at the sign of the Sun in Fleet Streeet, but only the first bears any date, . . . 1532" (Wright, Early English Versions lv). According to Wright, Tytus and Gesyppus was probably later than Guystarde and Sygysmonde, but he cannot be certain of this (Early English Versions lxxvii, Boccaccio in England 133).

[16] Entitled "The wonderfull history of Titus and Gisippus, and whereby is fully declared the figure of perfet amitie," the tale forms Chapter 12 of Book 2.

diverges widely from both Boccaccio and Beroaldo.[17] The tale was enduringly popular, and English writers treated it in verse, prose, and drama in every century until the twentieth.[18]

The Fabula can be considered not only as an interesting treatment of a particular story-type that proved extremely popular and durable in English literature, but also as a medieval examination of male friendship in general, a theme which had some currency in Middle English literature. It appears as an important aspect of Guy of Warwick,[19] Eger and Grime, Malory's Morte d'Arthur, and Chaucer's Troilus and Criseyde and "Knight's Tale"; and disquisitions on friendship also occupy parts of Gower's Mirror de l'homme (13693-740) and, of course,

---

[17] In 1922, C. T. Goode argued that Elyot's changes to the tale's structure could be accounted for by reference to Peter Alfonsi; but some of them, particularly the depiction of Titus's lovesickness, Gisippus's response to it, and the description of Sophronia seem closer to Lydgate's Fabula. Further investigation might yield some interesting connections in this regard.

[18] These include Edward Lewicke's "The most wonderful and pleasaunt History of Titus and Gisippus . . ." (verse, 1562), Edward Jenynges' "Notable Hystory of two faithfull Louers named Alfagus and Archelaus . . ." (verse, 1574), Thomas Deloney's "of the faithfull friendship that lasted betweene two faithfull friends" in The Garland of Good Will (ballad, printed 1631), Thomas Durfey's "Titus and Gissippus" in Stories, Moral and Comical (verse, 1706), Oliver Goldsmith's story of Alcander and Septimus (prose, The Bee 6 October 1759), Charles Lloyd's "Titus and Gisippus" in Desultory Thoughts on London, Titus and Gisippus, with other poems (verse, 1821), and Gerald Griffin's Gisippus (drama, produced at Drury Lane 23 February 1842). See Wright, Boccaccio in England (p. 495, Index, refers to the pages in which Wright treats each of these items).

[19] Laura Hibbard Loomis writes that Guy is "as much a romance of friendship as of love, for it tells at length of the sworn fellowship of Guy and Tirri . . ." (134).

the Romance of the Rose (4860-4762, 4865-4974).[20] The best-known Middle English poem concerning male friendship is, of course, Amis and Amiloun, in which two young knights undergo a number of trials in order to preserve each other's life. Like the Fabula, Amis and Amiloun has ancient sources and many analogues,[21] and its existence in several Middle English manuscripts[22] attests to its contemporary popularity; of the two poems, however, it is by far the better known.[23] Yet Lydgate's poem is an equally significant medieval treatment of the theme of friendship, not only because of the popularity of the story upon which the poem is based, but because of Lydgate's own narrative treatment of the tale.

Lydgate combines, for example, both Classical and medieval chivalric ideals of friendship to portray the relationship between the

---

[20] In the Romaunt the lines are 5201-5310, 5430-5560 in Fragment B. (In 1901 and 1902, J. H. Lange argued in two articles that Fragment B was translated by Lydgate, an idea suggested by Schick in his introduction to the Temple of Glas, lxii n. 2, but MacCracken disagreed. See "Canon" xlix-l.) Lydgate himself wrote a short poem on friendship, "A Freond at Neode" (Minor Poems 2: 755); and Chaucer's poem on fortune is also concerned with friendship. For additional information on the literary connections between fortune and friendship, see below, p. 66. For surveys of medieval treatments of friendship see the article by R. R. Purdy, passim, and the book by L. Mills, Chapter 2.

[21] See the introduction to MacEdward Leach's edition xxxii-lxxxix and Loomis 65-71.

[22] Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, MS Advocates 19.2.1; London, British Library MS Egerton 2862; Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Douce 326; and London, British Library MS Harley 2386. See Leach lxxxix-xciv.

[23] For example, Gervase Mathew's article examining connections between the medieval Latin scholastic and vernacular treatments of friendship begins with Amis and never mentions Lydgate's poem. The Introduction to Leach's edition does not mention the Fabula. As noted above, there is little critical material on the Fabula at all.

two merchants. Aristotelian and especially Ciceronian ideals of friendship inform Lydgate's emphasis on the virtue inherent in each merchant (5-7, 43-46) and his descriptions of the two men's attraction for one another even before they meet (69-70, 73-77, 83-84, 88-89).[24] As the friendship progresses, however, the merchants' relationship takes on characteristics we are more likely to associate with sworn brotherhood, as portrayed in chivalric romances.[25] Lydgate's skillful synthesis of these elements with conventions borrowed from courtly romance, medieval medicine, and Boethian philosophy makes the Fabula unique among Middle English poems of friendship. In its movement away from a strictly didactic, exemplary form towards the philosophical and rhetorical, its narrative centre shifts from the simple presentation of male friendship to an examination of the conflicting claims of love and friendship.[26]

The two existing editions of the Fabula pay little or no attention to these literary features of the poem. The 1897 edition, edited by Gustav Schleich from the papers of J. Zupitza, emphasizes the

---

[24] Although these ideas are found in the works of many Classical philosophers (see Commentary, ll. 64, 69-84, 97-98), Cicero's De amicitia is the locus classicus for the ideal of friendship in the Middle Ages; Curtius points out that it would have been on most curriculum lists of authors to be studied (49), and Mills observes that it is the "most important single source" for late Medieval and early Renaissance ideas regarding "the idealistic, elevated nature of true friendship" (6). Both Gervase Mathew and R. R. Purdy illustrate the correlation of Ciceronian ideals of friendship with the writings of, for example, St. Augustine (Purdy 120), St. Thomas Aquinas (Mathew 47-48), St. Aelred of Riveaulx (Purdy 120-121), and Richard Rolle (Purdy 127). See their articles passim.

[25] Chapter 5 examines this aspect of the merchants' friendship more closely, especially as it relates to Chaucer's "Knight's Tale."

[26] These ideas are more fully explored in Chapters 4 and 5.

philological and textual, and, while it contains much valuable information, is not what we now look for in a modern critical edition. The 1934 edition of Henry Noble MacCracken, contained in Volume 2 of his Minor Poems of John Lydgate, provides only the text and an apparatus containing many inaccuracies; although MacCracken intended to supply a commentary to the poems in both Volumes 1 and 2, none ever appeared.[27]

Nor is either previous edition based on a full collation of all seven manuscripts. Schleich and Zupitza omit the interesting and important Leiden manuscript,[28] and although MacCracken ostensibly included this MS, it is clear that he did not look at it very closely.[29] He also excludes from his collation the Cambridge manuscript. In both editions, then, and especially in MacCracken's, the apparatus is inadequate because neither can offer a complete account of the variants from Harley 2255 found in the other six manuscripts. Further, neither edition contains a full description of those manuscripts which are used.

The present edition seeks to redress some of these shortcomings by providing a complete collation of all seven manuscripts. Although it is based upon the same manuscript of both previous editions, Harley 2255, the text is presented in a near-diplomatic form that reproduces many of the manuscript features.[30] This edition also presents a Glossary and

---

[27] MacCracken refers to "the notes of this edition, which will be appended to my second volume" ("Canon," xi n. 2). No such notes exist.

[28] On the Leiden manuscript, see Chapter 2, pp. 22-27.

[29] For MacCracken's use of the Leiden manuscript, see Chapter 2, p. 39, n. 65.

[30] Appendix B considers some of the implications of this decision.

Commentary, both of which contain information not found in either of the two previous editions. The material which precedes the text also contains much that is either not found or inadequately dealt with in the Schleich/Zupitza edition. In Chapter 2, each of the seven manuscripts within which the Fabula is contained is fully described; this chapter, which includes all available material and some new information, tries to provide a more complete picture of these manuscripts and their contexts than hitherto has been available. Chapter 3 considers the poem's date and the question of authorship, while Chapters 4 and 5 consider the literary contexts of the poem extra to the larger context of friendship.

A. S. G. Edwards observed in 1983 that "there has . . . been a paucity of editorial work on Lydgate. . . . [M]ost of his texts are in need of some form of reassessment, if only to take account of new manuscripts that have come to light. Most of them would benefit from commentary volumes that give fuller annotation than generally exists" ("Lydgate Scholarship" 31). It is hoped that the present edition, by providing both a textual and literary reassessment of the Fabula, will contribute to these needs.

Chapter 2

THE MANUSCRIPTS

The Fabula duorum mercatorum is found in seven fifteenth-century manuscripts: London, British Library MS Harley 2251 (Ha); London, British Library Additional MS 34360 (A); London, British Library MS Lansdowne 699 (L); Leiden, University Library MS Vossius Germ. Gall. Q. 9 (V); Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson Poetry F. 32 (R); Cambridge, University Library MS Hh.4.12 (C); and London, British Library MS Harley 2255 (H), the last of which provides the text for this edition. The text is complete in only three of the manuscripts, H, C, and V. L is missing eight stanzas, Ha and A are missing one each, and R is missing the final two. All have been collated for this edition.

British Library MS Harley 2251 (Ha)

Harley 2251 is on paper, of 293 leaves, and measures 11 5/8 by 8 1/4 inches.[1] The manuscript contains 133 religious and secular items, and although a few poems are by Chaucer (for example, the "Prioress's Tale," "Fortune"), the majority of the verse is Lydgate's,[2] making it, as Derek Pearsall writes, "virtually a Lydgate anthology" (Lydgate 76).

---

[1] See Eleanor Hammond ("Two MSS" 10), whose entire article on Harley 2251 and Additional 34360 is valuable. See also Manly and Rickert (241-244), who give slightly different dimensions (11 1/2 by 8 1/2, p. 241), and A. Brusendorff (181, 222-24, 461-465). See the Harley Catalogue for a complete listing of the contents (578-582).

[2] To characterize the general nature of MS contents in this chapter, ascriptions of authorship are made according to modern scholarship, unless otherwise specified. There are few scribal attributions of authorship in this MS or in the others described below, with the exception of Harley 2255.

The paper bears three watermarks: ff.1-238, Armoiries Deux Pals, Briquet 2064 (1464), ff.239 and 274-93, Tete de Boeuf, not identified in Briquet, and ff.240-73, Ciseaux, Briquet 3700 (1469).[3] The foliation is double, the original fifteenth-century arabic numerals extending to 322, but because of some losses and scribal skips, this number is reduced to 293 in modern foliation.[4] The gatherings were originally twenties, except ff.261-73, which once formed a sixteen.[5] The volume is incomplete, the Court of Sapience breaking off at l. 516, the bottom of f.293v at the end of a gathering (Harvey x). Manly and Rickert date the manuscript after 1464 (242), Hammond, "during or after the reign of Edward IV" ("Two MSS" 27).

Each poem begins with a red and blue two-line capital; this is the extent of the decoration save the red marginal paragraph marks which indicate stanzas, between which there are no spaces. Caesurae are marked with a period. The text is in single columns, and most pages are continuously full; only a few items are provided with scribal titles, explicits, or incipits, and there are few catchwords.

Both this volume and Additional 34360 belong to a group of manuscripts which, in whole or in part, were copied by the same scribe.[6] There are two rather contradictory clues to his identity. An

---

[3] Manly and Rickert (241).

[4] Following Manly and Rickert, I give the modern foliation. Brusendorff, on the other hand, follows the old.

[5] See Manly and Rickert for more detail (241-42).

[6] Besides Ha and A, these include Cambridge, Trinity College MSS R.14.52 and R.3.21 (ff.34-49v), B.L. MS Arundel 59, B.L. MS Cotton Claudius A.8 (ff.175-97), B.L. MS Harley 78 (f.3r), B.L. MS Harley 5977 (frag. 90), B.L. MS Royal 17.D.15 (ff.167-301), Royal College of

inscription on f.59r in Additional 34360 suggests that his name may have been "Richard" or "Richardown."[7] Recent evidence, however, identifies him with John Multon, a fifteenth-century London stationer, but whether he actually was John Multon or someone who worked for him is not clear. The confusion stems from a 1983 article, in part of which A. I. Doyle identified a new manuscript in this scribe's hand (Cambridge, Trinity College MS R.14.52) and noted that parts of it were signed Quod Multon, indicating "a connection with John Multon, stationer of London" ("English Books" 177). C. Paul Christianson (99, 106, 107) and Linda Ehrsam Voigts (382) have taken Doyle's evidence to mean that John Multon was the actual scribe, but Julia Boffey and John Thompson feel that evidence about him is inconclusive and that "it is safer to call him simply by Brusendorff's name of the Hammond scribe" (287). Whoever he was, he was active in London between the 1460s and 1480s, and had access to a variety of material:

> He was involved in copying The Canterbury Tales and The Regiment of Princes at least twice each. . . . He also copied Fortescue's Governance, Lydgate's and Burgh's Secrees, the English prose Merlin, and at least part of Piers the Ploughman's Creed. He worked as sole scribe on two Shirley-derived Lydgate/Chaucer anthologies [Harely 2251 and Additional 34360], on a collection of devotional and ecclesiastically informative material, and on a volume including medical treatises, and he contributed to an anthology of mainly religious and historical texts.[8]

Physicians MS 13, Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson D.913 (f.43), and Worcester Cathedral MS F.172. Eleanor Hammond was the first to begin identifying this scribe's work ("Two MSS," "Ashmole 59," "Nine-Syllabled Line," "Scribe"). See also A. I. Doyle ("Unrecognized Piece," "English Books"), R. F. Green ("Notes"), and A. Brusendorff (181-182).

[7] See p. 18 below.

[8] Boffey and Thompson (287). See also their n. 54 (308), and n. 6 above.

Besides having been produced by the same scribe, Ha and A also share significant similarities in contents, implying that parts of them were copied from the same exemplars. They have twenty-four items in common, the same exemplar probably providing the original for eleven of these, which appear in the same order in both manuscripts.[9] Another exemplar, perhaps a now lost Shirley codex (Hammond, "Two MSS" 25-26), provided material for the remaining 13 items in common.[10] Two other Shirley manuscripts, Cambridge, Trinity College MS R.3.20 and Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Ashmole 59, have close textual connections with Ha.[11]

Hammond describes the hand[12] as "unmistakable, with long raking s, a p which slopes sharply backward . . . and a trick of writing ie for

---

[9] These are the items numbered by Hammond ("Two MSS") 1-11 for Ha and 13-23 for A. See her helpful table pp. 2-3 and her remarks in this article passim.

[10] Items 1-11 and 24-28 in A and items 18, 31, 37, 38, 42, 50, 64, 70, 71, 80-83 in Ha. The Fabula duorum mercatorum is item number 1 in A and number 38 in Ha. See Hammond, "Two MSS" 2-3.

[11] Hammond ("Two MSS" 11, 26; "Ashmole 59" 336, 346) argues that portions of Harley 2251 were copied directly from Trinity R.3.20; Ruth Harvey repeats this (x), but Brusendorff disagrees, declaring that these items could have come from "a similar MS," since "Shirley often copied the same poems over and over again, though constantly changing their order . . ." (223). Hammond also pointed out ("Ashmole 59") the similarities in the number and kind of items in Ha and Ashmole 59, a manuscript written by John Shirley, suggesting that these parts of Ha derive "from the lost Shirley anterior to Ashmole" ("Ashmole 59" 346).

[12] In her first examination of Ha and A ("Two MSS"), Hammond concluded that there were two hands at work in each manuscript, and that only particular parts of each manuscript were copied by the same scribe. The description quoted here applied to what she identified as the "latter hand" of A and the first hand of Ha, but she later recognized ("Scribe") that just one scribe is responsible for both manuscripts. Manly and Rickert's MS description repeats Hammond's original attribution of the hand to two scribes (242).

ee" ("Two MSS" 1). Ascenders and descenders are long and pronounced; long s and f extend well above and below the line, and the downstroke of h is also well below the line. Letter forms present a mixture of Secretary and Anglicana features:[13] single-compartment a (Secretary), "8"-shaped g (Anglicana), both long and "2" shaped r (Anglicana), looped d (Anglicana), and short s (Secretary). Otiose flourishes, particularly on final m and n, along with the exaggerated ascenders, particularly on top lines, betray a concern for decoration, but the overall appearance is one of currency and even haste; indeed, Hammond implies that this scribe's work is rather careless.[14] Despite the many Anglicana graphs, the hand seems to fit best with M. B. Parkes's description of Bastard Secretary (xxii).

This manuscript was owned by Stow, who provided a title to one poem, "A Sayenge of the nyghtyngale" (f 229r), and added five lines to finish a stanza of one of Isopus Fabules (f.260v) Several readers have provided marginalia, some signing their names or initials: one, Jo: Bra: (f.76v), J.B. (f.155v, f.186v), directs us at one point to "Reade it agayne and agayne" (f. 155v), perhaps in imitation of another unidentified writer who makes this kind of comment throughout the manuscript, though at at least one point he admonishes us, "Do not Reade

---

[13] M. B. Parkes's English Cursive Book Hands 1250-1500 is the chief source for the handwriting descriptions in this chapter.

[14] "This copyist is the type of workman who transfers his original line by line, glancing at his archetype no oftener; the type of workman to whom word-order is immaterial and with whom the substitution of a synonym is constant. It is of no moment to him whether he writes 'certeyn' or 'siker,' 'sey' or 'syng'" ("Scribe" 29).

this but hyde your eye" (f.149v).[15] Another writer, John ?A (f.76v), comments on the text at several points (f.36r, f.74r, f.188r). Other names include Nycolas Skyner (f.9r), ?Jon or ?James ?Adams (f.26v) and Elizabeth ---gia Angl- (f.100r). An unnamed annotator confines his comments to the Regimine Principium (ff.188v-224v), pointing out such things as "How a King shuld be merciable" (f.205v) and adding a stanza in the right margin on f.210r. Yet another hand twice repeats in the left margin a line inserted in the right by the scribe (f.101r, f.60r). Brusendorff and Manly and Rickert draw attention to the monogram, perhaps that of an owner, on f.170r.[16] There is also much other scribal glossing throughout, notably the amusing comments, originally John Shirley's, accompanying extracts from Lydgate's Fall of Princes (ff.81r-145v). These comments at first approve the text, but then become mock admonishments as the text's subject matter turns to the evil of women: "Be pees or I wil rende this leef out of your booke" (f.142r).[17]

---

[15] Manly and Rickert (244) seem to take these two writers as the same person, but the hands appear to be very different.

[16] It consists of a large Q, in the middle of which are the letters V, A, and L in blue between I and J (Brusendorff 181, n. 3) or I and D (Manly & Rickert 244) in red. Manly and Rickert suggest that even though its letter forms look later, the monogram may be of the same date as the rubrication, because the red pigment of both is the same shade (244). The same monogram occurs on f.169v of Worcester Cathedral MS. F. 172, another of the manuscripts written by this scribe. See Doyle ("Unrecognized Piece"), who writes, "whatever its meaning, as a mark of manufacture or of ownership, it is an unquestionable objective link between the two books, superficially so different in constitution" (431).

[17] For a full account of these extracts and comments, see A. S. G. Edwards, "John Lydgate, Medieval Antifeminism, and Harley 2251."

The Fabula duorum mercatorum appears on ff.55r-70r. Like the other poems in the manuscript, it begins with a large capital, blue with a red flourish. The poem ends with this colophon, also appearing in A: Explicit ffabula duorum mercatorum De et super gestis Romanorum. Marginalia appear on f. 60r and f. 63v.[18] There is one catchword on 59v. Several lines are missing from the text: ll. 100,[19] 171, and 214. Lines 484-490, stanza seventy, are also omitted, and stanza seventeen is inserted after stanza twelve.

British Library MS Additional 34360 (A) (formerly Phillipps 9053)

Additional 34360 is a volume of 116 leaves, on paper, measuring 10 1/2 by 7 3/4 inches.[20] It contains a variety of religious and secular verse of which most is by Lydgate, although Chaucer's "Complaint to Pity" and "Complaint to his Purse" as well as the Assembly of Ladies also appear.[21] Eleanor Hammond notes that the Tete de Boeuf watermark found on some folios of Harley 2251 also appears here on "a dozen or so" leaves, but that the other watermarks are "quite different--a vase, a

---

[18] The first repeats in the left margin a line inserted by the scribe in the right: "It was ful thyn and wannyssh for to se" (l. 326). The second, not in any hand noted above, draws attention to the "3 Negatives used in our Language, even by this author" beside the line "ffriend nor foo . ne takyth of hym non hede" (l. 546).

[19] MacCracken's apparatus wrongly indicates that ll. 100 and 101 are transposed in both Ha and A. He apparently did not recognize that in both l. 100 is missing altogether.

[20] Hammond ("Two MSS" 1). See also Brusendorff (181-2, 222-4), and the Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum (317-321).

[21] The latter two are attributed here by Stow to Chaucer; Pity is attributed to Chaucer in a scribal heading.

hand, a wheel, etc." ("Scribe" 32). There is both foliation and pagination. Folios 58r-77r, numbered 1-10 by the scribe, form an originally independent quire of twenty leaves. The last leaf of the preceding quire (f.57) is blank, and five leaves have been cut out here (Brusendorff 181, n. 2). Like Ha, A is dated during or after the reign of Edward IV. Derek Pearsall suggests 1485 as the latest date to which it could be assigned (Floure 8).

Each poem begins with a space for a large capital, none of which has been inserted. As in Ha, the texts are in single columns, and there are no running titles or stanza spacing. Many poems have headings, and some have an explicit. There are only a few catchwords. The hand is clearly the same as that of Ha, though not found in Ha is the scribal inscription on f.59r following the anonymous poem on precious stones (refrain: "In thought word and dede as a stidefaststone") which may contain the scribe's name, Richard or Richardown: Columbina apparuisti Eleyson / Verba Auctoris [quod] Richardown.[22]

The manuscript belonged to John Stow, who gives titles to several poems and occasionally notes Chaucer or Lydgate as the author, as, for example, in "The hors the shepe and the gose, by John Lydgate" (f.27r). It also belonged to William Browne, the seventeenth-century English poet best known, perhaps, for his Britannia's Pastorals (published 1616). Browne inscribed on f.2v fortuna non mutat genus and signed his name on the top of f.4r. An eighteenth-century owner, J. Taylor, also wrote his

---

[22] Brusendorff (181) thinks it probable that the scribe signs his name here. It should be noted that Brusendorff inaccurately describes this inscription as coming "after the heading of a poem" (181); in fact, there is no heading to the following poem (beginning "Jesu Crist kepe oure lyppes").

name at the top of this folio (Add. Cat. 321). Later, Richard Heber (1773-1833) owned the manuscript and lent it to Joseph Ritson.[23] Heber's Sale Catalogue states other owners as "Dr. Askew, Dr. Wright, Gough and Wodhull" (Add. Cat. 321). A table of contents in a later hand appears on f.3r and f.3v.[24] There is what might be an owner's monogram--Brusendorff calls it a "curious tracing" (181, n. 2)--on f.53r, after "Pity."

The text begins on f.4r with the Fabula duorum mercatorum, in single columns, 30-31 lines per leaf. It ends on f.18v with the same colophon as is found in Ha, Explicit ffabula duorum mercatorum. . . . As they are in Ha, ll. 100, 214, and 484-490 are missing;[25] here too, stanza seventeen appears after stanza twelve. Except for a later correction in the right margin on f.15v, there are no catchwords or marginalia.

British Library MS Lansdowne 699 (L)

Lansdowne 699 is on paper, with the inward and outmost leaves of each gathering on parchment, of 176 leaves, measuring 7 3/8 by 5 1/2

---

[23] On the first flyleaf, verso, is a note from Ritson drawing attention to Stow's handwriting on certain leaves: "This book has been in the hands of John Stow, whose writeing [sic] appears in many parts of it. See p. 31, 47, 67, 142, 151." Following is a note in brackets, "Note by Mr. Ritson to whom I lent this vol.," signed "R.H." Ritson used this MS in the compilation of his list of Lydgate's works.

[24] The compiler of the Add. Cat. speculates that its writer may have been William Browne (321). The Fabula is listed here thus: "Of 2 Marchants one of Egipt the other of Baldak intitled / ------- de et Super gestis Romanorum." Another hand adds "by Lydgate" and makes reference to Warton's notice of the poem in his History of English Poetry.

[25] However, l. 171 is not missing, as it is from Ha.

inches.[26] This manuscript consists of two main parts, distinguishable on the basis of content and foliation.[27] Folios 1r-94r contain eighteen items, all by Lydgate except for Chaucer's "Fortune" and "Truth,"[28] and ff.96r-176r contain Lydgate's Life of St. Alban and Amphibal. The first section contains scribal foliation.

George Reinecke notes the presence of a bull's head watermark surmounted by a vertical rod imposed with the St. Andrew's cross (xi). There is some decoration throughout in blue and red: each poem begins with a large capital in blue and red on a background of flourishes. The stanzas, spaced, are marked with marginal paragraph signs alternately blue and red. Underlining and the virgules marking many caesurae are in red, and the first letter of nearly every line is also marked with red. Despite the fact that some care was apparently taken in the preparation of the manuscript, it is not in very good shape. Several folios are discoloured (ff.2-8, f.176), some have holes (f.8 and f.9), and some appear to have been mended.

Five leaves have been lost before the text begins on f.2r, marked by the scribe with the number 6. They presumably contained "The Legend of St. Giles": its last stanza and the "Prayer to St Giles" occupy ff.2r and 2v. In this first gathering, originally of twelve, another leaf has

---

[26] George Reinecke (xi). See also Ward (496), Van der Westhuizen (3-4), and Hammond (Manual 331-32).

[27] The two parts may have existed as separate manuscripts, although George Reinecke points to "the closeness in size and lay-out of text in the two halves of the manuscript" as suggesting "some association between them from the beginning . . ." (xii).

[28] The compiler may have thought these two items were also Lydgate's.

been lost after folio 7. The next seven gatherings (ff.8-90) are twelves; the ninth (ff. 19-94) was originally a gathering of eight, three leaves having been cut out after f.94; and the rest (ff. 96-176) are sixteens (Van der Westhuizen 3). Folio 95 is a "torn white page" (Hammond, Manual 332) which looks as though it were inserted at a later date, perhaps when the two parts of the manuscript were put together.

The manuscript is written entirely by one hand of the mid- to late fifteenth century.[29] The hand presents both cursive and formata characteristics, leading Van der Westhuizen to characterize it as "small [and] slightly cursive" (4) and Reinecke, on the other hand, to note the "absence of many cursive traits" (x) and conclude that it "shows a number of 'formata' traits" (xi). Bastard Anglicana graphs such as an unlooped ascender on d (although this can also be a Secretary graph) and 8-shaped g are indeed present, but there are many Secretary graphs as well: single-compartment or "headless" a, Secretary short s and r (both short and "2"-shaped, usually after o), and fairly long ascenders and descenders, particularly on y, which curves down and then to the right. Many final letters (for example, r, t, g, n, and m) have flourishes, but because their occurrences are inconsistent, many have been judged to be otiose. The overall appearance is rounded, lacking the angularity and broken strokes characteristic of Secretary; we might tentatively characterize it as a kind of Bastard Anglicana.

---

[29] Van der Westhuizen dates the hand to the "second half of the fifteenth century" (4); Reinecke, to about 1450 (xi).

The text is preceded by three leaves. The third, f.1, contains a list of contents[30] written and signed by Edward Umfreville, the author of Lex Coronatia (published in 1761). William Browne owned the book in the seventeenth century, signing his name and the year, 1615, at the top of f.2r and writing the opening lines from his Britannia's Pastorals on f.95. Memoranda by Davyd Martyn, a sixteenth-century owner, appear throughout the manuscript (for example, f.27v, f.95v), as do the names Benjamin ---ston (f.78v, f.73r), Antoni ----ton (f.73r), and V. Hern. Glastonbury (f.41v). Other unidentified marginalia appear frequently throughout. The first Marquis of Lansdowne (1737-1805) acquired the manuscript in the eighteenth century, and from him it passed to the British Museum in 1807 (Reinecke xii).

The Fabula duorum mercatorum appears on ff.3r-18r. Like the other poems in the manuscript, it begins on a recto; but unlike the rest, there is no Incipit appearing on the verso immediately preceding the text. The leaf containing stanzas 41-48 is missing between f.7 and f.8, and there is a hole penetrating f.8 and f.9. There are some corrections in another hand on f.4v, f.5v, and f.9v. The text begins with a large three-line capital, and the scribal explicit after the last stanza reads Explicit de fideli amore duorum mecatorum [sic].

Leiden, University Library MS Vossius Germ. Gall. Q. 9 (V)

Leiden University Vossius G.G.Q. 9 is a quarto volume of 135

---

[30] In it the Fabula duorum mercatorum appears under the title duorum Mercatorum fideli de Amore.

leaves on paper and parchment, measuring 220 x 145 mm.[31] Because seventeen of the twenty-seven items it contains are Lydgate's, it has come to be known as the "Leiden Lydgate Manuscript": of the remaining ten poems, eight are anonymous and two are Chaucer's ("Fortune" and "Truth").[32]

The first eighteen items in this manuscript--sixteen Lydgate and the two Chaucer poems, ff.1-106--are also the first eighteen in Lansdowne 699,[33] and ten of them are in the same order. Like Harley 2251 and Additional 34360, they are thus partial sisters, "yet," as Van Dorsten writes, "it is difficult to define their relation" (320). Showing that one could not have been copied from the other, Van Dorsten thus posits a common ancestor for those parts which are parallel, an anthology that "of course was compiled from quite a few MSS" (320).[34]

The manuscript falls into two physical parts, ff.1-116 and ff.117-135, distinguishable on the basis of handwriting, paper, and gatherings. Folios 1-115v (f.116 is blank) contain the first eighteen items and the anonymous texts. Two hands[35] are responsible for this section, which is on both paper and parchment (watermark c. Briquet 2786; Angouleme

---

[31] J. A. Van Dorsten (321-2). See also F. N. Robinson (186-194). Both give a complete list of the contents.

[32] Perhaps thought by the compiler to be Lydgate's.

[33] "The Legend of St. Giles" is complete in V; Lansdowne 699, as noted above, begins with the last stanza of this poem.

[34] In many but by no means all places, the text of the Fabula is identical in both manuscripts. MacCracken, unfortunately, seems to assume that in every case the variants are the same. A glance at the apparatus to his text will illustrate the point.

[35] Hand 1: ff.1-112r; Hand 2: ff.112v-116. See Van Dorsten 321-22.

1470: Van Dorsten 321). This section consists of eight gatherings of six (in the last of which two folios are missing) and one of five (Van Dorsten 315, 322). Folios 117-135 contain Lydgate's "Testament" and are written in a third hand, all on paper ("watermark anchor, not in Briquet and others": Van Dorsten 321), and are gathered in three quires of three (one leaf missing); f.135 is pasted in (Van Dorsten 315).

Although there are two distinct parts to this manuscript, they have been bound together "from a very early stage" (Van Dorsten 316). The two systems of foliation--scribal, which "follows a remarkable system of units of 40,[36] and modern (ff.1-135)--and the sixteenth-century system of pagination (pp. 1-270)[37] are continuous throughout the manuscript. Furthermore, the first three stanzas of Lydgate's "Testament," beginning on f.117r, are exactly copied from that folio on to f.116v in a sixteenth-century hand, indicating that the "Testament" was indeed bound into the manuscript by that time (Van Dorsten 316).

Four flyleaves precede the text: the second and third are pasted in and contain notes on Charles Doughty's examination of the manuscript in 1869-70 including a list of its contents; the fourth is modern, with a

---

[36] Van Dorsten (316). Following a suggestion from the Keeper of the Western Manuscripts at Leiden, Van Dorsten explains this system as follows: "the origin of the number 40 might lie in an index-maker's habit of counting in terms of five quaternia. So what may originally have been a structural system of calculation, might later have degenerated into a mere system of the '40 ff. unit': gatherings other than quaternia never bothered the man who counted forty ff. at a time" (317).

[37] Inexplicably, Van Dorsten (316) contends that this pagination breaks off at p. 214, on f. 107v. I can find no explanation for his failure to note the clear pagination numbers that continue to 269. The number 270 is probably there too, the damage on this last leaf of the manuscript perhaps obscuring it. The page numbers were clear to Robinson (187).

pressmark. The first flyleaf, verso, contains an incomplete sixteenth-century table of contents with titles and page numbers,[38] ending with the anonymous poem on p. 214 (f.107v). It has been added to by another sixteenth-century hand which merely repeats the last three items of the existing table.[39] Two notes, perhaps in the same hand as that of the original table of contents (Van Dorsten 316), appear at the bottom of the same leaf. The first is partly illegible, beginning "A folio MS of John Lidgate's" and at its end bears the initials W.B. The second refers the reader to what is presumably another manuscript in the writer's possession.[40] It looks as though those responsible for the contents of this leaf were interested primarily in Lydgate.[41]

The texts of the manuscript are in single columns, with stanza spacing, and twenty-four to thirty lines per page. Each poem has space for a three- or four-line capital, which is rarely present. The hand which added to the table of contents provides titles for the poems listed there, as well as many explicits and incipits (some repeat existing scribal incipits and explicits, of which there are many). There are no formal decorations but several rough attempts are made by later hands. For example, the space for a capital on f.65v is filled

---

[38] The Fabula is here entitled here De Fideli Amore duorum mercatorum.

[39] Van Dorsten states misleadingly that this second hand "finished the index" (316). It may also be this same hand which copied the stanzas from the "Testament" on to f.116v (Van Dorsten 316)

[40] "see the werkes(?) of Lidgate/ Folio 376 of Chaucer."

[41] Van Dorsten makes this suggestion (316).

with a crude profile; a similar profile appears on f.109r (blank, save for this drawing and other miscellaneous notes); and drawings appear on f.116r. There are some catchwords.

As noted above, Van Dorsten has identified three scribal hands at work in the manuscript. Hand 1 (ff.1-115), that which copied the Fabula duorum mercatorum, is a highly cursive script with many connecting strokes and numerous otiose flourishes and abbreviations, making the task of transcription difficult. Van Dorsten notes that the abbreviation marks "are very numerous, used very inconsistently, and appear to have no significance in most cases" (321). Present are the Secretary form of g, "b"-shaped s, "v"-shaped r (although long r appears infrequently), and headless a. The descenders of long s, p, and y are long and well below the line, as is the downstroke of h, which curves strongly to the left. Capital a, however, is the two-compartment Anglicana type, made with a single stroke, d is looped, and reverse e often appears, usually in the final position. This hand, the most cursive of any of those in the seven manuscripts, might be characterized as a late Anglicana type which includes Secretary forms. Van Dorsten suggests, on the basis of writing and paper, that its date is of the last quarter of the fifteenth century (320).

The manuscript had several owners before it came into the hands of the seventeenth-century Dutch scholar and book-collector Isaac Vossius (1618-1689), who, while in England, acquired it along with numerous other manuscripts, all of which were eventually bequeathed to the University Library at Leiden. In the fifteenth century it was owned by John King "of Dommowe," and in the sixteenth by D. Morley and Thomas

Andrews.[42] Other names appear in several places: Antony -yn Wellmarshe (f.57v); Pyatt (59r); Richard Pryntys (108r); John Thomas Wyf (109r); and Humphry Bertun (f.109v).[43]

The Fabula duorum mercatorum appears on ff.49-65. It is provided with both a scribal incipit, Incipit de fideli amore duorum marcator[um], and a title in a later hand,[44] De amore fideli duorum mercatorum. It ends, like Lansdowne, with a colophon in the scribe's hand: Explicit de ffideli amore duoru[m] marcatorum. At the beginning there is a space, not filled in, for a large four-line capital. Most lines have a double virgule at the caesura. Some margins and rulings are visible. The text is blotchy and difficult to read in several places, notably on f.59r, f.59v, and f.60r. There are some corrections in the scribe's hand and two folios with catchwords: f.52v and f.58v. The text has several unique readings.[45]

Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson Poetry F. 32 (R)

Rawlinson Poetry F. 32 is a small volume on paper and parchment, measuring 11 3/8 by 8 1/2 inches (Madan 290). Its contents are varied, including several shorter religious and didactic pieces, four by

---

[42] John Kyng's name appears in a little verse on f.116r: "lowe good and dred schame/ deserr lowe and kepe the name/ quod John Kyng of dommowe / for thysse boke ysse hysse." His name appears again on f.116v. Van Dorsten suggests "dommowe" might be Dunmow, Essex (319). D. Morley's name appears on f.1r; Thomas Andrew's on f.105r. Thomas Andrew also writes on f.116r Post tenebras spero lucem.

[43] per me humphrydum bertun curatur des. . . .

[44] This hand added to the table of contents and provided several other titles as well. See p. 25 above.

[45] For some of V's unique readings, see p. 39, n. 67 below.

Lydgate, and two long works, the Brut and the Libelle of English Policy. Foliation is modern, ff.1-206, but there are two leaves at the beginning marked "i" and "ii," and there are signs of scribal foliation in parts.

Madan described R as "made up of six MSS" (290), which he designated "A" to "F."[46] The manuscript does indeed fall into distinct parts, but Madan's first two divisions actually seem to belong together. "A," ff.3r-37v, consists of three Lydgate and two anonymous poems, and "B," ff.38r-53v, contains the Fabula duorum mercatorum. But these two sections actually seem to be part of one large unit, written across six quires signed a through f by the same scribe. The quire signatures probably begin on f.3 (half of which is missing, but f.4r is "a ii") and continue to f.49r ("f iiii"). Although the Fabula is written on parchment and the others on paper, it is nevertheless tempting to see them as forming one larger section.[47]

Four flyleaves precede the text; on the recto of the third, marked "i," is a letter from E. Umfreville, dated 25 March, 1750, assessing the manuscript. The fourth leaf, recto, is marked "ii" and the rest of it, like its verso, is blank. Folio 1 is damaged and badly blotched; the recto is blank. The verso contains six lines of prose at the top,

---

[46] According to Madan, "A" begins with f.3r, "B" with f. 38r, "C" with f. 54v, "D" with f. 169v, "E" with 173r, and "F" with 194r.

[47] Similarities other than what seems to be the same handwriting and continuous quire signatures link ff.3r-53v. All are in single columns, 24-32 lines per page. Stanzas are spaced except in the cases of the two anonymous poems ("Whanne lyfe is most ›uyd" and "The XXX virtues of the Masse," whose forms--one trimeter, rhyming abab, one tetrameter, in couplets--differ from the others), and begin with capital letters. Most lines have a period marking the caesura. Each poem begins either with a large two- or three-line capital or a space for one; those beginning the "Cato" and the Fabula are similarly decorated. There are no catchwords or marginalia.

followed by four stanzas of a varying number of lines; the whole is practically illegible. Folio 2r contains a table of contents in a formal hand, not the same as that on f.1v. It includes everything in the manuscript as it now appears (except for the contents of ff.1v and 205r), beginning with "Graunte Caton" (ff.3r-29v) and ending with "The Edge of the Worlde," contained on f.204v.[48] Madan describes the table of contents as "nearly contemporary" (291) with the rest of the manuscript, the parts of which must, then, have been bound together at an early date, probably the second half of the fifteenth century (Madan 290).

Not included in the table of contents is f.205r, which appears, like f.1v, to be a "scrap" page of sorts. Four different hands appear on this folio: at the top is written the name Rychard Turnowre, whose initials appear at the end of "The processe of philosophres" on f.204r. A four-line stanza on the make-up of the body,[49] appears part-way down the folio, and, starting about half-way down and in a single column on the right are lines in another hand which, a later hand tells us, come from "W. Dugdale's History of St. Pauls pa. 15."[50] Folios 206r and v are blank.

With the exception of Rychard Turnowre's name, evidence for ownership before the manuscript came into the hands of Richard Rawlinson

---

[48] The Fabula appears here as The Marchaunt of Baldok.

[49] xxxii teth that h--e full kene
xx bonys and Nyntene
xxx vaynys sixty and five
Eny man haþe that is a lyve

[50] William Dugdale's History of St. Paul's Cathedral was published in 1658.

is scanty. The initials G.E. and J.T?h appear on f.29v beside the explicit to the "Cato." The latter initials may be those of the person who gave titles to several of the poems in the manuscript (see note 46 below). On f.204v is what might be a "D," and on f.205r what might be an "R.d." beside the verse on the body. There are virtually no marginalia or notes other than those mentioned above. There are no scribal incipits to any of the poems, and only a few have scribal explicits.

As indicated above, several fifteenth-century hands copied this manuscript, each, in general, specific to the sections delineated above (although two or more are responsible for the Brut). That responsible for the first section (ff.3r-53v), which includes the Fabula duorum mercatorum, has a rather angular, upright appearance, with more broken than rounded strokes on the whole. It presents an inconsistent mixture of both Anglicana-type and Secretary-type graphs. Small a, for example, is sometimes open and headless (Secretary), and sometimes crossed (Bastard Anglicana), and the ascender of d is sometimes looped, (Anglicana) and sometimes straight (Secretary, Bastard Anglicana). The ascender of b is likewise sometimes looped and closed and sometimes simply curved at the top. Both the "v"-type and "2"-shaped r are present; occasionally the long r also appears. The Secretary forms of w, g, and short s prevail. Characteristics of this hand include a downstroke on y and g which curves to the left and then to the right at the bottom and a flourished and curved left arm on y which extends well above the line. This well-spaced hand, though it appears to lack both

obvious connecting and hairline strokes, might be best described as a type of Bastard Secretary with strong Anglicana elements.

The Fabula is contained on ff.38r-53v, and, like five other poems in the manuscript, is entitled in a later hand.[51] Beginning with a large decorated capital in red, it has four stanzas per side. The last two are missing, but there is a catch-phrase at the bottom of f.53v containing the first four words of the next stanza. According to Madan, a leaf has been lost between f.53 and f.54 (290). Folio 54r, blank save an indecipherable scribble, is obviously part of the next booklet, the text of which begins on f.54v. There are no other catchwords or phrases in the text, except for two words at the top of f.49r which repeat (or are a cue to) two words from the first line on that leaf. Periods marking caesurae appear consistently from f.40r on. There is a hole in f.47 which existed before the text was written; the scribe has written around it on both the recto and the verso. Folios 43-44, recto and verso, are difficult in places to read; a change of ink at f.43r may be responsible for this, although ff.45r and v are clear enough.

Cambridge, University Library MS Hh.4.12 (C)

Cambridge Hh.4.12 is a quarto volume on paper and parchment,

---

[51] "An historye of two marchants." The other headings are "Cato ------Ioye" (f.4r), "Precepts of norture" ("Stans Puer ad Mensam," f.30r), "A descriptune ------- of erthe & the nature of man" ("Whanne life is most louyd," f.32v), "What vertues he must haue that will here the masse" ("The XXX Virtues of the Masse," f.35v), and "Certain praiers called the 15 oos" ("The XV Oois," f.169v).

measuring 8 1/4 by 5 1/2 inches, of 102 leaves.[52] Many of the poems are Lydgate's, though the manuscript begins with Benedict Burgh's Cato and ends with an incomplete copy of Chaucer's Parliament of Fowles.[53] There are nine gatherings, originally twelves, all of paper with inner and outer parchment bifolia. Julia Boffey identifies two distinct parts to the manuscript, ff.1-60v and ff.61r-102v, each having "its own independent system of quire signatures," and smaller sections within these parts, made up of one or two gatherings, "which may reflect the use of different booklet- or gathering-sized exemplars" (5-6). Brusendorff describes these as six "self-contained sections, as proved by the presence of blank leaves at the end of most of [them]" (179). Julia Boffey dates the manuscript to the second half of the fifteenth century.[54]

The texts are fairly consistent in presentation. All are in single columns with three to five stanzas, spaced, to a page. Each stanza is marked with a paragraph mark and begins with a capital letter, and the caesura is marked by the virgule in many lines. Each poem (except "Upon a cross") begins with a large decorated capital, and each has either a

---

[52] There are only 99 actual leaves; the foliation skips number 14, and leaves 33, 35, 36, and 38 are missing (this fact is noted in the manuscript on the appropriate leaves). Because none of these contained any text, the folio numbers given in this description accord with the original, ff.1-102. Julia Boffey also follows this system, while Hammond (Manual 346-347), the CUL Catalogue (292-293), and Brusendorff (179-80) all ignore the missing leaves and give the foliation as 1-99.

[53] There are no attributions of authorship in the manuscript.

[54] In a paper delivered at the Eighth International Congress of the New Chaucer Society, August 4, 1992.

scribal explicit or ffinit. None has an incipit. There are only a few catchwords.

While Brusendorff sees only one hand at work here, "of the third quarter or so of the XV century" (179), and Hammond three (Manual 346), Boffey identifies two, Scribe A copying ff.1-28r, ff.37r-44r, and the rest of the manuscript, and Scribe B, responsible for ff.28v-33v and 44v-47r, at the end of which he signs his name: ffinit Stok. t. (5). The two scribes thus collaborated on the first part of the manuscript, while the main scribe, A, copied the whole of its second part.

The Fabula duorum mercatorum, ff.61r-77r, was thus copied by Scribe A. The hand is "small," "clear" (Brusendorff 179), and rather current, with a rounded appearance and many connecting strokes. Like the other manuscript hands described above, it presents a mixture of Anglicana and Secretary graphs; the ascender of d is sometimes looped and sometimes not, e is frequently "backwards" or "reversed," often looking like an o, and r is present in three forms, "2-shaped," long, and right-shouldered, appearing randomly. Both a and g take the Secretary form. Lacking the broken strokes and angularity of Secretary, this would appear to be a type of late Anglicana with Secretary forms.

Notes in both English and Latin, and several names, appear on many leaves, as well as on the blank leaves between sections of text. One annotator, "ihon clerke of blomsbery dwellyng" (f.18r),[55] writes proverbs and short verses on the tops of many leaves (for example, f.12r, f.23r) and writes his name again on f.47v. Also on this leaf are

---

[55] Julia Boffey suggests that he is of the very late fifteenth/early sixteenth century.

the notes "this boke howth john peter ye menstrell" and "In the name of god Amen the xxy yere of ye rayne of kyng harre ye eight wytenesit that."[56] Other names include john potter (f.43r), john yarrade (f.48r), wyllm bryan (f.48r), antony ----- (f.67v), jhon moke (f.68r), and john lyster (f.70v).

The Fabula duorum mercatorum appears on ff.61r-77r.[57] It begins with a large, seven-line decorated capital and has four stanzas per leaf, each beginning with a capital letter and marked with a paragraph mark. It ends with a scribal ffinit.

British Library MS Harley 2255 (H)

Harley 2255 is a handsome, illuminated volume of 157 leaves, on vellum, measuring 10 3/4 by 7 5/8 inches.[58] Most of the forty-five items contained herein are religious and didactic poems. Of these, twenty-five are specifically marked explicit quod Lidgate, and in two more Lydgate names himself as author. Most of the rest we now also consider to be Lydgate's, and this codex may, in fact, be a deliberate compilation of many of Lydgate's shorter poems into a high-quality anthology.

There is some evidence that this MS could have been prepared at Bury St. Edmunds itself, perhaps for presentation to William Curteys, Abbot of Bury St. Edmunds from 1429 to 1446. Inserted in the first

---

[56] The CUL Catalogue states that these notes are in the same hand (295), but this does not appear to be the case.

[57] According to the CUL Catalogue, the folios are 58r-74r.

[58] Hammond ("Two MSS" 24). See also Pearsall (Lydgate 77).

capital of the manuscript is a coat of arms, described by Eleanor Hammond in the following manner: "Azure three crowns or two and one, above each a torteau or" ("Two MSS" 24). She suggests that "by extremely informal heraldry the arms of Bury,--three crowns or on an azure field,--might have been combined with the three torteaux of Curteys" ("Two MSS" 24). The appearance of this coat of arms, taken together with the high quality of the manuscript and its Lydgatian contents, led Hammond ("Two MSS" 25), and, following her, Samuel Moore (207), and Derek Pearsall (Lydgate 77), to suggest that H was not only prepared at Bury for Abbot Curteys, but that it may have been compiled under the supervision of Lydgate himself.

The handwriting, dated by Hammond to the early fifteenth century ("Two MSS" 24), is consistent with this suggestion. Described by Pearsall as "spacious" and "formal" (Lydgate 77), and by Hammond as "strong, square [and] conventional, the heavy and light strokes well contrasted" ("Two MSS" 24), the script seems best to fit Parkes's description of Anglicana, despite the appearance of some Secretary graphs ("horned" g, written open then closed with a cross-stroke; short r, sometimes "v"-shaped). It is well-spaced and proportioned, the overall appearance upright and rounded. Ascenders and descenders are short, and there are few broken strokes. The minims of m and n are formed separately, and finished with feet; d is looped, and a is single-compartment but divided with a horizontal stroke. It thus appears to be a kind of Anglicana Formata.

Each poem begins with an illuminated capital, and each stanza, spaced, begins with an alternately blue or gold paragraph mark on a

background of dull or bright red flourishes (Hammond, "Two MSS" 24). Margins and lines are ruled, and prickings are visible on many folios. In the first part of the manuscript, scribal numbering is according to poem rather than folio; for example, ff.1r-3r are marked "1," ff.4r-5v are marked "2." Number 11, appearing on f. 40r, marks the end of this system. Modern foliation appears in pencil. Folio 157v, the last, contains several lines of what appear to be practice numbers and symbols.

The Fabula duorum mercatorum appears on ff.72r-88r and is written with the same care and attention as the rest of the manuscript. Underlining, as well as the label lenvoye at the final stanza, is in red. Like many of the poems in this volume, this one is marked Explicit quod lidgate in the right margin next to the poem's final line. This is one of the strongest pieces of evidence for Lydgate's authorship of the poem; as Pearsall puts it, this manuscript has "texts of excellent authority" and "there can be no doubt . . . that all the poems in it marked as Lydgate's are Lydgate's" (77).[59] Indeed, Eleanor Hammond characterizes its entire contents as Lydgatian ("Two MSS" 25).

The obvious quality of this manuscript--including the care which was apparently taken in its preparation and compilation--and the coat of arms appearing in the first initial argue strongly for its authority and

---

[59] MacCracken also feels that Harley 2255 is "an excellent codex" ("Canon" xl), although he nevertheless rejects as Lydgate's "Hood of Green," also marked in this manuscript explicit quod Lydgate, on the grounds that Lydgate could not have written such "abominable filth" ("Canon" xxxi). MacCracken has been criticized for this kind of arbitrary decision: his own criteria for establishing authorship includes giving credence to scribal attribution. See p. v of his essay on the Lydgate Canon. For more on MacCracken and Harley 2255, see Chapter 3, p. 43, n. 4.

reliability. Moreover, if it were prepared for Abbot Curteys, it would have been prepared between 1429 and 1446, a period consistent with Hammond's dating the hand to the early fifteenth century and making it, then, the earliest of the seven manuscripts. It is this text upon which Schleich and Zupitza and MacCracken based their editions of the Fabula, and this which is also the basis of the present edition: the manuscript's appearance, apparent provenance, and probable date provide compelling reasons to choose it as the best of the seven.[60]

Manuscript Relations

Although Schleich and Zupitza collated only six of the seven manuscripts of the Fabula duorum mercatorum for their edition, their introduction is valuable for its extensive analysis and comparisons of those six manuscripts. Their conclusions remain, to a large extent, valid, with the only major difficulty being to try to determine how V, the manuscript they left out of their collation, might fit into the picture they present of manuscript relationships and groupings.

By means of abundant examples which compare selected readings between and among their six manuscripts, Schleich and Zupitza group them into two families, HLR and ACHa,[61] concluding that these represent two independent traditions deriving from a common archetype, which itself contains some error (xxiii). Within these groups, Schleich and Zupitza

---

[60] The dialect of the Fabula is discussed in Appendix A.

[61] Schleich and Zupitza's sigla are slightly different than mine. For Harley 2255 (H) they use h; for Harley 2251 (Ha) they use H. For convenience and clarity's sake, I use my own sigla in all cases. For the details of Schleich and Zupitza's analysis of the relationships between and among the six manuscripts, see their introduction ii-xxx.

show that H and L come from a common exemplar which is not the same as that of R (xvii-xviii), and that A and Ha likewise are copied from a common original, independent of C's exemplar. They also show that neither H and L nor A and Ha can have been copied from one another (xviii-xx, xii-xiv).[62]

It must now be determined how V fits into this pattern. Describing the Leiden manuscript in 1898, F. N. Robinson noted Schleich and Zupitza's omission of this MS in their edition of the Fabula and remarked that he could not determine "in which of [their] classes it belongs" (190). And V does present some difficulty, for there is good evidence to place it with either the HLR or the ACHa group. On the whole, V is textually closer to H than are any of the ACHa group, varying in reading less often than A, C, or Ha from the base text. Moreover, when it does vary, it shares a significant number of errors with L.[63] V and L have, of course, been termed "sister manuscripts" whose contents are remarkably similar in number and kind.[64] It was presumably because of the close connections between these two MSS that MacCracken assumed that V and L always varied at the same time and in the same way, and his apparatus frequently shows V and L agreeing in

---

[62] Eleanor Hammond's work on H and Ha confirms this relationship; that is, that there are definite connections between the two manuscripts, but that they cannot be copied from each other--rather, portions of each MS must be copied from a common exemplar. See p. 14 above.

[63] A look at the present edition's textual apparatus will provide many examples.

[64] See above, p. 23, for the relationship between these two manuscripts.

error where, in fact, they do not.[65] If this were actually the case, there would be no difficulty in assigning V to the HLR group. But V actually shares error slightly more often with A and Ha.[66]

To complicate matters further, V also presents many unique readings which seem at first to set it apart from both groups.[67] Two examples in particular are illustrative. The first comes at lines 293-294. The variation is in the rhyme, with H[68] reading "in any maneer /. . . tellen heere;" ACHaR, "in any tyme /. . . doth termyne" (A Ha), ". . . determyne" (C R); and V, "or metis crude /. . . do conclude."[69] The

---

[65] For example, at lines 66, 98, 183, 202, 235; one astonishing error is MacCracken's showing that, like L, V is missing stanzas 41-49. It is not. Other examples are readily seen if one compares the present apparatus with MacCracken's, bearing in mind that his sigla differ from mine (his siglum for V is Ly, for example). That MacCracken did indeed look at V is evidenced by his signature in front of the manuscript in a place provided for such names. The only explanation seems to be that he either had limited time with the manuscript or that he did not examine or transcribe it carefully. In a related context, Van Dorsten notes a curious inconsistency regarding MacCracken and the Leiden Manuscript: "there is the remarkable gap at the end of the MS where four stanzas from the 'Testament' are wanting: remarkable, because MacCracken quotes a number of variant readings from these two missing pages of [V] in his edition of [the "Testament" in Vol. 1 of Minor Poems]. One would be inclined to think that there must have been some recent loss, but even the oldest Leiden catalogues never indicate more than the number of pages we have now--that is 270" (Van Dorsten 319).

[66] See, for example, ll. 34, 92, 117, 134, 282, 351, 408. V also agrees in several spots with the ACHa group as a whole. See ll. 502, 615, 619, 678, 902.

[67] See, for example, ll. 63, 70, 77, 120, 169, 186, 831, 850, which form a representative but not complete list of V's unique variants.

[68] Unfortunately, L is missing ll. 281-336.

[69] This example shows, interestingly, C and R agreeing with each other against the groups they generally belong to. Schleich and Zupitza explain this kind of apparent contradiction to their stemma as arising from a flawed archetype xxii-xxx. In this case, in fact, Schleich and Zupitza choose the reading of C and R (tyme/determyne) as, presumably, preserving the correct reading where the archetype was flawed.

seven manuscripts divide along these same lines in a second example, at line 311. H reads "degre," A C Ha and R read "any degree," and V reads "Auicenys degre." Once again, V's reading forms a substantive variant.[70]

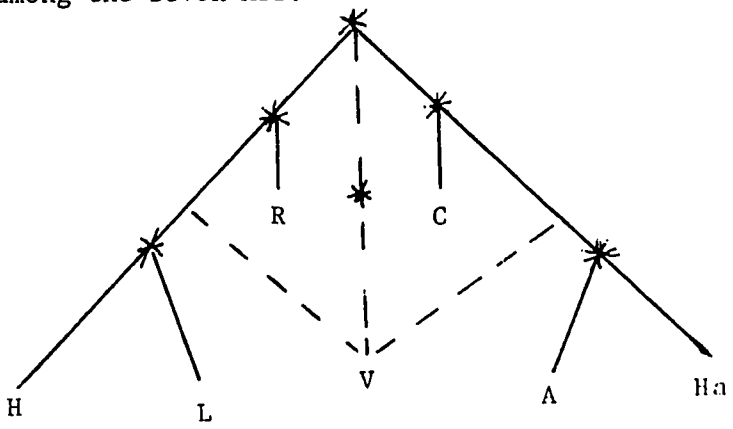
V's relationship with the other six manuscripts is indeed problematic. The examples above, along with V's other unique readings, show that V was certainly not copied from, nor served as a copy for, any of the other six manuscripts; and if it shared an exemplar with any of them, it is most probably at two or three removes. Yet the temptation to show V as representing a third group of MSS on the basis of these unique readings is strongly mitigated by its close relationship with HLR on the one hand, and ACHa on the other. Indeed, much of the evidence favors the HLR group. Not only in their texts of the Fabula duorum mercatorum, but also overall, the V and L manuscripts are clearly connected; in fact, Van Dorsten suggests that the two probably go back to a common anthology, "though probably via one or more intermediary copies" (320). Perhaps this common anthology was also a source for H; Van Dorsten notes a "remarkable similarity" (320) between the V and H texts of "The Legend of St. Giles," and we might now add to that the similarity between their texts of our poem. Yet it is nevertheless

---

[70] This second case offers, on the one hand, the intriguing possibility that V preserves the original reading; according to the principle of difficilior lectio, the scribes of the other six MSS would have changed their texts to the easier, rather than the more difficult, reading. On the other hand, however, several other of V's unique readings are not reliable (for example, "gracious" in l. 77, "presence" in l. 120), and, further, none of the other six manuscripts has anything like "Auicenys" here; therefore, the text has not been emended.

difficult to discount the relatively large amount of shared error between V and AHa or V and ACHa as a whole.

The following stemma, while it does not resolve these difficulties, tries to illustrate as clearly as possible the apparent relationships between and among the seven MSS.



An adaptation of the Schleich/Zupitza stemma, the redrawn version shows V occupying a middle position between the two groups. The broken lines indicate both the tentative nature of V's placement here and its close relationship to H and L on the one hand and ACHa on the other. The stars indicate hypothetical manuscripts; that at the top is the archetype, which itself may have had some errors.

Chapter 3

AUTHORSHIP AND DATE

Although the question of the Lydgate canon as a whole is a difficult and vexatious one, Lydgate's authorship of the Fabula duorum mercatorum has never been seriously questioned. Both manuscript evidence and the weight of tradition ascribe the poem to Lydgate. Although only one of the seven manuscripts containing the Fabula, Harley 2255, specifically names Lydgate as the author, this codex has better authority than the other six manuscripts in matters of text and authorship; it is the earliest of the seven and was possibly even produced at Bury during Lydgate's lifetime.[1] Like over half of the items contained in this MS, the Fabula bears the scribal ascription explicit quod lidgate in the right margin beside its final stanza. With one exception,[2] all of the poems so marked here were accepted as Lydgate's by H. N. MacCracken, nor has his authorship of any of them been questioned by such Lydgate scholars as Walter Schirmer, Derek Pearsall, and Lois Ebin.[3] MacCracken, Eleanor Hammond, and Pearsall

---

[1] See above, pp. 34-35.

[2] MacCracken rejects "Hood of Green." See n. 4 below.

[3] The authorship of the Fabula is not raised as an issue by any of them--or anyone else other than Ethel Seaton (see below, p. 47, n. 17)--in books or articles.

speak specifically to the issue of the authority of this manuscript, and, Pearsall in particular, accept the scribal ascriptions as reliable.[4]

Unfortunately, the other six manuscripts do not explicitly corroborate the attribution of the Fabula to Lydgate. However, the contents of two of them (Lansdowne and Leiden) suggest that these may have been conceived as Lydgate anthologies;[5] and the contents of two others, Harley 2251 and Additional 34360, are also largely Lydgatian. In none of the MSS is the Fabula ascribed to anyone else. Although the absence of attribution to Lydgate in these MSS somewhat weakens the ascription of the Fabula to Lydgate in Harley 2255, given the reliability of this MS and the absence of any direct contradiction in the other MSS, we might conclude that the MS evidence on the whole is for, rather than against, Lydgate's authorship of the poem.

The Fabula has appeared consistently on lists of Lydgate's works compiled by various bibliographers, beginning in the sixteenth century. John Bale (1495-1563), sixteenth-century "antiquary, religious polemicist and . . . literary figure" (Intro. to Bale, Index xi), seems to have been the first to compile a Lydgate canon. Alarmed by the rate

---

[4] For Hammond and Pearsall on Harley 2255, see Chapter 2, p. 36. See also Hammond's remarks in English Verse, where she does not repeat her assertion that the whole contents are Lydgatian but nevertheless reiterates the authority of the ascriptions to Lydgate (79). MacCracken, too, considers Harley 2255 to be "an excellent codex" ("Canon" xl). Unfortunately, MacCracken has a tendency to use MS evidence as it suits him; earlier in this essay on the Lydgate Canon he has declared, to justify his rejection on stylistic grounds of "Hood of Green," also marked as Lydgate's in this MS, that Harley 2255 is "not to be absolutely trusted" (xxxii).

[5] See Chapter 2, p. 20, n. 28; p. 23, n. 32; and p. 25.

at which manuscripts and books were being lost or destroyed after the dissolution of the monasteries, Bale was concerned to collect and/or record the works of British authors. He made three lists altogether: two published catalogues, the Illustrium Maioris Brittanie Scriptorum . . . Summarium (1548),[6] and the Scriptorum Illustrium Maioris Brytannie Catalogus (1557 and 1559), and one extensive list, probably compiled between 1549-50 and 1557 (Poole xxi), in his private notebook.[7] The Fabula appears both here (Index 230)[8] and in the second catalogue as De duobus amantibus (1: 586-587) under Lydgate's name.[9] Unfortunately, we are now unable to ascertain just which manuscripts Bale used to compile his bibliography, so it is difficult to know how much authority to give to Bale's ascriptions.

The attribution of De duobus amantibus to Lydgate by Bale was repeated by John Pits (Relationum Historicarum de Rebus Anglicis, 1619), Bishop Thomas Tanner (Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica, 1748), and

---

[6] See the Preface to Bale's Index by R. Poole (vii, n. 2). The Illustrium Maioris "bears on f. 248 the imprint of Ipswich and the date 31 July, 1548. A reissue of the same sheets with a changed title-page is dated at Wesel, 1 August, 1549."

[7] Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Selden supra 64 (s.c. 3452). First edited as Index Britanniae Scriptorum by R. L. Poole and Mary Bateson. The Index was apparently never intended for publication; see the Introduction to the Index by Caroline Brett and James Carley, xiv.

[8] This collection of titles differs from Bale's two catalogues in its alphabetical arrangement of entries and its reference in many cases to the source of the information (Poole vii). Our poem appears along with eighteen other items from the collection of Nicholas Brigham, "an antiquary, lawyer, and teller of the Exchequer" (Brett and Carley xx). We do not, unfortunately, know which MS or MSS made up Brigham's collection.

[9] It does not appear in Bale's first catalogue under Lydgate, the entry for whom (ff.202v-203r) contained only fourteen items.

Joseph Ritson (Bibliographia Poetica, 1802).[10] While it seems obvious from their lists that both Pits and Tanner are simply copying Bale's ascription, Ritson uses some manuscript evidence. Although the Fabula appears twice on his list, the first entry for it has a manuscript basis. Here Ritson refers to both Harley 2255 and 2251 and quotes the first line of the Fabula, giving as its title part of the colophon from Harley 2251, "Fabula duorum mercatorum de et super Gestis Romanorum" (item #40, p. 71). De duobus amantibus also appears on Ritson's list as part of what seems to be a composite entry; Ritson clearly did not recognize that the two items referred to the same poem.[11]

Until Josef Schick's edition of the Temple of Glas in 1891, Ritson's list of Lydgate's works was considered the fullest and most reliable (Schick cxlviii). Although Schick criticized Ritson and his procedures severely, he does not question Lydgate's authorship of the

---

[10] John Stow also compiled a list of Lydgate's works, appended to Speght's 1598 edition of Chaucer, in which the Fabula does not appear. Stow owned Harley 2251 and Additional 34360 and may have taken from them several items for his list (for example, the "Churl and the Bird," "The Horse, Goose, and Sheep," "Guy of Warwick"); one wonders why he omitted the Fabula duorum mercatorum. As MacCracken points out, however, Stow is notoriously unreliable when it comes to assigning authorship; regarding his ascriptions in Cambridge, Trinity College MS R.3.21, MacCracken writes that Stow seems to have assumed that "Chaucer wrote all the worldly poems, Lydgate all the godly ones" (xxxix). Perhaps it is just as well that, finding few ascriptions of authorship in Harley 2251 and Additional 34360, Stow added few himself.

[11] The entire entry, #44, is this: "'De fabro dominam reformante:' 'De duobus amantibus: "A notable proverbe of Ysopus in balade, made in Oxford (canis & umbra):' 'An old proverb hath bee seyd and shall' (Ashmole MSS 59 ii)" (72). The first two items ("De fabro" and "De duobus") may have been copied from Pits's list, where they also appear together. It is difficult to tell from this entry whether or not Ritson thought that the first line of the Fabula began with the words which immediately follow it here; in any case, it seems clear that he has copied this entry from one or perhaps several sources, whereas in the case of entry #40, he has probably seen the two Harley MSS.

Fabula; he refers three times to de duobus mercatoribus as Lydgate's (cix, cxlvii, clv).

In 1911, MacCracken attempted to establish finally the question of canon, prefacing the first volume of his edition of Lydgate's Minor Poems with his essay on the Lydgate canon, previously delivered as a paper to the Philological Society of London. While some of MacCracken's procedures have been justly questioned,[12] the resulting list of Lydgate's works has been--and will remain, until a major reassessment of the canon is undertaken--the basis for any discussion of the Lydgate canon.[13] The Fabula duorum mercatorum appears as #36 on MacCracken's list and, of course, is edited by him in Vol. 2 of the Minor Poems. Presumably,[14] his reasons for including it in the canon would be identical to those outined at the beginning of this chapter: its ascription in Harley 2255 to Lydgate, the absence of any evidence which would contradict this ascription, and its conformity to MacCracken's

---

[12] He has been criticized for subjectivity and failing to follow his own methodology in the construction of his canon. For a contemporary and still-cogent review of MacCracken's canon, see E. Hammond's review in Beiblatt zur Anglia. There are more comments in her English Verse (79, 99 and 101). Brusendorff also questions some of MacCracken's judgments (467-469). See also Pearsall 77-78, and Stephen Reimer, "Differentiating Chaucer and Lydgate" (161-164).

[13] A major reassessment of the canon may not be far off; see the articles by Stephen Reimer. As Reimer points out, however, Hammond really was disputing only 10-15 of the 200 titles included in MacCracken's canon (the Fabula was not one of them); MacCracken was probably about 95% right, just as Ritson's work, despite the criticisms of Schick and MacCracken, was about 80% right (personal communication).

[14] MacCracken makes no special remarks on the Fabula, as he does with pieces whose exclusion or inclusion are problematic.

other cri - -ia, consisting of certain stylistic traits.[15] Walter Schirmer bases his list of Lydgate's works (265-273) on MacCracken, as do the most recent compilers, A. Renoir and C. David Benson.[16] While it should be pointed out that in neither case has a thorough study of any of the items, including the Fabula, been undertaken, in neither has the inclusion of the poem been problematic.

With one exception,[17] no scholar has ever raised serious doubts that the poem itself could be Lydgate's. In fact, discussing the poem's authorship in his 1897 edition of the poem, Gustav Schleich noted rather disapprovingly that "recent" scholars like Thomas Warton and Frederic Madden in Herrtage's Early English Versions of the Gesta Romanorum ascribed the poem to Lydgate without any citation of evidence (lxvii). Although he has no doubt that the poem is Lydgate's,[18] Schleich feels it necessary to provide some evidence. After noting that the language in the Fabula (of which he has in an earlier section given an exhaustive

---

[15] These consist of rhyme, metre, and style ("Canon" vi-xi), the last of which is defined by MacCracken (in application to Lydgate) as "a certain smoothness of verse, a certain dignity and elevation of sentiment, a certain polish as of the court" ("Canon" x).

[16] Both Schirmer and Renoir and Benson actually add titles to MacCracken's list, though both are careful to note those of which Lydgate's authorship is disputed or open to question. See Schirmer's notes to the list and his comments (273-4), and the remarks of Renoir and Benson about individual items. See also Reimer (163) on Renoir and Benson's effort.

[17] The lone dissenting voice has been that of Ethel Seaton, whose claim in 1961 for re-assigning our poem--along with many others from the Lydgate and Chaucer canons (and others)--to Sir Richard Roos, on the basis of cryptic anagrams allegedly contained in the poems, must be rejected. See Seaton, Sir Richard Roos (273-76).

[18] He says at the outset that it will be obvious to anyone who reads the poem with other proven Lydgate works that the styles are identical (lxvii).

analysis), matches that of other known Lydgate works, he selects a few examples of rhyme words[19] and lists several phrases,[20] to show that these too are consistent with other Lydgate forms and expressions.

While stylistic studies may someday provide reliable evidence for determining the canonicity of works attributed to Lydgate,[21] including the Fabula duorum mercatorum, the manuscripts remain the best source of evidence for authorship at this time. Fortunately, Harley 2255 can be considered a reliable manuscript, given its apparent provenance and date, and none, other than Ethel Seaton, has seen reason to question its ascription to Lydgate of the Fabula. The earliest bibliographers include the Fabula on their lists of Lydgate's works, as do all reputable twentieth-century scholars.[22] Until and unless further

---

[19] This is not an analysis but a select listing of a small number of rhymes appearing here and in other of Lydgate's works, for example, rhymes of assonance like shake: escape (lxvii).

[20] This kind of evidence can be persuasive, but it is not necessarily conclusive. For example, Schleich notes (lxviii) that the phrase "as any centre stable" (Fabula 7) appears in Lydgate's Life of St. Albon and Amphibal, 2.1012, and Fall of Princes 4.1310 (my references). Schleich also refers to Isopus Fabules "IX,3,38" (he may mean here "Stable as a geaunt, opon a grounde of troube," Minor Poems 2: 569.94) and Siege of Thebes "364." With or without the challenge of determining Schleich's exact references, however, the point to note is that the phrase also appears in Chaucer's "Squire's Tale" (22).

[21] The work of Stephen Reimer is promising in this regard. See his explanation of the "Lydgate project" ("Lydgate Canon") and his article reporting on some preliminary findings ("Differentiating Chaucer and Lydgate").

[22] None of the most important Lydgate scholars of the present day, Walter Schirmer (237-39), Derek Pearsall (202-4), and Lois Ebin (111-112) question Lydgate's authorship. Alain Renoir does not mention the poem in his book, but obviously considers it Lydgate's, since it appears as an undisputed work in the bibliography he compiled with C. David Benson.

evidence comes to light, we can reasonably conclude that the Fabula is, indeed, probably Lydgate's poem.

Date

The poem's date is open to more question, for the manuscripts are only marginally helpful with regard to this issue. In none do we have the kind of personal information sometimes found in Shirley manuscripts,[23] nor are there any other notations in any of them that would provide any clues as to date of composition. Considering the dates of the manuscripts can give us approximations only. Harley 2255 is the earliest of the seven.[24] Its date of compilation probably falls somewhere within, perhaps near the end of, the term marked by the years 1429-1446, when William Curteys was abbot of Bury St. Edmunds.[25] The year 1446 thus provides a terminus ad quem for the poem's composition. The evidence implied by the sister manuscripts Harley 2251 and

---

[23] For example, Shirley's heading to "Gaude Virgo Mater Christi" (Minor Poems 1: 288) in Cambridge, Trinity College MS R.3.20 reads "Beholdeþe now filowing next here þe translacyoune of Gaude virgo mater Christi made by Daun Iohan þe Munke Lydegate by night as he lay in his bedde at London;" and his heading to "That Now is Hay Some-tyme was Grase" (Minor Poems 2: 809) in London, British Library Additional MS 29729 reads "Here begyneth a balade whych Iohn Lydgate the Monke of Bery wrott & made at þe commaundement of þe Quene Kateryn as in here sportes she wallkyd by the medowes that were late mowen in the monthe of Iulij."

[24] Hammond dates its handwriting to the early fifteenth century (see Chapter 2, p. 35).

[25] See Chapter 2, pp. 34-35 for the idea that the arms in the first capital of the MS suggest it was produced for Abbot Curteys. We might also note that the eleventh item in the MS, entitled by MacCracken "On De Profundis" (1: 77) contains in its final stanza a reference to Abbot Curteys who, Lydgate tells us, asked the aging monk to write the poem (ll. 163-168). Lydgate died probably in 1449.

Additional 34360 gives a similar endpoint. Parts of these, including the Fabula duorum mercatorum, were, as we have noted, copied from the same exemplar, a lost Shirley manuscript, which Brusendorff speculates could be dated between 1430 and 1450 (230). The original poem would obviously predate both that Shirley exemplar and its rough contemporary, Harley 2255, but by how much we cannot at this point determine. From the evidence of the mansucripts alone, we cannot say much more than that the poem was composed probably before 1446, perhaps in the 1420s or 30s.[26]

The poem's date has occasioned virtually no discussion among the few critics who have commented on the poem. In the books of Derek Pearsall and Lois Ebin, date is not an issue partially because of the Fabula's perceived genre. Both scholars consider the Fabula to be of a kind with those poems MacCracken classifies as "Satirical Poems," "Didactic Poems," and "Little Homilies with Proverbial Refrains."[27] Not only can most of these poems not be dated, but also, Pearsall suggests, there is really no need to fix a date for them:

> the moralistic and didactic preoccupations of these poems are the permanent preoccupations of Lydgate and, indeed, of the Middle Ages, and the manner in which he wrote changed little through the years. . . . [T]he only development discernible is a slight and sporadic enfeeblement. (Lydgate 192)

---

[26] Interestingly, the first edition of the OED gives 1412 as the poem's date, but the OED 2 gives 1449, the year also suggested as an approximate date by the MED.

[27] See MacCracken's Table of Contents, Vol. 2. Lois Ebin discusses it in a chapter entitled "The Poet of "Hie Sentence': Moral and Didactic Poems" (92-112), under the subsection labelled "Fables" (105-112). The title of Pearsall's chapter is "Fables and Didactic Poems." MacCracken himself groups it with "The Churl and the Bird," "Guy of Warwick," "The Horse, Goose and Sheep," and "Isopes Fabules" under the heading "Narrative Poems."

According to this view, the Fabula is just one of several didactic/moral poems, and its date is not and should not be an issue. While Ebin does not address the issue at all, Pearsall does hint at a later date for the Fabula, suggesting that here Lydgate is "at the height of his powers" bringing to it "the full resources of his style and techniques of amplification" (Lydgate 202).

Nor does Walter Schirmer pay much attention to the question of date. He implies rather than states that he considers the Fabula a late Lydgate work, describing the poem in his chapter entitled "Lydgate's Last Works." The description ends with an imprecise, subjective stylistic assessment of the poem, clearly influenced by Schirmer's interest in depicting Lydgate as a forerunner of humanism:

> In his later period [Lydgate's] work is characterized by verbose dialogues and monologues that could almost called humanistic, mysterious flourishes and a delight in obscure language. Even where he introduces a simile drawn from nature he uses far-fetched phrases suggestive of the style of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. (238)

Vague descriptions of this kind are not particularly helpful; one wonders what makes lengthy dialogues or monologues "almost humanistic" and wishes for specific examples of "mysterious flourishes." He does give an example of a "far-fetched" phrase, but it is inaccurately contextualized.[28] One cannot help but be suspicious of any conclusions

---

[28] He writes, "Thus, for instance, the meeting of the two friends is depicted as fine weather driving away the evil of separation:

> Her ioiful somer is tapited al in greene,
> Of stable blew is her bothen hewe." (11.193-4; Schirmer 238)

In fact, these lines, lifted misleadingly out of context (l. 194 is not the end of the sentence), are not a description of the two friends' meeting, but an assessment of their developing relationship--at this point in the poem some time has passed since their first meeting. Nor

arising from this vagueness and the inaccuracy of Schirmer's entire description of the poem.[29]

Schirmer's speculation that the Fabula may have been composed "at the request either of a [Lydgate] patron or of some highly-placed friend" (237) is a safe-enough guess, but one for which no evidence exists. There are no indications internally or in any of the manuscripts which imply that it was commissioned, nor is there firm internal evidence to help fix a date for its composition. Only in two stanzas near the end of the poem is there anything that resembles a contemporary reference. Here, the narrator seems to have in mind an event or set of circumstances involving "tresoun," not necessarily political, but having more to do with matters of social bonds, honour, and heraldry:

> this wise worthy kyng
> Gan [wisshe] of herte that thoruh his regioun
> Were ful affermyd / an obligacioun
> Off such enteernesse / fro man to man aboute
> Off tresoun than / ful litil wer to doute
>
> Ful hard it were / tacomplisshen his desyr
> Or in his rewm / such a bargeyn dryve
> The aeyer infect / the wedir is nat cleer
> Ne nevir ne shal / whil tresoun is so ryve
> For now of trowthe / no man can contryve
> A verray seel or thenpreent i-grave
> Withoute a label / his armes hool to save /

---

does Schirmer explain why these lines "are suggestive of the style of the sixteenth or seventeenth century" (238); indeed, the colour symbolism is a very medieval notion. And just why this phrase is "far-fetched" is not revealed.

[29] For some examples of Schirmer's inaccuracies, see Chapter 1, p. 2, n. 6.

Lines 866-68 especially seem too specific for us to regard these stanzas simply a general complaint about the times, but they are nevertheless not particular enough for us to apply them to any one occurrence or set of cirumstances. The sentiments might fit any number of late fourteenth- or early fifteenth-century set of events.[30]

The conclusion must be that there is no firm evidence for fixing a specific date or even a decade for the poem's composition. On the basis of what we know about Harley 2255 (that it is the earliest of the manuscripts, probably compiled before 1450), and what we suspect about it (that it was made for Abbot Curteys of Bury St. Edmunds), we can say with some confidence that the poem was probably written before 1446 and posit a date in the late 1420s or 30s. At present, thus the matter stands.

---

[30] The connection of heraldry with treason makes one think of the Scropes-Grosvener dispute (1385-1391; see Patterson's interesting account 180-185, 194-196) but that occurred too early to be helpful in dating this poem. Apparently, Schleich and Zupitza were also both puzzled by these lines. Schleich writes in his note to l. 868 that although the word "label" is a heraldic term, "Immerhin ist mir der Sinn der Stelle unklar: auch Zupitza hat in H ein Fragezeichen" (62).

Chapter 4

SOURCES AND BACKGROUND

As we observed in Chapter 1, the Fabula duorum mercatorum fits into a general literary tradition of male friendship. The following chapter treats in more detail of Lydgate's narrative source and examines the medical, literary, and philosophical contexts which inform a good deal of the poem. Not simply amplificatory and digressive, this material provides contexts for the poem which widen its thematic scope and give it a significance beyond the original exemplum's simple illustration of male friendship. The Fabula illustrates Lydgate's ability to synthesize skillfully a number of apparently disparate elements and shape them into a meaningful whole.

Lydgate's Narrative Source: The Disciplina Clericalis

The narrative source of the Fabula duorum mercatorum is the second tale of the Disciplina Clericalis, a collection of exempla compiled in twelfth-century Spain by Peter Alfonsi.[1] Written in Arabic and then translated into Latin by its author, this "oldest collection of novelle in the Middle Ages" (Hermes 5) became immediately popular and circulated widely throughout Western Europe, serving, as Haim Schwarzbaum tells us, "as a sort of bridge or literary medium through which Eastern,

---

[1] A Jewish doctor and scholar named Moses Sefardi, he converted to Christianity in 1106 and took the name Petrus Alfonsus. See Hermes, Introduction 36-43, and Schwarzbaum 268.

predominantly Arabic popular stories, proverbs and sayings, have been transmitted or transplanted to Europe" (269).[2]

The Fabula is based on the second story of the collection, "The Perfect Friend," which tells of two merchants, one from Egypt and the other from Baghdad, who become acquainted through trade. Knowing each other only by hearsay, they are delighted to meet when the man from Baghdad travels to Egypt on business. After eight days of entertainment and socializing, the visitor falls ill. All the doctors of the land are summoned, who, after feeling the sick man's pulse[3] and testing his urine, diagnose love sickness. After bringing forth all the women in his household, the Egyptian finally summons a woman he has brought up in his house with the intention of marrying her, and his guest confesses that she is the woman he loves. The Egyptian unhesitatingly gives her to his guest, along with her dowry and the gifts he had intended for her when she became his wife.

Some years later, the Egyptian, having lost all of his wealth, travels to Baghdad, seeking his friend's help. Arriving in the middle of the night, ashamed of his penury and afraid of being turned away, he spends the night in a mosque where, during the night, a man is murdered. In despair, the Egyptian confesses to the murder. As he is led to the gallows, his friend recognizes him and seizes the opportunity to repay the Egyptian's previous kindness by crying out that he himself is the murderer. As the Egyptian is taken to the scaffold, the real murderer

---

[2] Many of Alfonsi's exempla appear in other collections such as Boccaccio's Decameron, the Gesta Romanorum, the Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles and so on. See Hermes, Introduction, 8-14, and Schwarzbaum, passim.

[3] For the "pulse test," see Commentary, l. 270.

feels such contrition and guilt that he confesses, and all three, brought before the king, are eventually freed. The Egyptian, after receiving half his friend's goods, then chooses to return home, although his friend has offered him a home in Baghdad.

As we noted in Chapter 1, Alfonsi's tale has its origins in Classical and Near Eastern literature as well as providing the source for numerous European analogues. [illegible]rsion closest to Lydgate's is contained in the Gesta Romanorum. [illegible]ersion clearly shares the same source with Lydgate--a [illegible]oced by the scribe of Harley 2251 and Additional 34360[5]--yet just as clearly is not Lydgate's source.[6] Even a cursory comparison of the Fabula with the Gesta tale will show significant differences. In the Gesta, the two protagonists are knights from Baldac and "Lumbardye," and the king is Enlopius, "a gode Emperoure" of Rome. Besides other differences in narrative detail, the tale is also provided with an allegorical "moralitee" (the emperor representing God, the two knights Jesus Christ and Adam, and so on), of which there is no trace in the Fabula.

---

[4] See S. Herrtage, vii-xxviii, for an explanation of the complex textual history of the several versions of the Gesta Romanorum, a collection of exempla probably compiled in the late thirteenth century (9) and circulating throughout Medieval Western Europe in many manuscripts, most of them Latin, four of them English, and one of them German. Our tale is found in the Middle English versions of the Gesta, edited by Herrtage from Harley 7333 (#47) and Additional 9066 (#28), with variants from Cambridge Kk.1.6 (#11) included. In the Anglo-Latin version (Harley 2270) the tale is numbered 55. For more on the English versions, see Herrtage's Introduction, xix-xxxi, and K. I. Sandred.

[5] The colophon at the end of both texts reads Explicit ffabula duorum mercatorum De et Super gestis Romanorum. See MS descriptions above, p. 17, p. 19.

[6] Herrtage thought that Lydgate was "probably indebted" to the Anglo-Latin Gesta (482).

Schleich and Zupitza show quite conclusively (lxxx-lxxxvi) that Lydgate knew Peter Alfonsi's version directly, and helpfully provide below their text an edition of the Latin text. There was a Latin text of the Disciplina Clericalis in the Bury library, now British Library MS Royal 10 B.12,[7] which may have been the copy Lydgate used, although he tells us that he has translated the "Churl and the Bird,"[8] also in Peter Alfonsi, from a "Frenssh . . . paunflet" (Minor Poems 2: 468, ll. 34-5). Perhaps there was a French translation in the Bury library as well. Whether based on a Latin or French Disciplina Clericalis, the Fabula both reflects and reshapes its source narrative; some materials of that reshaping are examined below.

Amor Hereos and Medieval Medicine

Peter Alfonsi's merchant suffers from lovesickness (amoris passionem) which Lydgate, drawing upon a long medical and literary tradition, names amor hereos. Suffered perhaps most famously by Arcite in Chaucer's "Knight's Tale," this is the medical condition of lovesickness.[9] The idea has its roots in Arabic medical lore, transmitted to Western Europe in the eleventh century by Constantine the African, whose chapter on lovesickness in the Viaticum "was the most widely-read text on the subject" until a translation of Avicenna's Canon

---

[7] See Catalogue of Royal Manuscripts in the British Museum 322.

[8] Two of Lydgate's short poems, "Stans Puer ad Mensam" and "A Ballade of Jak Hare" (Minor Poems 2: 445, 739), are also adapted from the Disciplina Clericalis.

[9] The essential sources for medieval concepts of lovesickness are Mary Wack, Lovesickness in the Middle Ages, and J. L. Lowes, "The Loveres Maladye of Hereos."

medicinae became available in the late thirteenth century (Wack xiii). Constantine's Arabic source[10] uses the term 'ishk to describe the kind of passionate love which, left untreated, will inevitably cause "melancholic disease" and perhaps even death (Wack 189). It is not known how Constantine's "amor qui et eros dicitur" became amor hereos, although both Mary Wack and J. L. Lowes adduce some plausible suggestions;[11] what must be noted here is that, by the twelfth century, the term had acquired both medical and social components, for its symptoms could normally only be suffered by the noble.[12] Commentaries on the Viaticum as well as numerous medical treatises[13] discuss the

---

[10] The source is Provisions for the Traveler and the Nourishment of the Settled, by Abu Ja'far Ahmad ibn Ibrahim ibn abi Khalid al-Jazzar. See Wack 34-35.

[11] See Lowes passim and Wack, esp. 182-85, where she discusses the probable influence of scribal copying on the various manifestations of the word.

[12] Wack notes that eros became heros very early in the tradition. A "second edition" of the Arabic chapter on lovesickness was entitled Liber de heros morbo (Wack 46), which "linked love and nobility as early as the early twelfth century" (Wack 60), and Gerard of Berry's twelfth-century commentary on the Viaticum, the earliest to survive, describes the sufferers of amor qui heros dicitur thus: "Heroes are said to be noble men who, on account of riches and softness of their lives, are more likely to suffer this disease . . ." (Wack 203). In the twelfth-century work De arte honeste amandi, Andreas Cappellanus also, of course, discusses love as a noble and an ennobling emotion. For a comparison of Andreas's and Gerard of Berry's definitions of love, see Wack pp. 61-62. By naming amor hereos as the merchant's affliction, Lydgate implicitly claims for him an elevated social status, placing him in the company of other noble sufferers like Arcite and Troilus. The implications of this social status and its connection with the Fabula's thematic treatment of the clash between love and friendship are discussed in Chapter 5.

[13] Some fourteenth and fifteenth century writers who treat of lovesickness are Jacques Despars, William of Corvi, Gerard de Solo, Arnald of Villanova, John of Gaddesden, and Bernard of Gordon. See Lowes and Wack passim.

causes, symptoms, and treatment of lovesickness as they would any other disease, and by Chaucer's time a medical and literary tradition of lovesickness was well-established.

The Causes of Amor Hereos: Bernard of Gordon

Because lovesickness was frequently written about, it is difficult to fix one particular source for Lydgate's explanation of the causes and ramifications of amor hereos in ll. 337-346. However, the lines are, as Ethel Seaton points out, "verbally close" (275) to the fourteenth century physician Bernard of Gordon's treatment of "de amore qui hereos dicitur" in his Lilium Medicinae. This popular medical treatise contains a description of amor hereos which is very close to Lydgate's:

> The cause of this passion is a corruption of the virtus aestimativa on account of a firmly fixed form and figure. Thus when anyone is overcome by love [philocaptus], with reference to any woman, he so conceives her beauty and figure and manner that he thinks and believes that she is more beautiful, more venerable, more attractive, and more gifted in nature and conduct than any other; and thus he ardently desires her without method or measure, thinking if he could attain his end it would be his felicity and blessedness. . . . (Robertson 458)[14]

The description depends on our understanding of the medieval physiology of the brain, the seat of the virtus animata or animalis (Curry 140), the animal soul or spirit which governs sensation and movement. These were controlled by three ventricles, or cells, in the brain. As Bartholomaeus explains,

> þe formest hatte ymaginatiua, þerin þingis þat þe vttir witte apprehendiþ withoute beþ i-ordeynded and iput togedres withinne.

---

[14] Robertson translates the Bernard of Gordon extract printed in Lowes (9).

> . . . þe middil chambre hatte logica þerin þe vertu estimatiue is maister. þe þridde and þe laste is memoratiua, the vertu of mynde. þat vertu holdiþ and kepiþ in þe tresour of mynde þingis þat beþ apprehendid and iknowe bi þe ymaginatif and racio.[15]

When the brain works as it should, the imaginative faculty[16] forms images from sense impressions, which are examined and judged by the middle cell, while the third ventricle "retains such forms as pass this examination and so is the seat of memory" (Thorndike 1: 660).[17]

According to Bernard[18] and Lydgate, lovesickness is caused when the estimative faculty misfunctions, overestimating an excessively pleasing form and judging it to be better and more beautiful than any other. The "estimatyfe" then orders the imaginative faculty "to fix its gaze on the mental image of the beloved" (it "ovirlordshipith / his imagynatif" 340) and this faculty "in turn orders the concupiscible faculty to desire that person alone" (Wack 58). The process leads to melancholy solitude and can even result in madness ("manye" 344) as the lover's soul becomes fixated on the object to the exclusion of all else. As J. L. Lowes points out, Bernard's is a "highly typical" (8) treatment of the cause

---

[15] Trevisa 1: 98. See also Winny, 177-8, Thorndike 1: 660, and the helpful diagram in Wack 57. For a detailed account of the physiology of lovesickness, see M. Ciavolella's article on Arcite's love sickness.

[16] Known also as the "fantastical" (Fabula 56) or the "celle fantastik" (KnT 1376).

[17] Thorndike notes that this cell was also considered by some as the seat of motor activity (1: 660).

[18] Gerard of Berry also explains the process this way. See Mary Wack 56-58 (also qtd. in this edition's Commentary, ll. 338-343). Wack points out that Avicenna is the ultimate source for this picture of the brain's physiology (56).

of lovesickness; if Lydgate did not draw directly on the Lilium Medicinae, he probably used a treatise very like it.[19]

The Symptoms of Amor Hereos: Arcite, "Giles," and Troilus

The conventional symptoms of lovesickness, including a changed appearance, insomnia, and melancholy, are well-illustrated by the love-stricken Arcite in the "Knight's Tale":

> His slep, his mete, his drynke, is hym biraft,
> That lene he wex and drye as is a shaft;
> His eyen holwe and grisly to biholde,
> His hewe falow and pale as asshen colde,
> And solitarie he was and evere allone,
> And waillynge al the nyght, makynge his mone;
> And if he herde song or instrument,
> Thanne wolde he wepe, he myghte nat be stent.
> (KnT 1361-1368)

Lydgate's merchant also suffers from melancholy and a wish to be left alone so that he can "best / yeuen issu to his moone" (208), but, unlike Arcite, his main symptom is a "brennyng feuere" (202). For the actual description of the fever, or, rather, the elaboration on the kinds of fever from which the merchant might be suffering, Lydgate's source was probably the "Giles" of l. 308, Giles de Corbeil, or Aegidius Corboliensis, the "medical poet" (Thorndike 1: 737).[20]

Although Zupitza was at first unable to determine the source of Lydgate's lines on the various kinds of fever, he apparently later

---

[19] See Lowes, who offers a selection of the relevant parts of many treatises.

[20] For Giles, see also Commentary, l. 308.

traced them to Giles;[21] Ethel Seaton, however, determined the source as Giles's Viaticus: De signis et symptomatibus aegritudinum (275). The following lines from the Viaticus are indeed relevant to the Fabula's material on vers:

> Effimeram generant frigus, calor, ira, lavacrum, 1919
> cura, timor, studium, potus, cibus, ardor amoris,
> tristitiae torpor, insomnia tempora, grandis
> artubus infixus dolor, inmoderata laboris
> atque vie gravitas. Si causam frigidus aer
> parturit, os pallet, urina remittitur 1924
> . . . . . .
> Tres ethicae species distingunt signa. notatur 1950
> prima calore cibum sumptum breviore sequente,
> occupat urinae partem pinguedo supremam
> praetendens olei formam. sunt signa secundae
> furfur in urina volitans, pinguedinis instar
> aut olei pars summa micans, minor inpetit artus 1955
> ardor ieiuno stomacho, qui sumit ab esca
> laedendi stimulum. species postrema flagellat
> officiens membris aequaliter omnibus horis,
> fundum crimna tenent urinae, cuius olivae
> praetendit prorsus substantia spissa liquorem 1960
> . . . . . .
> Putrida materies qua causon destruit artus
> clauditur in vena gracili quae proxima cordi 2185
> pectori pulmoni stomacho loca continet. huius
> collige signa siti nimia, nigredine linquae,
> fervoris flamma, stimulo vehemente doloris,
> pulsu veloci duro qui fortiter instat
> et crebro. . . . 2190
>
> (Giles de Corbeil 78, 80, 90)

The remaining 168 lines of the Viaticus (there are 2358 in all) also provide a relevant background to Lydgate's discussion of Putrida.

But Lydgate's selection of fever as his merchant's primary symptom of lovesickness is unusual, for fever is not a well-attested symptom of the disease in the medical treatises. An explanation for the connection

---

[21] Schleich notes that it was only later that Zupitza discovered Giles as Lydgate's source; he quotes from Zupitza's notes, which contain some of Giles's lines on fever, but the Viaticus is not pinpointed as the ultimate source. See lxxxvii-viii, n. 1.

can be found in both the medical and literary traditions which fix the seat of emotions in the heart and not the brain.[22] According to medieval physiology, the heart was not an organ which pumps blood but a furnace "from which heat and vital spirits spread outwards along the arteries, to warm and vivify all the members" (Winny 177). A fever is the natural heat of the body gone out of control, as Bartholomaeus explains: "Feuer comeþ of distemperaunce of þe herte, for as Constantinus seiþ, a feuer is an vnkynde hete þat comeþ out of þe herte" (Trevisa 1: 379). And the source of the Baldacian merchant's fever does indeed seem to be his heart; Cupid's arrow has stricken him in his brest (225), and he feels it "hoolly" in his "herte" (232).

Of course, love is also conventionally described in literary tradition in terms of fire and heat, and the connection is thus twofold. Fever and love are both hot, and they are both disturbances of the heart. In both the Romaunt of the Rose and Troilus and Criseyde, fever is connected with the pains of love. In the Romaunt, the God of love warns the young lover about the many pains of love he is bound to suffer:

> Thou shalt no whyle be in o stat
> But whylom cold and whilom hat,[23]
> Now reed as rose, now yelowe and fade.
> Such sorowe, I trowee, thou never hade;
> Cotidien ne quarteyn,

---

[22] "Medical writers traditionally maintained that the brain was the seat of sensation and emotion, but Aristotle claimed that [emotions] . . . originated in the heart" (Wack 78). The commentaries on Constantine of "Giles" (probably, Wack suggests, Giles of Santarem, 74) and Peter of Spain both question Constantine's view that love was a disease of the brain. See Wack 78-79; 94-95.

[23] Variations of this phrase appear in Troilus and Criseyde 1.420, and the Fabula 222.

It is nat so ful of peyne. (Frag. B, 2397-2402)

The comparison of love's pains with those of cotidien or quartan fever is taken a step further in the Troilus, when the young Trojan, in order to hide the pains of love by which he is suddenly smitten,

> a title . . . gan him for to borwe
> Of other siknesse, lest men of hym wende
> That the hote fir of love hym brende,
>
> And seyde he hadde a fevere and ferde amys.
> (Troilus 1.488-491)

Troilus's choice of fever as an appropriate "title" for his illness would be a natural one, since both fever and love are hot diseases. It would have been a small leap from the consideration of fever as an appropriate disguise for lovesickness to the treatment of it as an actual manifestation of the disease.

Book 1 of the Troilus may have provided Lydgate his inspiration for the Fabula's explicit connection of lovesickness and fever. Lydgate would have recognized the similarity between the situations of Troilus and the merchant, who both suffer from a love which they feel compelled to keep secret. Both suffer alone and in agony, and both are wounded by the "fyr of love" (Troilus 1.436), but while Troilus feigns fever to cover his symptoms, the Baldacian merchant actually experiences a serious fever. In the Troilus, the descriptive focus is on the general imagery of love's fire and heat: love's fire burns Troilus so that he loses his colour "sexti tyme a day"; he wishes to see Criseyde, "his hote fir to cesse" (445) but the "ner he was, the more he brende" (448). In the Fabula, Lydgate takes this imagery of love's burning fire and converts it into the literal fact; his merchant becomes ill with a real, "brennyng feuere" (202) which threatens his life. In his employment and

description of this fever, Lydgate skillfully synthesizes medical theory and literary convention.

We might note at this point other features of Lydgate's debt to this section of the Troilus. Both Troilus and the Baldacian merchant, for example, give voice to their suffering in an artistic complaint, although the merchant's differs in content and quality from the "Canticus Troili."[24] Lydgate also probably owes several turns of phrase to the Troilus; like Troilus, the merchant has been stricken with love through the "castyng of an ye" (Fabula 229-30, Troilus 1.305-6), takes to his bed and begins to "sike and groone" (Fabula 205, Troilus 1.360), and suffers from extremes of heat and cold[25] (Fabula 222, Troilus 1.420).[26]

Friendship, Fortune, and The Consolation of Philosophy

The connection between fortune and friendship, specifically, the "friend at need" theme, is, as H. R. Patch puts it, "very important and widespread" and can be found in a variety of literary and philosophical works.[27] But the Fabula does not simply expand upon a well-known

---

[24] Chaucer translated the "Canticus" from Petrarch's Sonnet 88. See the explanatory note to ll. 400-420 in Benson, 1028.

[25] These ideas, of course, are both medical and literary conventions long associated with lovesickness, as we have seen.

[26] Other verbal parallels, both in this section and throughout the poem, may be found in this edition's Commentary on the appropriate lines.

[27] Patch lists a number of works which refer to this theme, among which Lydgate would surely have known the Romance of the Rose, 4719 ff., 4881, 4968, 8054 ff., the "Monk's Tale" B. 3431-3436, and Chaucer's short poem "Fortune." See Patch 74, n. 3. Lydgate himself wrote a short poem on this theme, "A Freond at Neode" (Minor Poems 2: 755).

proverbial saying; Lydgate's poem transforms Peter Alfonsi's straightforward exemplum into a philosophical examination of the nature of true friendship in the face of fortune's vicissitudes. There are many connections between the Fabula and Boethius's Consolation of Philosophy which suggest the possibility that the Consolation could have provided Lydgate a philosophical context and some specific images with which to amplify Peter Alfonsi's straightforward exemplum of friendship.

Whether Lydgate knew the Consolation of Philosophy first-hand is uncertain. Most scholars assume that the Consolation had little direct influence on Lydgate because he seldom mentions Boethius, and, when he does, it is usually in the briefest of ways.[28] Certainly it would be somewhat surprising if Lydgate had not at some point read the Consolation in one form or another, for it was immensely popular in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in both English and Continental courts, and it was a primary text used by his "maister" Chaucer.[29] There were two English versions: John Walton's 1410 verse translation (which was at one time even thought to be Lydgate's) and Chaucer's prose rendition, Boece. The Bury library had at least a partial Latin copy,

---

[28] In the Fall of Princes, 1.291, he mentions Chaucer's translation of the Consolation, and he shortens the story of Boethius in Book 8 to only four stanzas (2626-2660). "Boys" appears in only one other poem as a writer about "musyk and melody" ("A Pageant of Knowledge," Minor Poems 1: 724, l. 127). Henry Bergen, the Fall's editor, writes that "Lydgate's knowledge of Boethius as a philosopher . . . does not seem to have been very profound" (4: 326). But Richard Dwyer raises the possibility of Boethian influence on Lydgate's treatment of the Arthurian story in the Fall of Princes, and Eleanor Hammond suggests that the Fabula contains lines translated from the Consolation. See below, p. 70, n. 37.

[29] On the popularity of the Consolation, see Richard F. Green, (Poets 145-147). Green notes that "there were at least ten French versions before the end of the fourteenth century" (145).

British Library MS Royal 8.B.4 (James 76) as well as a copy of Nicholas Trivet's commentary on the Consolation (Pearsall 37). The Bury library being one of England's largest and best (Pearsall 32), it would not be assuming too much to suggest that there was probably a complete copy of the Consolation there as well; R. M. Wilson has declared that the book would "certainly appear" (89) in most medieval libraries. If there were not a copy of the book in the Bury library, Lydgate could have had access to it through one of his patrons, such as Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, an important book-collector.[30]

In the Fabula Lydgate enhances the theme of friendship he found in Peter Alfonsi and introduces that of worldly instability, emphasizing throughout the importance of true friendship in the face of sublunary change and the fickleness of fortune.[31] Lydgate is particularly concerned to contrast the stability of the merchants' friendship with

---

[30] Duke Humphrey was one of Lydgate's most important patrons, commissioning an epithalamium for his wedding to Jacqueline of Hainault and, more importantly, the Fall of Princes. To him Lydgate also addressed his Letter to Gloucester, begging for payment with regard to the Fall. For Duke Humphrey as Lydgate's patron, see the relevant portions in Pearsall, Schirmer, and Renoir. Richard F. Green notes that Humphrey's library was "the most important fifteenth-century secular library in England" (8). On Humphrey generally, see K. Vickers, Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester.

[31] In the Fabula, Fortune is the agent of worldly instability, and is little more than a simple personification who turns her wheel (520) or assails those who place too much importance on worldly things (666 ff.). She is thus very much a conventionalized figure, her purpose being to show the Egyptian merchant especially the vanity of "worldly lust" (625). For Lydgate's portrayal of fortune in other works see the chapters of Pearsall, Schirmer, and Ebin on the Fall of Princes, C. David Benson on the Troy Book 120-124, and Robert W. Ayers on the Siege of Thebes, 465. For fortune's various manifestations in other literary works, see Patch, The Goddess Fortuna in Mediaeval Literature.

the instability of fortune and the "worldly bliss" (565) that fortune can bestow; when that is withdrawn, each merchant discovers that what remains is friendship, which, being outside of fortune's domain, is the only thing each has that is truly valuable. This, of course, is just what Lady Philosophy points out to Boethius at the end of the Consolation's Book 2: "Now pleyne the nat thanne of rychesse ylorn, syn thow hast fouwnden the moste precyous kynde of rychesses, that is to seyn, thi verray freendes" (Boece 2, pr. 8, 45-8). Also putting us in mind of Boethius is the poem's narrative pattern: both merchants must experience the fall from happiness and prosperity to near-disaster before they achieve enlightenment and consolation. But there are also some specific connections between the Fabula and the Consolation, raising the possiblity that Lydgate's locus for several of the poem's images might have been Boethius's great work.

Some of these may have come to Lydgate via intermediary sources. One of the most significant is nature's "myhty corde" (74) of love, which holds all things in stability. The merchants' love for each other forms a "stable chene" (49), bound together by love, nature's law (84). The phraseology is close to that in Boethius, particularly Bk. 2, m. 8 and Bk. 3, m. 2, but Lydgate would have found the figure of the golden chain in any number of philosophical and literary works.[32] The case is

---

[32] The concept of a great chain linking heaven and earth and/or binding all the elements in universal harmony seems to start with Homer's Iliad 8.19, and is found in many places, including Macrobius, Somnium Scipionis 2.12.10-11; Claudian, De raptu Proserpinae 1.90-91; Bernardus Silvestris, Cosmographia, Microcosmos 7.1,; Alain de Lille, De Planctu Naturae, pr. 4, the Romance of the Rose 16785-87, and the "Knight's Tale" 2987-2994. See also Taylor, 134 n. 2. For the golden chain in English literature, see Lovejoy; for conceptions of Nature see Curtius, 106-127, and Economou, passim. See Norton-Smith ("Lydgate's

the same with regard to the device of describing something by its contrary, as in stanza 17. As John Norton-Smith writes, the locus classicus for this "doctrine of Contraries" (Poems 185) is the Consolation's Book 4, pr. 2; it is also used in Book 3, m 1. Both Jean de Meun and Chaucer also make use of it.[33] Finally, the image of Jupiter's two tonnes, one filled with honey and the other with gall, ll. 697-707,[34] comes from the Consolation's Book 2, pr. 2, derives ultimately from Homer's Iliad 24.527 ff., and is also found in the Romance of the Rose 6813 ff.[35]

But a more direct and striking example of possible direct Boethian influence in the Fabula, noticed by Eleanor Hammond in 1926,[36] comes near the end of the poem, just before the Egyptian merchant is led to the gallows after confessing to the murder of the man in the temple. Giving way to utter despair, he cries,

> O deth desyred / in aduersite
> Whan thu art callyd / why nylt thu wrecchys heere
> And art so reedy / in felicite
> To com to them / that the nothyng desire. (743-746)

Metaphors") for Lydgate's use of the figure in the Temple of Glas, where Venus is linked with the chain (eg. ll. 1106-10).

[33] Romance of the Rose 21512 ff; Troilus 1.637-48.

[34] The imagery contrasting bitter and sweet recurs throughout the Fabula, for example, at ll. 127-8, 446-7, and 540-41.

[35] Sometimes these tonnes are associated with the goddess Fortuna, as Patch explains 52-53.

[36] See her short article, "Boethius: Chaucer: Walton: Lydgate." She repeats this suggestion in English Verse 185.

As Hammond remarks, these lines appear to be a "close and spirited translation" of ll. 13-15 of the Consolatio's opening meter (English Verse 185):

> Mors hominum felix quae se nec dulcibus annis
> Inserit et maestis saepe vocata venit
> Eheu, quam surda miseros avertitur aure. (13-15)

Chaucer translated these lines in the Boece[37] (18-22) and adapted them in the Troilus (4.501-4), but Lydgate's lines seem closer to the original than they are to either of Chaucer's versions. Indeed, Hammond declares them to be "entirely independent of Chaucer" (English Verse 185). While Chaucer's is a literal prose translation, Lydgate's poetry reflects the fervency and emotion of the original, drawing a contrast which emphasises the irony of death, the willful entity too often coming unbidden, but cruelly ref sing to hear those who desire it. The tone and situation in the Fabula aptly parallel those of the Consolation at this point. Both Boethius and the Egyptian are voicing utter despair in truly grave situations, it being very likely that their wishes for death will be granted.

The Egyptian merchant's situation in particular follows a Boethian pattern. Lady Philosophy has admonished Boethius not to mourn his lost riches, "syn thow hast fouwnden the moste precyous kynde of rychesses, that is to seyn, thi verray freendes" (Boece 2, pr. 8, 45-8). This is exactly the lesson learned by the Egyptian merchant, whose fall into despair seems designed to put us in mind of Boethius. Having lost his

---

[37] "Thilke deth of men is weleful that ne comyth noght in yeeris that ben swete, but cometh to wreccches often yclepid. Allas, allas! With how deef an ere deth . . . turneth awey fro wrecches . . ." (18-22).

wealth, his position, and, most importantly, his friends, the Egyptian wanders homeless in the wilderness, his misery made more acute by the remembrance of "oold prosperite" (533) and the knowledge that the "sodeyn turn" of his former worldly bliss

> now doublith my grevaunce
> Mor than of it / I nevir hadde had plesaunce. (566-7)

That is, as Boethius explains to Philosophy, "in alle adversites of fortune the moost unzeely kynde of contrarious fortune is to han ben weleful" (Boece 2, pr. 4, 7-9). Each is more acutely aware of his misery because he was formerly fortunate, and each blames fortune for his desperate condition.

Both men are provided insight by wise philosophical counsel in their despair. Philosophy teaches Boethius that so-called bad fortune shows us what is truly worthwhile, and the Fabula's narrator, quoting Seneca,[38] counsels patience in the face of adversity. The merchant, formerly "disconsolaat" (550), is suddenly enlightened, and he prays for the grace to find some hope:

> And whil he lay / thus in his orisoun
> Ful poorly clad / in ful symple weede
> His herte was brouht / in consolacioun
> Which in to lissyng / his langour did leede
> He thouhte he wolde / preeve his freend at neede. (638-642)

Having realized that his former reliance on wealth and position was untenable, the Egyptian discovers his only salvation lies not in the fleeting gifts of fortune but in the enduring friendship he shares. Like Boethius, the merchant has been brought to the beginnings of consolation through a process of recognition: both move from misery and

---

[38] See Commentary, ll. 603-609, ll. 610-617.

complaint at the false fortune which has deprived them of their happiness to the recognition that friendship is outside of fortune's domain.

Lydgate's description of the unusual way the two merchants come to know and love each other also seems to owe something to Boethius. Although Lydgate uses the terminology of conventional theories of perception,[39] he emphasises that the accurate "lyknesse and ymage" of each was "grave" (50-56)[40] upon the merchants' imaginations only by means of hearsay ("audience," 85). The sense usually required for a bond of love to form is the eye.[41] However, these merchants are so much alike[42] that just hearing about each other is enough for them to love, for in a metaphorical sense they already know each other. Their very thinking of one another thus engraves an accurate image in their

---

[39] That is, sensations from the external world are received and registered by the "ymaginatif," judged, and then discarded or stored in the memory. See above, pp. 59-60. See also Burnley 103, 104.

[40] As David Burnley explains, the literary terminology for this process usually speaks of images, figures, or forms which are "'impressed,' 'emprented,' or even 'graven' upon the 'ymaginacioun,' or, as it is sometimes called, the 'fantasie.'. . . Less technically and precisely, but much more frequently in literature, the 'ymages' are impressed into the 'herte,' 'soule' or 'thoght'" (106). There are many examples of this figure in Chaucer and elsewhere, for example Troilus 1.295-298, 3.1541-1544, 1499-1502; MerT 1977-1981. See also Gower, Confessio Amantis 4.389-90 and Henryson's Testament of Cresseid 508-511.

[41] For further analysis see Burnley 106-107. This is, of course, how the Baldacian merchant falls in love with the Egyptian's paramour (229), and Troilus with Criseyde (305).

[42] Lydgate has taken pains, first, to tell us how virtuous, worthy, and well-loved each merchant is (11. 1-7, 37-42, 44-46), and second to emphasize the way these two virtuous men are drawn together (64-70), for "tweyne of o kynde / togidre drawe neere" (73). See also Chapter 1. p. 8, and Commentary, 11. 64, 69-84, and 97-98 for the relevance of Classical ideals to these aspects of Lydgate's portrayal of the merchants' friendship.

imaginations; that is, their minds are not just passively receiving a sensory image, but are also actively producing it.

In Book 5 of the Consolation, Boethius outlines a view of perception which rejects the idea of a passive mind which simply receives "ymages and sensibilities" (5, m. 4). He prefers, as David Burnley explains, "a neo-Platonic notion in which knowledge of the external world proceeds from a process of recognition by which the intelligence 'matches' its knowledge of the divine forms with their material representatives perceived through the senses in the world of everday" (Burnley 103-4). Boethius sees the mind as more active than passive; when light hits the eye or sound "hurteleth to the eres and comoeveth hem to herkne; than is the strengthe of the thought moevid and excited, and clepith forth to semblable moevyngis the speces that it halt withynne itself . . . and medleth the ymagis of thinges withoute-forth to the foormes ihidd withynne hymself" (Boece 5, m. 4, 52-60). In much the same way, after the merchants hear about each other, both their imaginations and memories are stimulated (55-56); being exactly alike, they can recognize, know, and love each other: "vnto his semblable / thus euery thyng can drawe" (84). What connects Lydgate's account more to Boethius here than, for example, to the "Miller's Tale," where John's active imagination also figures prominently, is that in the Fabula this is not a process of delusion, but one of accurate perception.[43]

---

[43] In the "Merchant's Tale," January's imagination is also active as he tries to choose a wife, but it is clearly spurred by the physical presence of the "maydens" on whom he so lasciviously looks (1580-87).

One more section in the Fabula seems to owe something to Boethius. In stanzas 97 and 98, the narrator explains that Nature[44] reveals her laws by the examples of the stars, few of which, with the exception of the "bere . . . In thilke plow / that Arthow doth it steer,"[45] we can see all of the time. Like the stars, for example, "Boetes" and "lucifeer," Nature's laws are sometimes apparent and sometimes hidden. These lines appear to be a conflation of the astrological imagery in meters 5 and 6 of the Consolation's Book 4, which also take as their subjects the laws of the heavens. In meter 5, Philosophy explains that, to those who are ignorant, the movements of the stars are mystifying, referring to the "sterres of Arctour" and the star Boetes, and in meter 6 she explains how the courses of the stars are designed to ensure concord: the constellation Ursa "nis nevere mo wasschen in the depe westrene see, ne coveyteth nat to deeyen his flaumbes in the see of the Occian, although it see othere sterres iplowngid in the see. And Hesperus the sterre bodith and telleth alway the late nyghtes, and Lucyfer the sterre brygeth ayein the clere day." The correspondence of

---

[44] Here described as God's vicar on earth, as she is in the Romance of the Rose 61 and The Parliament of Fowls 379. See also Commentary, ll. 673-74.

[45] As Richard Dwyer explains, there was some confusion over the names of the constellation Arcturus, or Bootes, and the principal star in it, due to "a bit of medieval English folk-etymology that confused the Latin name of the principal star in the constellation Bootes, Arcturus, with the more familiar name Arthurus. The name was extended to the whole constellation of Bootes, to the group of seven prominent stars in the nearby constellation of Ursa Major, and to that whole constellation" (161). Lydgate's conflation here of "Arthow," the "bere," and the "plow" is understandable in this light, particularly if he were working with the material in the two meters of Boethius.

these astrological features and the similarities of the context within which they appear suggests a relationship between the two works.

One cannot show conclusively that Lydgate did or did not know Boethius's Consolation, but that it certainly seems to inform the Fabula in a variety of ways is demonstrable. At the very least, an awareness of the Boethian themes and images in the Fabula, whether or not Lydgate took them directly from the Consolation, must enhance and enrich any reading of the poem.

Chapter 5

"LOVE CAN NO FRENSHIP": THE FABULA AND THE "KNIGHT'S TALE"

Peter Alfonsi had as his purpose to tell the story of a perfect friendship,[1] illustrated by the reciprocal generosity of two men who relinquish, or offer to relinquish, that which is most precious to each. As befits an exemplum, his tale is short, simple, and straightforward. Lydgate's Fabula, however, is none of these. In style elaborate and complex, in tone elevated and philosophical, the poem deals with the theme of friendship in a markedly different manner than Peter Alfonsi's original. The first part of the poem, up to the Baldacian merchant's departure from Egypt with his new wife, has as its narrative focus not simply the illustration of the Egyptian merchant's generosity, but the examination of love and friendship, and the potential conflict engendered when the Baldacian merchant falls in love with his host's paramour.

Lydgate treats this confict within a context that has many resemblances to the world of romance. Defining just what constitutes a

---

[1] This purpose is explicitly stated in the transition between the first exemplum of the Disciplina Clericalis, "The Half Friend," and the second, our tale: "Then the son asked the father: 'Do you know a man who has found himself a perfect friend?' And the father answered: 'I know him not, but I have heard of him.' The son said: 'Tell me of him; perhaps I shall find myself such a man.' And the father began" (Hermes 106).

romance is a difficult business,[2] but D. S. Brewer's characterization is helpful for our purposes:

> Romances are idealistic in moral tone and physical setting; they are usually about noble love and brave adventure concerning knights and ladies in exotic settings and culminating in marriage; and they are often elaborately written. (Gothic Literature 77)

In the Fabula, we are dealing with merchants, not knights, nor are these men inspired to knightly deeds or brave adventure for the love of their lady; but the rest of this description applies readily to the tone, setting, and general orientation of the poem's first half. Ethel Seaton remarks that the author[3] "constantly throws over the story the colouring of chivalrous life" (274), not only with respect to setting and characterization, both of which partake more of the aristocratic and noble than the bourgeois and mercantile, but also with respect to the depiction of love. As Professor Brewer notes, "noble love," sometimes called "courtly love,"[4] is a significant feature of romance, and the

---

[2] There are many studies and book-length treatments of Middle English romance. Some of the more well-known articles include those of Derek Brewer, Dorothy Everett, John Finlayson, Derek Pearsall, Paul Strohm, and A. McI. Trounce; book-length treatments include those of Carol Fewster, Northrup Frye, W. P. Ker, Laura H. Loomis, Diehter Mehl, Lee Ramsay, and John Stevens. A comprehensive bibliographical survey is found in W. J. R. Barron 243-275, who also summarizes, especially in Chapters 1 and 8, the many and various approaches to Middle English romance.

[3] She believes it is Richard Roos. See Chapter 3, p. 47 n. 17.

[4] The term has generated much controversy. Some critics, notably D. W. Robertson and E. T. Donaldson, though for different reasons, object to the use of the term, considering it a modern construct for something that never existed at all. Nevertheless, their arguments have been answered by others such as William Calin, Joan Ferrante, and George Economou, who point out that, to medieval authors, the concept was real, whether or not they actually used the term "courtly love" (Pursuit 3-5). Among the many articles and studies on this subject, two recent articles are particularly worthy of note. H. A. Kelly re-examines what Gaston Paris, credited with inventing the term in 1883, actually said about

Baldacian merchant's "amor hereos" places him in a tradition of courtly lovers who suffer, complain, and aspire to possess an unattainable lady, whether or not that aspiration is likely to be realized. In this he resembles the conventional noble lover who, as D. D. R. Owen explains, "enlists in his lady's service, binding himself in all honour to carry out her least command, and pledging his unswerving loyalty, even to the death" (29).

But this particular lover also owes an obligation to his friend who happens to love the same woman, and thus two ideologies clash: one cannot be devoted to the woman he loves if she is also loved by his friend, to whom he also owes loyalty and love. This clash between love and friendship is not in Peter Alfonsi; it is manufactured by Lydgate for a purpose which becomes clear in the light of another work in which the clash between love and friendship, amor and amicitia, figures largely: Chaucer's "Knight's Tale." The first part of this chapter will suggest that Lydgate departed from the exemplary, strictly didactic mode of his source and infused his version of the tale with many conventions from romance in order to enhance the narrative parallel--two friends in love with the same woman--between Peter Alfonsi's tale and the "Knight's

---

"amour courtois," and concludes that since the expression has been used in such a variety of ways since then "the situation is one of intolerable and irreversible confusion" (222). His advice is for scholars to stop using the term; for those who cannot, his advice is to "say what [they] mean by it." Larry Benson's article, though not connected to Kelly's, does just that, illustrating both the existence and the meanings of courtly love as it is manifested in various Middle English poems and documents. He incidentally notes, too, that Paris did not invent the term "amour courtois," pointing out that the phrase "'amor cortese' . . . was in fairly common use in medieval Italian, and Chaucer might well have come upon the phrase cortesi amanti, 'courtly lovers,' in his reading of Petrarch" (239).

Tale" by making his poem thematically similar as well. The second part of the chapter offers a reading of both tales in which the implications of Lydgate's reshaping are considered.

In both the Fabula and the "Knight's Tale" there is a love triangle within which the two men share a close relationship. In the "Knight's Tale," Palamon and Arcite are not only blood-kin but also brothers at arms, a relation, explains Maurice Keen, based upon a "reciprocal oath . . . to aid and succour one another in every enterprise" (2). The Fabula's merchants also share a bond even before they meet, and, once they do meet, they pledge an oath of friendship. Both of these relationships are threatened by love, and both works call attention to the conflicting loyalties inspired by the separate realms of love and brotherhood or friendship. Just before Palamon and Arcite begin their bloody duel in the grove, the narrator observes that "love ne lordshipe / Wol noght . . . have no felaweshipe" (1625-26). Echoing this sentiment are the words of the Baldacian merchant as he lies suffering with lovesickness: "Love can no frenship / I se wel in no coost" (255). There is apparently no other solution than that offered by the "Knight's Tale." Palamon and Arcite abandon their sworn brotherhood to become sworn enemies in their ursuit of Emelye, and their bloody rivalry has disastrous consequences.

But in the Fabula, the fears of the Baldacian merchant do not materialize. The friendship he shares with the Egyptian is actually strengthened rather than betrayed when his friend gives him as his wife the woman they both love. The potential clash between love and friendship is not only averted but is the means of affirming the bond

between the two men, for the Baldacian subsequently offers his life for that of his friend. By freely giving away that which they most treasure, each saves the life of the other, affirming that their friendship supercedes any other consideration. A clear alternative to the "Knight's Tale" is thus offered.

Lydgate's purposes may well have been to provide an answer of sorts to the "Knight's Tale."[5] As we noted above, the conflict between love and friendship is not an issue in Peter Alfonsi, for whom the illness of the first merchant is simply the means by which the generosity of his host may be demonstrated. But Lydgate's Baldacian merchant suffers sp[illegible] from "amor hereos," one constituent of a larger pattern whi[illegible], both merchants all the characteristics of noble lovers who move within a distinctly aristocratic setting. Lydgate may have altered his source in the direction of courtly romance, providing a conventional romance context and thus highlighting the situational parallels to the "Knight's Tale," in order to provide what he might have considered to be a better solution to the love triangle of the "Knight's Tale."

The Fabula's opening lines signal Lydgate's intention to reshape the original exemplum in the direction of romance. Similar in diction, content, and even syntax to the opening lines of both the "Knight's" and "Squire's" tales, the first stanza implies a connection with romance:

---

[5] I do not wish to argue that the Fabula stands in the same relation to the "Knight's Tale" as does Lydgate's Siege of Thebes, which is a specific response to Chaucer's tale. The many contextual, verbal, and thematic parallels between the two works make clear that Siege is Lydgate's reading of the "Knight's Tale"; my purpose here is not to offer the Fabula as another Lydgate reading of the tale, but to highlight the similarities between the two works with regard to the love triangle in both and the relationships they engender.

In Egipt whilom / as I reede and fynde
Ther dwelliyd a marchaunt / of hih & gret estat
Nat oonly riche / but bountevous and kynde
As of nature / to hym it was innat
For alle vertues / in hym wern aggregat
Of vices voyd / pitous and merciable
And of his woord / as any centre / stable.[6]

The next few stanzas describe the location, and emphasize the unfamiliar and even exotic features, of this far-away land, which, although "desolat" of rain, is inundated yearly by the flooding of the Nile and is thus blessed with such

habundaunce
That euery wiht / hath ther suffisaunce. (34-5)

Within this context is set the description of the Egyptian merchant, whose qualities rival those of any worthy aristocrat or even a ruler: not only is he rich, but he is in[illegible] kind, generous, merciful, and free from all vice. The merchant from Baldac is described in equally glowing terms. By means of context and description, both merchants are thus elevated from the beginning beyond their bourgeois position.[7]

---

[6] The Knight also refers to a time long past and a tale found in books. The syntactic structure of the first two lines is also similar:

Whilom, as olde stories tellen us,
Ther was a duc that highte Theseus . . . (KnT 859-60).

Similarities of theme and syntactic structure are also evident in the opening lines of the "Squire's Tale":

At Sarray, in the land of Tartarye,
Ther dwelte a kyng that werreyed Russye,
. . . .
And therto he was hardy, wys, and riche,
And pitous and just, alwey yliche;
Sooth of his word, benigne, and honurable;
Of his corage as any centre stable . . . (9-10, 19-22).

[7] While many rich merchants modelled their habits and domestic life after the landed gentry, class divisions nevertheless remained. See Sylvia Thrupp, esp. pp. 143-152, for similarities between the lifestyles of wealthy merchants and landed gentry, and pp. 234-269 for cultural affinities, social relations, and differences between the two classes.

These merchants also behave in a noble manner. Lydgate takes pains to show the two friends acting in accordance with the tenets of courtoisie, elucidated by Henri Dupin in his still-valuable study, La courtoisie au moyen âge. Examining twelfth- and thirteenth-century courtly French literature, Dupin elucidated several components of this pattern of elegant behaviour, manifested by ceremonial forms of greeting, departing, welcome, hospitality, and by the outward display of certain inner virtues, including loyalty and fidelity (to one's word and to others), compassion, humility, liberality, joy, moderation, and love [8] The presence or absence of these qualities is often a

---

Lydgate may also have in mind the theme, familiar from Boethius and Chaucer (see especially the "Wife of Bath's Tale" 1150-1176 and the "Parson's Tale" 459-465 and passim) that true "gentillesse" is moral, not genetic, although, as a note in the Riverside Chaucer points out, this was "not regularly exemplified in Christian society" (874, n. 1109). On this latter point, see Patterson, who remarks that "[W]e find in the later Middle Ages a growing insistence upon the priority of lineage as a definition of nobility, a persistent effort to stratify society as a whole and to fix the precedence of its ranks, and a jealous guarding of forms of dress, recreative habits (like hunting), and social rituals . . . " (193). Both socially and morally, Lydgate's merchants behave like nobility.

[8] The relevant chapter titles are these: "Le salut, le congé et le baiser," "L'accueil et l'hospitalité," "La loyauté et la fidélité," "La bonté et la pitié," "La douceur," "La libéralité et la largesse," "La joie," "Le souci de la renommée," "La mesure," and "L'amour."

fundamental theme in Middle English romance,[9] and Lydgate takes pains to show his merchants exhibiting many of these characteristics.

Love, not just for the woman, is an important aspect of the relationship between the two merchants. As noted in Chapter 4, they are linked by love with one another even before they meet, and the word appears in one form or another ten times before their actual meeting occurs.[10] They seem to become themselves conventionalized courtly love figures; they are compared three times to "loveres" (108, 126, 131), their hearts so set affire by a love (91) which nothing but death can "disseuere" (98). These rather strong terms do not imply a homosexual relationship; Lydgate is using this kind of language to evoke an aristocratic kind of setting, for this is the language of courtly love. Larry Benson notes that courtly love was often identified with "aristocratic virtue" (246), and it is no matter that the terms are here applied to the platonic love between two men and not to that between a man and a woman; Gervase Mathew's observation with regard to Anglo-Norman didactic literature applies equally well here: "friendship between man and man was expressed in terms of love. . . . [I]n the early fourteenth-century poem 'La lessoun a leals amantz' the loyal

---

[9] One thinks immediately of Sir Gawain and the Green Knight, for example. These qualities are also important in Chaucer's "Wife of Bath's Tale" and "Franklin's Tale." Guillaume de Lorris's portion of the Roman de la Rose and its partial Middle English version, The Romaunt of the Rose, of which Fragment A is probably Chaucer's translation, lays great emphasis on the rules of courtesy; as John Stevens notes, many of the God of Love's commandments are "of a sensible, practical, social kind" (53; italics his). Rules of courtesy and courtly behaviour are also important in, for example, Malory's Morte D'Arthur, and form the very fabric of numerous romances.

[10] See ll. 49, 61, 76, 91, 98, 108, 112, 120, 126, 131.

lovers are two men who are friends even though their friendship is described as 'fyne amour'" (46).[11]

The meeting of the two merchants also corresponds to a conventional pattern of courtly courtesy. An atmosphere of joy pervades the scene as the Egyptian merchant takes his friend by the hand, kisses him, and welcomes him "by rowe / an hundryd sithe" (138-142). There is also a ceremonial feel to this interaction; both Dupin (24) and Mathew (51) note that "le baiser" is often associated with the meeting of two friends and with "Bel Accuiel," the art of welcome (Mathew 51). Dupin points out that "l'accueil et l'hospitalité [together] sont . . . l'une des principales vertus courtoises," and reminds us that the Romance of the Rose's Bel Accueil is the son of Courtoisie (28). The welcome and the subsequent hospitality extended toward the Baldacian merchant are indeed governed by the courtesy often found in romance. The Egyptian host has rallied his entire household to ensure that his guest has all that, and more than, he needs. He ushers his guest into a chamber "ful riche and weel arrayed" (148) and there welcomes him formally, echoing the words of Bercilak to Gawain at Hautdesert:

> wolcom / also god me save
> Vnto your owne / and to al that I have. (153-4)[12]

---

[11] Mathew's footnote to this poem refers to the edition of T. Wright, Specimens of Lyric Poetry, Percy Society 19 (1842), 18-22. We might note that in Amis and Amiloun, too, a similar kind of language is applied to the two friends. As they make ready to part for the first time, for example, Sir Amis almost swoons for sorrow, and Amiloun declares his heart will break in three if he must be parted from his friend (252-264).

[12] Bercilak says, "3e ar welcum to welde as yow lykes / þat here is; al is yowre awen, to haue at yowre wylle and welde" (836-7).

As both Larry Benson and Derek Brewer point out, appropriate speaking is intimately associated with love and courtesy.[13] The Egyptian is certainly well-versed in the proper verbal formulae appropriate to the conventions of courtesy.[14]

Like the host's manners, the food, decorations, and entertainment also befit royalty. The dinner consists of such "divers wynes" (156) and "straunge viaundys in sondry apparaille" (157) that "nevir aforn was seen such roialte" (158). The "roial paramentis" (163) provide an ambient setting for the music and revels which follow.[15] Out of doors, too, the merchants engage in aristocratic pursuits. The following passage might well apply to a noble lord entertaining an equally noble and honored guest:

> They ryde aboute with hauk / and eek with houndys
> He shewith hym maneeres / castellis / and eek toures
> Thoruh al his lordship / he lat hym in the boundys
> By park by forest / by meedwys fressh of flowres
> And list he were pryked / with paramoures
> Ful many a lady / and maiden by his side
> On white palfreys / he made for to ryde. (169-175)

---

[13] Benson, "Courtly Love and Chivalry," esp. 241-245; Brewer, "Courtesy and the 'Gawain'-Poet," 61, 69-71. See also Chapter 9, "Realism and Romance: Discourse of Love," in Stevens, pp. 188-207.

[14] W. R. J. Barron refers to this kind of welcome as formulaic (<u>"Trawthe" and Treason</u> 44).

[15] Feasting was an important aspect of the noble life, in reality and in courtly romance. See Madeleine Pelner Cosman, especially Chapter 1, which illustrates the significance of the noble feast with its ceremony, splendour, and "marvelous" (31) food and entertainment.

Here is a courtly landscape complete with the aristocratic activities of hawking, hunting on fine horses, and surveying the manors and castles, parks and forest which make up the lord's domain.[16]

We feel no incongruity, then, when the Baldacian merchant, having fallen in love, conducts himself as as any other courtly lover might. Exhibiting all the symptoms of "amor hereos," with the addition, moreover, of a "brennyng fever," he reveals in a long complaint that love is the cause of his suffering. The contents of the complaint are as full of the conventions of courtly love as is the existence of the complaint itself.[17] Having fallen in love at first sight, he is now sick unto death:

> Cupidis darte / on me hath maad arrest
> The cleer streemys / of castyng of an ye
> This is tharwe / me causith for to dye. (229-231)

Rendered helpless by his malady, he can only be cured by attaining one who is unattainable:

> For thilke floure that myghte be my leche
> She wot rihtnouht / what wo that I endure
> And to be ded / I dar me nat discure. (236-8)

---

[16] The Devonshire Hunting Tapestries, now in London's Victoria and Albert Museum, depict just this kind of detail. "Falconry" especially shows a wooded setting with castles and towers in the background, peopled with aristocratic men and women, some on horseback, some socializing, some just enjoying the scene. See Digby, Plate 2. The calendar illustrations for the months of May and August in the Tres Riches Heures of the Duc de Berry depict similar scenes (Digby, Plates 37a and b).

[17] The love complaint was closely linked with courtly poetry. As W. A. Davenport notes, it was courtly French poets like Guillaume de Machaut and Froissart who "developed complaint as one of a number of set types of love-lyric. . . . The main idea of the courtly complaint is the lover's expression of his suffering" (6).

The object of the merchant's love little knows, nor can she ever know, of his passion for her. This is a fairly conventional courtly love situation, but there is a further burden here: if the merchant remains silent he will die from the lovesickness itself, but if he discovers his love he will die at his friend's hand, not only because he presumes to love that which belongs to the Egyptian, but also for trespassing on their bond of friendship:

> And eek my freend / whom I love moost of al
> Yif that he knewh / my secre maladye
> Ful cruel vengaunce shuld vpon me fal
> For myn outrage / despit and velanye
> That I durst evir / clymben vp so hihe
> To love that maiden / kept for his owne stoor
> Thus must I deyen / what shuld I pleynen mor. (239-245)

As noted above, this section of Lydgate's poem originates with him; it is not in Peter Alfonsi, although the potential for such a situation exists there. In focussing on and amplifying this potential, Lydgate has introduced the theme of love clashing with friendship and brings the context close to that of the "Knight's Tale." His specific naming of the merchant's malady as "amor hereos" may be an implicit reference to Chaucer's poem which points to the parallels between the two works, and we can thus see the Baldacian merchant as not only a noble lover[18] but also a lover positioned in a dynamic that mirrors that of Chaucer's poem.

It is with respect to this dynamic, the erotic triangle, that Lydgate's poem paradoxically both diverges from and parallels the "Knight's Tale." The Fabula offers a resolution to the clash between

---

[18] For example, Chapter 4, pp. 65-66, notes the parallels between the merchant and Troilus in Book 1 of Troilus and Criseyde.

love and friendship which is apparently opposite to that in the "Knight's Tale"; in Lydgate's work, the ideals of friendship take precedence over those of love and avert disaster, while in the "Knight's Tale" Palamon and Arcite are compelled to set aside their sworn brotherhood. However, the position of the third party in each triangle, the woman, remains exactly the same in both works. Both are objects of exchange which ultimately affirm the close relationship between the two male principals in each triangle. In the Fabula, her position in this regard is explicit; her exchange between the Egyptian and the Baldacian allows the friendship to be strengthened and both men eventually to prosper. In the "Knight's Tale," Emelye's role is similar, though not so overt. She is the prize for which Palamon and Arcite strive, and when Arcite's mortal wound prevents his possession of her, he gives her to Palamon in a gesture which re-affirms their kinship: "I have heer with my cosyn Palamon / Had strif and rancour many a day agon / For love of yow . . . / Foryet nat Palamon, the gentil man" (2783-2797, italics mine).[19] She re-establishes not only kinship bonds between two men but also political structures: when Theseus gives her to Palamon she becomes the means of establishing a peace between Thebes and Athens.[20] The

---

[19] Helen Cooper (80) also sees this gesture as restorative of the fellowship between Palamon and Arcite.

[20] Several critics see the marriage as serving political ends. William Frost notes that Palamon and Emily "incidentally represent the formerly warring countries, Thebes and Athens" (103). W. F. Bolton suggests that the marriage takes place on "the level of high statecraft" as opposed to "lovers' schemes" (226). Robert Haller especially sees the marriage as political: it is "Theseus' means of obtaining Theban obedience by uniting its royal house with its own. . . . [It] is a matter of public policy which also has its private satisfactions" (82-83).

exchanging of the women in each poem illustrates the manner in which the issues of love and friendship, while apparently incompatible, are ultimately connected.

Both Emelye and the unnamed woman of the Fa[illegible] duorum mercatorum fit the pattern elucidated in Gayle Rubin's important article, "The Traffic in Women: Notes on the 'Political Economy' of Sex." In analyzing and critiquing the work of Marcel Maus and Claude Levi-Strauss (among others), Rubin points out that giving women in marriage is integral to the structures of kinship which form patriarchal society. By their exchange, women are the means by which kinship is established and cemented. The woman is therefore a "conduit" of, rather than a partner to, the relationship: "If women are the gifts, then it is men who are the exchange partners," says Rubin (174). The women in Chaucer's and Lydgate's poems fulfill this function: both are traded to reestablish or ensure male bonds. The relationship between the two men therefore takes priority over that between either of them and the beloved. This is clearly the case in the Fabula, where Lydgate's purpose is to show how an ideal male friendship is not destroyed but actually enhanced when a love triangle comes into being.

Several critics[21] have noted that in the "Knight's Tale," too, the relationship between Palamon and Arcite takes precedence over their affection for Emelye. Arguing for the importance of male competition as a motif in the poem, Emily Jenson notes that "the emphasis throughout is

---

[21] Elaine Tuttle Hansen lists several in addition to those noted here (216).

on the two lovers" (321). And H. Marshall Leicester Jr. writes that it is

> striking . . . how quickly the two knights move away from any concern with the lady herself. She becomes a kind of stipulation, a conventional unattainable object, and Palamon and Arcite concentrate on their relationship to one another. (235)

The erotic triangle as a "graphic schema" for describing sexual relationships is discussed in Eve Kosofky Sedgewick's Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire.[22] Sedgewick connects the triangle and patriarchy, beginning with Rene Girard's observation that "in any erotic rivalry, the bond that links the two rivals is as intense and potent as the bond that links either of the rivals to the beloved" (Sedgewick 21). Noting that Girard's triangles most often refer to male rivalry for possession of a female, she points out that "in any male-dominated society, there is a special relationship between male homosocial . . . desire and the structures for maintaining and transmitting patriarchal power" (25). The sexual triangle--and the exchange of the woman by either winning or accepting her as a gift--can describe the means of establishing and maintaining the male bonds essential to patriarchal power.

Carolyn Dinshaw perceives a connection between the male-dominated world of courtly romance and the exchange of women. Discussing Troilus and Criseyde, Dinshaw observes that Criseyde, by being "traded between groups of men at war" (57) and shifting her allegiance from Troilus to

---

[22] "Male homosocial desire" is a way of talking about men's relationships with other men, which includes but is not exclusive to homosexuality; it is "a strategy for making generalizations about, and marking historical differences in, the structure of men's relations with other men" (2, italics hers).

Diomede, actually "acts . . . in the best interests of patriarchal society itself," for by the exchange Troy recovers its prisoners and gains a temporary respite from battle (57). Emelye, like Criseyde, is an example of "the feminine desire that conveniently adapts itself to the desires of those who trade her" (106). By casting "a freendlich ye" on Arcite and later uncomplainingly marrying Palamon, Emelye illustrates "the notion of courtliness as a cover for the patriarchal exchange economy. . . . For the smooth operation of the system, women's desires must conform to the desires of men" (107).[23] In a similar vein, H. Marshall Leicester, Jr. writes that, at the tale's end, "The Knight clearly understands the commodity status of women in chivalric society" (350).[24]

In the male-dominated world of the "Knight's Tale" and the Fabula duorum mercatorum, courtly romance,[25] male friendship, and courtly love

---

[23] In Emelye's initial wish to remain unmarried, we might see Chaucer's problematization of her position. And in Troilus and Criseyde, Hector explicitly speaks to the issue of exchanging women, arguing against the trade of Criseyde for Antenor: "We usen here no wommen for to selle" (4.182). But ultimately, both Emelye and Criseyde, like the woman in Lydgate's Fabula, conform to the desires of those around them.

[24] Leicester's position throughout The Disenchanted Self, not necessarily shared by this writer, is that each of the Canterbury Tales is "primarily . . . an expression of its teller's personality and outlook as embodied in the unfolding 'now' of the telling" (6). Here, he argues, the Knight feels somewhat uncomfortable at Emily's fate because, having imagined her sympathetically in Part 3 of the tale, he must now suppress her voice: ". . . a fiction of Emelye's private identification with her public role [must] be created and sustained. In the interests of that fiction Emelye's private feelings will have to be sacrificed, as will the Knight's sympathy with her" (350).

[25] In a different though relevant context, Susan Crane makes a connection between courtly romance and patriarchy. "Courtship and social order are central concerns of [the romance] genre, not least because they are central to the validation of the nobility. . . . In

are linked by the exchange of women. In both poems, amor and amicitia, although seemingly antithetical, are actually intimately connected, for the role of the woman in both triangles is to facilitate the relationship between the two men. The "Knight's Tale," in its portrayal of Emelye as an object of exchange and its concomitant emphasis on the relationship between Palamon and Arcite, implicitly upholds this view, while the Fabula makes it quite explicit.

The unnamed woman of the Baldacian merchant's desire is, like Emelye, a typical courtly lady. Young, beautiful, virtuous, and wise, she is the epitome of womanhood:[26]

> Ful wys she was / of so tendir age
> Prudent and war / and ful of honeste
> Devoyde cleene / of vices and outrage
> Whos beaute flouryd / and virginite
> Plesaunt of poort / roote of humylite
> Of maneer myrour / and welle of womanheede
> Goodly abayssht / and femynyn of dreede. (379-385)

This stanza and that immediately following it constitute the only attention the woman receives in the poem. She never speaks nor does she act. Described in wholly conventional terms, she is merely an object of desire. But, though her portrayal cannot rival that of the fresh and lovely Emelye, the positions of the two women are similar. Emelye may have a voice, but she herself can do nothing more than pray to be

---

romance (as in wider cultural expressions) the nobility's ordering and rationalizing identity is specifically masculine. Chivalric courtship designs sexual relations and dynastic succession through heroic adventuring: [the men] all assume Emelye will marry and disagree only on how to 'darreyne hire'" (62).

[26] In his treatment of the physical qualities of the typical courtly lady, Derek Brewer notes that, since love is a "moral emotion," the heroine's "physical beauty often becomes a reflexion of moral beauty" ("Ideal" 262). Here and in the following stanza, the lady's moral virtues illustrate and substantiate her physical beauty.

released from her position in the love triangle. This condition can only be achieved, however, if Palamon and Arcite "turne awey hir hertes" (2318) from her. If she must have one of them, she goes on to say, "sende me hym that moost desireth me" (2325). Having no influence on her fate, she can only adapt herself to the situation.[27] Although she is apparently more fully realized than the woman in the Fabula, she is nevertheless in the same position regarding the men in her triangle. Not acting, she is acted upon. In the Fabula duorum mercatorum, as in the "Knight's Tale," the position of the woman is dictated by the relationship between the two men. Paradoxically, however, her apparently passive position within the triangle is that which throws into relief the relationship of the two male principles within it.

Throughout the "Knight's Tale," the brothers-at-arms and blood-kin relationship between Palamon and Arcite is a recurrent issue. Many of Palamon and Arcite's debates centre on their own relationship. As they argue about who loved Emelye first, they continually return to their brotherhood and its application to the situation. Palamon maintains that their kinship is primary, reminding Arcite that his obligation as a "cosyn" and brother, "ysworn ful depe" (1131-32) is "to forthre me . . . for which thou art ybounden as a knyght . . ." (1149). Arcite counters by insisting that he loved Emelye first and resorting to proverb: "who

---

[27] It might be argued that Emelye's position is really no different than that of Palamon and Arcite, since the gods ultimately seem to control the destinies of all three. This does not prevent Palamon and Arcite, however, from actively doing all they can to win Emelye, while she, in contrast, must remain passive and await the outcome; further, it is Theseus who awards Emelye, who has no voice at the poem's end, to Palamon. For a discussion of Emelye's passivity as a function of her paganism, see A. J. Minnis (133).

shal yeve a lovere any lawe?" (1165). He had tacitly acknowledged their relationship by continuing to call Palamon his "cosyn and [his] brother sworn" (1161), but is now insisting that the "lawe" of love takes precedence over any which binds him to Palamon. Nevertheless, Arcite refers to Palamon twice as his brother as he concludes his argument (1181; 1184). And both men, in the complaints which come after Arcite is released, refer to the other as "cosyn" (1234, 1281). While Arcite in particular has apparently renounced the ties which bind them, the connection is still very much in place.[28]

Kinship remains a central issue throughout the poem. In the grove, Palamon calls Arcite a "false traytour" (1580) because he has betrayed their kinship by loving Emelye (1583). Arcite defies their "seurete" and bond (1604-5). Nevertheless, acting in accordance with the chivalric code, he refrains from killing his defenceless opponent until they can fight fairly. Indeed, the Knight-narrator notes that they arm each other "As freendly as he were his owene brother" (1652).

The idea of "felaweshipe," in fact, is highlighted throughout the "Knight's Tale," the word "felawe" apparently encompassing the comradeship, companionship, and obligations of brothers-at-arms. It is used near the poem's beginning to emphasize the relationship between Palamon and Arcite: having been found, "bothe in oon armes" (1012) and "of sustren two yborn" (1019), they are incarcerated, "this Palamon and his felawe Arcite" (1031). Its force is made clear in the story of

---

[28] Piero Boitani (188) also observes that their relationship is made prominent through the repetition in the poem of such words as "cosyn." See also Elaine Tuttle Hansen for a similar, though not identical, view (210, 214-15).

Theseus and Pirotheus, who, like Palamon and Arcite, are sworn companions. The words "felawe" and "lovede" appear three times each in nine lines (1191-1200). The story's placement seems to be designed to highlight the issue of fellowship and implicitly hold up for comparison the ideal from which Palamon and Arcite are falling away.[29] Meaning more than simply "friend," "felawe" encompasses the comradeship, companionship, and obligations of brothers-at-arms.

Significantly, then, when the Knight, commenting on his own narrative for the first time,[30] observes that "love ne lordship / Wol nought . . . have no felaweshipe" (1624-25), he is specifically remarking on the disintegrating friendship between the two would-be lovers: "Wel fynden that Palamon and Arcite" (1627). But Palamon nevertheless twice refers here to Arcite as his "felawe" (1721, 1740), and the word recurs again in the only reference to Palamon and Arcite during the final battle in the lists: "Ful ofte a day han thise Thebanes two / Togydre ymet, and wroght his felawe wo" (2623-4).

As Arcite lies dying, he commends his "cosyn Palamon" to Emelye. The two men's relationship, highlighted and emphasized throughout the poem by the recurring use of words like "cosyn" and "felawe," is clearly an important theme. In the end, Emelye, as the courtly love object and the woman who is ultimately exchanged, becomes the means for healing a relationship that had been damaged but never really abandoned. The

---

[29] See, for similar interpretations of this episode, H. Marshall Leicester, Jr. (236), William Frost (103), Helen Cooper (80), and Anne Friman (24).

[30] Leicester also notes this (250).

connection between male friendship and courtly love in the "Knight's Taie" is subtle but unmistakable.

In the Fabula duorum mercatorum what is implicit in the "Knight's Tale" is explicit, for here the friendship between the two merchants is the primary focus of the tale, and the woman is the overt "conduit" of relations between the men. Here, the love that seems to threaten the male friendship is depicted as fundamental to its maintenance and strengthening. In its portrayal of this friendship, the Fabula not only makes clear a connection between courtly love and male friendship but also enhances the parallels between the male relationship in the "Knight's Tale" and the Fabula, for Lydgate, in emphasising the sworn friendship between the two merchants, shows its ideals to be as important as those which govern the code of sworn brotherhood.[31]

The bond felt by the two men at the beginning of their relationship (see Chapter 4) is formalized after they meet by actual pledges of "trouthe," vows of loyalty to each other which seem to have binding force.[32] As the Baldacian arrives in Egypt, his host's welcoming words[33] are followed by an even more formal pledge:

> freend / withouten any doute
> What so I haue / is platly in your myght
> I feffe you fully / in al my good and riht
> Beth glad and wolcom / I can sey you no more

---

[31] As Gervase Mathew points out, "loyalty in true friendship was irrevocable and necessarily reciprocal . . . " (48). Rob Roy Purdy prefers to see the merchants' relationship as one which closely exemplifies the Platonic ideal of friendship (139).

[32] The two heroes of Amis and Amiloun also make vows of friendship which are unbreakable. In the "Franklin's Tale," Chaucer examines the whole issue of "keeping trouthe" at whatever cost.

[33] For these words, see above, p. 84.

Haue her myn hand / for now and evirmore. (178-82).

The narrator emphasizes the binding effect of these words:

in accord / confederat been they too
The boond is maad / bothe for wele and woo. (186-7)

It is as if a formal bond has been created, to which both parties agree. For his part, the Baldacian merchant makes a reciprocal pledge. At the poem's end, he gives the now impoverished Egyptian half of his wealth and makes a vow of perpetual friendship:

Haue heer my trouthe / our hertys shul been oon
Whil breeth may laste / and nevir vnsondir goon. (887-9)

Both merchants understand their friendship in terms of an unbreakable bond. In fact, as the visiting merchant lies ill, his grief is not just a result of unrequited love but derives just as much from the knowledge that he is betraying an oath of fellowship:[34]

And yit the thyng / that doth me moost grevaunce
Is that I shulde to hym I am so bounde
Disnatural / or traitour been i-founde. (250-2)

When he is finally forced to tell the Egyptian whom it is he loves, he fully expects to die for his "trespas":

Deth for my gilt / I wot is resounable
Love is gynnere / and ground of al my striff
But in o thyng / I am inexcusable
That I so love / that fayr incomperable
Which is to you / so plesaunt and so meete
And to be slayn / to love I can nat leete. (401-6)

---

[34] We may also see the merchant's position as similar to that of Gawain at Hautdesert; to acquiesce to Bercilak's wife would be considered traitorous since he is a guest. However, in this case, it seems clear that, while the betrayal of the Egyptian's hospitality may colour the situation, the Baldacian is more concerned with the betrayal of the friendship:

And eek my freend / whom I love moost of al
Yif that he knewh / my secre malady
Ful cruel vengaunce / shuld vpon me fal. (239-241)

Even though his life is at stake, he cannot change his love for his friend's paramour. But the "feith" in which they are so "depe i-sworn" (369), that is, the bond between them, takes precedence over their love for the same woman. Having referred to this "feith" in his attempt to help his suffering friend, the Egyptian now keeps it by cheerfully relinquishing the woman to save his friend's life and their friendship.

Significantly, it is the murderer who recognizes the true nature of the bond between the two men. Having watched the Baldacian merchant step forth and confess in order to save his friend from the gallows, the true murderer is impressed and shamed by this great love:

> It is to moche / that I haue slayn oon
> And but I speke / toward is anothir
> The which is domb / and stille as ony stoon
> For verray love / for to save his brothir
> Everych is reedy / to fonge deth for othir
> Now wyl I goon / and pleynly me confesse
> And for my gilt / receyven the redresse. (813-819)

The brotherhood which moves the Baladacian to die for his friend also moves the murderer to confess. The king, to whom all three men are eventually brought, also makes reference to the bond between the two men, wishing

> that thoruh his regioun
> Were ful affermyd / an obligacioun
> Of such enteernesse / fro man to man aboute
> Off tresoun than / ful litel wer to doute. (858-861)

The merchants' bond of friendship has now become social as well as personal; it has allowed them to save each other's lives, bring a murderer to justice, and provoke a king to wistful musings about the

state of his kingdom.[35] Like Palamon and Arcite, the merchants share a bond that is both personal and public; unlike the two knights, however, they have maintained it, refusing to set it aside when it is threatened. The two merchants not only avert the disastrous consequences of rivalry in love but actually prosper because of the potential threat to their friendship.

Both the Fabula duorum mercatorum and the "Knight's Tale" illustrate the exchange of woman to cement personal and political relations between men. Given to Palamon first by Arcite and then by Theseus, Emelye not only heals and reestablishes the kinship between the two men but ensures, by her compliance, a peace between Athens and Thebes. In the Fabula duorum mercatorum, the exchange of the woman illustrates and cements the friendship between the two merchants and is the means by which each eventually prospers. Both poems make clear that the woman's role in a courtly love triangle is to facilitate the relationship between the two men. Whether she is exchanged to solidify the friendship and avert bloodshed, or to heal the relationship after bloodshed, she ultimately affirms the ideal of male friendship and confirms her role as the passive cementer of male bonds.

---

[35] As one might suspect, all of this material--the bond between the merchants, the motive for the murderer's confession, and the king's response to the situation--is Lydgate's. In Peter Alfonsi's original, the murderer confesses because he fears God's retribution. Here, Lydgate makes his motive admiration for the bond of brotherhood. Nor does the king in Peter Alfonsi comment on the details of the merchants' story. The effect of this exemplary friendship on the murderer in particular may be compared to the situation in saints' lives and miracle stories; awed by the saint's perserverance under torture or by God's intervention, bystanders are often moved to confess, repent, and/or convert. Lydgate, as a writer of hagiography, would have seen and probably intended the narrative parallels.

The Fabula duorum mercatorum is much more, then, than a rhetorical re-telling of Peter Alfonsi's "Perfect Friend." Moving strongly in the direction of romance, it presents an alternative to Chaucer's "Knight's Tale" while at the same time offering its own idealized vision of a world in which love and friendship can exist in a complementary rather than an antagonistic relationship. Lydgate may have intended it as a companion piece of sorts to the "Knight's Tale," but it also bears comparison with other Middle English romances in which male friendship is an important theme: Amis and Amiloun, the second part of Guy of Warwick, and aspects, too, of Malory's Morte d'Arthur, where the love triangle finally shatters the fellowship of the Round Table. One may also hear in the Baldacian merchant's words to his friend, "have heer my trouthe," an echo of Chaucer's "Franklin's Tale"; like it, the Fabula is also about honour, generosity, and the adherence to implicit or explicit promises, in spite of the conflicting loyalties they sometimes engender. Lydgate has skillfully reshaped Peter Alfonsi's original exemplum into a rhetorical and philosophical narrative poem which examines, and offers a unique perspective on, the relationships between and among fortune, love, and friendship, concepts which appear in a good deal of Middle English literature. Lydgate's skillful blend of romance convention and Boethian philosophy elevates his subject and transforms the original exemplum into a narrative poem which bears comparison with the best works of its type. Not only for its thematic connections with other, better-known works, but also for its own skillful incorporation and presentation of its themes, the Fabula deserves our attention.

Chapter 6

THE TEXT

Editorial Procedure

The aim has been to present a near-diplomatic version of the Fabula as it is found in Harley 2255, the principle of the present editor being to respect as much as possible the integrity of the manuscript. Scribal punctuation is maintained throughout,[1] and only a few modern conventions have been imposed. Stanzas have been numbered for ease of reference. Emendations, enclosed in square brackets, are introduced only to correct obvious errors,[2] and some regularity has been brought to the scribe's inconsistent use of capital letters.

Capitals have been supplied at the beginning of each line and removed within lines unless they begin a proper noun, but they have not been imposed within the line. As well, initial ff is rendered F, except where it appears mid-line, where it is regularized to f.[3] Words written as one word, where clarity dictates there be two, have been separated; for example, acerteyn (26) becomes a certeyn. Other words have been joined with the hyphen to make the relationship between them more apparent. These include past participles and other words prefixed

---

[1] See Appendix B.

[2] Where possible, C provides the alternate reading. Where emendations are made, the apparatus contains the MS reading, those of other MSS, and those of the previous editors; the commentary note to the line in question gives, where necessary, more information.

[3] One exception is the word fortune. Wherever it appears in the text with a double f it has been capitalized; in other cases it has been left as it is.

with i (MS I)[4] and certain compound words and phrases.[5] Otherwise, aside from the question of abbreviation and expansion, scribal word division and spellings have been maintained.

Abbreviations have been expanded, with the omitted letter or letters underlined. Some difficulties arose in the expansion of certain abbreviations; for example, final r occasionally has a pronounced flourish which has, somewhat hesitantly, been expanded to re.[6] On the other hand, crossed h (ꝥ), which appears frequently and very inconsistently,[7] appears to be otiose and has not been expanded to gh.[8]

---

[4] So, for example, MS I steyred becomes i-steyred (l. 635). This modification has also been made to the variants in the apparatus.

[5] For example, MS ferre I fet becomes ferre-i-fet (58). Five compounds prefixed with for: MS for blowe (563), for dempt (755), for mat (662), for poosyd (532), for whirlyd (574) are also joined with the hyphen. Schleich/Zupitza and MacCracken are inconsistent in this regard. While both join for blowe and for whirlyd, Schleich/Zupitza leave the other three alone and MacCracken hyphenates them (these words are included in apparatus). All five have here been joined with the hyphen for the sake of clarity and consistency, even though scribal practise provides a precedent for silently joining them together (e.g. forwandryd 662, forfarith 445). Three other words preceded by the for prefix have been left as they are. For euere (97) was often written as a phrase, nor does it pose any potential difficulty in comprehension left as it is. For astonyd (729) often appears as a set phrase (see MED **astonyd**), and for war (389) has been left unaltered on the model of for astonyd.

[6] These occur only in the first part of the text and involve ll. 22, 70, 84, 126, 131, 170, 172, 173, 236, 294, 316, 325, and 328. Previous editors were of little help in this matter. MacCracken ignored all flourished r, and Schleich and Zupitza expand it only between ll. 131 and 325.

[7] For example, the crossed h appears not only in words such as hih (1.1, f.72r), riht (l. 14, f.72r), and thouh (l. 80, f.73r), but also in ech (ll 47, 50, 53, f.72v) and withyne (l. 63, f.73r). Further, scribal practice is inconsistent, even with regard to the same word; so, for example, myꝥty on l. 74 but myhty on l. 75 (f.73r) and thoruꝥ (l. 114, f.74r) but Thoruh (l. 30, f.72v)

Scribal underscoring has been maintained, but should not cause any confusion with editorial expansion of words, as it involves whole, rather than parts, of words.

The text's critical apparatus contains all variant readings, including all additions, omissions, and variations in word order, as well as morphological variants and the emendations of the previous editors. Also included for the first two hundred or so lines are non-substantive variant forms which appear so consistently as would make the apparatus repetitive and cumbersome were they included throughout, but which could be of substantial interest to the dialectician.[9] These include such consistent variations as, for example, A and Ha's writing of bien and ben, respectively, for MS be or been, V's hat for MS hath, or C's not for MS nat.[10]

Each lemma, enclosed by a square bracket, is followed by its variant readings. Variants for the same lemma are separated by commas, and semi-colons separate the readings of lemmas occurring in the same line. The full stop signals the end of the variants for that line. Where it is clear for which word or words the variants stand, the lemma

---

[8] Again, previous editors are not helpful and are themselves inconsistent. Although MacCracken generally ignores ꝥ, he nevertheless does insert gh at certain points, whether or not the h is crossed. For example, he expands thoruh out at l. 57 (f.73r) to thorugh-out, but ignores thoruꝥ (l. 114, f.74r). On the other hand, he does expand Nouꝥt (l.98, f.73v) to nought. Schleich and Zupitza, on the other hand, generally expand ꝥ to gh, ignoring its appearance in words like withyne. However, they, too, sometimes also expand an uncrossed h, making, for example, thoruh (l. 291, f.77r) into thorugh.

[9] It should be noted here that neither of the Schleich/Zupitza nor the MacCracken editions pays any attention to this kind of variant.

[10] A perusal of the apparatus for these first lines will make other variants in this category immediately obvious.

is not given. Spelling, unless unusual, follows that of the first siglum listed. Symbols and abbreviations are as follows: words or letters added above the line are enclosed in curly brackets ({}), and those stricken out either by the scribe or a contemporary corrector are enclosed by the backslash (\ \) followed by the correction. The colon stands for indecipherable letters. The only abbreviations not, perhaps, immediately obvious, are ins. (inserted), for variants added before the lemma, and rpt. (repeated), for scribal dittography.

Manuscript sigla, listed as often as possible in alphabetical order, are as follows: A (Additional 34360), C (Cambridge Hh.4.12), Ha (Harley 2251), L (Lansdowne 699), R (Rawlinson Poetry 32), V (Leiden Vossius G.G.Q. 9), M (MacCracken's edition), and SZ (Schleich and Zupitza's edition). Harley 2255 (H) provides the text.

Incipit de fideli amore duorum marcatorum

<1>

f.72r. In Egipt whilom / as I reede and fynde
Ther dwellyd a marchaunt / of hih & gret estat
Nat oonly riche / but bountevous and kynde
As of nature / to hym it was innat
For alle vertues / in hym wern aggregat
Of vices voyd / pitous and merciable
And of his woord / as any centre stable

<2>

But as me thynkith / it were inconvenient
Or in this tale / I any ferther passe
For to descryve to you / that be present
Wher that this contre stant / and in what place
And if I erre / I put me in your grace
Forberith me now / and heerith paciently
For as myn auctour seith / riht so sey I

<3>

This riche lond / moost passaunt of plente
With surry marchith / toward thorient
On which syde / is eek the rede se
And libye stant ful in the occident
Who castith the coostys / of the firmament
The grete se northward / shal he fynde
And ferre by south / Ethiope and ynde

<4>

As auctoures witnesse / this lond is desolat
Of cloude and reynes / aboute in euery yle
But yeer by yeer / the soil is irrigat
And ouyrflowyd / with the flood of Nyle
The which endurith / but a certeyn whyle
As for a norshyng / her frutys to fecunde
With corn and greyn / to make the lond habounde /

Incipit: V.

1 whilon V. 2 \Renon\ estate A. 3 riche] wyse C. 4 it was to hym A Ha. 5 verte L; in] to C R; were to hym A Ha; agreate A, \aggreable\ aggregate Ha. 6 Of] Fro V; pitevous A Ha. 8 convenient Ha M SZ. 9 Or] om. Ha; in this tale I] On this tale or I Ha, I in this tale V. 10 be] bien A, ben Ha, ben V. 11 and] or C. 13 Forbere Ha; here me A Ha, here C. 14 rith R. 16 Whiche A Ha; marchis L V. 18 lubye Ha. 19 castys C, castis R; the(l)] this R. 21 Ethiopie R. 22 witnessen A Ha. 24 so\o\{i}le L. 26 which] while R; but] with L.

<5>

f.72v. Of sondry frutys / and of marchaundise
Thoruh out envyroun / it is so plentevous
What mercymony / that men list devise
Is ther ful reedy / and ful copious
I hold it best / to be compendious
Of al richesse / ther is such habundaunce
That euery wiht / hath ther suffisaunce

<6>

This worthy marchaunt / this Egipcien
Which I of spak / was named ferre and wyde
For many oon / that hym had seen
Spak of his name which gladly wol nat hyde
And in a contre / cald Baldac / ther besyde
Anothir marchaunt / as by relacioun
Of hym hadde herd / and of his hih renoun

<7>

This latter marchaunt / was eek a worthy man
Ful weel belovid / also in his contre
In trouthe he hadde / al that euyr he wan
And hym governyd evirmore in honeste
From ech to othir / the name began to fle
That by report / and by noon othir mene
Of her too lovys / was maad a stable chene

<8>

Revoluyth ech / by contemplacioun
Al of his freend / the lyknesse and ymage
Thynkyng hath grave / with deep impressioun
Ech othris fourme / stature and visage
Her hertys eye / did alwey her message
And mynde medleth / in the memorial
And fet his foode / in the fantastical /

---

30 pleteuous C. 31 Wha(t) R; list to A H. 34 riches A Ha, ryches C, riches V. 36 witht L; hath] hat V; there A Ha R. 38 had] had neuer C, had neuer L M, had nevir V. 39 wol] wold A Ha V, wyl C, wil R; nat gladly A Ha. 41 Anothe Ha. 42 hiht R. 43 worth V. 44 also] eke A Ha. 45 wan] whan R. 47 began to] gonne A, gan C Ha L R V.
48 and nonother Ha. 49 theyr A, ther C, theyre Ha. 50 ech other Ha. 51 friendes A Ha. 52 hath] hat V; grate A, grated Ha. 53 other C. 54 Her] theyr A Ha; her] ther C; massage L V. 56 sette his foote A Ha; theyr A Ha, her R.

<9>

f.73r. Thoruh out her erys / wellyd of memorye
The soun of fame / of hem so ferre-i-fet
Hath past and wonne / the castel of victorye
Foryetilnesse / ne may it nat vnshet
Love berith the keye / and also the cliket
As trewe porteer / that they mot needys dwelle
So ar they loke / withyne myndys selle

<10>

Vertu goth ferre / he may nat hyde his liht
Withoute feet / a gret paas doth he renne
And wher he shyneth / no dirknesse of the nyht
His beemys dymmen / nor no cloude of synne
Withoute smoke / fire ne may nat brenne
And gladly vertu / wil in to vertu trace
To seeke his feere / in euery coost or place

<11>

For riht as falsnesse / anoon fyndith out his feere
So trouthe and trouthe / as faste been at accorde
Tweyne of o kynde / togidre drawe neere
So strong of nature / is the myhty corde
Kynde is in werkyng / a ful myhty lorde
In love he lynketh hem / that be vertuous
Riht has dissoluen / thynges / that be contrarious

<12>

For lich of lich / is serchyd and enqueerid
To merthe longith / to fynden out gladnesse
And wo can weepe / thouh he be nat leryd
And dool eek drawith / vnto drerynesse
Honour is weddyd / vnto worthynesse
Vnto his semblable / thus euery thyng can drawe
And nothyng bynde hem / but nature by hire lawe

---

57 her] theyr A Ha. of] a A; amemory Ha. 58 fayre A, faire Ha; sette A. 59 hath] hat V; passed A Ha, passyd C; of] and A Ha. 60 foryetefulnesse A Ha, for yentilnesse V; nat] not C R V; vnshitte Ha. 63 ar] as ar H, ar A C Ha L R M SZ, as V; loken A, loked C, lokyn Ha L V; mydes A Ha; welle A Ha, felle R, fell C, celle V. 64 not C R; liht] \hede\ light Ha, lyth V. 65 Withouten A Ha L V; swte Ha; doith R; he] om. A Ha. 66 shewyth C; of the] is of A Ha, of L; nyth R, nytht V. 67 nor] ne A C Ha R SZ. 68 Withouten A Ha; fire] a gret fire C; ne] om. A Ha. 69 woll C, wol L V; to] om. Ha. 70 frend V; or] and V; < appears after / . 71 fyndes R, fyndit V. 72 bien A, ben C Ha L, byn V; be as fast R. 73 drawith A Ha. 74 mythy V. 75 in werkyng is A Ha; mythy V. 76 thynkkyth A Ha, likneth V; be] bien A, ben Ha V. 77 Rith R, Ryth V; has] as A C Ha L R V M SZ; he dissolueth C; be] bien A, ben Ha, byn R; gracious V. 79 longen R; fynde A Ha. 80 wo] who C. 81 dool] dulle A Ha. 82 on to R. 83 can] gan Ha L V, om. C. 84 byndyth C Ha; hem] om. Ha. St. 17 here A Ha.

<13>

f.73v. Repoort of vertu / oonly by audience
From ech to othir / hath brouht the blisful soun
Of thes too marchauntis disseueryd by absence
That they been oon / as by affecciou̲n
Ther may be maad / no divisiou̲n
With oute siht / ech is to othir deere
Love hath her hertys / so soore set affyre

<14>

By lond or se / the good her chapmen carye
Was entircomownyd / by her bothys assent
Yiff oon hadde ouht / plesaunt or necessarye
Vnto the tothir / anoon he hath it sent
So ful they were / of oon accordement
As oon in too / and too in oon for euere
That nouht but deth / her love may disseuere

<15>

Ferthere to telle / how it fel of thes too
As fortune wolde / and eek necessite
That he of Baldac / to Egipt mvst goo
For marchaundise / that was in that contre
Ful glad he was / that he his freend shal see
A blisful wynd / in to his seyl hath blowe
His ship to dryve / ther as he may hym knowe

<16>

And whan that he was / arryved vnto londe
For ioye hym thouhte / he was in Paradys
For euery lovere / may weel vndirstonde
That of frenship / the moost sovereyn blys
Is for to be / withouten / any mys /
In thilke place / where rootid is his herte
For to relese / of love his peynes smerte

---

85 by] om. A Ha. 86-87 tr. Ha. 86 hath] hat V; brouth V; blyful C. 88 been] bien A, bene Ha, ben C L V, byn R; as by] of Ha. 90 syth V. 91 her] theyr A Ha; on fyre A, on fuyre Ha, afere C, a feere R L. 92 or] and A Ha V; theyr goode chapmen A Ha; the] her C; her] ther C L, the V. 93 her] theyr A Ha, ther V. 94 outh R. 95 Vnto] one to A, on to Ha, oon to R; that other A, Ha; he hath] om. A Ha; hat V. 96 accordoment A. 97 evi\s\(r) L. 98 may her loue L. 98. nouht] nat L; her] theyr A, here C, hir Ha. 99 how] ho(u) R; be felle A, be fil Ha, feld R; of thes] by this R. 100 om. A Ha. 103 shuld A Ha. 104 blythfull C, blesfull R, blissid V; to] om. A; hat V. 105 ther] wher L. 106 And] om. A C Ha L R V M SZ; whan] wha\t\(n) L; that] om. R; vnto the lande A, to the land Ha. 107 hym] he A C Ha R; thouthte V. 110 any] om. Ha. 111 where] there A Ha; his] her L. 112 his] the V; smerthe V.

<17>

f.74r. For riht as afftir the blake nyht of sorwe
Gladnesse folwith / thoruh suyng of the day
And fressh flourys displayen by the morwe
That wern to forn / in dirknesse and affray
And afftir wyntir sweth greene May
Riht so of freendys her tristesse for to fyne
Is liht of presence / whan it to them may shyne

<18>

O out [on] absence / of hem that loven trewe
O out on partyng / by disseveraunce
O ground of woo / of her feuere newe
I meene of freendys that langour in distaunce
O bittir bale / hangyng in ballaunce
On the a clamour / now I wil begynne
That causist loveres / assondir for to twynne

<19>

But as to them / that han i-tastyd galle
Mor aggreable is the hoony soote
Riht so to them / that wern in myscheef falle
Is whan they heryn / kalendys of her boote
Of loveres art / ful bittir is the roote
But weel is hym / that may the frute atteyne
As whilom diden / thes noble marchauntis tweyne

<20>

For whan that he / of Egipt herde seye
How that his freend / was entryd in to the londe
For verray ioye / he felte his herte pleye
And hym tencontre / he seyde he wolde fonde
And whan they mette he took hym by the honde
And kist hym aftir / and with vnfeyned cheere
He seide wolcom / my feithful freend so deere

---

113 affitr] a sterre A Ha. 114 shyneng A Ha, swyng V; the] om. V. 115 sprynggen A Ha. 116 dristresse R. 117 shewith A Ha, sheweth V; greyn V. 118 theyr A Ha, hir R; tritesse A Ha trystys C, tristes L; fynde V. 119 to] may A Ha; them] to hem A Ha, hem C V, ham R. 120 O] om. A Ha; on] of H L, on A C Ha R M SZ, \partyng\ on V; presence V; of(2)] to C; hem] ham R; triewe A Ha. 122 her] the A, theyr Ha, here L, hir R. 123 of] on C; languren A, langouren Ha. 125 a] om. A Ha; wil] wole L, wol V. 126 twynne] (t)wynne H. 127 them] theym A, hem C V, ham R; that] than A; han] hath. 129 that wern] om. A Ha; myscheffes A, myschefis Ha. 130 heryn] here C; her] theyr A Ha, ther C L. 132 weel] will V. 133 dide A Ha; thes] this R. 134 that] om. A Ha V. 135 was rpt. V; in to] om. C. 137 hym tencontre] toencountre hym A, to encontre C R, to encountre hym Ha; sond C, fong V. 138 he] the Ha. 139 kissed A Ha; and] om. A C Ha. 140 He] And A C Ha.

<21>

f.74v. Now haue I found / that I so longe haue souht
Wolcom he seide / by rowe / an hundryd sithe
And to his place / anoon he hath hym brouht
And hym receyved / with herte glad and blithe
He maad his menee / her deveer doon as swithe
That al wer reedy / that myht be to hym ese
So fayn he was / his freend / to queeme and plese

<22>

Vnto a chaunbre / ful riche and weel arrayed
Anoon he lad hym / which stood somwhat on heihte
And seide freend / I am ful weel appayed
That I be grace / of you haue cauht a sihte
For nothyng moore / myn herte myht lihte
Wherfore wolcom / also god me save
Vnto your owne / and to al that I have

<23>

Of mete and drynk / deyntees and vitaille
Of divers wynes / ther was no skarsete
Of straunge viaundys / in sondry apparaille
That nevir aforn / was seen such roialte
To moore and lasse / it snowyd doun plente
To rekken the fare / and cours in thrifty wyse
A somerys day / ne myht nat suffise

<24>

The riche beddyng / of swte so weel beseyne
Passaunt and plesyng eek / the roial paramentis
That for his freend / this marchaunt did ordeyne
With al the soun / of dyvers instrumentys
Revel disguysed / with chaung / of garnementis
Of song and musyk / the merthe and melodye
Al to reherse / my witt I can nat plye

---

141 haue(1)] haf C; I] om. V; solong ha V; ha L. 142 rowe] 3ow C; hundryth C. 143 anoon] \his\ a noon L; hath] hat V; broutht V. 144 And] An R. 145 menee] meyne A Ha, menye C, meene R; meny V; her] theyr A Ha, hyr C, ther L V; doon] done A, do Ha, (do) L. 146 al wer] was A Ha; myth V; be to] done C, do Ha. 148 chumbre R. 149 hadde Ha; sumdel A, somdell Ha; on] in R; on heihte] \aloft\ o Ha. 150 weel] wyll V. 151 haue] haf C, hath Ha, ha V; h. caught of yow A Ha; a sihte] asyth V. 152 myht] myht be R. 154 Vnto] as to C SZ; and to] vnto C SZ; and . . . have] and that euery haue V. 156 skaste C. 157 wiandis R; appaill C. 158 toforne R. 159 it] ther C; sowned A, sneyd C. 160 rekne L R. 161 myht] myht it A. 162 swte] sute A Ha R V, suete C, sewte L. so] om. Ha. 163 plesyng] plesant C, plesaunt Ha; paiement A, payement Ha. 164 friendis A, friendes Ha. 165 instrument A Ha. 166 disguysyng A; garnement A Ha. 167 and(1)] of A Ha. 168 applye C, applie R.

<25>

f.75r. They ryde aboute with hauk / & eek with houndys
He shewith hym maneeres / castellis / and eek toures
Thoruh al his lordship / he lat hym in the boundys
By park by forest / by meedwys fressh of flowres
And list he were pryked / with paramoures
Ful many a lady / and maiden by his side
On white palfreys / he made for to ryde

<26>

Of al his tresour / withyne and withoute
Nothyng he hidith / of al he hadde a siht
He saide freend / withouten any doute
What so I haue / is platly in your myht
I feffe you fully / in al my good and riht
Beth glad and wolcom / I can sey you no more
Haue her myn hand / for now and evirmore /

<27>

This straunge marc[illegible]aunt / thankyth hym with herte
Nay straunge nat / allas why seid I soo
I spak amys / this woord now me asterte
Sith in accord / confederat been they too
The boond is maad / bothe for wele and woo
I erryd foule / to speke of straungenesse
Of tweyne allyed / so kneet in stabilnesse

<28>

But as I seyde / with al herte entieer
His freend he thankith / of entent ful cleene
For now presence / hath maad the wedir cleer
Of absence chacyd / the mystis ful of teene
Her ioiful somer / is tapited al in greene
Of stable blew / is her bothen hewe
To shewe that too / in love wer nevir so trewe /

---

169 Riden A Ha, rydyn C, ridyn R, rode V; hawkes A, haukys C, havkys Ha, haukis R V SZ; eek] om. R. 170 He] And A C Ha R; showid V; eek] om. A C Ha SZ. 171 om. Ha; lordshippys C; ladde A, lad C L R V SZ. 172 fressh] ful R. 173 list] lest C Ha L V. 174 and] om. V. 175 made] made hem A Ha. 176 his] om. V; and eke A Ha. 177 siht] sitht R, syte V. 178 without A Ha, without C, with oute L. 179 haue] haf C. 181 wolcom] blyth C. 182 Haue] haf C. 183 thankid R; with] of L. 186 confederat] feith plith R, confident be V; been] bien A, ben C Ha, be L, byn R, be V. 187 bounde R; for] of V; and] and of V. 191 thonkyth C, thaunkid R; of] with R. 192 hath] hat V; cleer] cliere A. 194 Her] Theyr A, Her Ha, hyr C, Ther R; tapited] trappyd C; in] with Ha. 195 her] theyr A, om. C, ther Ha L R V; bothen] bothern A Ha, both ther C. 196 shewe] showe A; that] in Ha; in l. w. nevir] wer neuyr in love L; were neuer non Ha.

<29>

f.75v. This blisful lyff / from day to day they leede
Tyl that fortune / to them had enmyte
Allas for dool / myn herte I feele bleede
For evir vnwarly / cometh aduersite
This straunge marchaunt / hath cauht infirmyte
A brennyng feuere / so soore did hym shake
That fro the deth / he trowith nat to skape

<30>

A bed in haste / was maad ful softely
In which he cowchyd / and gan to sike / and groone
His prayeer was / to alle / pitously
That by hym silf / he myhte been alloone
So kowde he best / yeuen issu to his moone
But than his freend / for woo began to melte
That al his peynes / he seemyd that he felte /

<31>

Thus longith it / to freendys entirparte
Nat oonly merthe / but wo and hevynesse
Yif oon hath peyne / bothe hertis it doth thoruh darte
Yif that her love / be set in sikirnesse
And yif oon drye / bothe they haue distresse
This is the ballaunce / oonly of freendys riht
Euenly to deele / wher they be glad or liht

<32>

And for tassaye / yif it myht ese
The chaunbre is voyded / and he is left al sool
Than to hym seluen / he spak in his disese
And seid allas / my langour and my dool
Now hoot now coold / I erre as doth a fool
Allas / and yit the cheffest of my peyne
Is / that I dar / to no wiht weel compleyne /

---

197 blythfull C, blis(t)ful L; dede leede R. 198 envie A, envye Ha. 200 \on war\ vnwarly V. 201 cawght an C. 202 brennyn(g) A. 202 did hym] that hym doth L, doth hym V. 203 tescape C R SZ. 204 was made in hast A Ha. 205 In] I L; sike] seke V. 206 ful pitously A Ha. 208 yeuen] yive A, yeve Ha, gefe C, yeff V. 209 began] gan A Ha. 211 Thus] This R; to fr. entir.] for fr. to entir. A C Ha R SZ. 212 merthe] might A, myght Ha. 213 hath] haue L R SZ. 214 om. A Ha. 215 if that oone dey C; dye R V; haue] have A Ha, Haf C, han V. 216 is] to V; \of\ oonly of L. 217 wher] whether A Ha, whedyr C; they] it A Ha. 218 for assay A; yif] where R; myht] myht hym A Ha L R V M SZ, myght don hym C. 219 is(1)] was V; void C, voyde Ha; he] om. A Ha. 220 Than] That A Ha; hym seluen] hym self A Ha V, hymself C, him silue R. 223 and yit] om. A Ha; chevest part A (parte) Ha; my] om. R. 224 weel] om. C.

<33>

f.76r. I am hurt / but closyd is my wounde
My dethis spere / strykith in my brest
My bollyng / festrith / that it may nat sounde
And yit no cicatrice / shewith at the lest
Cupidis darte / on me hath maad arrest
The cleer streemys / of castyng of an ye
This is tharwe / me causith for to dye

<34>

And at myn herte / is hoolly that I feele
But aftir cure god wot I dar nat seche
My sweete fo is hard / as any steele
Allas vnmercy doth to cruel wreche
For thilke floure that myhte be my leche
She wot rihtnouht / what wo that I endure
And to be ded / I dar me nat discure

<35>

And eek my freend / whom I love moost of al
Yif that he knewh / my secre maladye
Ful cruel vengaunce / shuld vpon me fal
For myn outrage / despiht and velanye
That I durst evir / clymbyn vp so hihe
To love that maiden / kept for his owne stoor
Thus must I deyen / what shuld I pleynen mor

<36>

I sauh ful many / ladyes in the rowte
So fayr / so fressh / i-brouht for my plesaunce
But now for oon / my liff lith al in dowte
That of my deth / ther is noon avoidaunce
And yit the thyng / that doth me moost grevaunce
Is that I shulde to hym I am so bounde
Disnatural / or traitour been i-founde

---

225 i-hurt A C L V M SZ. 226 deth is speke R; stykkyth C SZ; in] at R, on V. 227 boluyng A Ha, bowing V; it] I A Ha; founde A, found Ha. 228 the] om. L V. 229 a rest L R V. 230 of(1)] and L. 231 me causith] that causyth me C. 232 hoolly] only A Ha, hole R. 235 to] om. A L; cruelly C. 237 that] om. R V. 238 me nat] nat me L R. 239 love so well V. 241 Ful] For A V; me] mo V. 243 I] om. R; clymbyn] clymbe A Ha, clymb C, clybyn V. 244 maid C, maide L R, mayde V. 245 deyen] dye A C Ha; pleynen] compleyne A Ha, playne C, pleyn L, pleyne V. 246 maydens A Ha. 247 for] to L. 248 my liff liht lithe in a doute L. 251 hym] whom C V, him that R; so] most R; A punctus appears between Is and that. 252 founde L.

<37>

f.76v. For thilke goodly / that he lovyd moost
I am a bowte / falsly hym to reve
Love can no frenship / I se weel in no coost
Allas Cupide / disseyvable for to leve
Love rechchith nat / his freend wrath and greve
Allas of love / such is the fervent heete
That litil chargith / his freend for to leete

<38>

And whil he lay / in langour thus musyng
His freend wol besy was with al his myht
To serche aboute the lond environnyng
His menee riden / bothe day and niht
To founden som man / that wer expert arriht
Or phisicien / for no cost wold he spare
To haue restoored / the sike to weelfare

<39>

Assemblyd been / of leechis many oon
The beste and wisest / that he coude fynde
Vnto the sike / they been i-comen echoon
To taste his poorys / and for to deeme his kynde
The[y] were ful besy / to fynd out roote and rynde
Of what humour was / causyd his dissese
And theron werke / his accesse to appese

<40>

With hem they brouhte / yif they sey neede
Ful goode siropys / to make dygestyues
And therwithal / the sonnere for to speede
Pelotes expert / for evacuatyues
Ful precious poudrys / and confortatives
That whan they knew / of maladyes the roote
Nouht were behynden / to werken for his boote /

---

253 he] om. C, I Ha; lovith A. 254 a bowte] a bouten L V, abouten R. 255 no] om. A. 257 rechchith] rechet C; to wrath A C Ha R M SZ. 259 he his A. 260 in langoure (langour Ha) lay A Ha. 261 wol] ful A Ha R, wel C. 262 seche A Ha R; the lande aboute A Ha. 263 menee] men V. 264 fynd A Ha, fyndyn C, fynde L SZ, fenden V; men A Ha. 265 wold] will C, wol L. 267 ther ben R. 269 they] thy V; [y] om. A C Ha; comen] come A L V. 270 pounce A Ha, pulse C; for] om. C. 271 The[y]] the H, They A C Ha R, thei L V M SZ. fynd] serche Ha. 272 al his V. 273 thervpon Ha; to werke (wyrk C) A C R. 274 brouthen R; yif] if that A Ha; sey] sye A, se C, sy Ha, sey L V, had sei R. 275 Ful] Ful many Ha; digest\ious\ues C, digest\u\yves V. 276 the] om. V. 277 Pellettis A Ha; evacua\tous\tiues C. 278 poudrys] thyngys C, om. A Ha R SZ; and] for A C Ha L R V. 279 malice A Ha, hys maladyes C. 280 behynden] behynde A Ha, behynd C; nouht behynden were but to R; werken] worche A Ha, werk V.

<41>

f.77r. Whan they haue serchid / by signes his estat
They merveyle gretly / what it myht be
That his fevere / was nat interpollat
But ay contynueth / hoot and in oo degre
They seide certeyn / it was noon of the thre
But yif it were oonly / Effymora
For neithir Etyk / it was ne putrida /

<42>

Effymera / hath his original
Whan mannys spiritys / been in distemperaunce
Or in to excesse / yif a wiht be fal
Of mete and drynk / thoruh mysgovernaunce
Of accidentis / of thouht of perturbaunce
Of hoot / of cold / or greef in any maneer
This feuere cometh / as auctours tellen heer

<43>

And Putrida / is causyd gladly thus
Whan any humour / synneth in quantite
Or whan his flowyng / is to plentevous
That he excedith / mesoure in qualite
Yiff by blood / anoon ye may it see
Yiff quantite ouht erre / espyeth it thus
The fevere in Phisyk / is callyd Sinochus

<44>

And yiff the humour / in qualite exceedith
Or heete / or blood passe his temperament
In to a fevere / anoon a man it leedith
Clepid Synocha / by putrefaccioun shent
And yif of Colre / he take his groundement
Pure or vnpure / citryn or vitellyne
Gyles you techith / to iuge it by vryne /

281-336 (St. 41-49) om. L. 281 had A. 282 mervailed A Ha, marvailed V. 284 conteyned V; hoot] om. C; and] om. C V. 285 seide] sayden A. 286-287 tr. A Ha. 286 yif] om. A Ha. 289 desperaunce A, disperaunce Ha. 290 excesse yif] excessyf if Ha; wiht] man A C Ha R SZ. 293 heete R; of(2)] or V; or] of A Ha, om. V; maneer] tyme A C Ha R SZ; in any maneer] or metis crude V. 294 tellen heere] doth termyne A Ha, determyne C R, do conclude V. 296 fumyth A Ha. 297 folwyng V; to] so Ha; pletivous A. 298 excedith] excedit. 299 Yiff by] If it be A Ha; ye] he A C Ha; it] om. A. 302 exceedith] excedit R. 303 tempament R. 304 a man anon C; bedith A Ha. 306 of] om. Ha; Colera A Ha, colour C, Colra M; his] hi(s) H, hir R. 308 techith] techit R; to iuge] deme ye R.

<45>

f.77v. Also of Etikes / ther be kyndes thre
But oon ther is / pereilous in special
The which is / whan by degre
Deeply profoundid / is heete natural
In thilke humydite / i-callyd radical
The which fevere / is gladly incurable
For drye tisyk / is withal partable

<46>

Off othir humoures / han thes leechys eek
Ful deepe enqueeryd / to serchen out the trouthe
By every weye / that they cowde seek
In hem was founde / defawte noon nor slouthe
But attelaste / of o thyng / ha they routhe
That he were falle / for ouht they cowd espye
For thouht or love / in to malencolye

<47>

His vryne / was remys atteruat
By resoun gendryd / of frigidite
The veyne ryueeres / for they wern oppilat
It was ful thynne / and wannyssh for to see
The streihte passage causyd aquosite
Withoute substaunce / to voyde hym of colour
That they dispeired been / by his socour

<48>

For whan nature / of vertu regitiff
Thoruh malencolye / is pressyd / and bordoun
It is to dreede / gretly of the liff
But soone be ordeyned opposicioun
For it was likly / that this passioun
Was eithir thouht / or love that men calle
Amor / Ereos / that he was in falle /

---

309 And also Ha. 310 especial A Ha SZ, especiall C R V. 311 degre] any degre (degree R) A C Ha R M SZ, Auicenys degre V. 312 perfundid C, perfoundid R; is] his V. 314 vncurable C, Inrecurable V. 315 therwith portabil A Ha; perteable C, pertable V. 316 othir] om. A Ha; thes] the A Ha, ther C. 317 serchen] serche Ha. 318 that rpt. R. 319 founde] founden A C R, fondyn V; def. noon] no defaute V; favte A, fawte Ha; nor] ne A Ha. 320 at the last A C Ha V. 321 were] was A; fallen C; owght þat they C. 324 engendred A Ha. 325 veyne] vryn C; wern] weren A Ha, were, were R. 326 om. Ha but added by scribe in right margin. 327 a quesite V. 328 avoyde A, voiden R. 329 by] to be A C Ha R SZ. 333 soone be] som A Ha; 334 this] his A Ha V. 336 Ereas A Ha; he] this man R.

<49>

f.78r. The roote wherof / and the corrupcioun
Is of thilke vertu / callid [estimatyfe]
As yif a man / haue deep impressioun
That ovirlordshipith / his imagynatif
And that the cours / be forth succes[s]yf
To trowe a wiht / for love mor fayr or pure
Than evir hym ordeyned / hath god or nature

<50>

This causith man / to fallen in manye
So arn his spiritis / vexid by travayle
Allas that man / shuld fallen in frenesye
For love of woman / that litil may avayle
For now thes leechys / as by supposayle
Konne of this man noon othir fevir espye
But that for love / was hool his malladye

<51>

And whan his freend the sothe gan vndirgrope
Of this myscheef he nat ne wolde abide
But in to the chaunbyr / anoon he is i-lope
And kneelyd adoun / by his beddys syde
He seyd freend to me nothyng / thu hyde
Telle me your herte / telle me your hevynesse
And lat no thouht / causen your drerynesse

<52>

Yiff loues fevere / do yow ouht to quake
Telle me the soth / and rake nat in the fyre
Out of your slombre / for shame why nyl ye wake
To me vncloose / the somme of your desyre
Be what she be I shal do my deveere
Allas mystrust / to lokke it vp fro me
Telle on for shame com of and lat me see

---

337 and] om. A C Ha R V SZ. 338 Is] om. A C Ha L R V SZ; estiantiff H, estiantif A Ha R V L, estimatiff M SZ, estimatyfe C. 340 ouerbede shippith A Ha. 341 corus L; be forth] byfore the A Ha, by fore C; succesfyf H. successyf A Ha V M SZ, successyfe C, successiff L R. 342 T\or\ R; for love] more for love A Ha, om. V; more fair for loue R. 343 Than] Tha\t\n L; god hath A Ha; or] of V. 344 This] Thus A; a man R; fallen] falle A Ha, fall C; in] in siknes (sekenesse R) A C Ha R SZ. 345 by] with C. 346 man] he A, om. Ha; fallen] falle A Ha, fall C; a frenesye C. 347 women C. 349 Konne] Can C, konne: L, Kunnen R, konnen V; of] on A Ha; noon] no A Ha; other] om. A Ha. espye] om. R. 350 that] om. A Ha; hole was Ha; holly C. 352 this] his A Ha; nat ne wolde] wold nat C. 353 the] his Ha; is he V. 355 to] fro L; thu] om. A Ha, 3e C, ne L R V SZ. 357 lat] om. V; thouht] thyng L; causen] cause A; distresse A Ha V. 358 Yiff] Of Ha; doith R. 359 rake] Reke A Ha, stake C; it nat A. 360 a wake R. 361 ye vncloose A Ha. 363 mystrust ye R; to 1. it vp] why lok 3e it C.

<53>

f.78v. Your freend mystruste / it is an hih repreeff
Or to concele / from hym your priuyte
Parauenture / he may to your myscheeff
Fynde remedye / sonnere than may ye
And sith in feith / so deepe i-sworn be we
I wol it weten / withouten mor delay
What may you helpyn / by god and by my fay

<54>

And alle the ladyes and maydenys of his hous
Bothe oold and yong / were brouht to his presence
And oon ther was / so fair and vertuous
That for hir wysdam / and hir excellence
Was moost of alle / had in reverence
The which this marchaunt / for oon the beste alyve
Kept in his hous / in purpoos hir to wyve

<55>

Ful wys she was / of so tendir age
Prudent and war / and ful of honeste
Devoyde cleene / of vices and outrage
Whos beaute flouryd / and virginite
Plesaunt of poort / roote of humylite
Of maneer myrour / and welle of womanheede
Goodly abayssht / and femynyn of dreede

<56>

Hool of hir herte / benygne and immvtable
Nat frel fadyng / but ful of affiaunce
In moral vertu / mesuryd and tretable
Housoold to guye / for war of governaunce
To been exaumple / kynde hir lyst avaunce
That yif I shal / hir shortly comprehende
In hir was nothyng / that nature myht amende

---

365 to mystrust A C Ha. 366 counsaile A Ha. 369 deepe] dee Ha; i] om. C; we be A. 370 withouten] without C. 371 helpyn] helpe A, help C Ha; 372 alle] \thal\ A; om. A Ha; maydes V. 373 were] was A; presoonce L. 375 hir(2)] om. A Ha; his R. 377 The] For A Ha; alyve] on lyve A Ha V, on live L. 379 Ful] For R; of so tendir] and tendre of A Ha, and ins. L. 380 war] wyse V, wis L; of] om. R. 381 deuote C. 382 \w\ virgynyte V. 383 plesance V. 384 and] om. Ha; weel R. 385 abayssht] abasshed A Ha, abasshyd C, abaisshit R; femine C. 386 hir] om. L. 387 ful] filll L. 389 guye] guyd V; for] ful A Ha R V M SZ, full C. 390 examplier A, exampler Ha; list hir (hyr C) A C Ha; to avaunce A.

<57>

f.79r. The sike marchaunt / whan he hir beheeld
With dreedful herte / and voys ful tymerous
He seide certis / but mercy be my sheeld
To you my freend / that ye be gracious
That on my trespas / ye be nat rigerous
To take vengaunce / on myn hih folye
That I was boold / to sette myn herte so hihe

<58>

O mercy freend / and rewe vpon my liff
Deth fro my gilt / I wot is resounable
Love is gynnere / and ground of al my striff
But in o thyng / I am inexcusable
That I so love / that fayr incomperable
Which is to you / so plesaunt and so meete
And to be slayn / to love I can nat leete

<59>

Do what yow list / for tyl myn herte ryve
I may nat chesyn / that I am hir man
For with my silf / thouh I evirmor stryve
Ther is noon othir / that I love can
For hir in syknesse / I am so pale and wan
Thus I me confesse / and put me in your grace
My liff my deeth / is portrayed in hir face

<60>

This freendly marchaunt / of this nat dysmayed
But with good herte / saide as ye may heere
Allas my freend / why art thu so dismayed
For love / anoon sith thu maist han hir heere
With al hir beaute / and cristal eyen cleere
Betwix yow too / in love to make a boond
I gyf hir the / haue tak hir by the hond /

---

394 herte] \o\ \vo\ hart V. 395 sertyn R. 397 ye] that ye R. 398 hih] grete A Ha. 401 fro] for A C Ha L R V SZ; I wot] om. C. 402 ground] greffe L V; al] om. R. 403 excusable V. 406 be] om. V; to(2)] for A Ha. 407 ye A R; ryve] reve V. 408 chese but A Ha, chesyn but V SZ. 409 with] whiche A Ha; silf] liff L. 411 sikernes A Ha; am] an V. 412 Thus] For A Ha. 413 is] stant L; portrayed] purtred C; hir] 3owre C. 416 art thu] artow A Ha. 417 anoon] alone C, of on V. 419 Betwix] Betwixt A Ha V. 420 gyf] gyve A Ha L, gefe C, geue R, gyff V; haue] have here A.

<61>

f.79v. And ful and hool / as I haue any rih[t]
I give hir the / which is so wys and sage
Rys vp anoon / and be riht glad and liht
For I wil makyn / between yow the maryage
And bere thexpence / fully and costage
Of your weddyng / and hath a day i-set
Of hir spousayl / to see the knotte i-knet /

<62>

Anoon he ros / supportyd by gladnesse
And doun he fel / lowly on his kne
And hym he thankyd / for his gentillesse
That fro the deth / hath maad hym skapid fre
Allas he seide / whan shal I thanken the
That hast so freely / thyn owne love forsake
Thy freend to save / hool and sound to make /

<63>

The passaunt costys / the feeste of her weddyng
Iustys and revel / and al the purveiaunce
The grete yiftys / the cheer so surmountyng
I wante witt to telle the circumstaunce
For [Ymeneus] / that hath the governaunce
Of such feestys / to make accordement
I trowe that Fortune / was ther at present /

<64>

Thus is the syke / of his langour lissyd
The blosme of bounte / by frenshipe hath he wonne
For hertly merthe to hym is now nat myssyd
No shadwe of sorwe / forfarith nat his sonne
His freend to hym / abrochyd hath the tonne
Of freendly triacle / for nevir I radde yit
O freend to a nothir / that so weel hath hym quyt

---

422 give] gefe C, geue R, gyff V; So] om. C. 423 liht] blith C. 424 makyn] make A Ha C; atwene A C Ha, attwixt R. 425 twexpence R; fully and cos.] and fully the cos. Ha. 427 spousage C; knoott be L. 428 supprised A. 429 on] upon C; knes V. 431 the] om. A Ha; hath] he L; escopen A, stapyn C, escape Ha, skapyn L SZ, scape V. 432 whan] what A Ha; thanken] thank A C Ha V. 433 frendly V. 434 hool] and ins. A Ha L R V M SZ; sownd and hole C. 437 cheer the yefftis V; the(2)] and A Ha. 438 circumstancys C. 439 Ymeneus] yineneus H, Imeyne A Ha, Imeneus C, Ymeneus L R V M SZ. the] om. A Ha. 441 I trowe that] Therto A Ha M SZ, ther to C R, And ther to L V; ther] theyrto Ha; at] om. A. 442 (þe) sik(e) L; lissyd] lessid V. 443 bounte] beute V. 444 hertly] erthly C, erthely L; is] as L; now is Ha; myssyd] mysse L, messid V. 445 No] Nor L; nat] om. C. 446 the] a L. 447 triack(:) L. 448 weel] om. A Ha.

<65>

f.80r. To hym relesyd / he hath his hertly glorye
Hym silf dismyttid / of his inward ioye
The briht myrour / the liht of his memorye
Which al his rancour / by refut cowde coye
He hath forsake / the guyere of his ioye
His lives lanterne / staff of his crokyd age
To bryng his freend / in quiete out of rage

<66>

Off this mateer / what shuld I write mor
I wil entrete / this [processe] forth in pleyn
Hir and hir iowellys / hir richesse and hir stor
He hath hym youen / the stoory seith certeyn
And hom with al repayred is ageyn
And lad hir with hym / as was his freendys wyl
Which cowde nat feyne / his plesaunce to fulfyl

<67>

At ther departyng / the moornyng / that is for to wite
The wooful teerys / dolour and hevynesse
Myn herte bleedith / whan I therof endite
To knowe her trouble / turment and distresse
But of this marchaunt / lyst the kyndenesse
His freendys partyng / did hym mor to smerte
Than love of hir / that sat so nyh his herte

<68>

Moornyng for absence / he is lefft allone
The tothir streiht to Baldoc / his contre
With wyff and catel / the riht weye is gone
And ther receyved / with gret solennyte
Her lyff they ledde / in gret prosperite
His wif and he / of oon herte in quyete
For with a bettir / no man ne myht mete

---

449 hath] hartly V; hertly] hertis L. 450 Hym] his L.
451 liht] lyffe V. 452 racour C Ha; refut] rancour V; akoye A.
453 his] om. A Ha; ioye] \lyffe\ ioye V. 454 lives] lightes Ha.
456 write] writen R, wrytyn V. 457 this] the L; processe] mateer H, proces A Ha, processe C R L V M SZ. 459 youen] gefon C. 462 nat] \nt\ nat V; steyne Ha; plesaunce] plesure C, wil R. 463 ther] the A; is] was V; that is] om. M; for] om. A L; wite] wet V. 464 dolours V.
467 lyst] list 3e C. 468 departyng A Ha V; \sw\ smerte L.
469 love] the love Ha; nyh] nyht R, ner V. 471 Thatother A Ha; stre{i}te L. 474 leede A Ha L SZ. 476 For noman myght with a better (abetter A) mete A Ha. ne] om. C.

<69>

f. 80v. Ther was no stryff / between hem nor debate
But ful accordid / they be bothe nyht and day
She hym obeyeth / in al erlich and late
Whan he seid ya / she coud nat sey nay
A bettir wyff / was nevir / at al assay
Ioyned in oon / thus been her hertys too
That nouht but deth / her love may fordoo

<70>

For alle wyves / as ferre / as evir I kneuh
Withyne her brest / hath growyng pacience
Suffryng and meeke / they been i-lich new
But yiff so be / that men hem doon offence
They love nat men / make experience
Of her lownesse / but lyst I hem displese
Ye gete no more / passe ovir is an ese

<71>

Thus leve I hem / in her iolite
I meene thes too / ech lykyng othir weel
I speke no mor / of her felicite
For no man may / such ioye & merthe feel
But he were expert to telle it euerydeel
For to the marchaunt of Egipt wil I turne
Which for his freend / in woo I lefte moorne

<72>

But now allas / who shal my stile guye
Or hens forth / who shall be my muse
For verray dool / I stond in iupartye
Al merthe of makyng / my mateer mot refuse
Me in to stoon / transmwed hath Meduse
For verray stonyng / of fortunys fikylnesse
That for the merveyle / no woord I can expresse

---

477 nor] non L. 478 accorde A Ha; day & nyht L. 479 obeyeth] obeiht R; erlich] both erly A Ha V, e{r}ly C 480 he] she C; ya] ye A Ha R. 481] was om. L. 483 nat L; her] om. L, may ins. C R; love] hertis R. 484-490 (St. 70) om. A Ha. 485 hath] han V. 486 new] now R. 487 hem doon] don hem C, hem do R. 488 that men C. 489 lovnesse V. 490 more] nore L; passe ovir] of me as now it C. 491 leve] love V; I leve A Ha. 492 ech 1. oth.] eche (iche C) lovyng other A C, eche other lykyng Ha. 494 \ioy\ suche ioy Ha. 495 But if A; were] wore A, om. R. 496 For] and C; I wil A. 497 left I Ha. 499 Or] from A Ha; who] whs Ha. 501 mateer] makyng L. 502 stoon] astowne A Ha, a stone C, aston V. 503 stonyng] sykenes Ha; fikylnesse] sikenes A Ha.

<73>

f.81r. Allas Meggera / I mot now vnto the
Of herte calle / to helpe me compleyne
And to thy sustir / eek [Thesiphone]
That afftir ioye goddessys been of peyne
O weepyng Mirre / now lat thy teerys reyne
In to myn ynke / so clubbyd in my penne
That rowthe in swaggyng / abrood make it renne

<74>

It sitt the nat / enlwmyned for to be
Of othir colour / but oonly al of sable
O doolful mateer / who so now reede the
He may weel seyn / this world is ful chaungable
For how this Marchaunt / whilom so worshipable
I meene of Egipt / Fortune did avale
Mot be as now / remenaunt of my tale

<75>

To hym Fortune hir falsnesse hath overt
Hir swift wheel turned up so doun
For he is fallen and plonget in povert
Thoruh vanysshyng of his possessioun
Now al is brouht / in to destruccioun
Rychesse and freendys been alle i-feere goon
And he in myscheef / is sool / i-lefft aloon /

<76>

This newe Iob / i-cast in indigence
He weepith wayleth / soleyn and solitarye
Allone he drouh hym / fleeyng al presence
And evir his liff / he gan to curse and warye
O out on neede / of malys multipharye
He gan to crye / in his ire and woo
Lych a man in furye / for-poosyd to and froo

---

506 compleyne] to ins. A C Ha R SZ. 507 eek] om. V; Thesiphone] the Siphone H. Tysophone A Ha, Tessiphone L, the sophye V, Thesiphone M SZ. 508 \d\ goddessis A, goddesse L; pyne V. 510 cubbed Ha. 511 swagenyng A Ha; renne] kenne V. 512 enlumyn(e)d A. 513 al] om. Ha; of] on C. 516 whilom] somtyme A Ha. 517 meene] me V. 518 remenaunt] the ins. A Ha C L M SZ. 519 To] from C; hir] om. V; falsnesse] face C, falnesse L R; hath] doth Ha; overt] auert C. 520 turned] hath ins. A Ha. 521 plonget] plongen A Ha, plungyd C, plonngid R. 522 procession V. 523 al] om. A Ha; vnto A Ha. 524 freend R; i-feere] in feere A Ha, ferre C; goon] agone A, i-gone C, agoon Ha V SZ, a gon L, a goun R. 525 is in mischef A; soil C, foule Ha; i-lefft] left A C. 526 i-cast] cast C. 527 wayleth] and wayleth L. 528] allone] om. C; drouh hym] drawith A Ha, withdrawith hymself C. 530 on] of C, \of\ on L. 532. for-poosyd] for poosyd H SZ, for-poosyd M.

<77>

f.81v. For remembraunce / of oold prosperite
Hath with a darte / hym woundid to the herte
Mor vnkouth / was to hym aduersite
That nevir to forn / no trouble did hym smerte
Fo[r] mor despeyred / he was for a sterte
That he ne hadde / of woo / noon excersise
Hym thouhte it was / to hym a newe emprise

<78>

Thus is the sweete / of his tranquyllite
Ful neewly turned / in to bittirnesse
Thus is he valyd / adoun from hih degre
Ful many a steiher / lowe in to wrechydnesse
His lyff he leedith / al in werynesse
For now Fortune / hath chaungid newe his weede
Freend nor foo / ne took of hym noon heede

<79>

Out by hym silf / walkyng in wildirnesse
He gan to pleyne / his sodeyn poore estaat
And seide allas / wher is the kyndenesse
Of alle my freendys / to me disconsolaat
I pley sool I am almoost chek maat
That whilom hadde / my menee me aboute
Now destitut / I am beshet withoute

<80>

Now am I repreef / to my freendys alle
Markyd of many / and of the peeple fable
Now wot I nat / to whom for helpe calle
That sat so glorious / somtyme at my table
And they that than / wer to me servisable
Han by despit / at myscheef me forsake
Gret cause haue I / an out cry / for to make /

---

534 withouten darte wounded hym A Ha. 535 to hym was Ha. 536 to forn] aforn A Ha. 537 Fo[r] ffo H, ffor A Ha L R V, for C M SZ; for(2)] and C; stret C. 538 ne hadde] had C. 539 Hym] he A C Ha. 540 This A Ha V. 542 This R; downe A Ha, down C; hih] hyght C. 543 in to] vnto A Ha. 545 hat hath V; wede] nede Ha. 546 nor] ne R; ne] nor L; took] takith A, takyth Ha. 547 Out] But A C Ha L R V M SZ; walkyng] now walkyng C; wildenesse R. 548 poore] pleyn V. 551 sool] the foole A Ha, soyle C; \al\ am Ha; shytt C. 555 Marke A. 556 to call C V. 557 somtyme so glorious R; glorise C. 558 than w. to me] to me than were A, to me than were so Ha, than to me wer C; servisable] seruyable R. 559 by] in C, om. V. 560 for] om. A.

<81>

f.82r. O out [on] shame / of hauhtesse plongid lowe
O out on dolour / of lordship brouht to nouht
O out on richesse / with vanyte for-blowe /
Forsakyng soone / and with gret travayle souht
O worldly blisse / of me ful dere abouht
Thy sodeyn turn / now doublith my grevaunce
Mor than of it / I nevir hadde had plesaunce

<82>

Now hongir thrust / vnkouth sweth to me
Vnwarly sweth / my passyd habundance
Now cold / now nakyd in necessite
I walke aboute / for my sustenaunce
Whilom in plente / and now al in grevaunce
Allas my fulle / is derkyd in to wane
With wynd for-whirlyd / as is a mvaunt fane

<83>

O in this world / what woo and werynesse
What mortal torment / assaileth al aboute
What grevous molest / and what besynesse
With many assaut / in dreed doth vs to doute
Now vp now doun / as doth a curraunt goute
So ar we travailed / with solicitude
The world with mowhes / so weel can vs delude

<84>

But I knowe weel / who trustith on the moost
Shal be deceyued / whan he to the hath neede
Wher is the clarioun / of thy cry and boost
That to skyes / my fame did beede
Who seruyth the / what shal be his meede
Whan that he wenyth / thu maist hym most availe
Than in the hand / rathest thu wilt hym fayle

---

561 O] om. A Ha; on] of H, on A C Ha L R V M SZ; hauntesse A Ha L, hertys C. 562 O] om. A Ha; on] of V; lordship] worschip V. 563 O] om. A, \Of wo\ Oute Ha; out] out ins. R; for-blowe] for bl. H, forbl. M SZ. 564 and] \u\ & L. 565-566 tr. L. 565 wordly C R V; abouht] i-bought C, y-bouht R. 566 Thy] The A Ha; souerayne Ha; g(r)euaunce C. 567 nevir h. h.] neuer hadde A, had had neuer C. 568 thrust] thurst A Ha L R V, now ins. C; vnknouht R; sweth to] swete to A Ha SZ, vnto C, seweth L, sueth to R, as vnto L. 569 sweth] sewith A L, sueth C Ha R; passyd] passyng L. 572 grev nce] penaunce A Ha SZ, penance C, penaunce L, penance R V. 574 for-whirlyd] for wh. H, forwh. M, SZ. is] om. A C; a mvaunt] a mevand A, amevand Ha, a:ant V; vaane A, fan C, fame V. 575 werynesse] heuynes C. 576 tournement Ha. 577 besyness] hevynesse A Ha SZ, heuynes C, heuynesse R, besimesse V. 581 woord R; can vs so weel R. 582 weel] om. A C Ha L R V SZ. 583 to the he C; to] of Ha; hath] has R; most neede V. 584 the] thy V; cry] crak C. 585 skyes] the ins. A C Ha L R V M SZ; beede] bete C. 586 What servith he A. 587 most] om. C. 588 thi handes V; thou rathest L.

<85>

f.82v. O seely marchaunt / myn hand I feele quake
To write thy woo / in my translacioun
Ful offte I weepe / also for thy sake
For to beholde / the revolucioun
Of thy degree / and transmutacioun
Allas to the / I can no bet diffence
Than the to arme / strongly in pacience

<86>

Nat oonly thu / but euery man on lyve
How hih in throne / he sittith exaltat
Lat hym nat tempte / ageyns god to stryve
But take his sonde / meekly withoute debat
For who so do / he is infortunat
No wele is worthy / that may no woo endure
Wherfor ech man / tak paciently his ewre

<87>

For Senek seith / with ful hih sentence
Of preef in povert / who so that hym reede
In thylke book / he made of providence
That he vnhappy is / withouten dreede
Which nevir ne hadde / adversite nor neede
Of whom the goddys / dempten pleynly thus
Withouten assay / no man is vertuous

<88>

And yiff a tre / with frut / be ovir lade
In his Epistles / he seith as ye may see
Both braunche and bouh / wol enclyne and fade
And greyne oppressith / to moche vberte
Riht so it farith / of fals felicite
That yif his weihte / mesure do exceede
Than of a fal / gretly is to dreede /

---

594 no] not C; bet] beter R; better fense V. 595 the] om. A Ha. 597 sittith] sitte A, sitteht C, sit Ha. 598 ageyns] agayne A, ageyn L; god to] (god) \the\ to C. 600] For] ffo(r) H. 601 worthy] he ins. A C, hym ins. Ha; no] ne V. 603 seith] om. C. 605 thik C; made] may L; of] om. A C Ha R. 606 \w\ vnhappy C. 607 ne] om. L V; nor] and A, ne C Ha. 608 Of] On A Ha; dempten] dempt A Ha V; pleynly] privily V. 609 Withouten] without V. 610 ovir] om. Ha. 611 seith] says C. 613 And] and of C; oppressith] oppressit L. 614 farith] faryt V. 615 yif] of A Ha SZ; do] doth A C Ha V SZ. 616 Than] That Ha; is] it is A Ha.

<89>

f. 83r. But why that god / this marchaunt list visite
As I suppose / it was hym for to preeve
Thouh he were wooful / he was the lasse wite
Sith nevir afforn / Fortune did hym greeve
From his wantrust / he was brouht in beleeve
That he weel kneuh / this world was ful vnstable
And nat abydyng / but evirmor variable

<90>

And whan he kneuh / the grete vnsikyrnesse
Of worldly lust / by preef in special
On knees he fel / with devout humblesse
Ful lowe of herte / and thankyd god of al
And sayde lord / thouh I haue had a fal
Ne put me nat / fro thy protecciouⁿ
Sith I it take / for my probaciouⁿ

<91>

But goode lord / lat me thy grace fynde
And guye my wittis / that I be nat despeyred
But me enspeere / puttyng in my mynde
Som hoope of refut / that am so soore appeyred
And thouh to richesse / ther be no grees i-steyred
Tascenden vp / as I was wont to doone
Yit goode lord / do confort to my boone

<92>

And whil he lay / thus in his orisouⁿ
Ful poorly clad / in ful symple weede
His herte was brouht / in consolaciouⁿ
Which in to lissyng / his langour did leede
He thouhte he wolde / preeve his freend at neede
And vnto Baldac / for to make assay
In pilgrym wise / he took the rihte way /

---

619 were] wore A; the lasse he was A Ha; wite] witt C, to ins. A C Ha V SZ. 620 be forne V. 621 vayn trust C. 622 he] (he) R. 623 And] om. A Ha. 625 woordly R, wordly V; preft Ha; especiall C. 626 devout] full gret C; humblenesse A, humblenes Ha, humblenesse V. 627 and] om. A; thankyng A Ha. 628 had] om. A Ha. 632 (I) V. 634 am] I am A, Iam Ha; So] om. A. 635 thouh] thought A, om. L; grees] grace C; i-steyred] steyred A, stered Ha. 636 Tascenden] To ascende A Ha; I] om. R; doune R. 638 whiles A Ha; his] this A C Ha R SZ. 639 in] and in C. 640 in to A Ha. 641 did] doth Ha. 642 friendis V. 643 in to] on to L. 644 rihte] om. C.

<93>

f. 83v. And whan he was comen to that londe
Ful soore afferd / he was for to compleyne
Allas he seide / myn herte / dar nat fonde
Vnto my freend / to shewen out my peyne
That whiloom was / in richesse so hauhteyne
For to be ded / I dar nat for shamfastnesse
Nat shewe a poynt / to hym of my distresse

<94>

And eek that it was / somwhat late
Whan he was entryd / in to that cite
Hym liked nat / to knocken at the gate
And namly / in so poore degre
And it was nyht / therfor he lefte be
List of his freend / he were a noon refusyd
As man vnknowe / or for som spye accusyd /

<95>

In to a temple / foundid by dayes olde
He is i-entryd / a place al desolat
And leyd hym doun / by the wallys colde
So weyk / so wery / forwandryd / and for-mat
O pompe vnporisshyd / whilom so elat
Take heed ye ryche / of what estat ye bee
For in this marchaunt your myrour ye may see

<96>

How many a man / hath fortune assayled
With sleihte i-cast / whan he best wende ha stonde
Her habiriownys of steel also vnmayled
For al her trust / she nolde the lasse wonde
To pleye this pleye / bothe with free and bonde
For who stood evir / yit in surete
That in som siht / infect was his degre /

---

645 l. 648, crossed out; correct line added A. 645 And] om. C; (whan) A; comen] come Ha; in to A. 646 for] om. A Ha C L V SZ. 647 dar] I dar V; nat] nar L; founde A Ha. 648 shewen] shewe A Ha. 649 haunteyne A Ha, haunteyn L. 650 nat] om. A C Ha L R V SZ M. 651 shew to hym A C Ha; a] oone A, oo C, on Ha, o V. 654 knocken] knok A, knokke Ha; the] om. V. 656 therfor he l. be] and therfor left he C. 658 man] a man R; unknowen A Ha; spye] man Ha. 659 Vnto A C Ha; by] be A, of Ha. 660 i] om. A Ha; al] full L; om. R. 662 for wandryng (and) for wate C, so wandred & so mat L; for-mat] for mat H SZ, for-mat M. 663 emporisshed A Ha SZ M, enporisshyd C; elat] late A Ha. 665 this] the L; ye may your myrrour see A Ha. 666 fortune hath A, fortune had V. 667 fleihte R; cast doun C; he] they C; he b. w. ha stonde] he wenyth (wend Ha) best to stonde A Ha; astonde L, a stond R. 668 Theyr Ha; and also mailed C. 669 nolde] wold A Ha. 670 bothe] om. A Ha; bonde] with bonde A. 671 who] om. R; yit] om. C; suchue suerte C. 672 But that C SZ; in] om. A Ha; siht] tyme A C Ha R SZ, sithe L, sith V.

<97>

f. 84r. For by exaumplys / nature doth declare
Which is of god / mynystir and vikeer
Withoute tonge / she biddith vs beware
By thylke sterrys / that shynen briht and cleer
Which by her concours / and mevyng circuleer
In her discens / westyng vndir wavys
Vs to enfourmen / by chaungyng of hir lawys

<98>

And fewe of hem / alway to vs appeere
But yif it be / the bere briht and sheene
In thilke plow / that Arthow doth it steer
For yit Boetes / that twynkelith wondir keene
Somwhile is dym / that men may nat hym seene
Eek lucifeer at morowhil prymycere
By nyht hym hidith / vndir our empeere

<99>

The day doth passe / of vanite and glorye
And nyht approchith / whan Titan is gon doun
But who list wynne / the palme by victorye
The world to venquyssh / ful of elacioun
Lat hym despise / as a chaunpioun
Al erthly lustys / that shynen but in dreede
And of this marchaunt / evir among tak heede

<100>

Evir entirmedlyd / is merthe and heuynesse
Now liht now soory / now ioiful / now in woo
Now cleer aloffte / now lowe in dirknesse
As Iubiter hath couchyd tonnes too
Withyne his ceeleer / platly and no moo
That oon is ful of ioye and gladnesse
That othir ful / of sorwe and bittirnesse /

---

673 ensamples Ha. 674 of god] godis A, goddis L. 675 Withouten A Ha; by ware A. 676 that] there C; shynyng C, schyne V. 677 cours L. 678 wastyng A Ha, wassyng V, westyn SZ. 678 wavys] wawes A Ha SZ, wawys C, wawis V. 679 enforme C; chaungyng] chaunge A Ha, tokynnyng C. 680 And] Ful A C Ha L R SZ, For V; to us alway C, to vs alwey L; apperyth C. 681 bere] Bore V. 682 Arthon A Ha; it] to Ha C L V SZ, om. R; steryth C. 683 won. keene] sharp and keen A Ha, wondir sheene L. 684 somwhile] som tyme L; men nat may L; hym] hem C. 685 at] that R; morow C. 686 emispere C, empire Ha L V. 688 nyghtes approchen A Ha; gon] go L; don gon V. 689 to wynne A Ha; by] of C. 691 despisen C; a] om. R. 692 Al] And Ha. 694 Entirmedlyd is euer C; entremelled A Ha; is] \a\ is V. 695 soory] heuy L; now(4)] and now A. 696 on loft A Ha, on loffte V. 697 stones A Ha. 699 the toon V; is] om. A Ha; (and) L. 700 the tothir V; ful] is ful A Ha; betternesse V.

<101>

f. 84v. Who that wil entren / to tamen of the sweete
He mvst as weel / taken his aventure
To taste in bittir / or he the vessel leete
And bothe i-lich / of strong herte endure
He may nat clense / the thykke from the pure
Fo[r] who that wil / swetnesse first abroche
He mot be war / or bittir wol approche

<102>

Of thes too / i-dronken at the fulle
Hath this marchaunt / that I of spak erwhyle
The laste beuere / so maad his hed to dulle
That he ne lest / but litil lawh or smyle
Expert he was / bothe of trust and guyle
For wher that he / his beddyng whilom chees
Slept on the ground / now nakyd herberwelees

<103>

And whil that he lay / sleepyng in this wise
An hap be fel / of too men / in the toun
Betwix the which / a contek gan to ryse
Riht ther besyde / with gret noyse and soun
That oon his felawe hath slayn and boredoun
Vndir the temple / wher as this marchaunt lay
And lefft hym ther / and fled a noon his way

<104>

The toun was reised with rvmour riht anoon
And to the temple / faste gonne renne
Now heer now ther / ful swyftly they goon
To taken hym / that hadde wrouht this synne
Tyl atte laste they souhte han hym withynne
And with the noyse / as they gonne in threste
The poore marchaunt / abrayd out of his reste /

---

701 of] on C. 702 taken] take A Ha. 703 taste] cast L V; in] the A C SZ; or] if A Ha. 705 nat] om. C. 706 Fo[r] ffo H, ffor A Ha L R V, for C; that] so V; wil] om. A Ha, wel V; frust R. 707 or] of L, off V; willen R. 708 thos V; dronken] dronke A, drunk Ha; at the] atte V. 709 spak of L; spak] om. A Ha, spook R; here while C. 710 beuere] bevers A Ha, om. C; so] om. C; hert C; to] om. A Ha, so C. 711 ne] om. R. 713 he whilam (whilom R) hys (is R) beddyng C R; now] om. C; nakyd] om. A; herber\we\les L. 715 that] om. R; sleepyng lay L V; in] on C. 717 A twene A, Betwene Ha; the] om. A Ha; conflict C; began A Ha; riche A, rise in right margin in later hand. 719 the tone C; adowne Ha. 720 as] om. A, that Ha; this] the C L V. 721 hem Ha; away A C Ha. 722 the rumour C. 723 they (thei L) renne A Ha L. 725 taken] take A C Ha; wrought hath A Ha; this] that V. 726 atte] at the A Ha V; han] om. A Ha. 727 as] om. A Ha; gonne] ganne A, gan C L V.

<105>

f.85r. Riht for astonyd / palen gan his hewe
Whan they hym asken / what mystirman he were
Or yif that he / thomycide knewe
That hadde slayn / the man that liggith there
And he anoon / withouten dreed or fere
Seyde certeynly / thouh ye me hange and drawe
No wiht but I / hath this man i-slawe

<106>

His covetise was / to ha be ded
That he by deth / hys myserye myht fyne
His woo heeng on hym heuyere than led
And pouerte / did hym so moche pyne
He wolde that deth / had leyd hook and lyne
Tacacchyd hym / in to his bittir las
Therfor on hym / he took this hih trespas

<107>

O deth desyred / in aduersite
Whan thu art callyd / why nylt thu wrecchys heere
And art so reedy / in felicite
To come to them / that the nothyng desire
O com now deth / and maak of me thy [feere]
This marchaunt crieth / in his wooful herte
So ful he was / of inward peynes smerte

<108>

Anoon he was / i-taken and i-bounde
And cast in prisoun / tyl on the nexte morwe
And than i-taken / and brouht as they hym founde
Afforn the iustice / for no man wold hym borwe
To seen a fyn / he hopith of his sorwe
For-dempt he was / thoruh his owne speche
By iugement to han / for deth the wreche /

---

729 for] soore A, sore C Ha L V SZ, sor M. 733 without C; or] of L. 734 thouh] yf C; and] or C L. 735 wiht] man A Ha; hath] have Ha, haf C, haue V. 736 to ha] for to R. 737 myht] my R; fynde V. 738 heeng] hangyng C. 739 so] om. A Ha; pyne] peyne V. 740 bothe hook L. 741 Tacacchyd] to tache C, to kacchen R; las] place C. 742 on] in R; he toke on A Ha; this] that A Ha, the C. 744 nylt thu] wiltow nat A, nyltow Ha. 747 now] thou V; feere] fire H, feere A Ha L R SZ M, fere C V. 748 crieth] om. A Ha. 750 i-taken] takyn C, taken Ha L R, i-take V; i-bounden A Ha R, i-bonden V. 751 in] on R; on] om. R. 752 i-taken] i-take L; as] and R; founde] founden A Ha, fonden V; he was found C. 753 Afforn] By fore A Ha, affore L V, a fore R; iustice] iuge A Ha; wold] wil Ha. 754 om. V. seen] se C Ha; he] om. L; hopyd C. 755 For-dempt] for dempt H SZ, for-dempt M; owne] onne C. 756 han] have A Ha, haf C; the] om. A Ha.

<109>

f. 85v. And than as faste / as he to deth was lad
His oold freend / happyd forby passe
The which beheeld hym / with cheer demvre & sad
And kneuh the feturys / and signes of his face
And a noon he prayeth leyseer to hym and space
For to been herd of hem in pacience
And stynt awhyle / to yive hym audience

<110>

Sires he seith / so it nat yow displese
This man is dampned / so ful of innocence
And giltles / ye don hym this disese
For I my silf / haue wrouht this gret offence
To me it fallith / tencurren the sentence
Of deth the trouthe / weel to founde
For with myn hand / I gaff his dedly wounde

<111>

His herte was meevyd / of oold naturesse
To save his freend / and for hym for to deye
And he was hent anoon / and pullyd by duresse
With swre arrest / they handys on hym leye
And al her lust / meekly he did obeye
To fore the iuge / he was i-lad and drawe
Wher he was dampned / by concours of the lawe

<112>

Thoo was he lad / with weepyng and pite
Toward his deth / of many hym besyde
His poore freend / was loos at liberte
Which thouhte for woo / deth thoruh his herte glyde
Whyls in the prees / the verray homycide
That sothfastly / that deede hadde i-wrouht
Spak to hym sylf / thus in his owne thouht /

---

757 the deth V. 758 hapned Ha; forby] forth by R, to ins. A Ha. 759 The] om. A Ha; cheer] face A Ha. 761 And] om. A C Ha L R V SZ; hym] haue V; (to) hym leysour A. 762 For] And A Ha. 764 seith] sith V; yow (3ow C, you R) nat C L R. 766 this] om. A Ha. 767 haue] hath Ha C, om. L; wrouht] done A Ha, don C. 768 fallith] fallit V. 769 deth] \trouth\ deth V; wil A Ha; to] I C. 770 his] hym A Ha V; dedly] dethes C. 771 He was moeued C. 772 for(2)] om. A Ha. 774 sore A; \l\ they A; loy Ha. 775 al] om. V; her] the Ha; meekly] they ins. A, he ins. Ha R SZ. 776 i-lad] lad C R. 779 Towardes A, Towardis Ha; manyon A Ha. 781 Which] that L V; dyd glyd C. 783 that(2)] the A C Ha L R V SZ; deede] deth Ha; hadde] hath A Ha C L; i-wrouht] wrouht C V. 784 and in A Ha.

<113>

f. 86r. Allas myn herte / hard as the dyamaunt
How maist thu suffre / this cruelte seen
Allas thoruh remors / why ne were I repentaunt
The southfast trouthe / to be confessyd cleen
Allas this wrong / how may I thus susteen
To see afore me / vngilte thus i-take
And lad to dethward / oonly for my sake

<114>

O rihtwys god / to whom ech pryuyte
Is pleyn and open / to thy magnyficence
O lord that knowyst / myn hyd iniquite
Beholdyng al / o sonne of Sapience
Ne take no vengaunce / of myn hih offence
That I so longe / concelyd haue the trouthe
But of thy mercy / lord haue on me routhe /

<115>

For weel I wot / that of thy rihtwysnesse
Thu mvst me punysshen / at thy iugement
And thouh thu suffre / awhile in esynesse
Blood wil haue wreche / that wrongfully is spent
O blood vngilte / O blood so innocent
How canst thu gon to deth / and nat compleyne
To wreke the afftir / on me with cruel peyne

<116>

To the hih god / eternal in his see
Blood crieth out / that is i-shad in wronge
And seith O lord / whan wilt thu vengyd bee
Vpon our deth / why bydist thu so longe
Of innocentys / this is the noote and songe
Wherfor I wol / whil I haue liff and space
The sothe be knowe / and put me in thy grace /

---

785 harder than A, as hard as V. 786 maist thu] maystow A Ha; cruelte] cruel A Ha; seen] tene A Ha, to ins. L V. 787 ne were] ne wore A, were L R, ner C; repentetant V. 788 The] that A Ha, of ins. C; to] om. A Ha. 789 I] it V; this A Ha; sustrene V. 790 seene A Ha, sene L, sen V; afore] (a) forn C; aforn Ha; thus vngilty C; i-take] one ins. A Ha, take C. 794 that] thou R; hyd] om. A Ha. 796 hih] om. L. 797 concelyd] couered A Ha; haue] hath Ha C, ha L. 798 on] vpon A Ha, upon C SZ, a pon R. 799 weel] why A, whi Ha; that] om. Ha. 800 me] om. R; punysshen] punysshe A Ha. 801 in] om. A Ha; he:synesse L. 802 is wrongfully C. 803 O(2)] oo Ha. 804 canst thu] canstow A Ha; gon] om. A, go C Ha. 805 the] om. A Ha; on me after A Ha; with] bi L. 806 the] om. A C Ha L R V SZ; eternal god Ha. 807 i-shad] shedde A, shad C, shed Ha. 808 wilt thu] wiltow A Ha L, wold thou R, wolt thou V. 809 bydist thu] bidestow A. 810 is] (is) V. 811 Therfor Ha; \p\ space A. 812 me] om. Ha.

<117>

f. 86v. It is to moche / that I haue slayn oon
And but I speke / toward is anothir
The which is domb / and stille as ony stoon
For verray love / for to save his brothir
Everych is reedy / to fonge deth for othir
Now wyl I goon / and pleynly me confesse
And for my gilt / receyven the redresse

<118>

With open mouth / lowde he gan to crye
O ye desceyved peeple / by errour
That innocent / allas why shal he dye
Which nevir ne was / his lyve trespasour
Turneth ageyn / and let be this clamour
And let to me / her doom been hool reserved
For I am he / that hath the deth disserved

<119>

Let hym go loos / sith he of gilt is fre
It is my silf / that hath the deed i-do
Why wyl ye erren / and punysshen verite
And let falsnesse / at his large go
The peeple of this / gan for to wondren tho
And eek the iustices / of this sodeyn chaunce
That alle here wittis / wer hangid in ballaunce

<120>

Yit nevirtheles / thus they i-wrouhte
The firste the[y] vnbounde / and this othir take
And by assent / hem everychon i-brouhte
To fore the kyng / and ther a processe make
How ech of thes / hath don for othrys sake
And prayn hym / good iuge for to bee
To fynde a wey / the trouthe for to see /

---

814 toward] to ward V. 815 domb] dome C, doome L, dom V. 817 for to A Ha; fonge] take C, songe R. 818 go plainly and A Ha. 819 for] of A Ha; receyven (de) the (me) redressse L (MacCracken says these additions are in a later hand; see his apparatus for this line). 821 desceyve(d) A. 823 ne] om. C L; his] in his C V, (in) his L. 824 and] ad V. 825 let to] lato A; reserved] obserued A Ha. 826 disserved] \obser\ deserued Ha. 827 loos] om. A Ha; of gilt he A. 828 the] thys C; i-do] don V. 829 punysshen] punyssh A Ha, punysshe C; verite] vertue C. 830 falshede C, falnesse R; larges A Ha; gon V. 831 gan] be gan C, be gonne A Ha; for] om. A C Ha; wondren] wondre A, wonder Ha, maruell C, wondir V; tho] so A Ha, sore V. 832 iustice A C Ha, justice SZ. 833 a(:)ll A. 834 i-wrouhte] wrought A C Ha. 835 the[y] the H, they A C Ha, thei L R V M SZ; vnboude V. 836 thassent C; hym R. 837 the] ther C. 838 have A; othir V. 839 for] om. A C Ha. 840 To] And A Ha; for] om. Ha; see] sen V.

<121>

f. 87r. This worthy kyng / to serchyn out the riht
Shewith hym silf / bothe wys and eek tretable
And made mercy / to goon afforn his myht
Shapyng a mene / ful iust and resonable
To alle thre / he shewyd hym merciable
Of all the crym / withyne woordys fewe
Pardon he grauntith / so they the trouthe shewe

<122>

Of al the cas / they haue no poynt i-sparyd
First of her frenship / ioye and adversite
But woord by woord / the stoory hool declaryd
Bothe of thes tweyne / the love and vnyte
Ye han / that herd / ye gete no mor of me
And how the thrydde / hadde a conscience
For his trespace / so dampned innocence

<123>

With gret merveile / they wondryn on this thyng
To seen in frenship / so hool affeccioun
And specially / this wise worthy kyng
Gan [wisshe] of herte that thoruh his regioun
Were ful affermyd / an obligacioun
Off such enteernesse / fro man to man aboute
Off tresoun than / ful litil wer to doute

<124>

Ful hard it were / tacomplisshen his desyr
Or in his rewm / such a bargeyn dryve
The aeyer infect / the wedir is nat cleer
Ne nevir ne shal / whil tresoun is so ryve
For now of trowthe / no man can contryve
A verray seel or thenpreent i-grave
Withoute a label / his armes hool to save /

---

842 bothe] om. R; eek] om. Ha. 843 om. R (scr. adds at end of stanza). myht] riht L. 844 ful] both C, for R; resonable] mesurable A Ha; eek ins. R. 846 withyne] with C. 847 so] for A Ha; sothe C L; sewe R. 848 i-sparyed] sparid V. 849 ioye frensshipe & V. 850 \s\ the L; declaryed] declarith R, doth clare V. 851 two A Ha. 852 han] have A Ha, haf C; that herd] hard that V. 853 a] om. A Ha. 854 so] of C. 855 wondryd C, wroundren R, wondrid V; on] in R. 858 wisshe] voisshe H. wisshen A, wysshen Ha, wisshe C SZ M, woish L, woissh R, wysse V. 862 tacomplisshen] to acomplissh A. 863 such] a soche R. 864 The aeyer] Their R, the heyre V; the wedir] whiche A Ha; cliore A. 865 ne(2)] om. A Ha R. 866 can] may R. 867 ful seale A Ha; nor the prynte A Ha; the emprynt C; i-grave] grave C. 868 armour A Ha; hool armys for to V; save] have L.

<125>

f. 87v. But whan thys kyng / hath thus doon hem grace
He let hem goo / at her electioun
And he of Baldac / hat lad hoom to his place
His poore freend / with gret processioun
He rayeth hym newe / with good affectioun
And seide freend / your pensiffheed asswage
And for pouert / ne beeth no more in rage

<126>

But here anoon / as ferre as it may laste
Of al my good / halvendeel is youre
I wyl that it departyd be as faste
At your devise / your pouert to socoure
For our frenship / shal every sesoun floure
And in short tyme / I telle it you in pleyn
Ye shul to richesse / restooryd be ageyn

<127>

And than at erst / avised ye may telle
Vnto your contre / whedir ye wil returne
Or heer with me / al your lyff dwelle
The choys is your / look no more ye moorne
And whersobe / ye goon or heer soiourne
Have heer my trouthe / our hertys shul been oon
Whil breeth may laste / and nevir vnsondir goon

<128>

By egal witt / his goodys everychon
Wer tho departyd / betwix thes freendys too
By cause this marchaunt / wold algatys gon
Hom to his contre / that he lovyd soo
The stoory tellith / withoute woordys moo
Riht in to Egipt / he is goon ageyn
Of her frenship / what shuld I you moor seyn /

---

869 whan that C; thus hath A Ha. 871 hat] hath A C Ha L R V; hoom] hym A, om. Ha; to] vnto Ha. 873 He] And A; arrayeth A Ha, raicht L. 875 ne] om. A Ha. 877 half dele C, hauendeel R. 878 be departed A V. 879 deviso Ha. 880 our] your V; at euery R. 882 restooryd be ag.] be storyd agayne C, restored begayne Ha. 883 avised] om. A Ha. 884 whedir contre L. 885 your] my A Ha; to dwelle V. 886 choys] ioyse C; loke ye no more moorne R. 887 whersobe] whether so A Ha, whether so be V; goon] go V; or] ar L. 888 trouthe] hert C; hertys] trouthys C. 889 laste] lest V; asunder A Ha, asondyr C, asondir L SZ, a sondyr R, on sondir V; agon A. 890 wehgte C; \wittis\ (goodis) A. 891 Wer] wh L; betwene A, be twixt Ha, betwixte R, be twyn V; tweyne Ha. 896 you] om. C Ha; more you V. R ends here: catchwords "I sai you platly".

<129>

f. 88r. I say you platly / so as it seemyth me
Of thyng weel preevyd / to maken rehersayl
To offtyn sith / it were but vanyte
Lest tediouste / your erys did assayl
Sith ye it knowe / it may nothyng avayl
Of her frenship / ferther more divyne
For as they gonne / so in love they fyne

<130>

lenvoye
Thus of this tale / to you I make an eende
On my rewde tellyng / of curtesye ye rewe
And god I prey / that he his grace sende
That euery freend / to othir be as trewe
As were thes marchauntis / alway i-lich newe
This my desyr / in al degrees of men
That it so be / I pray you seith Amen

Explicit quod lidgate

---

897 plainly Ha; so] om. Ha. 900 tediousnesse L; did] didie A. 902 more] om. A; divyne] to ins. A C Ha V. 903 began C. 905 On] of C. 906 that] om. A; he] god L; his] (h)is H. 907 That] And A Ha. 909 This is A Ha. 910 seith] sey al A Ha. Explicit: right margin of l. 910.

Colophons: Explicit ffabula duorum mercatorum De et super gestis romanorum A Ha. ffinit C. Explicit de fideli amore duorum mecatorum [sic] L. Explicit de ffideli amore duorum marcatorum V.

COMMENTARY

7. **of his woord / as any center stable**: Cf. SqT 22, qtd. p. 81, n. 5, of this edition with other relevant remarks about the poem's opening lines. See also Chapter 3, p. 48 n. 20, for Schleich and Zupitza's list of other places where Lydgate uses this phrasing.

15-35. Lydgate's source for this geographical description may have been a version of Mandeville's Travels, as Ethel Seaton suggests (275); the Cotton (Britsh Library MS Cotton Titus c. xvi) and Egerton (British Library, MS Egerton 1982) versions are closest. However, the description in Book 15 of John Trevisa's translation of De proprietatibus rerum (2: 755) resembles the Fabula more than the Mandeville does. The relevant portions of Mandeville and Trevisa follow, beginning with Chapter 7 of the Cotton Mandeville.

> Egypt is a long contree but it is streyt þat is to seye narow for þei may not enlargen it toward the desert for defaute of water And the contree is sett along vpon the ryuere of Nyle be als moche as þat ryuere may serue be flodes or oþerwise þat whanne it floweth it may spreden abrood þorgh the contree, so is the contree large of lengthe. for þere it reyneth not but lityll in þat contree & for þat cause þei haue no water, but ȝif it be of þat flood of þat ryuere. And . . . it ne reyneth not in þat contree but the eyr is alwey pure & cleere. . . . In Egipt þere ben ij. parties, The heghte þat is toward Ethiope & the loweness þat is towardes Arabye. . . . And at Egipt toward the Est is the rede see . . . & toward the west is the cytee of lybye þat is a full drye lond & lityll of fruyt. . . . And toward the partie meridionall is Ethiope & toward the north is the desert þat dureth vnto Syrye. . . . (Hamelius 28-29)

Here now is the description of Egypt found in Trevisa.

> In þe eeste syde vnder þe Reede See þis londe ioyneth to Siria, and hath Libia in þe west syde, and þe Grete See in þe norþe syde, and passeth inwarde in þe southe syde and streccheþ anoone to þe Ethiopes. . . . And is a cuntre vnvsynge to dewe and vnknowynge to reyne. And oneliche Nilus moisteþ þat londe and renneþ þere aboute and makith it plenteuous with risynge and wexinge. And hath plente of wylde bestees and fedeþ a grete dele of þe worlde with whete and with other corne and fruyte; and is so plenteuous of oþer marchaundises and chaffare, þat it filleþ ny3e alle þe worlde with nedeful marchaundises. (Trevisa 2: 755-56)

19. **who castith the coostys of the firmament**: who reckons or calculates the divisions of the heavens into quarters (?in order to ascertain direction). Cf. Chaucer's Treatise on the Astrolabe 1: 19.8-9.

21. **ferre by south**: far toward the south. See OED 9 (by). For further commentary see Appendix B, p. 199, n. 6.

39. **Spak of his name which gladly wol nat hyde**: The sense of this line rests on determining the grammatical subject of **wol hyde**, which could refer to **many oon** from l. 38, giving the reading "they spoke his name which they customarily did not hide," that is, "they talked about him frequently"; or to **name**, yielding the rather more awkward "they spoke his name which customarily did not hide itself," that is, "his name was well-known." Both readings convey the same general sense.

49. **stable chene**: one of the several references in the first part of the poem to the chain of nature, which binds all things in harmony; also known as the Great Chain of Being or the golden chain. See also l. 74, the **myhty cord** of nature, and l. 84, **nothyng bynde hem / but nature by hire lawe**. The idea has a long literary history. See Chapter 4, p. 68, n. 32. For Lydgate's use of the chain metaphor in Temple of Glas, see Norton-Smith's edition, p. 190, and his article "Lydgate's Metaphors," passim.

50-53. These lines and those following depend on medieval theories of perception. See Chapter 4, pp. 59-60.

54. **hertys eye**: A striking phrase, possibly borrowed from Troilus and Criseyde: "His herte, which that is his brestez ye / Was ay on hire" (1.453-54). Cf. also Ephesians 1: 17-18: "[May God] . . . give unto you the spirit of wisdom and revelation in the knowledge of him: The eyes of your understanding [Vulgate cordis, heart] being enlightened. . . ." The idea of enlightenment and intuitive knowledge is contextually appropriate as Lydgate describes the merchants' ability to perceive and love each other without having met.

55-56. **memorial**, **fantasticall**: two of the three cells, or ventricles, in the brain. The other is the **estimatyf** (See Commentary, below, l. 338). The **fantasticall** is the cell of imagination, **memorial** that of memory. See Chapter 4, pp. 59-60. Here and in the following stanza Lydgate is using the imagery of perception to describe the growth of affection between the two merchants.

63. **loke**: could be the either the preterite form of **locken**, lock, or the present form of **lokien**, look. The scribes seem to have had some difficulty with this, but the majority favor "lock": **So ar they loken** A / **loked** C / **lokyn** Ha / **loke** R. Only V reads **So as they loke**. Contextually, "locked" is consistent with the imagery of the "key" and "cliket" held by the "trewe porteer," love. **myndys selle**: probably the "memorial" cell.

64. The connection of virtue with friendship is, as noted in Chapter 1, ultimately a classical idea. See Mills, Chapters 1 and 2, and Purdy, 113-15, for a summary of the idea's evolution. The fullest and most influential expression of the association is found throughout Cicero's De amicitia, particularly in the book's final section:

> Virtus, virtus . . . et conciliat amicitias et conservat; in ea est enim convenientia rerum, in ea stabilitas, in ea constantia. . . . [V]os autem hortor ut ita virtutem locetis, sine qua amicitia esse non potest, ut ea excepta nihil amicitia praestabilius putetis. (27.100, 104)

St. Aelred (ca. 1110-1167), Cistercian abbot of Rivaulx, based his work Spiritual Friendship on Cicero (Roby 29-31), and Peter of Blois in turn based his Christian Friendship on Aelred (Roby 39). John of Salisbury also refers to Cicero in a discussion of friendship (Polycraticus, qtd. by Purdy 121-22). Purdy and Mathew also show that the writings of the Church Fathers are consistent with Cicero's expression of friendship; see Chapter 1 here, p. 8, n. 24.

69-84. Purdy notes that the principle of similarity, "like attracts to like," is a "logical outgrowth" of the association of virtue and friendship (114), and quotes from several classical sources to illustrate: Plato (Lysis 214a, Phaedrus 240c, Gorgias 510, and Laws 8. 837), Aristotle (Nicomachean Ethics 8.1.6), and Plutarch (Morals 1.472 and 2.106). Cicero's De amicitia contains similar sentiments:

> Cum autem contrahat amicitiam, ut supra dixi, si qua significatio virtutis eluceat, ad quam se similis animus adplicet et adiungat, id cum contigit, amor exoriatur necesse est. . . . Quid? si illud etiam addimus . . . nihil esse quod ad se rem ullam tam inliciat et attrahat quam ad amicitiam similitudo, concedetur profecto verum esse, ut bonos boni diligant adsciscantque sibi quasi propinquitate coniunctos atque natura; nihil est enim adpetentius similium sui nec rapacius quam natura. (14.48-50)

The idea that "like draws to like" is proverbial; see Whiting L272. See also Boece 3, pr. 11, 130-40. Pearsall (Lydgate 202) remarks that the sentiment was one of Lydgate's "favorite themes"; cf. l. 260 of the "Churl and the Bird" (Minor Poems 2: 468) and the short poem "Every Thing to his Semblable" (Minor Poems 2: 801).

97-98. Makes use of the classical idea of two friends having but one soul between them. Again, see Purdy (116-18), who mentions Aristophanes's myth of the divided soul in Plato's Symposium (192a-193a), Aristotle ("a friend is another self"; Nicomachean Ethics 9.4), Cicero (man seeks out "another whose soul he may so mingle with his own as almost to make one out of two"; De amicitia 21.81), and Plutarch ("Two friends, though severed in body, yet have their souls joined and as it were melted together, and neither desire to be two nor believe themselves to be separate persons"; Morals 4.301). As Purdy explains, the idea could also be applied to the love between man and woman (117), and Lydgate does so in much the same language at ll. 482-83, describing the love between the Baldacian merchant and his new wife. For a verbal similarity to l. 483, see Temple of Glas 1270.

100. **necessite**: in philosophical terms, refers to something which must happen. The idea is central to Boethius's discussion of predestination and free will in Book 5, pr. 6, where Lady Philosophy makes a distinction between "symple" and "condicionel" necessity to explain how, even given God's foreknowledge, free will can still operate. Chaucer uses the distinction in Troilus (4.958-1078) and the NPT (3245-250). Here, Lydgate, in linking fortune and "necessite," seems to be implying that fortune is working in accordance with God's will. Although this link is not directly stated here or anywhere else in the poem, the portrayal of fortune remaining wholly conventional as the personage whose turning wheel inevitably plunges the fortunate into misery, there is a suggestion later that the Egyptian's misfortunes are sent by God in order to test him (618-20).

112-18. **riht as . . . riht so**: correlative construction, "just as . . . so also." See also 127-29, **But as . . . Riht so**, "just as . . . likewise, in that same way."

113-19. Definition by the "doctrine of contraries." See Chapter 4, p. 69. Cf. Temple of Glas 394-416, 1250-56 and Norton-Smith's notes to these (pp. 185, 190-91).

120. **Out on**: a curse on, fie on, somebody or something. See also 11. 121, 156, etc.

124. **hangyng in ballaunce**: Lydgate frequently uses the image of the balance to describe risk or danger, as he does here, or uncertainty, as in l. 833. See, for example, Temple of Glas: "Atwixen two so hang I in balaunce" (348) and "Hanging in balaunce bitwix hope and drede" (641). Cf. Lydgate's Troy Book 4.5348-49 and Fall of Princes 1.3123-24. See also Schleich and Zupitza (73) for other examples in Lydgate, and Whiting B17 for other writers' uses of the figure.

127-28. The "doctrine of contraries" again. The imagery of **galle** and **hoony**, sweetness and bitterness, is found throughout the poem; cf. 446-47, 540-41, and especially 697 ff. See below, Commentary to 697-707.

148. **chaunbre**: I have supplied **n** rather than **m** on the basis of **chaunbyr** (219) and **chaunpion** (691).

159. Cf. Chaucer's Franklin's hospitality: "It snewed in his hous of mete and drynke" (GP 345).

184. **Nay straunge nat / allas why seid I soo**: although Pearsall (Lydgate 203) considers this to be the rhetorical figure of dubitatio, or feigned hesitation, it more nearly resembles correctio, "the retraction of what has just been said." See Geoffrey of Vinsauf pp. 105, 58. Since "straunge" can mean both "foreign, other" and "unfriendly, hostile" (MED 1, 3), Lydgate wants to clarify that only the former sense applies to the Baldacian merchant.

190. with al herte entier: Perhaps a conflation of two common phrases, "with hert enter," sincerely, devotedly, devoutly (MED **enteer** 1); and "with al herte," without dissimulation, unaffectedly, sincerely, fervently (MED **herte** 2b). The phrase means, then, something like "with the greatest sincerity and fervour." For the use of **al** see Commentary l. 481.

191. of entent ful cleene: Literally, the phrase means that the merchant thanked his friend with very pure wishes or intentions. Taken as a whole, the phrase probably means "wholeheartedly, sincerely." "Entent(e" is often used in adverbial phrases to modify action, for example, "in his entente" means "at his will." Specifically, "of hol entente" means "wholeheartedly, without reservation." And "ful cleene" as an adverbial phrase means "fully, completely." We should probably take **entent ful cleene**, then, to mean "altogether and totally sincerely."

194. tapited: to be hung with tapestry. This striking and unusual word conveys a sense of richness and freshness to the merchants' "ioyful summer." It is used in a similar sense by Lydgate in the Troy Book to describe Medea's ability to transform winter, to "araye þe erþe and tapite hym in grene" (1.1659); and it also appears in Resoun and Sensuallyte, a work attributed to Lydgate (2766). In BD, Chaucer uses the word in a non-figurative sense: "al hys halles / I wol . . . tapite hem ful many fold" (258-60).

195. stable blew: According to medieval colour symbolism, blue signified constancy and fidelity.

205. Cf. the description of Troilus's lovesickness: "And first he gan to sike, and eft to grone" (Troilus 1.360).

209. Cf. Pandarus, "that neigh malt for wo and routhe" (Troilus 1.209).

211. Cf. Pandarus's words on friends: "I wol parten with the al thi peyne / . . . As it is frendes right, soth for to seyne / To entreparten wo as glad desport" (Troilus 1.591-92); see also Fabula 1. 216 for repetition of the same sentiment.

222. Cf. Troilus's symptoms: "For hote of cold, for cold of hote, I dye" (Troilus 1.420).

225. Cf. Temple of Glas, "That hatter brenne þat closid is my wounde" (362). Lines 356-62 of the TG contain several close verbal similarities to the Fabula at this point.

230-31. Cf. the "subtile stremes" of Criseyde's eyes, which have a similar effect on Troilus (Troilus 1.305-6). See also Temple of Glas, ll. 582, 815.

237-38. In a letter to John Paston, Marjery Brews (later Paston) uses similar phrasing: "And there wotteth no creature what pain I endure; / And for to be dead, I dare it not discure" (Davis 1: 662). Cf. also Troy Book 1.2057.

255. **love can no frenship**: love knows no friendship. Proverbial; see Whiting L501; see L495 for other examples. The sense is that love and friendship cannot exist simultaneously, being totally incompatible. Cf. KnT 1625-26, "Ful sooth is seyd that love ne lordshipe / Wol noght, his thankes, have no felaweshipe." See Chapter 5 passim. The MED gloss, "love ignores friendship," is inaccurate (MED **can**).

270. **poorys**: See Glossary. This may, however, be a scribal error for "pulse"; MS C reads **pulse**, A and Ha **pounce**. To "tasten pulse" is a common phrase for testing the pulse, a way for doctors to diagnose lovesickness. See Wack (135-39). In Peter Alfonsi's tale, the doctors test the sick man's pulse. Nevertheless, **poorys** may have been what Lydgate intended; the doctors could be testing the merchant's urine. Since the word can make sense as it is, it has been judged best to leave the MS unemended at this point.

271. **roote and rynde**: A proverbial expression, "completely." See Whiting R193.

272. **humour**: The concept that there were four bodily fluids, blood, phlegm, bile (also choler, or red or yellow bile) and black bile, had been dominant in medical theories since Galen. The proportion in which these humours were present in the body determined physical type and temperament: the dominance of blood (hot and moist) engendered a sanguine personality; that of phlegm (cold and moist) made one phlegmatic; bile (hot and dry) gave one a choleric disposition, and black bile (cold and dry) rendered one melancholic. To make a proper diagnosis, physicians had first to determine the patient's dominant humour.

274. **sey**: Either the pr. 3 pl. of **say** or the prt. pl. of **see**. "Say need" (MED **ned/e n. 1**), "say what one needs or wants," would fit in this context, even though **sey** is apparently in the present tense. More likely, however, is the reading "saw need"; the doctors, if they saw need of them, had with them various kinds of remedies.

285-87. The physicians are agreed that the fever, if it is any of the three, is Effymora, not Etyk or Putrida. Bartholomaeus explains the three types of fever as corresponding to each of the three things which make up the body: "sotile þinges as of spirits and fletinge þinges [Effymora, st. 42], and of humours [Putrida, st. 43-44], and more bodiliche þinges and of þe membres [Etyk st. 45]" (1: 379).

288 ff. The following description of the three kinds of fever and their causes is based on Giles de Corbeil's Viaticus: De signis et symptomatiubs aegritudinum (275). See also Chapter 4, pp. 61-62

Bartholomaeus's chapter on fevers (Trevisa 1: 379-391) also contains much relevant information.

293-94. These lines vary according to MS (see Chapter 2, pp. 39-40), but the variants affect the meaning only slightly.

295-305. For the modern reader, unfamiliar with what might have been more commonplace knowledge at one time, modern punctuation is needed. Both MacCracken and Schleich and Zupitza punctuate these lines misleadingly, failing to bring out clearly the distinction between the two causes and types of Putrida; the following offers a corrective.

> And Putrida is causyd gladly thus:
> Whan any humour synneth in quantite,
> Or whan his flowyng is to plentevous
> That he excedith mesoure in qualite;
> Yiff by blood anoon ye may it see.
> Yiff quantite ouht erre, espyeth it thus:
> The fevere in phisyk is callyd Sinochus.
>
> And yiff the humour in qualite exceedith,
> Or heete or blood passe his temperament,
> In to a fevere anoon a man it leedith
> Clepid Synocha, by putrefaccioun shent.

According to this passage, Putrida is caused by an excess of any humour (**quantite**), or when the property appropriate to a particular humour--heat, cold, wetness, or dryness--exceeds measure (See Glossary **qualite**). If quantity is the problem, the variety of Putrid fever which results is Sinochus; if, on the other hand, the problem is of quality, Synocha is the result.

306-8. **Colre**: yellow bile, one of the four humours. "Colre citrina" and "Colre vitellina" were two kinds of "vnkindly colre" (each humour had two manifestations, kind and unkind). "Vnkindeliche colera comeþ of kynde by somme strange humour imedled þerwith. For if rede colera is imedled with wattry fleume [phlegm], þan is ibred citrina colera. . . . If þe fleume is gret and þicke, þan is bred 3elew3 [vitellyne] colera" (Trevisa 1: 158). On the relationship between Colre and fever, Bartholomaeus is again enlightening, even if his terminology is slightly different:

> And somtyme colera and blood rotiþ togedres in veines and pipis, and if þe more partie of blood rotiþ þan he hatte sinochides, and if þe more partie of colera rotieþ þe feuir hatte causonides. . . . And in causon . . . þe vreyne semeþ rede and sotile and þinne . . . if colera haþ a defaute in qualite. And if colra haue defaute in quantite, þan comeþ flux of þe wombe and colerik spuynge. And þe same signes and tokenes semeþ in causonide and sinochide, and þe diuersite þerof is iknowe most by vreyne. (Trevisa 1: 389-90)

308. **Giles**: Aegidius Corboliensis, or Giles de Corbeil, French humanist and physician to Philip Augustus, d. c. 1220 (Wilson 110 n. 101). See above l. 288 and Chapter 4, pp. 61-62. Giles also wrote a treatise entitled De urinis, but Lydgate seems not to have borrowed from this.

309-15. When the natural heat of the body (**heete natural**) is deeply immersed in the vital, primary moisture of the body (**radical humidity**), the fuel of the fire of life, the heat burns or uses up this moisture. "And whanne hit is iwastid hit may not be restorid, and herof comeþ þe þridde maner of etik, þat is incurable" (Trevisa 1: 382). The consequent drying out of the body's vital moisture may explain the reference to **drye Tisyk**, which is tolerable (**partable**), as opposed to life-threatening.

322. **malencolye**: The physicians have determined that the merchant suffers, on account either of thought or of love, from melancholia. See also Appendix B, p. 197, and Chapter 4, pp. 59-61. The note in the Riverside Chaucer to ll. 1374-76 of the KnT is also helpful here:

> The **humour malencolik**, . . . engendered in some cases by passions of the soul such as "grete thoughtes of sorwe, and of to grete studie and of drede" . . . could lead to melancholia, which afffects the middle cell and deprives one of judgment and reason; or to mania, which deprives one of the imagination (i.e. he can perceive no new images but thinks continually of his beloved); see Bartholomaeus Anglicus 7.6, tr. Trevisa, 1: 349. (832)

323. One of the few cases where MS punctuation is misleading. The break should come between **remys** and **attenuat**: "His vryne was remys, attenuat by resoun of frigidite." Cf. Bartholomaeus: "3if it [urine] is þynne in substaunce, it tokeneþ drines of humour þat haþ þe maistrie" (Trevisa 1: 258). Melancholy, caused by or engendering an excess of black bile, is cold and dry; this would explain the reference to frigidite and the thin urine.

325. **veyne ryueeres**: An unusual combination, this maybe intended attributively: "river-like veins." The only other comparable Middle English phrase is "veyne-blood" (KnT 2747), but this refers to the drawing off of blood (Riverside Chaucer 839). The OED gives **vein-riveret** as an example, but this is from 1656 and is descriptive of the river (OED **vein** 15). We can speculate that the original exemplar may have read **reyne** (kidney) for **veyne**, yielding the reading that the passages leading to or from the kidneys were **oppilat** (obstructed). Contextually, this would make sense, but there is no MS support for such a reading. The only MS variant is **vryn**, C.

329. **by his socour**: to be his help.

330. **vertu regitiff**: Although Lygate may be thinking of one of the three main virtues that operated the body--"virtus naturalis, whose seat of action is primarily in the liver; the virtus spiritualis, or vitalis,

which functions chiefly in the heart; and the virtus animata, or animalis, working through the brain" (Curry 140)--it is more likely that he is using the term **vertu** as a more general term meaning "power" or "faculty." The sense is, then, that the basic, controlling faculty of one's nature can be so greatly oppressed by melancholy that one's life can be in danger unless a remedy is found. Bartholomaeus writes that "melancolia . . . is a suspeccioun þat haþ maistrie of þe soule . . ." (Trevisa 1: 349).

336. **Amor Ereos**: the disease of lovesickness. See Chapter 4, pp. 57-61.

338-43. **estimatyfe**: The estimative vertue or faculty, located in one of the three cerebral ventricles or cells. See Commentary 11. 55-56, above. For the connection with lovesickness, see Chapter 4, pp. 59-60. Mary Wack also explains succinctly:

> lovesickness was caused by a misfunctioning of the estimative faculty, which is responsible for judgement: [it misfunctions] because it is misled by an excessively pleasing sense perception, so strong that it eclipses other sense impressions that might contradict it. Hence the estimation judges a form to be better, more noble, and more desirable than all the others: it has "overestimated" the object. (Wack 56)

344. **manye**: often associated with melancholy. See Trevisa 1: 161-62, 1: 349-50, and Commentary, 1. 322, above.

351 ff. The Egyptian's liveliness and persistance may be compared to that of Pandarus, Troilus 1.617 ff. Cf. especially Fabula 360 and Troilus 1.729 ff., Fabula 366-67 and Troilus 1.619-20.

413. The line is almost directly translated from Peter Alfonsi: "Ex hac est mihi mors et ex hac mea vita" (Schleich and Zupitza 18). Cf. Temple of Glas: "my life, my deþ and eke my cure / Is in hir hond . . ." (590-91) and "al vertues be portreid in hir face" (6/8).

446-47. See note to 11. 697-707 below.

481. **A bettir wyff / was nevir / at al assay**: There was never, under any circumstances, a better wife. Here, though it looks like a plural adjective modifying a singular noun, **al** means "every, each and every, every or any kind of" (MED 3). See MED 3 for other examples of this use of "al" and 1. 190 of this poem, **with al herte entier**.

484-86. The lines are antiphrastic. For woman as the target of this satirical device, see "Ballade per antiphrasim" (Minor Poems 2: 432) and "Beware of doubleness" (Minor Poems 2: 438). Lydgate also employs standard antifeminist criticisms in, for example, "Ballade on an Ale Seller" (Minor Poems 2: 429), "Examples Against women" (Minor Poems 2: 442), "The Pain and Sorrow of an Evil Marriage" (Minor Poems 2: 456) and

parts of the Fall of Princes, some of them excerpted in Harley 2251 (see Chapter 2, p. 16). For a recent discussion of medieval antifeminism (and its application to two literary characters often associated with it, Chaucer's Merchant and Wife of Bath), see Jill Mann, Geoffrey Chaucer, 48-86.

488-89. make experience: have the experience of. Although the MED glosses **maken experience** as "to make an investigation or experiment of" (MED 2), a more appropriate interpretation is provided by the third MED definition of **experience** as "personal or practical experience, practise," for which ll. 488-89 are given as illustration. To paraphrase, "when men give them offense, women love it not that men experience their meekness." The implication is that women will respond in a manner opposite to **lownesse**, or meekness. Cf. these antiphrastic lines in Resoun and Sensuallyte: "Recorde I take of her husbondys / That knowe best experience / Of her mekenesse and pacience" (qtd. by Pearsall, Lydgate 118).

497-501. Cf. Lydgate's Complaint of a Lover's Life (Poems, ed. Norton-Smith 47): "But who shal helpe me now to compleyn? / Or who shal now my stile guy or lede?" (176-77). Norton-Smith notes this as "the rhetorical figure invocatio" (168); it is also helpful to see these and the following lines as a kind of "modesty topos," whereby the author confesses his trepidation regarding the task which lies ahead (Curtius 83-84).

502-3. Medusa: in Greek mythology, one of the three Gorgons who had serpents for hair and eyes that turned onlookers into stone. There is a pun here on **stoon** and the two meanings of **stonyng** as astonishment, stupefaction or paralysis, numbness. The word "stunned" nicely illustrates both meanings.

505-9. In Greek mythology, Megaera and Tisiphone are two of the three vengeful Erinys or Furies (the other is Alecto), sent from the underworld to punish crime. Myrrha was cursed by Aphrodite with an incestuous love for her father; fleeing his anger, she was changed into a myrrh tree. Cf. Temple of Glas 956-63, especially 961: "Nou lete 3oure teris into myn inke reyne," and Complaint of a Lover's Life 178-82, esp. 178-79: "O Nyobe, let now thi teres reyn / Into my pen." Cf. also Troilus 1.6-10 and 4.22-24 for invocations to the Furies; in the first instance Thesiphone specifically is singled out. For Alecto, Lydgate substitutes Myrrha, whose tears are also used in Troilus 4.1134-41 to illustrate bitter sorrow.

530. multiphary: The word is apparently unique; see MED.

533-36. Cf. Boece, "For in alle adversites of fortune the moost unzeely kynde of contrarious fortune is to han ben weleful" (2, pr. 4: 7-9). See also Troilus 3.1625-28 and Dante, Inferno 5: 121-23. Cf. also Fabula ll. 566-7.

555. of the peeple fable: Apparently, a unique usage of **fable**; see MED.

568. thrust: thirst. According to the OED, from 1200-1590 the metathetic **thrist, thrust** was interchangable with **thirst, thurst** (OED **thirst**). Although we could read **thrust** as "thrust" (**thrust**, early ME **þrusten**, and **threst**, OE **þræstan** were treated by 1200 as much the same word; see OED **threst**), "thirst" is more consistent with the sense of the line. **sweth to**: although both previous editors emend this phrase, probably because it is possible that scribal error might be responsible for the appearance of **sweth** twice in two lines, the MS reading of 568-9, "Now hunger, a distasteful thirst, attacks me, unexpectedly follows my past abundance," is perfectly appropriate.

574. for-whirlyd: According to the MED, the prefix **for** with past participles usually has intensive force (MED **for**). The effect here is thus of an intense, vigorous revolution, like that of a weathervane, an appropriate metaphor for the merchant's confusion and dismay. The noun modified by **for-whirlyd**, however, is technically **fulle**, which is placed in a clause figuratively describing the waning of the merchant's fortunes. But the sense of the two lines, if we take **fulle** as the subject of **forwhirlyd**, would be badly compromised (can a metaphorical **fulle** which is on the wane be whirled about vigorously like a weathervane?). It is better to consider the I of l. 571 as the subject, taking line 573 as parenthetical. **mvaunt**: From OF **muant**, ppl. of **muer** (MED **muaunt**). Another unique word, although the noun, **muaunce** (change, mutation) is found in Barbour's Bruce 1.134 and Caxton's Ovid's Metamorphises xiv.xii (OED **muaunce**). **fane**: the weather vane was often used as a symbol of fickleness or mutability (MED 3).

578. Cf. Temple of Glas for similarities in phrasing: "Now vp nov dovne with wind it is so blowe / So am I possid and almost ouerþrowe" (607-8). These lines in turn echo Fabula 532 and 563.

582-88. the: thee. The pronoun must refer either to **worldly blisse** (perhaps a synonym for fortune) whom the merchant has directly addressed in l. 565, or the world in general, the subject of the immediately preceding stanza. **Than**: then, adv. of time.

589. modesty topos. See above, Commentary to 497-501.

603-609. The reference is to Seneca's moral epistle on Providence. The entire essay is relevant, but see especially 2.6-7 and 3.3:

> Non fert ullum ictum inlaesa felicitas; at cui adsidua fuit cum incommodis suis rixa, callum per iniurias duxit nec ulli malo cedit, sed etiam si cecidit de genu pugnat. Miraris tu, si deus ille bonorum amantissimus, qui illos quam optimos esse atque excellentissimos uult, fortunam illis cum qua exerceantur adsignat? Ego uero non miror, si aliquando impetum capiunt spectandi magnos uiros conluctantis cum aliqua calamitate.

(2: 6-7)

> "Nihil" inquit [Demetrius] "mihi uidetur infelicius eo cui nihil umquam euenit aduersi." Non licuit enim illi se experiri. Vt ex uoto illi fluxerint omnia, ut ante uotum, male tamen de illo di iudicauerunt. . . . (3: 3)

610-15. From Seneca's 39th letter to Lucilius:

> Magni animi est magna contemnere ac mediocria malle quam nimia; illa enim utilia vitaliaque sunt, at haec eo quod superfluunt nocent. Sic segetem nimia sternit ubertas, sic rami onere franguntur, sic ad maturitatem non pervenit nimia fecunditas. Idem animis quoque evenit quos immoderata felicitas rumpit, qua non tantum in aliorum iniuriam sed etiam in suam utuntur. (103)

642. **preeve his freend at neede**: proverbial. See Whiting F634. See also Chapter 4, pp. 67-68.

662. **for-mat**: The adjective **mat**, meaning "dejected, discouraged" with the prefix **for**. The OED notes that the prefix **for** gives an adjective the sense of an absolute superlative OED 10 (**for** pref. 1). The combination, meaning "thoroughly dejected and discouraged" (see Glossary) is apparently Lydgate's innovation.

664-65. The merchant's position is here offered as a **myrour**, that is, as an example, illustration, and warning to those who might consider themselves exempt from fortune's machinations. The use of the mirror as exemplary and/or admonitory has a long history; see Grabes's The Mutable Glass, especially Chapters 3 and 4, for examples. The full title of The Mirror for Magistrates, the sixteenth-century continuation of Lydgate's Fall of Princes, illustrates this conception of the mirror: "A Myrroure for Magistrates. Wherein may be seen by example of other, with howe greuous plages vices are punished: and howe frayle and vnstable worldly prosperitie is founde, even of those, whom Fortune seemeth most highly to fauour. Faelix quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum" (Farnham 281).

669. **she nolde the lasse wonde**: she would not hesitate in the least.

667. **with sleight i-cast**: with planned slyness and deceit.

678. **westyng**: present participle from the verb **west**, used chiefly of the setting sun. See OED **west** and **westing**, ppl. Lydgate's use of the word is not recorded under either heading; under **westing**, the earliest example is from 1669. Although Schleich and Zupitza emend the word to **westyn**, apparently because they think it may be a scribal error (59), the word is perfectly appropriate syntactically and contextually.

673-74. **nature . . . which is of god / mynystir and vikeer**: For nature as God's vicar on earth, see, for example, Chaucer's PF (379) and PhyT (20), and the Romance of the Rose (16782-87, 19505-12). The main source is Alain de Lille's De Planctu Naturae, especially Pr. 4. On the

goddess Natura, see George Economou, The Goddess Natura in Medieval Literature.

675-86. On this astronomical imagery, see Chapter 4, pp. 74-75.

693. evir among: again and again; always. See MED 9.

697-707. The story that Jupiter placed two tonnes (casks), one of joy and one of sorrow, in his cellar, is in Boethius 2, pr. 2. The ultimate known source is Homer's Iliad. See Chapter 4, p. 69.

711. ne lest but litel lawh or smyle: literally, "he cared nothing but little (to) laugh or smile" (perhaps a conflation of **ne list of**, "to care nothing for, to have no taste for" ; and **ne . . . but**, "only"). The sense, of course, is that he cared very little to laugh or smile.

743-46. Possibly translated from Boethius, Consolation. See Chapter 4, pp. 69-70.

747. [feere]: MS **fire**. In some counties, including Suffolk, **feer(e** is a variant spelling of **fire**. See Linguistic Atlas, Vol. 4, County Dictionary, 170. The scribe may have seen **feere** in his exemplar and written **fire**. On the other hand, he may simply have changed the word to rhyme with **desire** in l. 746, forgetting momentarily that it needed to rhyme with **heere** in l. 744.

802-809. An expansion of the proverbial "mordre wol out." See Whiting M806, PrT 576, and the NPT 3050-57. The idea of innocent blood crying out is found in Gen. 4: 10.

859-68. These lines may refer to a contemporary situation; see Chapter 3, pp. 52-53.

SELECT GLOSSARY

The glossary includes words whose usage, meaning, or spelling differs substantially from the modern equivalent, as well as words no longer in use and those with a specialized meaning. All occurrences and forms of each word are included, each entry generally following the order of the word's appearance in the text. Verbs, however, are given under the infinitive form, if it appears in the text, followed by the forms of the first, second, and third person indicative singular, plural, preterite, and so on. More than three occurrences of the same word in the same form are indicated by "etc."

Most glosses are followed by a reference to the appropriate Middle English Dictionary (MED) or Oxford English Dictionary (OED) definition; for example, "MED 3" after the gloss on abayssht refers the reader to the third meaning given for the verb abaishen in the MED. In this case, the dictionary head-word does not appear because it is fairly obvious; in a case such as bordoun, however, the head-word does appear in brackets to help the reader locate the appropriate definition. A bracketed number indicates more than one of the same head-word in either of the dictionaries; see, for example, the gloss for beuere, which shows there to be at least two MED entries for this word, of which this occurrence fits the second. In a case like costys, the gloss comes from the first meaning given under the second appearance of the head-word cost in the MED. For leve, two glossary entries are necessary, each containing a reference within brackets to the correct location of the definition in the MED. Multiple definition numbers separated by semi-colons, as, for example, in cast, correspond to different meanings under the dictionary head-word.

Normally only the definition number is given. Occasionally sub-meanings, indicated by bracketed letters (see, for example, nature), are given to prevent confusion. Unbracketed letters appearing with the definition numbers are not sub-meanings, but are used by the dictionary in question with words like drawe or estate, where there are many different kinds and shades of meaning.

Where there is no reference to any dictionary, the head-word is straightforward and/or only one dictionary definition exists; for example, the word attenuat appears in the MED just as it appears in the text of the poem, and the MED records only one main meaning. Occasionally the dictionary reference is omitted because, once the word is glossed, no further reference should be necessary. For example, once ye is glossed as eye, the reader should need no further help. Definitions from other than the MED or OED are so noted.

Past participles beginning with i appear under the word-letter itself, and words beginning with non-vocalic v appear under u. Contractions, such as tharowe, thoccident, appear under t for ease of reference.

Abbreviations

acc. accusative, adj. adjective, adv. adverb, conj. phr., conjunctive phrase, fig. figurative, ger. gerund, imp. imperative, med. medical, n. noun, p.p. past participle, phil. philosophical, pl. plural, poss. possessive, pr. present, pr.p. present participle, prn. pronoun, prt.

preterite, rflx. reflexive, s. singular, subj. subjunctive, suprl., superlative, vb. verb.

abayssht p.p. abashed, embarrassed 385. MED 3.

abouht p.p. acquired, earned; **ful dere abouht** hard-won, dearly paid for 565. MED 2.

abrayd prt. 3 s. started from sleep, awoke suddenly 728. MED 3.

abroche vb. tap or broach (a cask), 706; **abrochyd** prt. 3 s. 446. MED 1.

abrood adv. spread all over, into all parts 511. MED 1.

accesse n. attack of illness or fever 273. MED 1.

accord n. complete agreement, good will 186; **ben at acc.** be of one and the same opinion, unanimous 72. MED 1.

accordement n. reconciliation, friendliness, 440; **of oon acc.** united in spirit 96. MED 1.

accordid p.p. agreed in sentiment or opinion 478. MED 3.

affiaunce n. assurance, confidence 387. MED 1.

afforn, afore, aforn prep. before, in front of 753, 790, 843; adv. before, formerly 158, 620.

affray n. fear, consternation, dismay 116. MED 2.

aggregat p.p. gathered together 5. MED 1.

algatys adv. in all ways, entirely 892. MED 1.

anoon adv. at once, immediately 71, 95, 143, etc. MED 1.

apparaille n. furnishings, trappings, accoutrements 157. MED 1.

appayed p.p. content; **wel appayed** be pleased or delighted 150. MED 2.

appeyred p.p. having suffered damage or loss; diminished, 634. MED 2.

aquosite n. the liquid constituent of the body, or overabundance of it 327.

armes n. insignia of knight, nobleman etc. coat of arms 868.

arrayed p.p. adorned, decorated 148. MED 4.

arrest n. pause, halt 229. MED 1.

arriht adv. indeed, assuredly 264. MED 3.

assaut n. affliction (as by misfortune or trouble) 578. MED 2.

assay n. testing of character or personal traits 609; an attempt, an effort 218, 643; **at al assay** at every trial, under any circumstances 481. MED 2, 6, 7. See Commentary 1. 481.

assayl vb 900; **assaileth** pr. 3 s. 576; **assayled** p.p. 666. MED ?.

assondi- adv. part, part company, be separated 126, 889. ME[illegible].

asswage imp. leave off, desist 874. MED 2.

asterte pr. 3 s. (of an utterance) slipped out inadvertently or indiscretely 185. MED 2.

astonyd p.p. upset, dumfounded, perplexed; **for astonyd** in bewilderment 729. MED 2.

attenuat p.p. thin in consistency, watery 323.

atteyne vb. attain, achieve 132. MED 1.

audience n. spoken discourse or message; **by audience** by word of mouth, hearsay 85. MED 4.

availe vb. help, assist 587. MED 1.

avale vb. reduce in rank or fortune, humble 517. MED 5.

avaunce vb. promote 390. MED 1.

ay adv. constantly, unceasingly 284. MED 1.

Baldac Bagdad 40.

bale n. threatened evil, danger, misfortune, ruin 124. MED 2.

ballaunce n. pair of balanced scales (fig.) 216; risk **hangyng in ballaunce** be in jeopardy or danger 124; uncertainty **hangid in ballaunce** vacillated, wavered 833. MED 1, 5, 6. See Commentary 1. 124.

be(en) vb. be 33, 89, 110, etc.; **am** pr. 1 s. 150, 225, 251, etc.; **art** pr. 2 s. 416, 744, 745; **be** pr. 3 s. 80, **is** 17, 22, 24 etc.; **be** pr. 1 pl. 369, **ar** 580; **be** pr. 2 pl. 10; **be** pr. 3 pl. 76, 77, 217, etc., **been** 72, 88, 186, etc., **ar** 63, **arn** 345; **be** p.p. 736; **be** imp. s. 423, **beth** 181; **be** pr. subj. 1 s. 632, pr. subj. 2 s. 396, 397, pr. subj. 3 s. 362, 395, 907, 910.

be prep. by 151.

beede vb. proclaim, announce, make known 585. MED 3.

be fel prt. 3 s. came to pass, came about 716. MED 2.

behynden adv. of persons: **ben bihinde** negligent, slow, backward; **nouht were behynden** prt. 3 pl. were not negligent, etc. 280. MED 4a.

beseyne p.p. equipped, decorated; **weel beseyne** well-furnished 162.

beshet p.p. **beshet withoute** shut out, excluded 553. MED 2.

besynesse n. anxiety, vexation 577. MED 4.

bet adj. better 594. MED 1.

beuere n. beverage 710. MED 2 (**bever** 2).

Boetes constellation or the star Arcturus, Bootes 683. See Chapter 4 74-75.

bollyng ger. (fig.) a morbid swelling 227.

boone n. prayer or request made in prayer 637. MED 1.

boote n. relief, deliverance, help 130; cure of disease or wound, recovery 280. MED 2, 5.

bordoun p.p. overthrown, overcome 331, 719. MED 4 (**beren**).

borwe vb. become surety for, go bail for 753. MED 2.

bothen adj. **her bothen** 195, **her bothys** 93, of both of them. MED 1.

bothys see **bothen**.

bountevous adj. generous, beneficient, liberal, kind; good, virtuous worthy 3. MED 2, 3.

bydist pr. 2 s. delay, put off 809. MED 5.

can vb. be able to 80, 83, 168 etc; know **I can no bet diffence** I know no better defence 594; **love can no friendship** love knows no friendship, is not compatible with friendship 255. See Commentary 1. 255.

can vb. modal verb stressing fact of act or event; **euery thyng can drawe** everthing does, will draw 83.

cast prt. 3 s. placed forcibly in, thrown into 526, 751; **castith** pr. 3 s. calculate, reckon 19; **i-cast** p.p. planned, plotted 667. MED 16, 20, 24. See also Commentary 1. 667.

castyng ger. **c. of an ye** glance 230. MED 3.

catel n. property: goods, treasure, money, etc. 72. MED 1.

certis adv. certainly 395.

chapmen n. merchant's agents or factors 92. MED 2.

chargith pr. 3 s. cares, regards as important; **litil chargith** cares little about 259. MED 111.

chaunbre, chaunbyr n. chamber, specifically bedchamber 148, 219, 353. MED 1.

chaunpioun n. champion, victor 691. MED 4.

cheer(e) n. gesture or act indicative of attitude; **vnfeyned ch.** sincere show of affection 139; gladness, happiness 437; facial expression 759. MED 3, 5, 2.

cicatrice n. scar of a healed wound or sore 228.

citryn adj. yellowish, sallow; here probably "colre citrine," a variety of unnatural colre resulting from mixture of the humour colre with thin phlegm 307. MED 2. See Commentary 11. 306-308.

clarioun n. trumpet 584. MED 1.

cleene adv. completely, fully, entirely 381, 788. MED 3.
adj. morally clean, pure, innocent 191. MED 2. See also Commentary 1. 191.

clense vb. separate 704. MED 1.

cliket n. latch of a door or gate, a locking latch 61.

clubbyd adj. thickened, clogged 510.

Colre n. bile, one of the four primary humours 306. See Commentary l. 272 and ll. 306-308.

comprehende vb. describe, explain 391. MED 3.

concours n. course (of stars, sun etc.) 677; **by concours of the lawe** in accordance with law code 777. MED 3.

confederat p.p. united, bound in friendship 186. MED 2.

confortatives n. food, medicine giving strength, comfort, invigoration 278. MED 2.

contek n. conflict, quarrel, brawl 717. MED 1

contrarious adj. opposite 77. MED 1.

contryve vb. plan, devise, invent, produce 866. MED 1.

coost n. direction; **in no c.** not anywhere 255; **euery c.** everywhere 70; **coostys of the firmament** divisions, quarters of the heavens 19. MED 4 (**coste**). See Commentary l. 19.

costys n. costs, expenses 435. MED 1 (**cost** n. 2).

corrupcioun n. corruption, here, misfunctioning 337.

costage n. expenditure 425. MED 1.

couchyd p.p. laid, put down in 697; **cowchyd** prt. 3 s. lay in bed 205. MED 3, 1.

cours n. one course of a meal 160; progression or development, course of disease 341. MED 13, 9.

coye vb. pacify, soothe 452.

darte n. spear or arrow 534; **Cupidis darte** Cupid's fiery arrow of love 229. MED 1, 3.

dampned p.p. declared guilty, condemned to death 765, 777, 854. MED 2.

deele vb. divide, distribute 217. MED 2.

deeme vb. form judgement or opinion, infer 270; **dempten** pr. 3 pl. judge 608. MED 10.

defawte n. flaw, error 319. MED 2.

degre(e) n. rank, position in hierarchy, social condition 542, 593, 655, 672, 909; measure of heat **in oo degre** temperature stayed the same 284; **by degre** gradually 311. MED 4, 9, 2.

descens n. downward movement, setting (of sun, stars, etc) 678. MED 1.

descryve vb. give verbal account, describe 10. MED 1.

despi(h)t n. insult, injury 242; contempt, disdain, or haughtiness 559. MED 3, 1.

deveer n. **dev. doon** do official duty 145; do one's best, make an effort 362. MED 1.

deyntees n. fine food or drink, delicacies 155. MED 4.

discure vb. discover; rflx. to bare oneself, reveal hidden feelings 238. MED 4.

dis(s)ese n. suffering, misery 220; illness 272; harm **ye don him this dis.** you wrong him 766. MED 1, 4.

disguysed p.p. in costume, masked 166. MED 2.

dismyttid p.p. divested 450. MED 1.

disnatural adj. unnatural, wicked 252.

disseuere vb. break up, disrupt, undo 98; **disseueryd** p.p. severed 87. MED 1.

disseveraunce n. parting of lovers, friends 121. MED 1.

disseyvable adj. deceitful, lying, treacherous 256. MED 1.

distemperaunce n. imbalance of humors or qualities 289. MED 1.

divyne vb. state, tell; describe 902. MED 4.

do(on)(e) vb. do, make 145, 358, 362 etc.; **don** pr. 2 s. 766; **doth** pr. 3 s. 65, 213, 222 etc.; **doon** pr. 3 pl. 487; **did** prt. 3 s. 54, 468, 739; **diden** prt. 3 pl. 133; **did** aux. 164, 202, 517 etc.; **i-do, don, doon** p.p. 828, 838, 869; **do** subj. 600, 615, imper. 407, 637.

dolour n. grief, sorrow 464; misery, trouble, hardship 562. MED 2.

domb adj. silent 815. MED 3.

dool n. grief or sorrow 81, 199, 500; pain, suffering 221. MED 1, 2.

doolful adj. sad 514.

doute n. doubt, uncertainty 179; danger **my liff lith al in dowte** my life is in peril 248. MED 1, 4.

doute vb. be anxious or fearful; **fu litel wer to doute** there would be no need to be anxious 861; **doch vs to doute** makes us doubt 578. MED 2.

drawe vb. be attracted to, move towards 83; **drawith** pr. 3 s. 81; **he drouh hym** prt. 3 s. rflx. he withdrew 528; **drawe** p.p. taken, led, dragged 776; **draw** pr. subj. 2 pl. disembowel 734. MED 2b, 2a, 1f.

dreed n. timidity 385; dread, anxiety, 578; warning, threat 693. MED 1, 2, 5.

drye vb. of a person, to shrivel, shrink, wither 215. MED 5.

drye adj. see **tisyk**.

dulle vb. become dull or dazed 710. MED 3.

durst pr. 1 s. dare 243. MED 1.

dygestyues n. digestive medicine 275. MED 2.

effymo/era n. fever or feverish condition of short duration, as distinct from Etyk and Putrida fever 286, 288. See Commentary 285-87, l. 288ff.

elat adj. exalted, lofty, noble 663. MED 2.

electioun n. free choice 873. MED 1.

empeere n. empiri; the highest of the heavenly spheres 685.

emprise n enterprise, undertaking 539. MED 1.

enclyne pr. 3 s. incline, bend down 612. MED 1.

endite pr. 1 s. write 465. MED 1.

endure vb. bear up under, stand 601, pr. 1 s. suffer 237; **endurith** pr. 3 s. lasts 26; pr. 3 pl. strengthen, fortify 704. MED 3, 1, 2.

enlwmyned p.p. adorned, embellished with fig. lang. 512. MED 3.

enpreent n. imprint, mark 867.

enspeere imp. enlighten, inspire wisdom or insight 633. MED 4.

entieer adj. enti[illegible] 1. See Commentary 1. 190.

enteernesse n. complete loyalty, devotion 860.

entent n. will, wish 191. MED 3. See Commentary 1. 191.

entircomownyd p.p. shared, had or used in common 93. MED 2.

entirmedlyd p.p. mixed, mingled 694. MED 1.

entirparte vb. share with one another 211.

entrete vb. give acccount of 457. MED 3.

enviroun adv. about in every direction, throughout 30. MED 4.

envyrou[illegible]yng pr.p. surrounding 262. MED 4.

erlich adv. early 479; **erlich and late** all the time, always. MED 1.

erst adj. **than at erst** not until then 883. MED 2.

erwhyle adv. formerly 709. MED 4b **(er)**.

esta(a)t n. of social, political, or religious status, relative condition, position, or rank 2, 548; condition or state with reference to health 281; person's position in society, station; rank or degree; social class 664. MED 11a, 2, 10a.

estimatyfe adj. **vertu estimatiff** faculty of reason 338. See Commentary 11. 55-56, 11. 338-43.

esynesse n. gentleness, mercy 801.

etyk n. continuous or recurring wasting fever 287; **etikes** 310. MED 1 **(etyk 2)**. See Commentary 11. 285-87, 11. 288ff.

euerydeel adv. entirely, in full detail 495. MED 2.

evacuatyues n. medicine or remedy promoting elimination of superabundant or morbid humors 277.

ewre n. destiny, fate, fortune 602. MED 1.

exaltat p.p. raised high, made eminent or illustrious 597.

expert adj. well-informed, excelling 264; med. of a remedy or treatment: approved, appropriate 277; having had personal experience 495, 712. MED 2, 4, 1.

fable n. subject of idle talk or chatter 555. MED 3. See Commentary l. 555.

fane n. weather vane 574. MED 3. See Commentary l. 574.

fantastical n. faculty of imagination 56. See Commentary ll. 55-56.

fame n. reputation, renoun 57 585. MED 2.

fare n. provision (of food, entertainment, hospitality), feasting 160. MED 8.

fay n. faith; **by my fay** truly, assuredly 371. MED 8.

fayn adj. desirous of or eager for something 147. MED 3.

fecunde vb. to make flourish 27.

feere n. equal, peer 70, 747. MED 3.

feffe pr. 1 s. endow, invest 180. MED 1.

fel prt. 3 s. see **be fel**.

ferre adv. far 21, 37, 64, 484, etc.

ferre-i-fet p.p. brought from afar 58.

festrith pr. 3 s. festers 227. MED 1.

fet prt. 3 s. found 56. MED 4.

feuere, fevere n. fever 122, 202, 283 etc. MED 1.

feyne vb. restrain 462. MED 8.

firmament n. the sky, the heavens 19. MED 1. See Commentary l. 19.

fonde vb. try, attempt 137, 647. MED 7.

fonge vb. suffer, endure 817. MED 4.

forberith imp. bear with, tolerate 13. MED 1.

for-blowe p.p. (fig.) puffed up, inflated 563.

forby adv. by, nearby 758. MED 1.

for-dempt p.p. convicted, condemned 755. MED 1.

fordoo vb. destroy 483. MED 5.

forfarith pr. 3 s. disfigures 445. MED 3 (**forfaren** 1).

for-mat adj. thoroughly dejected and discouraged 662. MED 2 (**mat**). See Commentary 1. 662.

for-poosyd p.p. (fig.) agitated (by emotions, misfortunes, etc.), severely troubled 532. MED (**forpossed**).

forwandryd p.p. exhausted with wandering 662.

for-whirlyd p.p. (fig.) be turned around violently and swiftly; revolve rapidly 574. OED 2 (**whirl**). See Commentary 1. 574.

foryetilnesse n. forgetfulness; carelessness, neglect 60.

frigidite n. coldness 324.

fulle n. full of the moon (fig.) 573; **at the fulle** fully, entirely 708. MED 3, 1. See Commentary 1. 574.

fyne vb. put an end to, stop 118, 737; pr. 3 pl. end, perh. in sense of end lives, die 903. MED 3, 2 (**finen** 1).

fyn n. end 754. MED 1.

gaff see **yiue**

galle n. bitter taste or drink 127. MED 2.

garnementis n. garments, clothing 166.

gendryd p.p. produced, brought forth 324. MED 3.

gentillesse n. nobility of character, manners; generosity, kindness 430. MED 2.

gladly adv. of customary or habitual action 39; readily, easily 69; usually, as a rule 295, 314.

goute n. gout; **curraunt goute** gout that passes from joint to joint or from one part of the body to another 579.

i-grave vb. carve, engrave 867; **grave** p.p. (fig.) 52. MED 3.

grees n. steps; **no grees i-steyred** no steps arranged in a staircase 635. MED 1.

ground n. source, cause 122, 402. MED 6.

groundement n. cause or origin 306.

guye vb. guide 389, 498, imp. 632. MED 1.

guyere n. guide 453. (MED **gidour**)

gyf see **yive**

gynnere n. beginner, source 402.

ha see **haue**

habiriownys n. habergeons; mail jackets 668.

habounde adj. exist in great quantity, be rich in 28.

habundance n. abundance, prosperity 34, 569. MED 1.

halvendeel n. half 877. MED 1.

han see **haue**

hat see **haue**

hauhtesse n. pride, haughtiness 561.

hauhteyne adj. proud, haughty 649. MED 1.

haue vb. have 266, 802, **han** 417, 756, **ha** 667; **haue** pr. 1 s. 141, 151, 179, pr. 3 pl. 215; pr. 3 s. **hat** 871, **hath** 52, 86, 91 etc.; **han** pr. 3 pl. 127, 559, 726; **haue** pr. subj. 3 s. 339, imper. 182, 420, 798; **had** prt. 3 s. 198, 376, **hadde** 45, 94, 177 etc.; **had** p.p. 567, 628.

heer, heere, her adv. here 182, 294, 417, 724, 885, 887, 888.

heere vb. hear 415, 744; **heryn** pr. 3 pl. hear of 130. MED 1, 5.

heet n. **heet natural** heat in the body necessary for life 312. MED 3. See Commentary ll. 309-315.

hem see **they**.

hent p.p. seized 773. MED 1.

her see **they**.

herberwelees adj. without shelter or lodging 714.

hir see **she**.

humblesse n. humility 626.

humour n. one of the four fluids (blood, phlegm, choler, melancholy) which form and nourish the body 272, 296, 302, etc. See Commentary 1. 272.

humydite n. natural and necessary fluid of the body; **radical humydite** fundamental, essential bodily fluid 313. MED 2. See Commentary 11. 309-315.

i-feere adv. **alle i-feere** all together or altogether 524. Both senses can apply here. MED 1, 5.

i-lich adv. unceasingly, constantly **i-lich new** 486, **alway i-lich newe** 908; to the same degree, equally 704. MED 3, 2.

immutable adj. unchanging, steadfast 386.

impressioun n. an imprinting of sense data on mind or heart 52, 339. See Chapter 4, pp. 59-61.

indigence n. poverty, desitution 526.

infect p.p. rendered suspect, questionable 672; infected, poisoned 864. MED 3, 1.

innat adj. innate 4.

interpollat adj. intermittent 283.

iowellys n. jewels, valuables 458. MED 1.

irrigat adj. watered, flooded 24.

iupartye n. uncertainty, doubt; **I stond in Iupartye** I am uncertain 500. MED 3.

iustys n. jousts (for sport/prizes) 436. MED 2.

kalendys n. beginning, harbinger 130. MED 2.

kynde n. kind of thing; category, general type 73, 270, 309; personified nature 75 390. MED 9, 8.

label n. (heraldic) band on a coat of arms, often added by eldest son 868.

las n. net, noose, or snare; with **dethe**, death's grasp 741. MED 4.

lasse n. **to moore and lasse** to one and all, everybody 159. adv. less 619, 669.

leede vb. lead 641, pr. 3 pl. 192; **leedith** pr. 3 s. 304, 544; **lad** prt. 3 s. led 149, 461; **ledde** prt. 3 pl. 474; **lad** p.p. 757, 778, 791, 871, **i-lad** 776.

leete vb. forsake, desert 259; cease 406; pr. 3 subj. s. give up, relinquish 703; **lat** prt. 3 s. allow, permit 171; **lat** pr. 2 s. 356, 509, 631, **let** 825 830; with selected verbs: **lat me see** tell me 364, **let be** cease 824, **let hem goo** released them 870. MED 6, 11, 3, 8, 18.

leche n. physician 236, pl. **leechis** 267, **leechys** 316. MED 1.

leryd p.p. learned, educated 80. MED 1.

lest adj. least 228. MED 3b.

leve vb. rely on, trust 256. MED 3 **(leven 4)**.

leve pr. 1 s. leave 491, **left** prt. 1 s. 497, p.p. 219; **he lefte be** prt. 3 s. he took no action 656. MED 4, 1 **(leven 1)**.

liggith pr. 3 s. lies dead 732, **lith** exists 248. MED 3, 10.

lihte vb. gladden 152. MED 1b.

lihte adj. merry, joyful 217, 423, 695. MED 7.

lihte n. light 64, 119.

lissyd p.p. relieved, alleviated 442. MED 1.

lissyng ger. relieving, soothing 641.

list, lyst pr. 2 s. wish, desire 407, 689; pr. 3 s. 390; pr. 3 pl. 31; prt. 3 s. 617; **lest** prt. 3 s. **he ne lest** he did not care 711. MED 2, 3 **(listen 1)**. See Commentary 1. 711.

list, lyst, lest conj. lest 173, 489, 657, 900.

lyst 2 imp. listen 467.

loke pr. 3 pl. look 63. See Commentary 1. 63.

lucifeer the morning star 686.

lust n. desire, will 625, 775, **lustys** 692. MED 1.

lyst imp. listen 467. MED **(listen 2)**.

makyng ger. act of writing or composing 501. MED 5a.

malencolye n. mental disorder caused by excessive black bile; may be brought on by love, disappointment, etc. 322, 331. Trevisa Glossary 3: 276; MED 3. See Commentary 1. 322.

maneer n. **in any maneer** in any way 293; deportment, bearing 384. MED 3b, 5.

maneeres n. manorial estates 170. MED (maner 1).

manye n. mania; mental derangement characterized by frenzy, delusions, and violence; in this case brought on by lovesickness and melancholy 344. See Commentary 1. 322, 1. 344.

mateer n. subject matter of literary work; literary material 501 514. MED 5d.

medleth pr. 3 s. intermingles 55. MED 2a.

Meduse Medusa 502. See Commentary 1. 502.

meede n. reward 586. MED 2 (mede 4).

meete adj. dear, agreeable 405. MED 1.

Meggera Megaera 505. See Commentary 505-509.

memorial n. faculty of memory 55. MED 1. See Commentary 11. 55-56.

menee n. household, household servants and officers 145 263 552. MED 1 (meine).

merciable adj. generous, charitable 6; merciful, compassionate 845.

mercymony n. goods, merchandise 31.

merveyle pr. 3 pl. filled with wonder, surprise, puzzlement 282. MED 1.

merveyle n. wonderment, astonishment 504. MED 4.

mesoure, mesure n. proper proportion, balance 298, 615; **mesuryd** temperate, moderate 388. MED 7, 5.

Mirre Myrrha 509. See Commentary 11. 505-509.

molest n. trouble, affliction 577.

moorne vb. grieve, mourn pr. 2 s. 886; **moornyng** pr.p. 470, ger. 463. MED 1a.

morowhil n. period of time around or before sunrise 685. MED 2 **(morwe)**.

morwe n. morrow; **by the morwe** in the morning 115; **on the next morwe** on the next day 751. MED 1, 3.

mot, must, mvst vb. must 62, 101, 501, 505, etc. **mot needys** must necessarily 62. MED 2c **(moten)**.

mowhes n.pl. tricks, deceptions 581. MED 2 **(moue)**.

multipharye adj. of many kinds 530. See Commentary 1. 530.

mvaunt adj. (of a weather vane) shifting, blowing in all directions 574. See Commentary 574.

myscheef n. misfortune, affliction 129, 352, 367; poverty, destitution 525, **at myscheef** in need 559. MED 1a, 2.

nature n. temperament, character 4; natural law as the norm of human experience and the basis of probability; as an ineluctable force; quasi-personified 74, 84, 343; vital forces, state of bodily equilibium 330; personified 392 673. MED 4, 2(a), 2(b), 7.

naturesse n. natural love, fellow feeling 771.

necessite n. phil. inevitability, fate, predestination 100; state of being in need or hardship 570. See Commentary 1. 100.

new adj. ?recent 122; unfamiliar 539; ever fresh, unchanging 486, 908 (see **i-lich**). MED 2. adv. again, anew, afresh 545, 873. MED 1, 3, 2.

nolde see **wil**.

norshyng ger. act or process of providing nourishment 27. MED 1.

nouht prn. naught, nothing 98, 483; adv. not 280. MED 1a, 1.

nyl, nylt see **wil**.

oppilat p.p. blocked or obstructed 325.

opposicioun n. antidote or remedy 333.

oppressith pr. 3 s. weighs down, overburdens 613. MED 1.

ordeyne vb. prepare 164; **ordeyned** p.p. prescribed 333, foreordained, destined 344. MED 2, 7, 6.

orisoun n. prayer 638. MED 1.

ouht prn. aught, anything 94; **for ouht they cowd espye** as far as they could see 321; adv. in any way, to any extent 300. MED 1.

overt adj. of falsehood: revealed 519.

ovir lade p.p. overloaded, weighed down 610.

ovirlordshipith pr. 3 s. exercises dominion over; overpowers 340. OED.

paas n. rate of speed; **a gret paas** quickly, swiftly 65. MED 2.

paramentis n.pl. ornamentation, decorations 163.

paramoures n.pl. sexual passion, romantic love 173. MED 2.

parauenture adv. perhaps 367. MED 1.

partable adj. tolerable 315. MED (**portable**).

passaunt adj. surpassing, excellent 15, 163, 435.

pelotes n. med. pill or bolus 277.

pensiffheed n. care, anxiety; vexation 874.

perturbaunce n. mental distress, agitation 292.

Physyk n. medical science 301. MED 1.

pitous adj. merciful, compassionate 6. MED 1.

pitously adv. pitiably, miserably 206.

platly adv. to fullest extent, completely 179; exactly, precisely 698; bluntly, plainly 897.

plentevous adj. abundant 30, 297.

plesaunce n. pleasure 247, 567; sexual desire 462. MED 3, 2a.

pleyne vb. complain 548; **pleynen** pr. 1 s. 245. MED 1.

plonget p.p. plunged 521, **plongid** prt. 3 s. 561.

plye vb. bend, shape 168. MED 1.

poort n. demeanour, deportment 383. MED 1.

poorys n.pl. internal channels for bodily fluids such as blood, urine 270. MED 2 (**pore** n. 1). See Commentary 1. 270.

poudrys n. powders 278.

preef n. experience 604, 625. MED 6.

prees n. crowd, assembly 782. MED 1a.

preeve vb. test worthiness of 618; find out, discover 642; **preevyd** p.p. manifest, evident 898. MED 2, 4, 9.

priuyte n. secret 366; **pryuyte** secret act, sin, thought, etc. 792. MED 2.

probacioun n. testing or trial by adversity 630.

processe n. narrative 456; **maken processe** tell a story, relate 837. MED 3.

profoundid p.p. (of physiological qualities) be immersed 312.

pryked p.p. of amorous instincts: excited, aroused 173. MED 5a.

prymycere n. (fig.) with reference to Lucifer, the morning star 685.

purveiaunce n. provisions; food, equipment, etc. 436. MED 3.

putrefaccioun n. med. decomposition of tissue or fluid in the body 305.

Putrida n. one of three kinds of fever, usually caused by putrefaction of humours 287, 295. See Commentary 11. 285-87, 1. 288.

qualite n. attribute, property, esp. **element qualite, qualite of elementis**, one of the four basic properties composing all material bodies (heat, cold, wetness, dryness) 298 302. Trevisa, Glossary 3:286. See Commentary 11. 295-305.

queeme vb. please 147. MED 1.

quyt p.p. paid, rewarded 448. MED 2.

radical adj. vital, primary 313. (Trevisa, Glossary 1:286). See **humydite** and Commentary 11. 309-315.

rage n. intense or violent emotion, esp. intense sorrow or grief 455, 875. MED 5.

rake imp. cover over; **rake nat in the fyre** do not hide the truth 359. MED 2 **(raken 1)**.

rathest adv. suprl. most readily, most easily 588.

rayeth prt. 3 s. dressed, attired 873. MED 3.

rechchith pr. 3 s. cares, is concerned with; **love rechchith nat** love does not care 257. MED 3 **(recchen 2)**.

reede pr. 1 s. read 1, pr. subj. 3 s. 514, 604; **radde** prt. 1 s. 447.

refut n. relief, comfort 452; refuge 634.

regitiff adj. governing, controlling 330.

relacioun n. report 41. MED 1.

remys adj. dilute, watery 323. MED 1.

repayred p.p. returned 460. MED 1.

reve vb. steal, take away 254. MED 2.

revel n. merrymaking, revelry 166. MED 1.

rewm n. realm 863. MED 1.

rife adj. widespread 866. MED 1.

rihtwys adj. good, holy, just 792. MED 1.

rihtwysnesse n. precepts of God, law, statute 799. MED 1.

routhe, rowthe n. sorrow 511; pity, compassion 320, 798. MED 2, 1.

rowe n. **by rowe** one after the other; **by rowe an hundryd sithe** a hundred times in a row 142. MED 4.

rowte n. group, company 246. MED 1.

ryve vb. tear or split heart with emotion 407. MED 6.

sable adj. black 513.

sad adj. grave, composed 759. MED 4b.

sapience n. wisdom 795.

seche vb. seek 233. MED 1.

seely adj. wretched 589. MED 3.

selle n. cell 63. See Commentary ll. 55-56, l. 63.

semblable n. that which is compatible, suitable 83. MED (**semblable** adj).

Senek Seneca 603. See Commentary ll. 603-609.

sentence n. authoritative teaching, maxim 603. MED 2.

sey see Commentary l. 274.

i-shad p.p. shed 807. MED 7.

she 3 pers. prn. nom. s. 362, 379, 480, etc.; **hir** acc. and dat. 378, 390, 391, poss. adj. 375, 386, 408; **hire** poss. adj. 84.

shent p.p. corrupted, infected 305. OED 3.

siht n. sight 90, 151, 177; opinion, judgement 672. MED 1, 8.

sike vb. sigh 205. MED 1 (**siken** 2).

sike adj. sick 393; as n., sick person 266, 269. MED 4, 8.

sikirnesse n. stability, constancy 214.

Sinochus n. a type of putrid fever 301. See Commentary ll. 295-305.

sith conj. since, because 186, 417, 369, etc. MED **sitthen**.

sithe, sith n. times 142, **oftyn sith** often, repeatedly 899. MED 4.

sitt pr. 3 s. is suitable; impers. **It sitt the nat** it is not appropriate for you 512. MED 14.

slawe p.p. slain 735. MED 3.

sleihte n. guile, deceit 667. MED 2.

socour n. help, remedy 329. MED 1.

soiourne pr. 2 s. sojourn 887.

solennyte n. ceremony; rejoicing, celebration 473. MED 2.

soleyn adj. morose, averse to company 527. MED 3.

solicitude n. care, anxiety 580. MED 1.

somme n. sum, whole 361. MED 3.

somtyme adv. formerly 557. MED 2.

sonde n. God's ordinance 599. MED 1.

sonnere adv. sooner 276, 368. MED 5.

sool adj. alone, 219; solitary, without companions 525, 551. MED 2.

soote adj. sweet 128. MED 1.

soth(e) n. truth 351, 359, 812. MED 1.

sothfastly adv. in truth, really 783.

southfast adj. real, actual 788. MED 1.

sovereyn adj. paramount, highest 109. MED 1.

steiher n. stair 543. MED 1 (steire).

sterte n. **for a sterte** for a time 537. MED 1.

i-steyred p.p. arranged in the form of stairs 635. See **grees**.

stond pr. 1 s. stand 500; **stood** prt. 3 s. 149, 671; **stonde** p.p. withstood assault (fig.) 667. MED 1, 6.

stonyng ger. astonishment, amazement 503. MED 1. See also Commentary ll. 502-3.

stoor n. possessions, goods; **kept for his owne stoor** kept for his own use 244. MED 1.

streihte adj. narrow 327. OED 2.

stynt pr. subj. 3 pl. or prt. 3 pl. pause, cease proceedings 763. MED 4.

succes[s]yf adj. **be forth successyf** proceeds, continues 341.

suffisaunce n. abundance, plenty 35. MED 1.

supposayle n. supposition, conjecture 348.

surete n. sense of security or certainty 671. MED 1.

surmountyng pr.p. surpassing, unequaled 437. MED 2.

surry Syria 16. See Commentary ll. 15-35.

suyng ger. See **sweth**.

swagyng ger. act or quality of providing emotional comfort 511. MED (**swagen** 2).

sweth pr. 3 s. attacks 568; follows, succeeds 117, 569; **suyng ger**. 114. MED (**seuen** v. 1) 11, 7.

swithe adv. at once, promptly 145. MED 3.

swre adj. sure; strong, resolute 774. MED 3.

swte n. matched set of objects; suite 162. MED 1b.

Synocha n. a type of putrid fever 305. See Commentary ll. 295-305.

taccacchyd vb. (to have cacchyd) to have caught 741.

taccomplisshen vb. to accomplish 862.

tamen vb. broach (cask, bottle, etc.) 701. OED 1 (**tame** 2).

tapited p.p. (fig.) to adorn as with tapestry 194. OED (**tapet** v.). See Commentary l. 194.

tascenden vb. to ascend 636.

tassaye vb. to assay 218.

taste vb. to try, examine, or explore by touch; to feel, to handle 270; (fig.) to have experience or knowledge of; to experience, feel 703; **i-tastyd** p.p. perceive by sense of taste 127. OED 1, 3, 4. See also Commentary l. 270.

teene n. irritation, vexation 193. OED 2.

temperament n. the proportions of the four qualities or the four humours within the body 303. (Trevisa, Glossary 3:302)

tencontre to encounter 137.

tencurren to incur 767.

tendir adj. young 379. OED 4.

tharwe the arrow 230.

ther as conj. phr. in that place in which; where 105. OED 1.

therwithal adv. along with, besides, or in addition to 276. OED 1.

Thesiphone Tisiphone 507. See Commentary ll. 505-509.

they 3 pers. prn. nom. pl. 62, 63, 68 etc.; **hem** acc. 58, 76, 84 etc., **them** 119, 127, 129; **her** 3 pers. poss. adj. pl. 27, 49, 54 etc.; **ther** 463, **here**, 833, **hir** 427.

thexpence the expence 425

thilke adj. the very (thing, person, etc.) mentioned or indicated; the same 111, 276, 252, etc.

thomycide the homycide 761.

thorient the Orient 16.

threste vb. press (in, out, together, etc.); push one's way, crowd 727. OED 1.

thrust n. thirst 568. See Commentary l. 568.

thu see you

tisyk n. a severe cough or asthma 315. OED (**phthisic**). See Commentary ll. 309-315.

to fore, to forn adv. previously, beforehand 116, 536; prep. in front of 776, 837. OED 3 (**afore**).

tonne n. large cask or barrel, usually for liquids 446; pl. 697. OED 1 (**tun**). See also Commentary ll. 697-707.

tothir the other 95, 471.

toward adj. disposed to do what is asked, willing, compliant, docile 814. OED 4.

trace pr. 3 s. take one's course; proceed, go 69. OED 1 (**trace** v. 1).

transmutacioun n. change of condition 593. OED 1.

transmwed p.p. transmuted, transformed 502. OED 1 (**transmute**).

travailed p.p. tormented, vexed 580. OED 1.

travayle n. trouble, hardhip, suffering 345, 564. OED 1.

tretable adj. easily handled, tractable, docile 388; open to appeal or argument 842. OED 1.

tristesse n. sadness 118.

trowe vb. believe or suppose a person to be 342; believe, be of opinion, suppose 441, **trowith** prt. 3. s. 203. OED 3,4.

vberte n. rich growth, fruitfulness 613. OED **(uberty)**.

vndirgrope vb. search into, investigate 351.

vnfeyned p.p. not feigned; sincere, genuine 139. OED 1.

vnkouth adj. unfamiliar, unaccustomed, strange 535; strange, unpleasant, distasteful 568. OED 2, 4.

vnmayled p.p. having broken or detached the links of a mail coat 668.

vnporisshyd p.p. impoverished 663. MED **(empoverishen)**.

vnsikernesse n. instability 624

vnsondir see **assondir**.

vnwarly adv. without warning, unexpectedly 200, 569. OED 2.

valyd prt. 3 s. fallen down, descended 542. OED 5 **(vail** v. 2).

velanye n. villainy; wicked conduct 242. OED 1.

verite n. truth 829.

verray adj. very; really or truly entitled to the name or designation; properly so called or designated 136, 500, 503 etc. OED 1.

vertu n. moral excellence 5, 64, 69, 85 (OED 3); power or faculty necessary for biological function (Trevisa Glossary 3:309); **vertu regitiff** controlling virtue 330, **vertu estimatyfe** virtue of judgement 338. See Commentary 1. 330, 11. 338-343.

veyne adj. or n. **veyne ryueeres** ?river-like veins 325. See Commentary 1. 325.

viaundys n. articles of food, victuals 157. OED 1.

vikeer n. vicar 674. See also Commentary 1. 673-74.

vitaille n. food, provisions 155.

vitellyne adj. colored like egg yolk; deep yellow; presumably describes a type of "unkyndely colre" 307. See above, **citryn**, and Commmentary 11. 306-308. 307. OED 1.

wan prt. 3 s. won 45.

wane n. need, want, poverty; also, waning of the moon used in fig. sense 573. OED 2 & 5.

wannyssh adj. somewhat wan and pale 326.

wantrust n. mistrust, lack of confidence 621.

war adj. prudent, sagacious 380, 389; prepared, watchful, cautious 707. OED 5, 2.

warye vb. curse 529. OED 4.

wedir n. weather; (fig.) intellectual climate, state of mind 192, 864. OED 1.

weede n. garment 545, 639. OED 1.

weel adj. and adv. well 44, 108, 132 etc.

wele n. welfare, well-being, prosperity, happiness 187, 601. OED 2.

wellyd prt. 3 s. issue or flow forth or out 57. OED 7.

wenyth pr. 3 s. expects, anticipates, counts on 587; **wende** prt. 3 s. 667.

wer(e) prt. 3 pl. were 96, 146, 196 etc. subj. s. 8, 173, 286, 861; **wern** prt. 3 pl. 5, 129, 325.

westyng pr.p. moving toward the west 678. OED (**west** v.). See Commentary 1. 678.

weten vb. know 370; **wot** pr. 1 s. 401, pr. 3 s. 233, 237; **that is for to wite** that is to say, namely 463. OED 3, 10 (**wit** v. 1).

wite vb. to blame; **he was the lase wite** he was the less to blame 619. OED 4 (**wite** v. 1).

whilom adv. once, at sometime past 1, 133, 516 etc. OED 2.

wiht n. human being 35, 224, 290 etc. OED 2.

wil pr. 1 s. will 125, 424, 457 etc. pr. 2 s. 884, pr. 3 s. 69, 701, 706 etc. **wilt** pr. 2 s. 588, 808, **nyl** 360, **nylt** 744; **wol** pr. 1 s. 370, 811, pr. 3 s. 612 707. pr. 2 s., prt. 3 s. 39, 261;

wold(e) prt. 3 s. 100, 137, 265 etc., **nolde** 669.

wilt see **wil.**

withal adv. besides, moreover 315. OED 1.

witt n. talent, skill 438. OED 5.

wol see **wil.**

wonde vb. shrink, hesitate, refrain 669. OED 2.

wondir adv. wondrously, exceedingly 683. OED (**wonder** adv.).

worshipable adj. entitled to honour and respect 516. OED 1.

wreche n. retributive punishment, vengeance 756, 802.

wreke vb. punish or chastise 805; **wreche** pr. 3 s. 235. OED 4.

ye n. eye 230; **eye** 54; **eyen** pl. 418.

yeuen see **yive**.

yiftys n. gifts 437.

yive vb. give 763, **yeuen** 208; **give** 1 pr. s. 422, **gyf** 420; **gaff** 1 prt. s. 770, **youen** p.p. 459.

Ymeneus Hymen, god of marriage 439.

ynde India 21.

WORKS CITED

A Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum in the Years MDCCCLXXXVIII-MDCCCXCIII. London: British Museum, 1894.

A Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum, With Indexes of Persons, Places, and Matters. Vol. 2. London: HMSO, 1808; Hildesheim and New York: Georg Olms, 1973.

Aelred of Rievaulx. Spiritual Friendship. Trans. Mary Eugenia Laker SSND. Introduction by Douglass Roby. Cistercian Fathers 5. Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1977.

Alain de Lille. De Planctu Naturae. Trans. James J. Sheridan. Medieval Sources in Translation 26. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1980.

Aristotle. Ethica Nicomachea. Ed. I. Bywater. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1890.

Ayers, Robert W. "Medieval History, Moral Purpose, and the Structure of Lydgate's Siege of Thebes." PMLA 73 (1958): 463-474

Bale, John. Illvstrivm maioris Britanniae Scriptorvm, hoc est, Angliae, Cambriae, ac Scotiae Summarium, in quasdam centurias diuisum, cum diuersitate doctrinarum atque annorum recta supputatione per omnes aetates a Iapheto sanctissimi Noah filio, ad annum domini M. D. XLVIII. Gippeswici: J. Ouerton, 1548.

---. Index Britanniae scriptorum: John Bale's Index of British and Other Writers. Ed. R. L. Poole and M. Bateson. 1902. Rpt. with an introduction by Caroline Brett and James P. Carley. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1990.

---. Scriptorum illustrium maioris Brytannie, quam nunc Angliam & Scotiam uocant: catalogus: a Iapheto per 3618 annos, usque ad annum hunc Domini 1557. 2 vols. Basileae: Ioannem Oporinum, 1557-1559.

Barron, W. J. R. English Medieval Romance. Longman Literature in English Series. London and New York: Longman Group UK Ltd., 1987.

---. Trawthe and Treason: The Sin of Gawain Reconsidered. Manchester: Manchester UP, 1980.

Bartholomaeus Anglicus. On the Properties of Things. John Trevisa's Translation of "Bartholomaeus Anglicus De Proprietatibus Rerum": A Critical Text. 3 vols. Ed. M. C. Seymour, et al. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988.

Beadle, Richard. "Prolegomena to a Literary Geography of Later Medieval Norfolk." Regionalism in Late Medieval Manuscripts and

Texts: Essays Celebrating the Publication of "A Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English." Ed. Felicity Riddy. York Manuscripts Conferences: Proceedings Series; University of York, Centre for Medieval Studies, Vol. 2. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1991. 89-108.

Bennett, H. S. Chaucer and the Fifteenth Century. Oxford History of English Literature, Vol. 2, pt. 1. 2nd ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1947.

Benskin, Michael. "The 'Fit'-Technique Explained." Regionalism in Late Medieval Manuscripts and Texts. Ed. Felicity Riddy. 9-26.

Benson, C. David. The History of Troy in Middle English Literature. Woodbridge, Suffolk: D. S. Brewer, 1980.

Benson, Larry D. "Courtly Love and Chivalry in the Later Middle Ages." Fifteenth Century Studies: Recent Essays. Ed. Robert F. Yeager. Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1984. 237-257.

Bernardus Silvestris. Cosmographia. Ed. Peter Dronke. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1978

Blake, Norman. The English Language in Medieval Literature. London, Melbourne and Toronto: J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd., 1977; Totowa, NJ: Rowman and Littlefield, 1977.

Boccaccio, Giovanni. Tutte le Opere di Giovanni Boccaccio, Vol. 4, Decameron. Ed. Vittore Branca. Milan: Mondadori, 1976.

Boethius. De Consolatione Philosophiae. Ed. Adrian Fortescue. Hildesheim and New York: Georg Olms Verlag, 1976.

Boffey, Julia. "Manuscript Evidence for Chaucer's Early Readers." Paper delivered at the Eighth International Congress of the New Chaucer Society, Seattle, WA. August 1-4, 1992.

---, and John J. Thompson. "Anthologies and Miscellanies: Production and Choice of Texts." Book Production and Publishing in Britain 1375-1475. Ed. Jeremy Griffiths and Derek Pearsall. Cambridge Studies in Publishing and Printing History. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1989. 279-315.

Boitani, Piero. "The Genius to Improve an Invention: Translations of the Knight's Tale." Chaucer Traditions: Studies in Honour of Derek Brewer. Ed. Ruth Morse and Barry Windeatt. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1990. 185-198.

Bolton, W. F. "The Topic of the Knight's Tale." Chaucer Review 1 (1967): 217-227.

Brewer, Derek. "Courtesy and the 'Gawain'-Poet." Patterns of Love and Courtesy: Essays in Memory of C. S. Lewis. Ed. John Lawlor. London: Edward Arnold, 1966. 54-85.

---. English Gothic Literature. London and Basingstoke: The MacMillan Press Ltd., 1983

---. "Escape from the Mimetic Fallacy." Studies in Medieval English Romances: Some New Approaches. Ed. Derek Brewer. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1988.

---. "The Ideal of Feminine Beauty in Medieval Literature." Modern Language Review 1 (1955): 257-69.

Brusendorff, Aage. The Chaucer Tradition. London: Oxford UP; Copenhagen: V. Pio. Povl Branner, 1925.

Burnley, J. D. Chaucer's Language and the Philosophers' Tradition. Chaucer Studies 2. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1979; Totowa, NJ: Rowman and Littlefield Inc., 1979.

Calin, William. "Defense and Illustration of Fin' Amor: Some Polemical Comments on the Robertsonian Approach." The Expansion and Transformations of Courtly Literature. Selected Papers from the Second Triennial Congress of the International Courtly Literature Society. Ed. Nathaniel B. Smith and Joseph T. Snow. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1980. 32-48.

Caxton, William. Caxton's Aesop. Ed. R. T. Lenaghan. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1967.

Chaucer, Geoffrey. The Riverside Chaucer. 3rd edition. Ed. Larry D. Benson et al. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1987.

Chickering Howell. "Unpunctuating Chaucer." Chaucer Review 25 (1990): 96-109.

Christianson, C. Paul. "Evidence for the Study of London's Late Medieval Manuscript-book Trade." Book Production and Publishing. 87-108.

Ciavolella, M. "Medieval Medicine and Arcite's Love Sickness." Florilegium 1 (1979): 222-241.

Cicero, Marcus Tullius. Laelius sive de amicitia. Ed. George Stock. Part 1. Introduction and Text. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1893.

Claudian. De raptu proserpinae. Ed. J. B. Hall. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1969.

Cooper, Helen. The Structure of the Canterbury Tales. London: Gerald Duckworth & Co. Ltd., 1983.

Cosman, Madeleine Pelner. Fabul[illegible] Feasts: Medieval Cookery and Ceremony. New York: George Braziller, Inc., 1976.

Crane, Susan. "Medieval Romance and Feminine Difference " Studies in the Age of Chaucer 12 (1990): 47-63.

Curry, Walter C. Chaucer and the Medieval Sciences. New York: Oxford UP, 1926.

Curtius, E. R. European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages. Trans. Willard R. Trask. Bollingen Series 36. New York: Pantheon Books, Inc., 1953.

Dante Alighieri. La Divina Commedia. Ed. Giuseppe Vandelli. Le Opere di Dante. Testo Critico Della Societa Dantesca Italiana. 2nd ed. Ed. M. Barbi et al. Firenze: Nella Sede Della Societa, 1960.

Davenport, W. A. Chaucer: Complaint and Satire. Chaucer Studies 14. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1988.

Davis, Norman. Paston Letters and Papers of the Fifteenth Century. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971.

Digby, George Wing[illegible]old, assist[illegible] by Wendy Hefford. The Devonshire Hunting Tapestries. London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1971.

Dinshaw, Carolyn. Chaucer's Sexual Poetics. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989.

Donaldson, E. T. "The Manuscripts of Chaucer's Works and Their Use." Writers and their Background: Geoffrey Chaucer. Ed. Derek Brewer. London: G. Bell & Sons, 1974. 85-108.

---. "The Myth of Courtly Love." Speaking of Chaucer. London: The Athlone Press, 1970. 154-163.

Doyle, A. I. "English Books In and Out of Court from Edward III to Henry VII." English Court Culture in the Later Middle Ages. Ed. V. J. Scattergood and J. W. Sherborne. London: Duckworth, 1983. 163-181.

---. "An Unrecognized Piece of Piers the Ploughman's Creed and Other Work by its Scribe." Speculum 34 (1959): 428-436.

Dupin, Henri. La courtoisie au moyen âge. Paris: Editions A. Picard, n.d.

Dwyer, Richard. "Arthur's Stellification in the Fall of Princes." Philological Quarterly 57 (1978): 155-171.

Ebin, Lois. John Lydgate. Twayne's English Authors Series 407. Boston: Twayne, 1985.

Economou, George. The Goddess Natura in Medieval Literature. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1972.

Edwards, A. S. G. "John Lydgate, Medieval Antifeminism, and Harley 2251." Annuale Medievale 13 (1972): 32-44.

---. "Lydgate Scholarship: Progress and Prospects." Fifteenth Century Studies: Recent Essays. 29-47.

Elyot, Sir Thomas. "The wonderfull historye of Titus and Gisyppus, wherin is the ymage of perfecte amitie." The Boke Named the Governour. Vol. 2. Ed. Henry Herbert Stephen Croft. London: C. Kegan Paul & Co., 1880.

Erdmann, Axel, and Eilert Ekwall. Introduction to Lydgate's Siege of Thebes. Early English Text Society ES 125. London: Oxford UP, 1930.

Everett, Dorothy. "A Characterization of the English Medieval Romances." Essays on Middle English Literature. Ed. Patricia Kean. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955. 1-22

Farnham, Willard. The Medieval Heritage of Elizabethan Tragedy. Berkely: U of California P, 1936.

Ferrante, Joan, and George Economou, eds. In Pursuit of Perfection: Courtly Love in Medieval Literature. National University Publications. London and Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press, 1975.

Fewster, Carol. Traditionality and Genre in Middle English Romance. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1987.

Finlayson, John. "Definitions of Middle English Romance." Chaucer Review 15 (1980): 44-62, 168-81.

Friman, Anne. "Of Bretherhede: The Friendship Motif in Chaucer." Innisfree 3 (1976): 24-36.

Frost, William. "An Interpretation of Chaucer's Knight's Tale." Review of English Studies 25 (1949): 290-304. Rpt. in Chaucer Criticism, Vol. 1: The Canterbury Tales. Ed. R. J. Schoeck and J. Taylor. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1960. 98-116.

Geoffrey of Vinsauf. Poetria Nova. Trans. Margaret F. Nims. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1967.

Giles de Corbeil. Egidii Corboliensis. Viaticus: De Signis et Symptomatibus Aegritudinum. Ed. Valentinus Rose. Lipsiae: B. G. Teubneri, 1907.

Goode, Clement T. "Sir Thomas Elyot's Titus and Gysippus." Modern Language Notes 37 (1922): 1-11.

Gower, John. The English Works of John Gower. Ed. G. C. Macaulay. 2 vols. Early English Text Society ES 81, 82. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1900, 1901.

---. Mirour de l'omme. Trans. William Burton Wilson. Rev. Nancy Wilson Van Baak. Medieval Texts and Studies 5. East Lansing, MI: Colleagues Press, 1992.

Grabes, Herbert. The Mutable Glass: Mirror-Imagery in Titles and Texts of the Middle Ages and English Renaissance. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1973.

Green, Richard Firth. "Notes on Some Manuscripts of Hoccleve's Regiment of Princes." British Library Journal 4 (1978): 37-41.

---. Poets and Princepleasers: Literature and the English Court in the late Middle Ages. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980.

Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun. The Romance of the Rose. Trans. Charles Dahlberg. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1971.

Haller, Robert. "The Knight's Tale and Epic Tradition." Chaucer Review 1 (1967): 67-84.

Hammond, Eleanor Prescott. "Ashmole 59 and Other Shirley Manuscripts." Anglia 30 (1907): 320-348.

---. "Boethius: Chaucer: Walton: Lydgate." Modern Language Notes 8 (1926): 534-35.

---. Chaucer: A Bibliographical Manual. 1908; New York: Peter Smith, 1933.

---. English Verse Between Chaucer and Surrey, Being Examples of Conventional Secular Poetry, exclusive of Romance, Ballad, Lyric, and Drama, in the Period from Henry the Fourth to Henry the Eighth. Durham, NC: Duke UP; London: Cambridge UP, 1927.

---. "The Nine-Syllabled Pentameter Line in Some Post-Chaucerian Manuscripts." Modern Philology 23 (1925): 130-52.

---. Rev. of H. N. MacCracken's Minor Poems of John Lydgate. Beiblatt zur Anglia 24 (1913): 140-145.

---. "A Scribe of Chaucer." Modern Philologoy 27 (1929): 27-33.

---. "Two British Museum Manuscripts (Harley 2251 and Adds. 34360): A Contribution to the Bibliography of John Lydgate." Anglia 28 (1905): 1-28.

Hansen, Elaine Tuttle. Chaucer and the Fictions of Gender. Berkeley: U of California P, 1992.

Hardwick, C., ed. A Catalogue of the Manuscripts Preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge. Vol. 3. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1858.

Harvey, Ruth, ed. The Court of Sapience. Toronto Medieval Texts and Translations. Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1984.

Hascall, Dudley. "The Prosody of John Lydgate." Language and Style 3 (1970): 122-146.

Henryson, Robert. estament of Cresseid. Ed. Denton Fox. London: Thomas Nelson & ons, Ltd., 1968.

Herrtage, Sidney, ed. The Early English Versions of the Gesta Romanorum. Early English Text Society OS 33. London: N. Trübner & Co., 1879.

Heyworth, P. L. "The Punctuation of Middle English Texts." Medieval Studies for J.A.W. Bennett. Oxford: Cla. ndon Press, 1981. 139-157.

Homer. Iliad. Trans. Richmond Lattimore. Chicago: U of Chicago Press, 1951.

James, M. R. On the Abbey of St. Edmund at Bury: i. The Library, ii. The Church. Cambridge: Cambridge Antiquarian Society, 1895.

Jenson, Emily. "Male Competition as a Unifying Motif in Fragment A of the Canterbury Tales." Chaucer Review 24 (1990): 320-328.

Keen, Maurice. "Brotherhood in Arms." History 47 (1962): 1-17.

Kelly, H. A. "Gaston Paris's Courteous and Horsely Love." The Spirit of the Court: Selected Proceedings of the Fourth Congress of the International Courtly Literature Society (Toronto 1983). Ed. Glyn S. Burgess and Robert A. Taylor. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1985. 217-223.

Ker, W. P. Epic and Romance: Essays on Medieval Literature. London: MacMillan & Co., Ltd., 1908.

Lange, Julius Hugo. "Lydgate und Fragment B des Romaunt of the Rose." Englische Studien 29 (1901): 397-405.

---. "Zu Fragment B des Middle English Rosenromans." Englische Studien (1902): 159-62.

Leach, MacEdward, ed. Amis and Amiloun. Early English Text Society OS 203. London: Oxford UP, 1937.

Lee, A. C. The Decameron: Its Sources and Analogues. New York: Haskell House, 1966.

Leicester, H. Marshall, Jr. The Disenchanted Self: Representing the Subject in the Canterbury Tales. Berkely and Los Angeles: U of California P, Ltd., 1990.

Lewis, C. S. "The Fifteenth-Century Heroic Line." Essays and Studies 24 (1938): 28-41.

Loomis, Laura Hibbard. Medieval Romance in England: A Study of the Sources and Analogues of the Non-Cyclic Metrical Romances. 2nd ed. New York: Burt Franklin, 1963.

Lovejoy, A. O. The Great Chain of Being: A Study of the History of an Idea. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1950.

Lowes, J. L. "The Loveres Malady of Hereos." Modern Philology 11 (1914): 491-546.

Lydgate, John. Fabula duorum mercatorum. Ed. Gustav Schleich and Johann Zupitza. Quellen und Forschungen zur Sprach- und Culturgeschichte 83. Strassburg: Trübner, 1897.

---. Fall of Princes. Ed. Henry Bergen. Early English Text Society ES 121-4. London: Oxford UP, 1924-27.

---. Life of St. Alban and Amphibal. Ed. J. E. Van der Westhuizen. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1974.

---. The Minor Poems of John Lydgate. Ed. Henry Noble MacCracken. 2 vols. Early English Text Society OS 107 and 192. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Ltd., 1910. London: Oxford UP, 1934.

---. Poems. Ed. John Norton-Smith. Clarendon Medieval and Tudor Series. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966.

---. Saint Albon and Saint Amphibalus. Ed. George Reinecke. New York: Garland, 1985.

---. Siege of Thebes. Ed. Axel Erdmann and Eilert Ekwall. Early English Text Society ES 108 and 125. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Ltd., 1911. London: Oxford UP, 1930.

---. Temple of Glas. Ed. Josef Schick. Early English Text Society ES 60. London: Oxford UP, 1891.

---. Troy Book. Ed. Henry Bergen. Early English Text Society ES 97, 103, 106, 126. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Ltd. 1906, 1908, 1910, 1935.

Lynn, Karen. "Chaucer's Decasyllabic Line: The Myth of the Hundred Year Hibernation." Chaucer Review 13 (1978): 116-127.

Macrobius. Commentarii in Somnium Scipionis. Ed. John R. Willis. Leipzig: Teubner, 1963.

MacCracken, H. N. "The Lydgate Canon." The Minor Poems of John Lydgate. Part 1. Early English Text Society ES 107. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Ltd., 1911. v-1.

Madan, Falconer. A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. Vol. 3. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1895.

Manly, John M., and Edith Rickert, eds. The Texts of the Canterbury Tales, Studied on the Basis of all Known Manuscripts. Vol. 1. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1940.

McIntosh, Angus, M. L. Samuels, and Michael Benskin, et al. A Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English. 4 vols. Aberdeen: Aberdeen UP, 1986.

Moore, Samuel. "Patrons of Letters in Norfolk and Suffolk, c. 1450." PMLA 27 (1912): 188-207.

Mandeville, Sir John (pseudo). Mandeville's Travels. Ed. P. Hamelius. Early English Text Society OS 153. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Ltd., 1919.

Mann, Jill. Geoffrey Chaucer. Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press International, Inc., 1991.

Manzaloui, Mahmoud. "Lydgate and English Prosody." Cairo Studies in English (1960): 87-104.

Mathew, Gervase. "Ideals of Friendship." Patterns of Love and Courtesy. 45-53.

Mehl, Diehter. The Middle English Romances of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1969.

Middle English Dictionary. Ed. Hans Kurath, Sherman M. Kuhn, John Reidy, Robert E. Lewis. 1954-.

Mills, Lauren. One Soul in Bodies Twain: Friendship in Tudor Literature and Stuart Drama. Bloomington: The Principia Press, Inc., 1937.

Minnis, A. J. Chaucer and Pagan Antiquity. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1982.

Norton-Smith, John. "Lydgate's Metaphors." English Studies 42 (1961): 90-93.

Owen, D. D. R. Noble Lovers. London: Phaidon Press, Ltd., 1975.

Oxford English Dictionary. 2nd ed. 20 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press 1989.

Parkes, Malcolm B. English Cursive Book Hands 1250-1500. Oxfo· Oxford UP, 1969.

---. "Punctuation; or, Pause and Effect." Medieval Eloquence: Studies in the Theory and Practice of Medieval Rhetoric. Ed. James J. Murphy. Berkeley: U of California Press, 1978. 127-142.

Patch, H. R. The Goddess Fortuna in Mediaeval Literature. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1927.

Patterson, Lee. Chaucer and the Subject of History. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1991.

Pearsall, Derek. "Chaucer's Meter: The Evidence of the Manuscripts." Medieval Literature: Texts and Interpretations. Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies 79. Ed. T. W. Machan. Binghamton, NY: Medieval & Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1991. 41-57.

---. "The Development of Middle English Romance." Brewer, Studies in Medieval English Romances: Some New Approaches. 11-35.

---. "The English Chaucerians." Chaucer and Chaucerians: Critical Studies in Middle English Literature. Ed. D. S. Brewer. London: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd., 1966. 201-239.

---, ed. The Floure and the Leafe and The Assembly of Ladies. Manchester: Manchester UP, 1962.

---. John Lydgate. Medieval Authors Series. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1970.

Peter Alfonsi. The Disciplina Clericalis of Peter Alfonsi. Ed. Eberhard Hermes. Engl. Trans. P. R. Quarrie. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1977.

Pits, John. Relationum historicarum de rebus Anglicis: Tomus primus quatuor partes complectens, quorum elenchum pagina sequens indicat. [Ed. William Bishop?] Paris: Rolinum Thierry et Sebastianum Cramoisy, 1619.

Plato. Platonis Opera. Ed. Ioannes Burnet. Scriptorvm Classicorvm Bibliotheca Oxoniensis. 5 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964.

Plutarch. Plutarch's Morals. Ed. William W. Goodwin. 5 vols. Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1883.

Purdy, Rob Roy. "The Friendship Motif in Middle English Literature." Vanderbilt Studies in the Humanities. Vol 1. Ed. Richmond C. Beatty, J. Philip Hyatt, and Monroe K. Spears. Nashville: Vanderbilt UP, 1951. 113-141.

Ramsay, Lee C. Chivalric Romances: Popular Literature in Medieval England. Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1983.

Reimer, Stephen R. "Differentiating Chaucer and Lydgate: Some Preliminary Observations." Computer-Based Chaucer Studies. Ed. Ian Lancashire. CCH Working Papers 3. Toronto: Centre for Computing in the Humanities, University of Toronto, 1993. 161-176.

---. "The Lydgate Canon: A Project Description." Literary and Linguistic Computing 5 (1990): 248-49.

Renoir, Alain. The Poetry of John Lydgate. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1967.

---, and C. David Benson. "John Lydgate." A Manual of the Writings in Middle English 1050-1500. Vol. 6. Ed. J. Burke Severs and Albert E. Hartung. Hamden, CT: Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1980. 2071-175.

Ritson, Joseph. Bibliographia Poetica: A Catalogue of Engleish Poets of the Twelfth, Thirteenth, Fourteenth, Fifteenth, and Sixteenth, Centurys, With a Short Account of Their Works. London: C. Roworth, 1802.

Robertson, D. W., Jr. "Courtly Love as an Impediment to the Understanding of Medieval Literary Texts." The Meaning of Courtly Love. Ed. F. X. Newman. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1968. 1-18.

---. A Preface to Chaucer: Studies in Medieval Perspectives. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1962.

Robinson, F. N. "On Two Manuscripts of Lydgate's 'Guy of Warwick.'" Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature 5 (1896): 177-220.

Robinson, Ian. Chaucer's Prosody: A Study of the Middle English Verse Tradition. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1971.

Rubin, Gayle. "The Traffic in Women: Notes on the 'Political Economy' of Sex." Toward an Anthropology of Women. Ed. Rayna R. Reiter. New York and London: Monthly Review Press, 1975. 157-218.

Samuels, M. L. "Spelling and Dialect in the late and Post-Middle English Periods." So Meny People Longages and Tonges: Philological Essays in Scots and Mediaeval English presented to Angus McIntosh. Ed. Michael Benskin and M. L. Samuels. Edinburgh, 1981. 43-54.

Sandred, K. I., ed. "A Middle English Version of the Gesta Romanorum." Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis; Studia Anglistica Upsaliensa 8. Uppsala, 1971.

Schick, Josef. Introduction to Lydgate's Temple of Glas. Early English Text Society ES 60. London: Oxford UP, 1891. xi-clx.

Schirmer, Walter F. John Lydgate; A Study in the Culture of the XVth Century. Trans. Ann E. Keep. London: Methuen and Company Ltd., 1961.

Schwarzbaum, Haim. "International Folklore Motifs in Petrus Alphonsi's Disciplina Clericalis." Sefarad 21 (1961): 267-299.

Seaton, Ethel. Sir Richard Roos, c. 1410-1482: Lancastrian Poet. London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1961.

Sedgewich, Eve Kosofky. Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire. New York: Columbia Press, 1985.

Seneca, L. Annaei. Ad Lvcilivm Epistvlae Morales. Tomvs 1: Libri I-XIII. Ed. L. D. Reynolds. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965.

---. "De Providentia." Dialogorvum libri dvodecim. Ed. L. D. Reynolds. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977.

Southworth, James G. Verses of Cadence: An Introduction to the Prosody of Chaucer and his Followers. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1954.

Stevens, John. Medieval Romance: Themes and Approaches. London: Hutchinson & Co., Ltd., 1973.

Strohm, Paul. "The Origin and Meaning of Middle English Romaunce." Genre 10 (1977): 1-20.

Tanner, Thomas. Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica: sive, De Scriptoribus, qui in Anglia, Scotia, et Hibernia ad saeculi XVII initium floruerunt, literarum ordine juxta familiarum nomina dispositis Commentarius. Preface by David Wilkins. London: G. Bowyer, 1748.

Taylor, Paul B. "Chaucer's 'Faire Cheyne of Love': The First Model of Mediation in the Canterbury Tales." Reading Contexts: Swiss Papers in English Language and Literature 4. Ed. Neil Forsyth. Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag, 1988. 133-46.

Thompson, Stith. Motif-Index of Folk Literature. 6 vols. Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1955.

Thorndike, Lyn. A History of Magic and Experimental Science. Vols. 1 and 2. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1923.

Thrupp, Sylvia. The Merchant Class of Medieval London (1300-1500). Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1948.

Tolkein, J. R. R., and E. V. Gordon, eds. Sir Gawain and the Green Knight. 2nd ed. Rev. Norman Davis. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1967.

Trounce, A. McI. "The English Tail-Rhyme Romances." Medium Aevum 1 (1932): 87-108, 168-82; 2 (1933): 34-57, 189-98; 3 (1934): 30-50.

Van Dorsten, J. A. "The Leyden 'Lydgate Manuscript.'" Scriptorium 14 (1960): 315-325.

Vickers, K. H. Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester: A Biography. London: Archibald Constable & Co., Ltd., 1907.

Voigts, Linda Ehrsam. "Scientific and Medical Books." Boffey and Thompson, Book Production and Publishing. 345-402.

Wack, Mary. Lovesickness in the Middle Ages: The Viaticum and its Commentaries. Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania P, 1990.

Ward, H. L. D. A Catalogue of the Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum. Vol. 1. London: British Museum, 1883.

Warton, Thomas. The History of English Poetry: A Facsimile of the 1774 Edition with a New Introduction. Intro. René Wellek. 4 vols. New York, London: Johnson Reprint, 1968.

Whiting, Bartlett Jere. Proverbs, Sentences and Proverbial Phrases; From English Writings Mainly Before 1500. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard UP, 1968.

Wilson, R. M. "The Contents of the Medieval Library." The English Library Before 1700. Ed. Francis Wormald and C. E. Wright. London: Athlone Press, 1958. 85-111.

Winny, James. "Chaucer's Science." An Introduction to Chaucer. Ed. Maurice Hussey, A. C. Spearing, and James Winny. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1965. 153-184.

Wright, Herbert G. Boccaccio in England from Chaucer to Tennyson. London: Athlone Press, 1957.

Wright, Herbert G., ed. Early English Versions of the Tales of Guiscardo and Ghismonda and Titus and Gisippus from the Decameron. Early English Text Society OS 205. London: Oxford UP, 1937.

Appendix A

THE DIALECT OF THE FABULA

With the help of the Linguistic Atlas of Late Medieval English, we can with some confidence place Harley 2255 in the county of Suffolk. A brief description of the Atlas will be helpful for understanding how it has been used here. The Atlas provides a detailed mapping of Middle English dialects[1] with evidence gathered from hundreds of manuscripts, each of which was surveyed with a standard questionnaire (see Vol. 3, xviii-xviv) of some 280 items. Vol. 1 contains, along with the General Introduction and an Index of Sources, dot maps illustrating the relative distribution of questionnaire forms,[2] while Vol. 2 contains item maps, showing exactly where in the country various forms for each of sixty items from the survey questionnaire can be found. Vol. 3 contains a "linguistic profile" of each manuscript surveyed, a list of the forms in each manuscript which correspond to questionnaire items (see Vol. 3, ix-xi), and Vol. 4, the County Dictionary, provides a list of the counties in which each variant form occurs.

---

[1] More properly, perhaps, it "ma[ps] the written language" (General Introduction, Vol. 1, p. 6), using as its evidence four categories of written information: "purely graphological (mi3t: might); phonological (stan: ston); morphological (rideþ: rides); lexical (dark: mirk)." See General Introduction 7. It is the spelling of various forms, then, that is important here: "It is only at one remove that spelling is evidence about spoken language, but it is direct evidence about written language [which] . . . can be studied in its own right . . ." (General Introduction, Vol. 1, p. 5).

[2] "Item" denotes the Modern English word used as a headword, "form," the Middle English equivalent. As explained, for example, in the Atlas's General Introduction, Vol. 1, are is an item, and ben, er, buþ, etc. are forms under it (7). See also the Introduction to Vol. 2, ix.

Even without the details provided by the Linguistic Atlas, one could readily suggest a general dialect area for this text. The treatment of OE vowels and diphthongs is generally consistent with the dialect of the East Midlands: we find, for example, who, hool, and none (OE long a); man, name (OE a before nasals); synne and king (OE y); deep and ben (OE long eo); hert (OE short eo); ded (OE long ea); and fall (OE short ea). OE f remains unvoiced. In the third personal pronoun, hem is found in the accusative case, they in the nominative, and them in the dative. Verb forms, too, are consistent with East Midlands forms: present third singular is in i/e/yth; present third plural is in -e or -en, and the ending of the present participle is yng.

The Linguistic Atlas allows one to locate a text more specifically by using the "fit" technique, "the progressive elimination of the areas to which the individual elements [of a dialect] do not belong, and so delimits the area or areas to which the whole asemblage does belong" (Benskin 9; italics his). Unfortunately, it has not been possible at this point to perform the thorough linguistic analysis required for a proper application of the "fit" technique,[3] but the evidence gathered from the following procedure seems worth reporting even at this preliminary stage. I began with what seemed most obviously the first step to take with this particular text, and compared it first

[3] See Benskin's helpful article 1991, which explains the procedure, and the Atlas 1: 9-12. A thorough analysis would subject all of Harley 2255 to the whole of the long questionaire in the Atlas. See also n. 12 below.

with the questionnaire of sixty items[4] used to construct the item maps in Vol. 2 of the Atlas. Of the fifty-four items for which there is a corresponding form in the Fabula,[5] fifty-two occur in Suffolk.[6] Many of these forms, as one might expect, also occur in many other counties, for example, ageyns, but, from/fro, nat, thes, too, whil, fyre, man, she, her/here/ther, and hem/them.[7] But some of the forms, for example, nolde, nyl, hihe, myht, and sauh, are more limited in their range.[8] And four forms are very limited: hih (Essex, Herefordshire, and Suffolk), thouh (Essex and Suffolk), thoruh (Essex, the East and West Ridings of York, and Suffolk), and thoruh-[9] (Suffolk). Thus the range within which all of the forms are found seems gradually to narrow to the

---

[4] This list appears on p. xxiii of Vol. 2, and it contains many of the items we might expect, for example, fire, man, she, their, them, and the form of the present participle. Finding in our text, for example, the forms hem and them for the item them, I would look up the item map for them and find all of the points in each county where these forms appear.

[5] The six which do not appear in H are any forms of whither, thousand, thither, church, strength, and will (pl.).

[6] Those which do not occur in Suffolk are whedir, neithir . . . ne, everych, and everychon. Since these last two are variants of ech, which does appear in H, the item ech is included as a correlation and not an exception.

[7] The County Dictionary, Vol. 4, provides a list of counties in which each of these forms occurs.

[8] Nolde and nyl are actually not on the item map list, but come from the larger linguistic profile; see below p. 187. The counties in which these forms appear are as follows: nolde Bed., Dor., Ex., Hrf., Sal., Sfk. (County Dictionary 219); nyl Ex., Lon., Nfk., Sfk., Sur., Wrk., Wor. (CD 219); hihe Ex., Ha., Sfk., Wor, WRY. (CD 196); sauh Gl., Li., Nht., Sfk., Wor., Mon. (CD 245).

[9] As, for example, in thoruh out.

county of Suffolk; it appears to be the only county in which all of these forms appear together.[10]

There are two actual points in Suffolk whose linguistic profiles match that of our text quite closely. Forty-seven forms from our text all match those of a point located in the southeast corner of Suffolk, number 8301 on the item map.[11] Forty-one match exactly with a point located very near Bury St. Edmunds (8470). In comparison, only between twenty-four and twenty-nine forms in the Fabula corresponded to the forms from other points on the map, chosen at random from both within Suffolk and other two other counties (London and Northamptonshire).

To see which manuscripts these two points of high correlation represented, I turned to the linguistic profile, or LP, of each one, contained in Vol. 3. The forms in the text of the Fabula in Harley 2255 match closely with those of two MSS of the Canterbury Tales, London, BL MS Egerton 2864 and London, BL MS Add. 5140 (LP 8301). The second match is to a Lydgate manuscript, London, BL MS Harley 2278, containing the Lives of St. Edmund and St. Fremund (LP 8470). A more comprehensive

---

[10] However, the preliminary nature of this study must be stressed, for there are several exceptions which require explanation. For example, two forms not found in Suffolk, othir and tothir, seem to be primarily northern forms; see County Dictionary. Another, whedir, is also found in several northern counties. Everych, everychon, and neithir + ne, too, are found, respectively, only in Gloucestershire and Norfolk, Leicestershire, and Leicestershire and Norfolk. More information about the text itself and the entire MS might explain these exceptions in terms of the scribe him- or herself: he or she may have come originally from the north, for example. The increasing standardization of dialect forms may also provide an explanation. There is also the real possibility that these and other exceptions may invalidate these preliminary conclusions altogether.

[11] These points each represent a Linguistic Profile, each of which has a number. The numbers on the item maps correspond to the Linguistic Profiles contained in Vol. 3.

linguistic profile of our text, adding forty additonal items from the large survey questionnaire, revealed correlations to these two linguistic profiles of twenty-nine and thirty-one out of forty, respectively.

One cannot, admittedly, draw any firm conclusions from this preliminary study. If a complete analysis of all of Harley 2255 were to show its dialectical features as consistent with those of the Fabula's text, this evidence would lend support to the belief that Harley 2255 is indeed from Bury St. Edmunds; if so, given its date, the manuscript could have been compiled under Lydgate's own direction. Such a finding would make the manuscript very authoritative indeed. Any such conclusions, however, must await more thorough study.[12] We can at this point only state that evidence suggests an origin for our text in Suffolk, perhaps in the county's southeast corner, and, if this is not stretching that evidence a little too far, perhaps even at Bury St. Edmunds.

---

[12] Besides needing first to subject all of Harley 2255 to the large survey questionnaire, that is, to construct a "linguistic profile" of the whole MS, other comparisons with many other points on the item map, as controls, would also need to be done. Other Lydgate and Chaucer MSS of varying provenances would also need to be surveyed.

Appendix B

PUNCTUATION AND METER

In accordance with the aim stated at the beginning of Chapter 6, that is, to present a near-diplomatic version of the Fabula as it is found in Harley 2255, it has been decided to allow MS punctuation, consisting solely of the virgule, to remain. In taking this decision, two points were considered: the function of the scribal punctuation, and the clarity of the scribally-punctuated text versus the effect of an editorially-punctuated text.

The position of the virgule, generally appearing at the caesura, implies that its function is usually metrical, but it also seems to be employed sometimes for syntactical and emphatic purposes. It appears occasionally twice, or, less frequently, three times in a line; and it is sometimes omitted altogether.[1] Whether these virgules are or are not used according to modern notions of punctuation is not the issue; if they serve a discernible function then we ought to try to determine what it is. Lines 334-6 can serve as an example:

> this passioun
> Was eithir thouht / or love that men calle
> Amor / Ereos / that he was in falle /

We might note first the enjambment of ll. 334-5 and the placement of the virgule in l. 335, which clearly points the "either . . . or" construction. In this line, the virgule is positioned not only

---

[1] It must be noted that some of the apparent omissions and extra appearances of the virgule may be due to imperfections in microfilm copy of the MS from which this text is prepared. However, enough places are clear enough to provide evidence for the following suggestions regarding the MS punctuation.

metrically but syntactically, performing the job we would expect modern punctuation to do, that is, to group and separate words in order to clarify sense. In l. 336, its multiple appearance is at odds with modern usage, but its function may be emphatic rather than syntactical. amor ereos is a particular kind of love, potentially life-threatening, and it thus, apparently, needs the extra emphasis given it by the virgules.[2]

The virgule at the end of line 336 signals the end of the stanza. Its appearance in this position is inconsistent, for not every stanza has a virgule at its end. On the other hand, since there is only one case in which a virgule appears at the end of a line in mid-stanza (563), it is likely that, where the virgule occurs at the end of a line, its function is to signal, along with stanza spacing, the stanza's end.[3] The virgule's purpose in the Fabula thus seems usually to be metrical, and sometimes to be syntactical and/or emphatic. It is

---

[2] Lines 223-24 employ punctuation for similar purposes. In l. 223, the virgule also may function emphatically, setting off "Allas." Its double appearance in the following line is also probably for emphasis, although its first occurrence also may suggest a syntactic purpose in that it clearly signals the enjambment: there is no question that "Is" must go with the preceding line. For a clearly syntactical use of the virgule, see l. 170, where the two virgules are functioning much as the modern comma would.

[3] M. B. Parkes's essay ("Punctuation") considers the punctuation of medieval prose. In a note, however, he observes the following about verse punctuation: "In verse, both layout and marks were used to indicate the metrical form. . . . In most manuscripts each versus was placed on a line of its own. . . . Marks were frequently placed at the ends of lines to indicate the ends of stanzas or verse paragraphs, but in manuscripts produced from the thirteenth century onwards it became customary to place a paragraph mark in the margin at the beginning of a new stanza or paragraph. Marks were used within a line of verse to indicate a caesura" (130). Perhaps the virgules at the ends of some lines are a remnant of the older system Parkes refers to here.

probably safe to say that, while the end of a unit of thought or phrase is not always signaled by a virgule, its presence always signals the end of a such a unit or phrase.

A comparison of the scribally-punctuated lines above with the way they are punctuated by the poem's previous editors is revealing. Both miss the "either . . . or" construction at l. 335 and punctuate the line incorrectly, placing a comma after "love." This reading implies that "thouht" and "love" are the same thing, which men call "amor ereos." Both editions distort the meaning, obscuring the fact that the physicians are at this point considering two alternative causes for the merchant's "passioun." Passio melancolya can result from the disturbed thoughts and wild imaginings of those suffering from an excess of "vnkinde" melancholy, or black bile (Trevisa 1: 161-2); or it can be the result of lovesickness (see above, Chapter 4). The merchant's "passioun" is caused by one or the other, not both. That "amor ereos" modifies only "love" is made clear by the scribal punctuation; modern punctuation has created confusion around this significant term.

Several scholars have recently discussed the effect of modern punctuation on medieval texts, not only pointing out that modern punctuation can obscure or change meaning as often as it clarifies it, as illustrated by the example above, but also that modern punctuation implies only one meaning, while the looser syntax of many medieval texts often allows for more than one.[4] An example will illustrate the latter

---

[4] See, for example, the articles by E. T. Donaldson, Howell Chickering, and P.L. Heyworth; and the books of Norman Blake, Chapter 3, and Ian Robinson, Chapter 7. While Robinson's overall argument has been justly questioned, many of his points about punctuation are nevertheless well-taken. It must be pointed out that, with the exception of

point. Stanza 87 refers to Seneca's essay on Providence, in which Seneca explains that without having been tested, no man really can be considered virtuous. The first five lines especially of this stanza would be considered, according to modern usage, a run-on and poorly-constructed sentence. To try to punctuate these lines without rearranging or changing them results in drawing attention to their non-standard syntax and thus detracts from rather than improves their sense. Here is how Schleich and Zupitza punctuate the lines:

> For Senek seith with ful high sentence
> Of preef in povert, who so that hym reede,
> In thylke book, he made of providence, 605
> That he vnhappy is, withouten dreede,
> Which nevir ne hadde adversite nor neede,
> Of whom the goddys dempten pleynly thus:
> "Without assay no man is vertuous." 609

MacCracken punctuates the lines just the same way, with the exception of his omission of the first comma in l. 605 (surely the correct choice). The Schleich/Zupitza placement of that comma shows that they did not understand that "thylke book" was about providence, and it makes their punctuation of the entire stanza suspect. With or without that particular comma, however, the editorially punctuated lines now yield an obviously run-on sentence which, no matter how it is punctuated, cannot be improved upon.

As they stand in the MS, the lines are a series of syntactical units admitting of several combinations which nevertheless allow one overall meaning to emerge clearly. The phrase "with ful high sentence" could conceivably, for example, modify the way Senek discusses "preef in

---

Robinson, none of these scholars finally conclude that it is better to leave all medieval texts untouched by modern punctuation; the intended audience is an important consideration.

povert," although a better reading is surely that "ful high" modifies "sentence of preef." "Who so that hym reede" may be parenthetical, with "in thylke book" delimiting where Senek says what he says. On the other hand, the clause may be contiguous to the prepositional phrase; whoever reads Senek in that book will discover what he says.

The point is, to paraphrase E.T. Donaldson, that the modern punctuation here both connects and divides, forcing relationships that may never have been intended, and implying them where they were perhaps unintended.[5] It implies first that the lines need clarifying, and second that it can provide that clarification, both of which propositions are belied by this example. Surely it is better to let these lines stand as they are, as a series of related phrases which build towards an overall meaning, readily available without the imposition of modern punctuation. Norman Blake's words seem relevant here:

> the punctuation was designed to break up a text into rhetorical or rhythmical units rather than into conceptual ones. The effect would be to encourage the writing of phrases of roughly the same length which were only loosely strung together in that the punctuation did not reveal the grammatical relationship between the various parts of the sentence. (67)

On the whole, the scribal punctuation in this MS is useful and clear, whereas in many cases, editorial punctuation has done little to improve the text and has, in some places, obscured its meaning.[6] There

---

[5] This is Donaldson's sentence: "[Chaucer's] two sentences originally stood both unconnected and undivided, neither related nor inhibited from relationship" (88). He was referring to two lines (459-60) from the "General Prologue" to the Canterbury Tales.

[6] For another example, see also l. 21. Neither editor replaces the virgule after "south" with a comma, encouraging the misreading that "south" modifies "Ethiope."

are, admittedly, difficult places in the poem, particularly in the medical section, but even there modern punctuation is not necessarily an improvement.[7] The scribal punctuation clearly has a rhetorical as well as a metrical purpose; allowing it to remain avoids these problems of editorial misinterpretation and preserves some of the original character of the document.

The presentation of the text with its original punctuation should not imply the editor's adherence to theories which suggest that fifteenth-century poetry in particular should be read as lines of four rather than five stresses.[8] Lydgate's verse generally conforms to the pattern of iambic pentameter, and the Fabula duorum mercatorum is written in rhyme royal, that is, iambic pentameter stanzas of seven lines rhyming ababbcc.[9]

Many earlier scholars criticized Lydgate for his apparent inability to write "smoothly,"[10] although MacCracken maintained that he was never "misled . . . into unmelodious measures" (viii). According to

---

[7] One place where the virgule is misleading is at l. 323. The two existing editions place a comma between "remys" and "attenuat," clarifying the sense of the line. However, the rather difficult stanzas 43 and 44 are misleadingly punctuated in both earlier editions. See Commentary ll. 295-305.

[8] See, for example, the works of J. G. Southworth, C. S. Lewis, and Ian Robinson.

[9] J. Schick points out that this is the form Lydgate used most frequently (lv).

[10] Skeat, in his preface to the Kingis Quair, referred to Lydgate's "halting lines" (qtd. by Schick lvi); Hammond criticized his overuse of the "broken-backed" line and generalized about his "incompetences" in rhythm, as in much else (English Verse 86-7); Erdmann and Ekwall, who edited the Siege of Thebes, wrote of his carelessness in meter and his "hard and rugged lines" (32); H. S. Bennett referred to his "metrical peculiarities" (146).

an analysis first elucidated by Josef Schick in his introduction to the Temple of Glas (lvi-lix), Lydgate's verse usually conforms to one of five patterns of pentameter. A is the regular type, with five iambic feet and caesura after the second foot; B has an extra syllable before the break: "As for a norshyng / her frutys to fecunde" (27); C, the "Lydgatian" or "broken-backed" type, has two accented syllables clashing at the caesura: "Ech othris fourme / stature and visage" (53); D, the "acephalous" or "headless" line, lacks an unstressed syllable in the first foot: "On which syde / is eek the rede se" (17); and E contains an extra unstressed syllable in the first foot: "That was feiþful found / til hem departid deþe."[11]

Lydgate's practice seems to have been, in the words of Derek Pearsall, "deliberate and systematic" (Lydgate 60). The present editor has chosen, however, not to make emendations based on meter, for, as Derek Pearsall notes in a recent article on Chaucer's meter, the editorial smoothing and regularizing of the lines can create an artificial text.[12] Pearsall writes that "it is possible to see how Chaucer's versification, or what can reasonably be inferred to be Chaucer's versification, has been misrepresented by generations of editors and metrists" ("Chaucer's Meter" 57). It is thus reasonable to

---

[11] This example is supplied from Schick lv. Line 106 from our text might fit pattern E ("And whan that he was / arryved vnto londe"), but, because all other MSS exclude the "And" there is the possibility that this line should begin with "whan." The two previous editors emend this line. W. F. Schirmer notes that this pattern is "rare in the early period, but [is] frequently used in Fall of Princes" (72). Although the type is rare in the Fabula, Schirmer's observation cannot be taken as hard evidence that this is an earlier rather than a later poem.

[12] The phrase is Manly and Rickert's, quoted by Pearsall, "Chaucer's Meter" 51.

assume that, for those who may be interested in pursuing a study of Lydgate's prosody,[13] a text which has not been emended on the basis of meter will be more useful than one which has.

---

[13] Existing studies of Lydgate's prosody include the articles of Mahmoud Manzalaoui, Dudley Hascall, and Karen Lynn.