

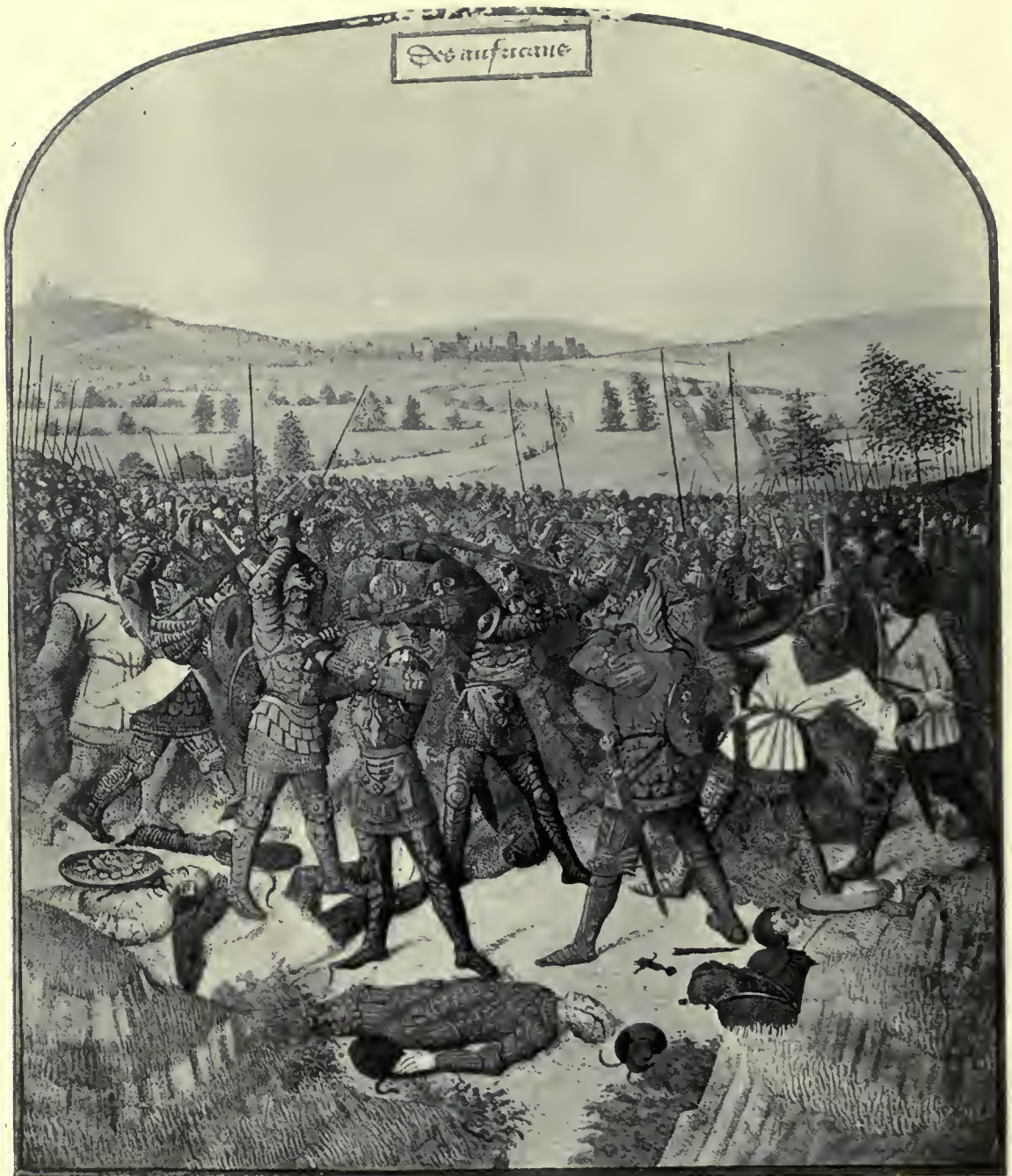
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'THE IRRECUPERABLE HARMES OF DIVISION'

(From the Yates Thompson MS. of *Li Fait des Romains*; a battle between the Romans and Carthaginians.)

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THE SERPENT OF DIVISION

BY JOHN LYDGATE

THE MONK OF BURY

EDITED, WITH INTRODUCTION, NOTES, AND A GLOSSARY

BY

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PREFACE

The *Serpent of Division*, the only well-authenticated prose work of John Lydgate, contains the most extensive treatment of Julius Caesar in the remains of Middle English literature. The diligence of the encyclopaedists, in gathering the material of Suetonius, Lucan, and the Commentaries, prevented the growth of a cyclical legend of any great importance about this representative of the 'Worthy Nine'. Local legends in England were confined to the erection of ancient buildings, and to the invasion of the land. Thus the study of Lydgate's sources in my introduction, the larger part of which formed a portion of a doctor's dissertation at Harvard University in 1907, is interesting, not so much in the revelation of ancient legend, as in showing how a mediaeval biographer, like one in our own days of scientific inquiry, went to all the accessible sources and put together what he believed to be the trustworthy account.

I am greatly indebted to the late Lord Calthorpe, to the Master of Magdalene College, Cambridge, the Director of the Fitzwilliam Museum, and the authorities of the British Museum, the Bodleian, and Harvard University Libraries, for permission to use their manuscripts and prints of *The Serpent*.

H. N. MACCRACKEN.

NEW HAVEN,
Dec. 1, 1910.

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THE SERPENT OF DIVISION

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

LYDGATE'S *Serpent of Division* is interesting rather because of its origin and the subject of which it treats than because of any claim to literary merit which the work may possess. In the year 1422, Englishmen suffered one of the greatest misfortunes that can overtake a victorious nation. Their young leader King Henry the Fifth, famous for his victories in peace as in war, had died in midsummer, at the close of a brilliant campaign in the enemy's country. He had left as his heir a babe of but nine months, whose mother was a French princess. Duke Humphrey of Gloucester, the Lord Protector and real sovereign of the kingdom, and others of the great nobles were not without apprehension, as they reflected what might be the results of the great king's untimely death. Before their minds flashed a recollection of the few months following the accession of Humphrey's father Henry IV, with the bloody civil strife which ended at last in Shrewsbury and other battlefields. They recalled the early months of Henry V's reign, with the conspiracy of Grey and Scrope. These troubles had risen when a watchful and powerful monarch held the sceptre, ready to stamp upon the serpent's head wherever it should rise. What was to be the result when the king was but a puny infant? Well might the rulers of England tremble at the fear.

Duke Humphrey of Gloucester, the one figure presaging the Renaissance in England, was himself a poet and a patron of poets and scholars. At his command the Italian scholar Titus Livius wrote in Latin the life of Henry V, to recall his glories to Englishmen. He believed in the power of the pen at a time of political crisis such as the accession of Henry VI. Among other measures which he took to preserve public tranquillity was the plan of employing the chief literary figure of the day—the man who had just finished a famous history of Troy for the beloved and lamented soldier-king—John Lydgate the monk of Bury, to write a tract showing the dangers of civil strife, as illustrated by the life of Julius Caesar. Such was the origin, as we may read it between the lines of the Calthorpe colophon, of the *Serpent of Division*, which saw the light in December 1422, less than four months after the death of Henry the

Fifth. Our tract is therefore one of the very earliest political pamphlets in English history.

The life of Julius Caesar was of course peculiarly fitted to Humphrey's purpose. He might have read it in Suetonius, or in Lucan, or in any one of a number of compendia, such as the *Speculum Historiale* of Vincent of Beauvais, or in some French chronicle like *Li Fait des Romains*. At all events his monk, like any modern historian, used these sources and all others of which he knew, in compiling this first extensive Life of Caesar in the English language. He began on some French history, none of those now known, and after drawing from Trevisa's translation of the *Polichronicon*, and Isidor of Seville's *De Etymologiis Verborum* for the account of a triumph, he found the rest of his material in Vincent of Beauvais. His mistake of 'Brutus Cassius' for 'Brutus and Cassius' he borrowed from Chaucer. One detail alone, the name Tongilius as that of the poor man who warned Caesar not to attend the Senate on the fatal day, is not to be found in these or any other sources at my disposal, and leads me to believe that the lost French original had this detail in it.

To this haphazard selection of such details as interested the writer, from half a dozen different works, is to be ascribed the singular want of proportion in the work as a whole. This fault is peculiarly Lydgate's. No writing of the time goes to greater excesses in the formlessness and incoherence characteristic of Middle English prose.

Duke Humphrey had extended a magnificent opportunity to the monk of Bury to compose a work of lasting value; but the little talent which the monk possessed was too hampered by his methods of work to be equal to the call. The *Serpent of Division* is in all essentials a piece of chronicle work, adorned with a Lydgatian distinction of style and structure.

The lack of proportion is not confined to the work as a whole. Not only is the number of pages devoted to the causes, signs, and prognostications of civic rebellion out of all proper relation to the real matter of the story, but the disproportion extends down through paragraphs, sentences, and phrases. Lydgate seems at this period constitutionally unable to set a full stop upon his page. His very terms go on propagating within the limits of a clause; and his scribes make matters worse by imitating the trick. There are, indeed, to use Lydgate's own metaphor, few more tangled weeds of rhetoric in the whole history of English prose style.

Yet on the other hand it is to be said, that Lydgate's meaning is always perfectly clear, even in his most disjointed sentence. The tract reads well aloud, as may easily be proved. It is not impossible that Englishmen of Lydgate's day listened with some interest to this tale of Caesar the mighty conquerour, now told, in any completeness, for the first time in English.

And further, if we pass over the lack of proportion in structure, and compare the tract with other contemporary prose work, such as the *Book of the*

Knight of La Tour Landry, or Hoccleve's prose tracts, we must admit Lydgate's superiority in the refinement and purity of his choice of words—a choice which makes this work read like an elegant production of a hundred years later. The smooth iambic rhythm of the phrasing testifies to the facility acquired in the composition of *Troy-book*.

It was indeed better for Lydgate's style that it was everywhere, except in this one place, bridled by rhyme, and particularly by the double reins of the difficult ballade or rhyme royal, periodic in structure and interlacing in rhyme, which he usually employed in his poems. Structurally, the *Serpent* would have profited by a metrical rendering, I feel sure.

There is a polished ease of diction about the whole production, which is distinctly a note of modernity, and which helps one to understand how John Skelton could add to his praise of Chaucer :—

Also Johan Lydgate
Wryteth after an hyer rate;
It is diffuse to fynde
The sentence of his mynde;
Yet wryteth he in his kynde
No man that can amend
Those numbers that he hath penned.

If to the merits of a clear and refined expression we add the immediate political application of the moral of the story throughout English history up to Elizabeth's day, we shall find sufficient reason for the existence of the four manuscripts of the fifteenth century, and three prints of the sixteenth century, of this account of damage and destruction caused in realms by the snake of want-trust and false suspicion.

As one reads the almost interminable sentences of the original manuscript, trailing ceaselessly from top to bottom and from side to side of the faded old vellum pages, one is tempted to credit the tedious monk with conscious artistry of purpose—an imitation in prose of the way of the Serpent.

The *Serpent of Division* is ascribed to John Lydgate in Baron Calthorpe's Yelverton MS. 35, which contains the following colophon :—

'Here endeth the cronycule of Julius Cesar Emperoure of Rome tyme (tounne?), specifying cause of the ruyne and destruccion of the same, and translated by me, Danne John Lidgate, Monke of Bury seint Edmund, the yere of our lord god MCCCC.'

The Pepys MS. 2006 ascribes the work to 'J. de B.' which we may interpret as John of Bury. It is nowhere ascribed to any one else. This external evidence, joined to the overwhelming internal evidence of Lydgate's authorship, puts the matter beyond question. Not only does every sentence proclaim

the style of the monk, but in more than one place there are accounts which are paralleled almost word for word in other works of undoubted Lydgatean authorship.

Between the colophon quoted above from the Yelverton MS. and the end of the *Serpent* text as given in the Yelverton MS., there is a curious contradiction. The text ends thus: 'The forseide division so to schewe I have remembred this forseid litill translacion. The moneth of Decembre the ffirste yere of oure souvereigne lorde that now ys king henry the vjth.' The first year of King Henry the Sixth was from September 1, 1422, to September 1, 1423. But on the other hand, the Yelverton MS. ends in the colophon as above with the number 1400. It cannot be supposed that the number IV should be substituted for the VI in order to harmonize with the date 1400, since Henry the Fourth began to reign in the year 1399. Again, the reference to Chaucer in the text (see p. 65) speaks of him as of some one long dead, and as Chaucer did not die until December, 1399, the two dates cannot be reconciled. The only solution is that the scribe of the Yelverton MS. either copied the last words of the colophon from a page faded or torn at the end, or else that he or an earlier scribe was a careless copyist. Instances of such inaccuracy are by no means uncommon at this period. In this very work there are four points of difference among the MSS. concerning the numbers at Pharsalia; and in one of these the error is due to the dropping off of a letter at the end. We are left, then, with the definite reference to the first year of King Henry the Sixth's reign, or September 1422 to September 1423. In the version here printed, that of the McLean MS., the writer says that he has translated the work at the request of his most worshipful master and sovereign. The other MSS. omit the words 'and sovereign'. Thus, Professor Schick, for example, and others have supposed that the word 'master' referred to Lydgate's literary master, Chaucer. Apart from the reading of the McLean MS., this would be reasonable enough if we accepted the date 1400, as Miss Toulmin-Smith, the Dictionary of National Biography, and others following have done, but for a work written in 1422 Chaucer cannot very well be called 'the only begettor'. The word 'sovereign' must be interpreted as meaning 'lord'. Henry the Sixth was, at the beginning of his reign, only nine months old. His uncle, Duke Humphrey of Gloucester, was, however, the actual sovereign and the titular lieutenant and protector of the realm. It must, therefore, be Humphrey to whom Lydgate refers. A few months later than this Lydgate wrote, at Duke Humphrey's request, a poem celebrating his betrothal to Jacqueline of Holland. Thus Humphrey was Lydgate's 'master', if any one might be so called. In one MS. indeed, the Bodley Ashmole 59, Lydgate is styled 'a chaplain of my lord of Gloucester'.

A further important piece of evidence on the date must here be inserted. At the end of the *Story of Thebes*, a work completed between 1421 and 1425,

Lydgate accounts for the origin of the *Serpent of Division*. The passage is so important that I beg leave to quote it.

Speght, *Chaucer* (1561) fol. 378a:

High in heaven, of pride and surquedie,
 Lucifer, fader of Envie,
 The olde Serpente, he Leuiathan,
 Was the first that ever warre began;—
 When Michael, the heavenly Champion,
 With his feres, venquished the Dragon,
 And to helle caste hym doune full lowe.
 The wiche Serpent hathe the Coccle sowe
 Through all the erth of envie and debate;
 That unnethes is ther none estate
 Withouten strif can live in charitee;—
 For every man of high and lowe Degree
 Envieth now, that other sholde thrive.
 And ground and cause, why that men so strive
 Is couetise and fals ambicion
 That everiche would have dominacion
 Over other, and trede hym under fote;
 Which of all sorowe ginnynge is and roote.
 And Christ recordeth, rede, looke, and ye may see
 For lacke of love, what mischief there shall be;
 For o people, as he doeth devise,
 Agenst an other of hate shall arise;
 And after telleth *what divisions*
 There shall be bitwene regions,
 Everiche busie other to oppresse;
 And all soche strif, as he beareth witnesse,
 Kalendes been, I take his worde to borowe,
 And a ginnynge of mischief and of sorowe.

Here, it is plain, is exactly the trend of thought in Lydgate that turned the story of Rome into a useful political tract. And here perhaps is Lydgate's suggestion for the title and some of the text of the *Serpent of Division*. Here is 'surquedous pride' matched with 'pride and surquedie'; 'couetise entremedled with Envy' with 'couetise and fals ambicion', 'division' with 'divisions', and finally and chiefly, the 'Serpent'. There are plenty of other 'Serpents' in Lydgate, if my word can be taken for it; it would be a thankless task to collect them all. But nowhere can I find a passage that is so close in theme, language, and spirit to the prose tract as here in the conclusion of the *Story of Thebes*. That the one should follow the other closely in point of time is therefore quite reasonable, even probable.

When Lydgate translated Guido's *Historia Belli Trojani* into his own *Troy-book* (1412-21), he inserted a similar passage about the Serpent. It does not develop the idea of division, as does the passage in the *Thebes*, but it is interesting as showing how the idea of this title came into being with Lydgate. The poet says of Lucifer :—

ii. 5845 ff. :

But þoruȝ his pride and his surquedie,
 Whan he seide to God, that sit so hiȝe,
 He wil be like, and also set his se
 Hiȝe in þe northe, passyng his degre,
 He was cast down with alle his legiouns
 From þe faire hevenly mansiouns,
 Al sodeynly into þe pitte of helle,
 Perpetuely þer for to duelle.
 Of whom was seide, whan he fil so ferre :
 'How fil þou so, o þou morwe sterre
 From þe myddis of þe stonys briȝt
 Þat ben so Percyng & fyry of her liȝt,
 Þat whilom wer for þi gret briȝtnes
 Callid Lucyfer,'—of whom Crist seiþ expresse
 In his gospel, how he sawe fro hevene
 Sathan discende, lik þe fryr levene—
 Þe olde serpent, þat is so lowe falle,
 Whom Hebrei in her tonge calle
 Be-mowþe, þat doth in latyn plein expresse
 A beste rude, ful of cursednesse,
 Þe vile serpent, he, Leuyathan,
 Whom Ysidre wel descriue can,
 Whiche of kynde is euere conuersaunt
 In wellis trouble, & haueþ most his haunt
 Amongis wattris in þe large see ;
 Of whom seiþ Dauid, lik as ȝe may se,
 In þe sauter makyng mencion
 Of þe snake, þe monstrous dragoun,
 Ful of venym, and of harde grace,
 Whiche in the se, large & gret of space,
 With foule addris haþe his mansioun,
 Vnto mankynde to doon illusioun,—
 Whom whilom sawe þe holy monke Brandan,
 As he seiled by þe occian,
 Þrowe and delect, in a pet horrible,
 More foule and hidous þan it is credible

þer to abide, þis tortuose serpent,
 Vnto þe day plainly of Iugement,
 þat of malis envied so mankynde.

Through the *Thebes* and the *Troy-book*, then, our Serpent is kin not only to Lucifer, Behemoth, and Leviathan, but to Grendel and to Miðgarðsormr, a world-wide ancestry.

The extract which I have just quoted may serve as well as another as proof of the essentially Lydgatian character of the *Serpent of Division*. It is indeed not a matter of dispute; from the first scribe downwards the ascription has been to Lydgate. The work turns up in Stow's and Ritson's lists, and is number 135 in my own list of 160 works by the monk. If the Yelverton MS. is authentic, and I see no good reason why it should not be, then the evidence is as certain as anything in the Middle Ages can be, without contemporary reference. It is hardly necessary to add that all the tricks of Lydgate appear here, his love of Chaucer, doubling of phrases, lack of sequence, proportion, and taste, insertion of passages on nature's changes, Fortune and her wheel, and such special phrases as 'wel willy' (p. 57, cf. *Black Knight*, l. 627), 'ought enough suffice' (*Troy-book*, at end), reference to authors, digressions based on his own reading (cf. *Thebes*, see chap. i) and his absolute clearness and modernness of style. Finally, the passage in the *Fall of Princes* (vi, xiv) discussed below, p. 33, is proof that Lydgate knew and used the *Serpent of Division* in a familiar way.

Lydgate was one of the most honest of translators. In most cases where he is rendering the work of a known author, he gives us the author's name. I need only refer to Laurent, to Guido delle Colonne, to Laurence Colet, to Doctor Machabre, to Girardus Cornubiensis, as illustrating my point.¹ In a consideration of the sources of any one of Lydgate's works, therefore, full weight must be given to the translator's own assertions.

If we compare the origin of the *Serpent of Division* with that of Lydgate's other political works, such as the *Pedigree* and the *Entry into London*, we see that in the latter cases the author was furnished with the material for his work. In the one case this was a Latin letter, in the other it was probably the text of a proclamation. So here, it is natural to believe that his 'master' or his patron furnished him with the material for his 'translation'. In what shape could this story of Julius Caesar have come to Lydgate, and how much of the composite structure of this tract is Lydgate's own work? Lydgate himself mentions 'olde bookes'; Eusebius, Lucan, Valerius, Suetonius, Vincent of Beauvais, and finally his own master Chaucer. But like his master Chaucer, Lydgate did not necessarily employ all these authorities at first hand. Our

¹ In the *Fall of Princes*, the *Troy-book*, the *Pedigree*, the *Dance of Paul's*, and the *Guy of Warwick*.

answer to these questions involves the whole Caesar history of the Middle Ages, the main substance of which I will briefly outline.

The only large collection of material on this subject that I know is in the work of Arturo Graf.¹ He has gathered a considerable number of references to the great conqueror, in French, Spanish, and Italian works chiefly. But most of the references are casual notices, using the life of Caesar as illustration of some thought. It is so in Petrarch's *Triumph of Fame*; where 'Giulio Cesare tiene il luogo più degno a fianco della dea' (iv, p. 308). The number of separate works concerning themselves solely with Caesar is limited, compared with the Cycle of Alexander, or that of Charlemagne.

Caesar was one of the Nine Worthies, and was properly considered as the greatest ruler of Rome.² To the Middle Ages, thanks to Suetonius, he was the first Emperor of Rome (Graf, p. 248). As such he entered to some extent in the fabulous romantic genealogies of other heroes and worthies (ib. pp. 301 ff.). His own conquests were enlarged by later chroniclers to be as great as Alexander's (ib. pp. 257 ff.). Each nation claimed to have first defeated him in war, and afterwards by some ruse or accident to have been conquered (ib. pp. 255 ff.). Geoffrey of Monmouth was not alone in his making Caesar fight hand-to-hand with a native hero.³ The French author of *Huon of Bordeaux* makes Caesar the father of the fairy king Oberon, and step-grandfather of Alexander the Great!

But in spite of these mediaeval errors, the chief chroniclers went but little astray in their accounts of Caesar's life. This fidelity to history was due, not to any early 'historical sense' cropping out, but to the popularity of what may be called, by comparison with the Middle Ages, the contemporary authorities. Not only did the Chroniclers, like Comestor, Eusebius, and Vincent of Beauvais (to name no more) go back to Lucan and Sallust and Suetonius for information, but the separate biographies of Julius Caesar seem as well to have been based on a compilation of these authors.

The earliest complete mediaeval life of Caesar is that contained in the so-called Codex Marcianus⁴ in Venice. It is *Li Fait des Romains*,⁵ written in Old French prose,⁶ probably in the first decades of the thirteenth century, or

¹ *Roma nella memoria e nelle immaginazioni del Medio Evo*, A. Graf, Torino, 1882, vol. i, pp. 248 ff. Cf. also H. Wesemann, *Caesarfabeln des Mittelalters*, Löwenberg, 1897.

² The Nine Worthies appear in English Literature before Lydgate's time. See *The Parliament of the Three Ages*, Gollancz, Roxburgh Club, Lond., 1897, and Laing, *Bulk of Alexander*, Edin., 1831.

³ For Caesar in Germany, see Fr. Gundelfinger, *Caesar in der deutschen Literatur*, Berl., 1904, and cf. p. 8 on Brennus.

⁴ Cat. franç. Zan. III. MS. Reference and extracts from Gellrich, *Die Intelligenza*, Breslau, 1883, p. 12. For other MSS. of this version, unpublished, see P. Meyer, *Romania*, xiv, pp. 1 ff.

⁵ l. c., p. ii, and P. Gellrich, *Die Intelligenza*, Breslau, 1883, p. 13. Also P. Meyer, *Romania*, xiv, p. 31, and R. Dermedde, *Über die . . . epischen Stoffe aus dem Altertum*, Erlangen, 1887, p. 145.

⁶ Cf. E. Monaci, *Le Storie di Cesare*, Rome, 1889, p. 240.

perhaps earlier,¹ and based upon the three authorities named. The Venetian MS. was written in 1384, or at least completed in that year.² It was translated into Italian probably in the early years of the fourteenth century as *Lucano tradotto in prosa*, and again under the name of *I Fatti di Cesare*,³ perhaps a little later. Upon the earlier French version and this Italian translation, again, was built a part of the Italian poem entitled *L'Intelligenza* (l. c., p. 13). This poem belongs to the sixteenth century (Banchi, p. xlv).

Quite apart from this version of the Life of Caesar, but based upon classical sources, is the freer and less dignified *Hystoire de Julius Cesar*, written by Jehan de Tuim, in the latter half of the thirteenth century. It survives for us in several manuscripts⁴ of the period. This is a simple, clear, and fluent narrative, quite as interesting as the other version, though not always so accurate.⁵ For example, the introduction of Jehan, with his explanation of the origin of dictators in the Roman state, is not so accurate as that of *Li Fait des Romains*. Jehan is apparently ignorant of the existence of consuls. At the same time he omits all romantic and chivalric exaggeration, and aims to be merely historical.

The *Hystoire* differs from the *Fait des Romains* in that it does not employ Sallust at all, nor Suetonius, but sticks closely to Lucan's ten books; and when that poet concludes, leaving Caesar in Egypt, the *Hystoire* takes the story as it is found in the *De Bello Civili* of Caesar, carrying him through the Spanish campaign. This ended, the *Hystoire* leaves him in his glory, at the very moment of success.⁶

Settegast's ed., p. 245:

'Ensi fu Cesar empereres de Rome, et li plus poissans princes dou monde, car il en ot bien desous lui les trois parties, k'il ot toutes conquisses, ne onques rois ne empereres n'en conquist tant a son vivant con fist Cesar. Et ore, puis ke nous avons tant menet nostre conte que Cesar a menet a fin son desirier, nous le vous laisserons a tant et nous en tairons. Et Diex soit warde de tous ciaux ki le matere en recevront et ki le roumant oront. Amen, de Julius Cesar fine chi li hystore.'

As a preface to his translation of Lucan, Jehan gives some matter introductory in regard to Roman custom and magistracy, which is very close to the similar matter in Lydgate. I shall speak of this at length in a moment.

¹ P. Meyer, *Romania*, xiv, p. 26. See the same article for another (fragmentary) romance life of Caesar, in the *Historise ancienne jusglia Cesar*, 1226 (?).

² For a full account of this MS. and of its translations and copies in Italian, see L. Banchi, *I Fatti di Cesare*, Bologna, 1863, pp. xxi ff.

³ l. c., p. ii, and P. Gellrich, *Die Intelligenza*, Breslau, 1883, p. 13. Also P. Meyer, *Romania*, xiv, p. 31.

⁴ For a description of these, with a critical text, the chief variants in Jacot de Forest, and other information, see Prof. Settegast's edition, *Li Hystoire de Julius Cesar*, Halle, 1881.

⁵ See Settegast, p. 4, and Gellrich, p. 14.

⁶ Cf. Settegast, *Giornale di Filologia Romanza*, ii, p. 176, and his own introduction to his edition of Jehan de Tuim, cited.

Derived from the prose of Jehan de Tuim is the poem, published only in extracts, of Jacot de Forest, entitled the *Roman de Julius Cesar*.¹ From the extracts printed, one is inclined to take the word of the editor of Jehan de Tuim that the latter's work is more interesting (see l. c., preface). Jacot's work is in long *laissez* of alexandrine verse of no great taste, extending to 10,000 lines (l. c., p. 175).

Mais adonc en son ost avint merveille granz,
 Quar une nuit a l'ore que les gaïtes vaillanz
 Doivent aler par l'ost por guaitier les dormanz,
 Adonc fu une ploëve jus du ciel descendanz,
 Qui molt fu perillouse et qui molt fu nuisanz;
 Quar o la pluie estoient grosses pierres cheanz,
 Qui erent tot entor cornues et poignanz,
 Si fu molt cis tempes les Romains apressanz;
 Quar les pierres les erent molt durement blecanz
 Et contre lor cols nus n'avoit autre garanz
 Que ce que chascuns s'iert de son escu covrans;
 Quar cote ne mantiaus ne lor valoit uns ganz
 Que tres parmi les dras ne fust li cols sentanz,
 Si ronpoient les pierres des tentes plusors panz.
 Einsi c'iert cis orages Cesare molt grevanz
 Si com l'estoire dist et en apres Jehanz.

The padding of the poet is evident in lines 2, 3, 5, 7, 8, 10, 16, a large proportion in sixteen lines. The lines mentioned have no counterpart in Jehan's version.

Like Jehan, Jacot's version leaves Caesar at the height of his power, Emperor of the World. But Jacot seems also to have been aware of the *Fait des Romains*, or, as Settegast calls it (l. c., p. 176), the *Vie*. Settegast's evidence is the mention in Jacot of a different opinion by 'li mestre d'Orliens'. The 'mestre's' opinion agrees with the version in the Codex Marcianus. According to Graf (l. c., vol. i, pp. 250 ff.), Jacot knew the Latin authorities as well. Until we have a complete edition of Forest this must remain doubtful; but Settegast's evidence seems pretty clear, and we can accept this important point, that the Jehan version was in at least one instance amended by comparison with *Li Fait des Romains*. I shall have occasion to use this point in a moment.

With the other references as given in the above-cited work of Graf, I have nothing to do. I here merely refer to them, though I do not believe it possible that Lydgate can have made use of any of them.

We have left, as a prime source of historical knowledge, the great chronicles

¹ See Settegast: *Jacos de Forest e la sua fonte*, *Giornale di Filologia Romanza*, ii. 172-9. He quotes some eighty lines of the poem. On the work of de Forest, see Paris, *Mediaeval French Literature*, Bibl. App. A comment on the poem is found in a note on a manuscript by P. Meyer, *Romania*, xv.

and cyclopedias of history. Naturally every universal chronicler has something to say about Julius Caesar, and to attempt to make a complete summary of these would be out of the question here. I shall refer only to Vincent of Beauvais, to whose *Speculum Historiale* (a thirteenth-century work) Lydgate makes two references. In that part of his Sixth Book in which he speaks of Caesar, Vincent uses the compilations of half a dozen chroniclers, such as Comestor, Sichardus, Helinandus, Suetonius, &c., and adds a short extract, *ex chronicis*. Lydgate was free to make what use he might of the ancient chronicles, as well as of the French epic romances.¹

Further than this, it is entirely possible that Lydgate should have had access to the original authorities. They were in evident circulation, especially the *Pharsalia*,² one of the most popular stories in the Middle Ages. Consequently, there is nothing against the assumption that Lydgate read Lucan as well in the complete original as in the extracts from him in the chronicles.³

This, then, was the set of books from which Lydgate was at liberty to select his material. An examination of the *Serpent of Division* in the light of this information will bring out all the matter that Lydgate employed; if not in the exact form in which it lay on the monk's shelf, at least in an original model. My divisions of the *Serpent* text here correspond to the marginal divisions employed in the text.

I. THE INTRODUCTION.

(a) *Origin and explanation of the Dictatorship* (Lydgate, pp. 49-50). I cite in this connexion an extract of *Li Fait des Romains*, printed in Gellrech's *Intelligenza*, p. 14. The passage is defective.

'Tarquinius li orgueilleus fu li darieniers rois de Roume. Lorsque fu abatue la dignete dou royaume et stablirent li Roumain qe dui preudome fussent par deseur les senateurs qui conseilassent la cite e fusent remue chascun an . . . Cist estoient apele consele . . . El qint an apres ce que Tarquine fu chacies de Roume, establirent li Roumain une autre dignete. Car un gendres Tarquine avoit une grant ost come por vengier la onte son seigneur. Par cele crieme fu cele dignete establee e por adrecier ce qe ne pavoit estre adrecie par ces dous consules. En cele dignite avoient trois poudes homes et les apeloient dictators . . . Cinq an duroit lor bailie et por ce estoient il plus aut qe li consule qi ne duroit qe un an . . . Li uns de ces trois dictators porveoit a la coemune

¹ From these sources must come the Britain episode, as related by Lydgate.

² See Graf, l. c., vol. ii, under *Lucano*.

³ Dante and Boccaccio both knew Caesar's life. In the *Purgatorio* (xxvi. 96 ff.) Dante refers to the scandals about Caesar's private life, related in Suetonius. He is mentioned a number of times. Boccaccio's reference in *De Casibus* is but slight (Skeat, *Cant. Tales*, B. 3863, note).

besoigne de la cite, li dui aloient fors en bataille en diverses contrees. Ces dignites estoient les greignieurs.'

From the *Fatti*, pp. 3 ff., we see that nothing was said immediately following these remarks about the dictatorship of Caesar, Pompey, and Crassus. Otherwise this statement contains everything said by Lydgate, except for the more detailed reference to the crime of Tarquin. Lydgate of course had in mind his master's *Lucrece*, in the *Legend of Good Women*, and especially line 190:—

Ne never was ther king in Rome toun
Sin thilke day.

Comparison should also be made with Jehan de Tuim, l. c., pp. 3-4. This passage is part of Jehan's original prologue, and is of course not found in Lucan.

'Quant Romulus et Remus fondee Roume premierement, il i asist tele francisse que tout cil ki d'autres tieres i vauroient venir pour estage et pour remanoir seroient franc a tous jours. Et pour ceste grant franchisse que Romulus i fist ensi crier en i vint tant en poi de tans que la chites fu si puplee et que elle esforca tant et tant fu de grant affaire k'il n'ot el monde nule meillour. Et puis monta tant et acrut la signourie de le chitet que li cithoain i establirent une coustume pay coumune juree tele que, quant aucuns princes u aucuns rois mesprendoit enviers aus, k'il aloient tout coumunement sour lui et tant se travaillierent k'il le misent au desous. Et pour cou que cites fust miex garde, la seignourie en estoit commandee as trois meillours homes de le chitet. A celui tans n'avoit onques eut en Roume ne roi ne empereour, ains eslissoient entre iaus li Roumain trois des plus haus barons de Roume et des plus puissans, et cil troi si avoient seignourie sour eus et sour toutes lor conquestes, et eslissoient ses trois barons pour cou ke, quant li .ii. se descordoient, que li tiers les ramenoit a pais et a concorde; et quant aucunes tieres voloient Rome guerroier, li dui des trois barons, ki plus estoient puissant d'armes et plus endurant, aloient la atout l'esfort de le cite, et li plus anchiens et li mains poissans remanoir en le cite pour garder la et pourveoir les autres, qui en l'ost estoient alet, de vins et de viandes, de chevaliers et de siergans au coust de le chitet, se besoins en estoit. Par ceste aliance que li Roumain avoient ensi faite entr'eus et ordence par sairement il conquerroient les tieres et les regions qui contraire lor estoient et les sousmetoient a eus par truages; et par ceste occoison acrut si le force roumaine que elle estoit doutee et cremue par tout le monde. Et a celui tans dont je vous di, que Roume estoit de si grant poir, furent esleut troi prince en Roume por garder le chite et les apartenances de l'ounour: li prumerains fu Jules Chesar, li autres Pompeus et li tiers Crassus.'

It will at once be seen that this introduction of Jehan's is defective, in that it leaves out all mention of both kings and consuls. But on the other hand the two reasons given for the establishment of the dictatorship, the direct reference to Caesar, Pompey, and Crassus, and the description of the happiness and glory of the city under Romulus and Remus, are much closer to our Lydgate text than the *Fait des Romains*.

Now nothing, it seems to me, would be more natural for a redactor of Jehan de Tuim in the fourteenth century than to correct these faults of Jehan by additions from the work of the 'mestre d'Orliens'. We have seen above the evidence cited for a precisely similar act by Jacot de Forest. If some French scribe did so, as I believe, then the result would be so close to the actual statements as found in the *Serpent of Division* as to leave no doubt of Lydgate's knowledge and use of the French romance.

It is, of course, barely possible that Lydgate worked directly on the French of Jehan, or of his redactor, Jacot de Forest. In this case, it would merely be necessary to assume that Lydgate himself made the corrections from his knowledge of Roman history. He would not have to know much in order to do it. Chaucer's *Lucrece*, which he certainly knew, gave him all the information needful. In either case, I believe that a version of the Jehan romance gave Lydgate the model for his introduction.¹

(b) *Rest of Introduction.* For the division brought on by Covetise and envye and pride, I quote here Jehan de Tuim (pp. 12-13):—

'Ceste discorde en tel maniere com vous l'aves oit fu premierement esmene par Pompee et par le grant orgueil des Roumains et par lor envie. Car orguels et envie ont mainte folie faite emprandre, et ce n'avint a mout d'autres gens, ki par orgueil et par envie entreprendent tel chose dont il et autre sont souvent viergongnie et empiriet. Li envie ki estoit en Roume et li avoiers faisoient enorgeillir les chithoans, ausi comme il font les auquans. Nampourquant tout ausi comme Fortune fait l'oume joiant, tout ausi tost le refait elle dolant, quant la roee tourne; et d'autre part on ne voit mie souvent avenir que orgius et grans signourie puissent ensamble durer lonc tans, mais de tant com li hom amonte plus haut en poissance, de tant chiet il plus tost, ausi comme li pesans fais ki trop est grans. Tout ausi est de Ponpee; il estoit si convoiteus d'onnour tenir k'il ne voloit ke nus fust a lui pers de seignourie et voloit ke si commandement fuissent gardet sour tous autres et tenut; et cou est une chose que ne voit mie souvent avenir, que doi chevalier ki tenant soient d'une tiere soient ensamble concordant; et pour cou doutoit Pompeus que ses lox ne declinast et sa seignourie pour le los de Julle Cesaie, pour cou k'il savoit bien que Jules Cesar estoit plus conquerans de lui et miex vaillans. Jules Cesar retennoit a grant desdaing qu'il fust a Pompee obeissans. Ensi voloit cascuns iestre sires, et ensi commenca li discorde, don Pompeus fut puis desconfis es plains de Thessalle si com vous le poret oir tout apiertement en cest livre.'

This matter does not appear in the *Fait des Romains*. Its appearance at this place in the narrative of Jehan, as an introduction to his paraphrase of Lucan, and the terms in which he expresses the causes of the war, are so close to Lydgate's own actions and terms as to leave little doubt that somewhere the

¹ From this point the narrative of the Codex Marcianus follows Sallust and Caesar's *De Bello Civili* up to his crossing the Rubicon. Lydgate of course used none of this material.

latter had read the work of Jehan de Tuim. Such words as *orguels*, *envie*, *convoiteus*, *discorde*, *vergongnie*, *empiriet*, all find echoes in Lydgate's lines. The accounting for the division by pride (Jehan: *desdaing*) on the part of Caesar, and *couetise* (cf. *convoitous*) mingled with *envie* on Pompey's part, is precisely the same in both. And it is not enough to refer to Lucan's lines explaining the causes at the beginning of his poem, for why would both writers have taken these reasons out of their natural order and inserted them here? Besides, Lydgate, the poorer prose artist of the two, takes Lucan's reasons later where he finds them in his text, and expands them to his heart's content, apparently forgetting the short and vigorous summary he had copied from Jehan.

II. CAESAR'S CONQUEST, AND THE HISTORY UP TO THE RUBICON.

(a) *Caesar's and Crassus' mission* (Lydgate, p. 50. Jehan, pp. 5-6).

'Quant cil troi prince furent elleut par le commun assens dou peuple roumain, Crassus fu envoies en Arrabe selonc l'usage de Rome pour conkester sour Turs et sour Arrabiens . . . Apries cou Cesar fu envoies en France; mes avant k'il se meust, &c.'¹

(b) *Caesar's conquests, and the terms of his lustre* (Jehan, p. 6).

'Quant Jules Cesar parvint en France, mout trouva les paisans aspres et combatans. Morteus batailles i fist et mout i ot paines et travaus et tant i demora que li tiermes des .v. ans, k'il en Roume dut revenir, fu tous passes. Apries ces .v. ans i fu autres .v. ans, et dedens ces .v. ans il conkuis mout, car es premerains .v. ans il ne conkuis mie plus de la moietie de France, mais il fist tant es autres .v. ans que li plus grant partie fu desous se miercit, et li fisent feeute et sairement et liverent boins hostages, ki seroient a tous ses besoins a son commandement et foi li porteroient et loiaute comme a lor seignour. Et quant il ot ensi France conkestee, dont primes pensa il k'il retourneroit a Roume . . .'

Immediately preceding this passage in Jehan is the passage that possibly served as the model for Lydgate's definition of a lustre.

Jehan, p. 6. 'Apries cou Cesar fu envoies en France; mes avant k'il se meust, li senat de Roume et tout li baron communement li disent k'il li dounoient .v. ans de sejour pour demorer en France, mais bien seust pour voir ke, s'il trespasoit celui tiermine, qu'il a Roume ne retornast, il mesferoit enviers Roume et aroit dou tout pierdue lour amour. Apries ceste devis Julius Cesar s'en ala en France.'

Jehan is a Frenchman, and names nearly thirty of the provinces of France as conquered by Caesar, as well as the 'Flamens, Engletiere et plussour autres tieres dont jou mie ne sai les noms'. (p. 7.)

¹ A closer parallel is cited below, under 'Crassus' death', p. 17.

It was, I believe, the mention of the last-named country, and the fact that he was writing for a great Englishman, that suggested to Lydgate the digression at this point, with a short account of Caesar's conquest of Britain. This thought was, of course, strengthened by the genuine topical value of the British episode, as illustrating the dangers of division.

Pages 50 and 51, then, are due to the fact that an Englishman is rendering the French story for an Englishman. The source that Lydgate gives for this account of the conquest is 'the worthi Clerk Eusebius', by which he means, of course, the chronicles that went under the name of Eusebius. These were continued, enlarged, and brought up to date at least as late as 1500, for recently at Kiel a copy was offered for sale that was said to have recorded the discovery of America. Vincent of Beauvais quotes frequently from *Eusebius ex Chronicis* (cf. Bk. VI, ch. i, &c.), and Lydgate may have copied the reference down from some history, just as later in this work he quotes Vincent's quotation of Suetonius.

I have not been able to use any copy of the *Chronicles of Eusebius*, which gives the *Brut* account. The original tabular history of Eusebius¹ says nothing about Cassibelaunus, and of course nothing about Nennius, his brother, whose name Lydgate could not recall.²

It is my opinion that Lydgate is here trusting to memory; that he is actually recollecting the story from the *Brut*, which he knew from his own work on it, as we shall see, and which he ascribes to Eusebius for good substantiation; who indeed may have had the tale thrust in somewhere in his *Chronicles*. In another place in this work he is certainly trusting to memory, and there again his memory has played him false.³ I shall take this up later.

The combat with Nennius is described in detail by Geoffrey of Monmouth in his *Historia Britonum*, Bk. IV, ch. iii. Here Nennius is described as being mortally wounded in Caesar's first campaign. Later redactions of the *Brut* changed this part of the story but slightly, for in the very *Brut* to which Lydgate himself contributed, according to Shirley's statement,⁴ the same account is given. I quote from the Harvard MS., fol. lxxii*a*.

¹ The *Chronicon Tripartitum*.

² I shall presently consider Trevisa's *Polychronicon* as a Lydgate source, and I may be allowed to cite the works of Eusebius from which Ranulph Higden and John of Trevisa made their citations, and from whose citations Lydgate may have got his idea of a *Eusebius-Brut* (Rolls Series, vol. i, pp. 21-22; Trevisa, Bk. I, ch. ii), 'Eusebius in Historia Ecclesiastica, cuius xi sunt libri. Historia Ecclesiastica Tripartita, cuius tres sunt auctores Eusebius, Hieronymus, et Theodorus Episcopus.' But Lydgate got no Eusebius passage from Higden-Trevisa, whose account of Caesar's conquest is quite different.

³ For a list of the Mediaeval Chroniclers, see R. H. Fletcher, 'Arthurian Material in the Chronicles,' &c., *Harv. Stu. and Notes*, vol. x, 1906.

⁴ See Robinson's account of the Harvard MS. in which this work is found, *Harv. Stu. and Notes*, vol. v, p. 185.

'Cassibealaunus faghte with Cesar and descommfytet him, in *the* whiche bataylle was slayne Nennon *that* was Cassibelanes brother for whome he made gret dooll, vpon which descommfiture Julyus Cesar which (with) his Romayns that were lefte on lyve departed. . . .'

The payment of the three thousand pounds belongs to the very earliest chronicles, such as Geoffrey and Layamon; but the ascription of the various castles and their names is a later addition. I can find no chronicle that ascribes these castles to Julius Caesar, but this popular etymology must have been accepted long before Lydgate's day.¹

A close parallel to that part of the *Serpent of Division* dealing with the conquest of Brutus Albion by Caesar is found in some introductory stanzas of Lydgate's *Life of St. Albion and St. Amphabel*, i. 106-40. The passage is quoted here at length, as being confirmatory of Lydgate's claim to authorship of the *Serpent of Division*. The verbal resemblances to the text of the latter are so numerous as to establish Lydgate's authorship on the strength of this passage alone. Note particularly the emphasis on the very word *division*, an emphasis not suggested or needed in any way by the purpose of the *Life of St. Albion*, but wholly because Lydgate was writing from his memory of his *Serpent*. The reference in line 120 to *Lucane* is interesting as showing Lydgate's inexact memory; Eusebius is his authority for this matter in the *Serpent*. As a matter of fact it was some form of the *Brut* in both cases that gave the story.

ST. ALBION AND ST. AMPHABEL.

i. 106-40.

Tyme remembered of olde antiquite:
 The same tyme whan Cesar Julius
 Was passed out of Rome the cite
 Ouer the Alpeys, in knyghthode famous,
 By assent of fortune notable and glorious;
 This marciall man, armed with plate and mayle,
 Had ouer-ryden the boundes of Itayle,

Brought the countres through his hygh renowne
 Magre theyr myght to stande in obeysance
 And ben subiectes to them of Rome towne:
 All Germany conquered in substance:
 Downe descendyng in to the realme of Fraunce
 Daunted thyr pryde; and after dyd ordeyne
 With a great armye to aryue vp in Briteyne.

¹ For two similar notices see my notes on the passage.

Twyes put of, by recorde of Lucane,
 At his arryuayle, of very force and myght,
 By the prowesse of Cassybylan.
 Touchyng the title, were it wronge or ryght,
 Of the sayd Cesar, deme euery maner wyght
 What that hym lust—for, in conclusion,
 Cause of his entre was false diuision

Among themselfe, wherby he gat that londe,
 Made the Britons to be tributarie
 To the Romainys, by statute and by bonde,—
 None so hardy to be therto contrarye.
 Cause of this conquest, to wryte and not tarye,
 Was deuision, the cronycle ye may se,
 Betwene Cassybylan and duke Androgee.

Ouer-maistred was Brutus Albion
 By Julyus sworde,—remembred in scripture—
 Recorde the gospell: where is deuision,
 Frowarde discention, of case or auenture,
 That region may no whyle endure
 In prosperite:—for by discorde and tweyne
 To subiection was brought all Bryteyne.

(c) *The death of Crassus.* Jehan de Tuim mentions the death of Crassus, though not exactly as Lydgate gives it:

'... si avint k'il fu ochis ensi com vous ores: pour cou k'il estoit convoitous sour avoir, li Turc li fisent or fondut avaler ou cors parmi la bouche si caut (haut) com il estoit, en tel maniere fu Crassus ochis.'

Now Lydgate had his Lucan with him in some more exact form than this, and was presently to use it in his history. He knew therefore that Crassus really went against the Parthians (cf. *Pharsalia*, Lib. I. 106), and he naturally looked about for another description of the same event. This he found in Ranulph Higden's *Polychronicon*, probably in the translation by John of Trevisa.¹ It was at once adopted as his own version.

iv, p. 187. Higden (Trevisa's tr.), Lib. III, c. ix:

'Crassus Pompeus his felowe and consul, after Gabinius his deeth was sente to be ruler of Siria, for to chaste the Parthes that were i-worthe rebel. Forto spede that iornay Crassus took two thowsand talentes of the temple of Ierusalem the whiche Pompeus sparede. Therefore Crassus fightyng agens the Parthes (was ouercome and i-take. The

¹ I quote from the bilingual edition by Babington in the Rolls Series, Lond., 1865.

IV. THE REQUEST FOR A TRIUMPH, AND THE DESCRIPTION OF ONE.

(Lydgate, pp. 53 ff.)

Jehan, pp. 7-10: 'Quant Cesar ot toutes les tieres conquises des Gascogne desi ou Rhin, si comme Gascogne mesmes, Prouvence, . . . &c. : it retourna viers Roume, mais il mist avant gardes et baillius pour faire le droit et maintenir en toutes ces tieres k'il avoit conquises. Quant il vint a Mougin, il se pensa k'il enverroit a Roume messages ki noncieroient sa venue et ki de par lui requeroient la miercit dou tiermine k'il avoit trespasset et k'il fust recuellis a honnour selonc l'usage de Roume.

'A celui tans avoient Romain tel usage que, quant il envoioient aucun des lor pour tiere conquerre et il retournoit o victore, tout li chithain s'asambloient communement pour aler encontre lui, et li juge et li senat, li prouvost et li grant seignour aloient devant et li faisoient mener un char dont les roes et tout li fust estoient couviert d'or et d'argent ; par devant deviers les limons estoit tout aornes de gemmes et de pieres prescieuses ; les couples et tout li trait estoient de soie si bien et si richement ouvre comme il couvenoit a tel char. Et quant il venoient pries de lui, il le saluoient tout a une vois et l'apieloient venqueour sage et poissant ; dont li viestoient une viesture a or et a pieres prescieuses et passeoient sour le char et tout ensi le menoient dedens Roume, sauf tant que il metoient .I. sierf avoec lui sour le char, qui le feroit d'ores a autres de la paume as costes en semblance de humilite, pour cou ke ses cuers ne s'eslevast en fierte ne en orgueil pour cele honor c'om li faisoit ; car cil par qui il l'avoit le retanroit a son plaisir. Avoec ceste coustume i avoit une autre. Car on portoit devant le venqueour une table de keuvre toute doree et perree tout entour et as cors de pieres prescieuses, et dedens cele table estoit escripte toute se conkeste, et li vainquieres racontoit tout ensi com il avoit ouvre oiant tous, et tous li peuples roumains aloit apries le char menant si grant joie comme il plus pooient, et ensi le conduisent parmi Roume dusc'al mestre palais imperial, et la le metoient jus dou char et le faisoient ou palais monter par les degres et asseoir en .I. faudestuef en tel liu que cascuns le pooit veoir ; dont s'i faisoit couronner d'un vert chapiel de lorier en senefiance de victore, et illuec departoit as haus barons de Roume ses grans dons, si comme or et argent, dras de soie et autres riches presens, et puis issoit hors del palais tout ensi courounes et venoit au peuple ki as degres l'atendoit et jetoit entre eus deniers et esparloit par tout a diestre et a seniestre, tant que il venoit a son hostel ; puis se retournoit li peuples. Et ceste fieste, on l'apieloit communement triumphe, ce est a dire victore.'

It must be evident that Lydgate drew his idea for explaining what a triumph is, at this particular point in his narrative, from the old French version of Lucan. And in general the two descriptions are written in the same manner. But the details of Lydgate are more specific in most instances ; he adds to the car its four horses, he puts speech into the mouth of the serf. On the other hand, he omits the account of the 'table' with the deeds of the hero inscribed thereon. Again, the largesse to the crowd is omitted. It is clear, then, that Lydgate was dissatisfied with the account of a triumph as given by Jehan or his redactor, and set about to improve it.

Here the *Polychronicon* of Higden, in its Trevisa translation, would again occur to him. There is a whole chapter in the third book of the *Polychronicon* devoted to Roman customs, and the first part of it describes a Roman triumph. As we have seen (p. 18) the good monk had already made use of Trevisa, and he now takes him up again, to supply the deficiency of the French work, given him to English.

Trevisa, translation of *Polychronicon*, l. c. vol. i, Lib. 3, cap. xxv. De quibusdam Romanorum institutis et obseruatis.

‘Whan duke, kyng, consul, other emperour hadde i-doo greet viage and victorie, and come into Rome, at his comynge he schulde *with thre* manere worschippe be vnderfonge. Al *the* peple schulde come *agenst* hym, *with all the* solempne mer*the*, comferte and ioye *that they* kout*he* make; alle the prisoners schulde folwe *the* chaar *with* hire bondes i-bounde byhynde her bakkes; *this* victor hymself schulde were on Jupiter his cote and sitte in a chaar that fyve (Latin text quatuor, and probably “four” in other lost versions of Trevisa) white hors schulde drawe anon to *the* Capitolie, therof speketh Ouidius

With foure hors all snowe white
Thou schalt, sire Emperour, wende—

Yit among all this worschippe for he schulde not forgete hymself, this onnuy he hadde: a cherle was *with* hym in his chare, and smote hym alwey in *the* nekke; and *that* for tweye skillis; *that* oon was, for he schulde nought be proude of *that* greet worschippe; *that other* skile was for euerich man schulde hope to come to *that* worschippe, yif he made hymself worthy by his dedes. While *the* cherle smoot the victor, he schulde ofte seie to hym in this manere: Nothisselitos (Notho solitos in other MSS.) *that* is to menyng, Knowe *thyself*: as who seith, Be nought to proude of this worschippe. And also *that* day man hadde leue to seie to the victor what euere he wolde, and no blame schulde take. And so were many dispitous worde i-seide to Iulius Cesar, and he took therof no maner wreche. . .¹

The parallel here to the description in the *Serpent of Division* is striking, and can leave no doubt in the mind of any one that the older text is the original

¹ A proof that Lydgate knew the *Polychronicon* account of Julius Caesar is found in an anecdote related by Lydgate in the *Prologue of the Fall of Princes*. Its source, or at least the nearest place in which the monk could find it, is the *Polychronicon*, Bk. III (vol. iv, p. 217, Rolls Series ed.):

For in the tyme of Cesar Julius
When the triumphe he wan in Rome towne,
He enter woulde the schole of Tullius
And hear his lecture of great affection;
And notwithstanding his conquest and renown
Unto bokes he gave great attendaunce,
And in stories had great ioye and plesaunce.

of the younger. The 'three maner wise' is too close a parallel to appear anywhere else: and so too is that of the churl and his words. It is impossible for me to conceive of the Greek words γνῶθι σεαυτόν becoming corrupted in the same manner independently to a combination like *Notis solitos*. But further comment is unnecessary upon so complete a parallel as this.¹

Yet even this source leaves unexplained three details of Lydgate's description; the 'sercle' of the palme with spines in case of a bloody victory, the sceptre with the Eagle, and the difference between Tryumphus and Tropheum. Evidently, Lydgate went still further for details of the ancient triumphs. He may have felt this digression justified by the fact that his 'master' had undoubtedly seen mediaeval 'triumphs', and would be glad to learn of the custom of antiquity.²

In a search for more material to complete his account, Lydgate naturally went straight to the first of the two authorities mentioned at the head of the fortieth chapter in Trevisa. The references are:—'*Isidorus, Etym.*, libro octavo decimo, cap. de triumpho, et Hugutio, cap. tris.' These are, of course, the *Etymologiae* of Isidore of Seville in twenty books, and the similar work of Hugo Pisanus.³ Lydgate apparently contented himself with a reference to the former alone, for in Isidore we find the sources of these three details.⁴

I transcribe here, from the edition of 1483, printed at Venice,⁵ practically the entire chapter *De Triumphis*, because it shows that while it was the model for Higden in his chapter, it was certainly not the model for Lydgate, except in this secondary way. For instance, the tripartite honour of the triumph, by Isidore considered as that of the senate, the army, and the people, is very different from the triple honour of Higden and Lydgate. Again, Isidore does not mention four *white* horses, nor the churl's words to the conqueror, and he substitutes the hangman for the churl.

Isidore, *Etymologiarum Libri XX*, Liber XVIII, cap. *De Triumphis* (Venice, ed. of 1483, fol. 90 a).

'Omne regnum seculi huius belli quaeritur victoriis propagatur. Victoria dicta quando vi id est virtute adipiscatur. Hoc est enim gentium vim vi expellere. Nam turpis est dolo quaesita victoria. Certa autem victoria est vel occisio hostis vel expoliatio (?)—

¹ Notice, however, that Lydgate says 'this worde', not 'thise wordes', in speaking of 'Notys Jolytos'. Evidently in the original text the two words were written as one, as in Trevisa. But 'worde' may here signify 'motto' merely.

² Cf. the descriptions of the triumph in the *Ballad of Agincourt*, in Wright, *Political Songs*, vol. ii; and Lydgate's own description in the *Triumphal Entry*, discussed elsewhere.

³ *De Derivationibus*.

⁴ That Isidore was perfectly accessible to English readers at this time is shown by the numerous borrowings from his work in Lydgate's *Secrees*, written in his old age. See the introduction in Steele's edition, in the E. E. T. S.

⁵ In the Boston Public Library, a beautiful specimen of early printing.

vel utrumque. Non est autem iocunda victoria quae *per* immensa detrimenta contingit. *Et hoc est quod* laudat Salustius duces victoriam in cruento exercitu deportasse. Pompa (tropheum) dicta est graeca significatione ἀπὸ τῆς τροπῆς, id est a conversione et fuga. Nam ab eo *quando* hostem quis fugasset merebat tropheum—*quando* occidisset triumphum, qui dictus est ἀπὸ τῆς τριουμβῆς, id est ab exultatione. Plenae enim victoriae triumphus debet, semiplenae tropheum quod *nondum* plenam est consecutus victoriam. Non enim obtinuit si qua fugavit exercitum. Haec tum nomina scriptores confundunt. Tranquillus autem latine dicit potius *appellatum* *quando* is qui triumphans urbem ingrederetur tripartito indicio honoraretur. Nam primum de triumpho duci concedendo exercitum indicare *solitum* erat, secundo senatum tertio populum. Erat autem apud romanos mos ut triumphantes quadrigis veherentur, ex illo *quia* soliti sint *priores* duces hoc habitu bella inire. Quicumque autem in conflictu vicisset palma aurea coronabatur, *quia* palma stimulos habet. Qui vero sine conflictu fugientem *prostrasset* laureo eo *quod* haec arbor sine spinis est. Namque *et* purpuream *et* palmatam togam triumphantes induebantur, et scipionem cum sceptro in manu gerebant ad imitationem victoriae scipionis, *licetque* et scipio bacullus sit quo homines innituntur, unde et ille primus cornelius scipio *appellatus* est, quum in foro pater eius *caecus* innixus eo ambulabat. Supra scipionem autem aquila supersedebat ob indicium *quod per* victoriam quasi ad *supernam* magnitudinem accederunt. Inde et colore rufo pliniebantur quasi imitarentur divini ignis effigiem. *Quando vero* a carnifice contingebantur id erat indicio ut ad *tantum* fastigium evecti mediocritatis humanae commonerentur. Duobus autem generibus deletus exercitus aut internitione aut dispersione . . ., &c. (The rest of the chapter consists of brief definitions of hostis—Internitio—dispersio (disicere corpora ponto) spolia—praeda—manubiae.)

Evidently Lydgate read through Isidore before beginning his own account, and decided to add the details of the procession as he went along, the crown of palm or laurel, the sceptre with the eagle above. Then he added the definition of Tropheum as an afterthought. It is hardly necessary, perhaps, to call attention to Lydgate's confusion of the laurel with the palm. Isidore speaks only of a golden palm crown, or a crown of laurel: but Lydgate, having got the laurel upon the victor's head (this from the Old French version), proceeds to add the palm in form of a necklace, and to make it with or without thorns. It is not necessary, I believe, to hypothecate an intermediate version, in which this confusion took place, for Lydgate's methods of compilation would naturally lead to just this result.

V. THE REFUSAL OF THE TRIUMPH, AND CAESAR'S ANGER.

The closest parallel to the passage in Lydgate is that in Jehan de Tuim, where it occupies a similar position, namely, immediately after the description of the triumph.

Jehan, pp. 10-11: 'Mais ore vous lairons de cou ester si vous dirons des mesages que Cesar ot envoies a Roume pour nonchier se venue as chithoains. Il furnirent lor

messages si com il lor furent encarghie, et puis retournerent arriere a lor seignour et li conterent le responsse k'il avoient trouvee en Roumains, et disent ke Pompeus et li senat de Roume et tout li Roumain estoient envers lui courechiet, pour cou k'il avoit en France demouret outre le tierrme c'on li avoit otroiet; et pour cou Pompeus premierement, et li senat et tout li prince de Roume en apries li deveoient l'onnour dou triomphe et toute lor amour, s'il ne vient a lor mierchit.

Quant Cesar oi ceste response, ore poes croire ke mout fu dolereusement courechies, et ne fu mis mout grans mierveille. Dont dist ke mauvesement li avoient li Roumain guerredoune cou k'il avoit tantes tieres fait venir a lor miercit et les paines et les travaux k'il en avoit eus; et quant il sour cou li deveoient l'ounour dou triomphe, pour tel mesfet, bien pert ke il ne li voloient mie grant bien. Mais bien sace Pompeus que, tant com il sera en tele propriete et il avera tant de pseudomes entour lui si poissans d'armes et si souffrans, que il ja ne se metera en se mierchit; car dont seroit il vis recreans, et bien li deveroit iestre reprove par raison, s'il pierdoit par laskete cou k'il puet retenir par force; et puis ke on de droit li default, il le recouverra par force, s'il onques puet.'

VI. THE THREE CAUSES OF THE WAR.

(Lydgate, pp. 55 ff.)

We have here a curious example of the inconsequential workings of Lydgate's mind. He has already remarked on the causes of the war on pp. 49 and 50, making use of Jehan's summary at the close of his prologue. But now, coming again upon this summary of Jehan, he enumerates the causes once more, this time with a considerable elaboration in his own conventional style, and pretending to draw only from Lucan.

Jehan's summary has already been quoted on pp. 12-13. The reader will see that no reference to Lucan's three reasons is there made. Nor in Jehan's rendering of Lucan, that follows, are these reasons given. The other histories and chronicles mentioned elsewhere give no better help. I believe, therefore, that Lydgate took his text straight from a manuscript of Lucan, embroidering upon it the rhetoric of his own conventional style of poetry, and recalling the earlier section of Jehan, already cited, p. 12.

The lines in Lucan, which form his text, are these¹:—

Lib. I, ll. 67-72:

Fert animus causas tantarum expromere rerum,
Inmensumque aperitur opus, quid in arma furem
Inpulerit populum, quid pacem excusserit orbi:
Invida fatorum series, summisque negatum
Stare diu, nimioque graves sub pondere lapsus,
Nec se Roma ferens.

¹ I quote from the edition of the *Pharsalia*, ed. by C. M. Francken, 'Lugduni Batavorum,' 1896.

But the 'consuetudinary' behaviour of Fortune and her wheel was suggested by Jehan de Tuim, in the passage already quoted (p. 13, Jehan, p. 12). Words like 'Nampourquant' and phrases like 'on ne voit mie souvent' were the suggestion of this second classification of Lydgate's. The wheel of Fortune is of course one of the most frequent metaphors in Lydgate's writings, but its use here is very likely due to the Jehan passage.

The third cause, too, is the result of a reading of the passage of Jehan, already quoted, pp. 12-13. It was a 'voluntary' cause, because 'Ponpee ne *voloit* ke nus fust a lui pers de seignourie et *voloit* ke si commandement fuissent gardet sour tous autres'. But ll. 87-97 in Lucan may have guided Lydgate in accepting Jehan's interpretation, for his thought is the same as that quoted on p. 24, in ll. 92-3. With these should be compared the following in Lucan:—

ll. 120 ff.:

Stimulos dedit aemula virtus:

Tu, nova ne veteres obscurent acta triumphos,
Et victis cedat piratica laurea Gallis,
Magne, times, te iam series ususque laborum
Erigit, inpatiensque loci fortuna secundi.
Nec quemquam iam ferre potest Caesarve priorem,
Pompeiusve parem.¹

Pompey's 'secret drede' as given on p. 52 of the *Serpent of Division* seems an echo of these lines.

VII. THE RUBICON (pp. 56 ff.).

The legend of Caesar's crossing of the Rubicon is so differently presented in the different texts that served to make up our English version, as to require particular attention.

I give first of all the account as Lucan wrote it:—

ll. 185-232:

Ut ventum est parvi Rubiconis ad undas,
Lugens visa duci Patriae trepidantis imago
Clara per obscuram voltu maestissima noctem,
(Turrihero canos effundens vertice crinis)
Caesarie lacera, nudisque adstare lacertis,

¹ The *Fait des Romains* says:—'Lucans dist qe la souveraine cause de la bataille fu qe Pompee et li noble Roumain ne li donoient son triumphe et l'ounor de sa victoire et le tindrent por coupable et por forfeit vers la majeste dou comun.'

Et gemitu permixta loqui : ' Quo tenditis ultra ?
 Quo fertis mea signa, viri ? Si iure venitis,
 Si cives, huc usque licet.' Tunc perculit horror
 Membra ducis ; riguere comae, gressumque coercens
 Languor in extrema tenuit vestigia ripa.
 Mox ait : ' O magnae qui moenia prospicis urbis
 Tarpeia de rupe tonans, Phrygiique penates
 Gentis Iuleae, et rapti secreta Quirini,
 Et residens celsa Latiaris Iuppiter Alba,
 Vestalesque foci, summique o numinis instar
 Roma, fave coeptis. Non te furialibus armis
 Persequor. En, adsum, victor terraque marique
 Caesar ubique tuus, liceat modo, nunc quoque, miles.
 Ille erit, ille nocens, qui me tibi fecerit hostem.'
 Inde moras solvit belli, tumidumque per amnem
 Signa tulit propere, sicut squalentibus arvis
 Aestiferae Libyes viso leo comminus hoste
 Subsedit dubius, totam dum colligit iram ;
 Mox ubi se saevae stimulavit verbere caudae
 Erexitque iubam et vasto grave murmur hiatu
 Infremuit, tunc, torta levis si lancea Mauri
 Haereat, aut latum subeant venabula pectus,
 Per ferrum tanti securus volneris exit.

Fonte cadit modico, parvisque inpellitur undis
 Puniceus Rubicon, cum fervida canduit aestas,
 Perque imas serpit valles et Gallica certus
 Limes ab Ausoniis disterminat arva colonis.
 Tunc vires praebebat hiems, atque auxerat undas
 Tertia iam gravido pluvialis Cynthia cornu,
 Et madidis euri resolutae flatibus Alpes.
 Primus in oblicum sonipes opponitur amnem,
 Excepturus aquas, molli tunc cetera rumpit
 Turba vado facilis iam fracti fluminis undas.
 Caesar ut adversam, superato gurgite, ripam
 Adtigit, Hesperiae vetitis et constitit arvis,
 Hic ait, hic pacem temerataque iura relinquo ;
 Te, Fortuna, sequor. Procul hinc tam foedera sunt.
 Credidimus fatis, utendum est iudice bello.
 Sic fatus, noctis tenebris rapit agmina ductor
 Inpiger. It torto Balearis verbere fundae
 Ocior et missa Parthi post terga sagitta,
 Vicinumque minax invadit Ariminum, ut ignis
 Solis Lucifero fugiebant astra relicto.

Now it is perfectly evident that although a form like 'Rubicanis' in Lydgate, from Lucan's genitive case, l. 185, seems to indicate an acquaintance with the Lucan story,¹ yet Lydgate's narrative is not as a whole taken from Lucan. There has been an obvious evolution of the story from Lucan: the 'imago' has lost her character as the 'Patria', details have been added to her appearance, and chiefest of all, Caesar's device for crossing has been abandoned for the picturesque plunge at the head of his troops. In seeking for an intermediate version between Lucan and Lydgate, we get no help from Jehan de Tuim. This sensible man gets rid of all the supernatural in Lucan, here as well as elsewhere, and keeps only the device of the cavalry breaking the force of the stream, which is just what is omitted in Lydgate.

Here the *Fait des Romains* helps us out wonderfully. I transcribe the account from the fragments edited by Gellrech (l. c., pp. 16-19):—

'Quant Cesar fut sour la rive de Rubicon, il sembla qe il veist devant soi une grant image toute eschevele qi avoit tous ces cheveux de rous. Et avoit ces bras nus et descouvers et gemisoit et disoit: "ha, seignor home, ou voles vos aler outre ceste eve? Ou voles vos aler et porter mes banieres et mes enseignes? Se vos iestes rien enprendre vers moi, or devez vos metre jus les armes et venir jusq'a Rome. Car piece que jugemens est dounes qe qionque pasera ceste eve armes il sera tenu por henemi mortel del commun de Roume. . . ."

'Lues qe Cesar vit o soi ceste merveille il fu espoentes. Tuit li membre li trembloient de paor, si chevoils li devindrent hericie, il fu tous amortis et s'estint tous sour la rive et pensa bien que cele image representoit le pais de Roume. Lors parla et dist: . . . "Je n'ai pas pris armes contre toi, ains revaing come cil cui tu dois recevoir a honor et por les batailles qe je ai vaincues et me dois rendre mon triumphe. Car j'ai ete li tien Cesar en tere et en mer et me suis combatus por ta seignorie et por ta dignete accroistre. . . ." Qant il ot en tiel maniere parle, "Seignor, dist il a ces chevaliers, or poons nos retourner se nos volons. Car se nos pasons ceste eve par armes nos couvendra fere qange nos ferons." . . . Endementiers qe Cesar estoit en doute de si grant chose coumenier come de passer Rubicon armes contre le commun de Roume et il demouroit sour la rive tous esbais, la forme d'un grant jasant aparut iluec pres soudanement en eseant et tenoit une muse en sa main d'un rosel et musoit si haut et si bien qe il pastor de la mesnee Cesar entour et li chevalier de la maisnee Cesar i coururent por veoir et por oir ceste merveille. Et des buisineors de l'ost i corut il ensemment et cil jijans qi se seoit et musoit saut sus voiant tous, et si tolt une buisine a un des buisineors et vient droit a la rive et met la boisine a sa bouce et soune vertueusement un grant glas. Qant il ot un gran glas soune il entre en Rubicon et pase outre et apert a la rive d'autre part. Cesar qi ceste merveille vit prist cuer, et autretint come li lions qi est a estal qant il voit son henemi devant soi, ensemment Cesar, qant il ot son ardemment cuieili, il heurte chevaus des esperons

¹ The source of Lydgate probably had the same form. The genitive was common. Cf. Canton's *Eneydos*.

et se met en li ave a estes et pase outre vistement. Mes il ot ancois dit a ces homes "pasons outre seignors, ardiemant la ou ceste demoustrance de dyeu nos apele et la felonie et la mauvestie de nos henemis nos semont." Les legions se metent lues en li ave et passent apres lui. Qant Cesar et li sien furent outre et il se vit ou leu ou li Roumain avoient defendu qe nus ne portast armes, il dit "ci faut l'amor et la pais, ci faut tant d'aliance come il a entre moi e Pompee. Desoremes m'abandoing et met en aventure ce qe fortune me donra si la bataille sera jugee et fins de la qerele. . ."

'Cesar et li sien s'en vont . . . tant qe droit devant l'ajornement s'en vint devant Arimine. Li tens fu auques obscurs . . . il estoit encore mult matin. . .'

Comparing these two versions of the 'Rubicon' with that given in the *Serpent of Division*, we find

1. The 'old lady' of S. (Serpent) resembles more that of F. (*Fait des Romains* in Codex Marcianus) than of L. (Lucan). The hint as to her real character does not appear until Caesar's fright has been described. But details in Lydgate (the mantle, the veil, the disappearance after the speech) are wanting in both L. and F.

2. The 'old lady's speech'. Here again F. is much closer to S. in the expansion of the speech, and especially in the sentence beginning 'Car piece . . .', which is very like that beginning 'O allas . . .' in S., p. 16.

3. S. departs from both L. and F. in commanding the army to stop and pitch the tents. But this may, through an intermediary version, be derived from F.'s phrase 'et s'estint tous'.

4. Caesar's speech in reply. Here S. goes back to L. for invocation, which is yet very different from L.'s invocation. Remus and Fortune have taken the place of Rome and Vestal fires. We must argue again an intermediate version, I believe. The expansion of the reply, with its reference in F. to the honour and the triumph, seems to point to derivation through this source.

5. Caesar's remark to his men. This is omitted in S. F. alone has this; a fact which, if the hypothesis of the intermediate version be granted, would show that the author of the secondary account had Lucan as well as the Codex Marcianus version before him, and considered it more authoritative than the latter.

6. The giant. Again F. alone has the incident. It is taken directly from Suetonius, ch. 36, *Vita Caesaris*. In the version in *I Fatti* (l. c., p. 72) the same story is told. The 'boisine' becomes 'un uomo di collo'. The intermediary version, S.'s source, omitted the episode as not according to Lucan.

7. Caesar's crossing first of all. S. follows F. in this incident, which was retained by the intermediary version on account of its picturesqueness. The comparison to the lion unafraid is in all three, but the extended epic simile of L. is reduced by the later versions.

8. Caesar's remarks on crossing. F. has some additional words, discarded

by S. and the intermediary as not being in L. The other remarks as in S. are closer to F. than to L. Evidently S. does not come directly from L. then.

9. The night march to Ariminum is the same in all three versions.

It seems clear then, if my analysis of the separate versions be correct, that Lydgate is not following Lucan directly, but has as his model a version of the *Fait des Romains*, this version also referring to Lucan in the original for verification of incident.¹

VIII. THE EXEMPLUM OF VALERIUS (pp. 58-9).

(a) *The doubt of the Romans.* The source of this fear of the Romans may be either Lucan, ll. 504 ff., or from some such passage in a French redaction as this in Codex Marcianus (l. c., p. 22):—

‘Li plus noble si come il senators et li concele guerpisoient leurs menoirs de paour, ne n'estoient seur qel part il poroient garir ne qel apareilemant il poroient avoir de bataille. . . . De par Dyeu, dist Lucans, cele paor et cele fuite doit bien estre pardonnee aus autres ne n'en doivent estre blasmes qant Pompeius meismes fuioit qi en mante bataille avoit este as deseure. . . .’

(b) *The Exemplum.* The illustration from Valerius Maximus, that great collector of ancient anecdote, is directly in line with the object for which Lydgate evidently undertook the work of rendering the *Serpent of Division*. Thus it is entirely possible that the fable illustrating the danger of the ‘mortal envye of tweyne’ was Lydgate’s own suggestion. If this be so, it is still perfectly evident that he was not taking the story straight from Valerius, for the story as told by the latter has changed for the worse in Lydgate’s relation. The English author may have taken the exemplum from some *Liber Exemplorum*, written for the use of the clergy.²

The original fable in Valerius runs as follows:—

De Dictis Factisque Memorabilibus, &c. (ed. C. B. Hase, Paris, 1873, vol. ii, pp. 21-2), Bk. VIII, ch. iii, sect. 6³:

‘Sertorius vero, corporis robore atque animi consilio parem naturae indulgentiam

¹ Two minor points deserve notice here. On p. 14 Lydgate vouches for two expressions ‘by authority’. ‘Bellum civile’ is found in Lucan, l. 108, ‘bellum victis civile dedistis,’ &c. The need for definition of the phrase was felt by John of Trevisa, who says (iv, p. 213, l. c.): ‘Bellum civile is a batayle bytwene the Romayns hemself,’ &c. ‘The colde frosty hilles’ is perhaps Lydgate’s rendering of Lucan’s ‘gelidas Alpes’, l. 183, or its equivalent in a later paraphrase.

² The *Polychronicon* contains a number of anecdotes by Valerius, but this is not among them. See the index in vol. ix of the Rolls Series edition of Higden.

³ I would call attention here to the copy of Valerius, in the Bury library, *pro sermonibus ad populum*, p. 80 of Provost James’s book *On the Abbey of St. Edmund at Bury*. This MS. is now in Pembroke College, Cambridge.

expertus, proscriptione Sullana dux Lusitanorum fieri coactus, quum eos oratione flectere non posset, ne cum Romanis universa acie configere vellent, vafro consilio ad suam sententiam perduxit: duos enim in conspectu eorum constituit equos alterum validissimum, alterum infirmissimum; ac deinde validi caudam ab imbecillo sene paulatim carpi, infirmi a iuvene eximiarum virium universam convelli iussit. Obtemperatum imperio est. Sed dum adolescentis dextera irrita se labore fatigat, senis confecta manus ministerium exsequuta est. Tunc barbarae concioni, quorsum ea res tenderet cognoscere cupienti, subiecit: "Equi caudae consimilem esse nostrum exercitum, cuius partes aliquis aggrediens opprimere possit: universum conatus prosternere, celerius tradiderit victoriam quam occupaverit." Ita gens barbara, aspera, et regi difficilis, in exitium suum, quam utilitatem auribus respuerat, oculis pervidit.¹

On the whole I am inclined to believe that Lydgate was trusting to his memory of the fable which he had read in some book of examples, and that much of the error in the narration is due to the same faulty memory that could not retain the name of Cassibellan's brother, or repeat correctly four lines of his beloved master.²

IX. THE SIGNS AT THE BEGINNING OF THE WAR (pp. 59 ff.).

The passage, Bk. I, ll. 532-638, in Lucan is of course the ultimate source of the prodigies related in Lydgate. Every detail in Lydgate appears in Lucan and in the *Fait des Romains* as well, with two exceptions. These are: (1) the reference to the divided flame of the Vestal fire as resembling that of the Theban brother, which is wanting in F.; and (2) the Sybil's prophecy, which does not appear in F. It is given, however, in *I Fatti*, p. 83, although not in the form of S. ('Molti dicevano: noi semo venuti a la distruzione che la Sibilla ne impromise per ferro, per fuoco e per acqua'). On the other hand, Lydgate as well as F. leaves out the poetic language of L. (Phoebe for the moon, Titan for the sun, &c.), and omits many details common to both L. and F. Such are the reception given to Arruns and his first acts in cleansing the city, the other wise man, Figulus, the matron's prophecies, and the figure of the Erinys (Lucan 572, F., p. 24). In the description of the sea rising, F. makes no mention of the 'Athlantys hilles', but brings in other details of Lucan omitted by Lydgate. I cite these lines as typical of the whole passage, which is too long for minute discussion here, since it is clear that the *Serpent* version is neither from *Li Fait des Romains*, nor Lucan, directly.

Lucan, ll. 554-555:

Tethys maioribus undis
Hesperiam Calpen summumque inpellit Atlantis.

¹ I have not found any mediaeval version of this fable.

² See pp. 15 and 39.

Codex Marcianus, p. 23: 'la mer enfla ses ondes si haut q'eles atochierent les sumes dont li un ot nom Coupes et li autres Aucas et sont a merveilles haut.'

I Fatti (from M.): 'lo mare enfio si forte che l'onde toccaro le vettici di due altissimi monti, l'uno fu monte Caspro, e l'altro d'Attalans.'

It would seem that the redactor of *I Fatti*, if he used the French version exactly as in the Codex Marcianus, must have gone back to Lucan to verify his names. This agrees with the facts about the insertion of the 'Sybil'.

The Sybil's six letters, and the solution of the riddle, are found in the life of Pompey written by Laurent de Premierfait, in his French prose redaction (1409) of Boccaccio's Latin work, *De Casibus Illustrum Virorum* (Bk. VI, I. 9). (Cf. E. Koeppl: *Laurents de Premierfait und John Lydgates Bearbeitungen von Boccaccios De Casibus*, &c., München, 1885, pp. 15-16.)

Lucan had written (*Pharsalia*, I, l. 558)—

Diraque per populum Cumanos carmina vatis
Vulgantur. . .

This naturally set writers to work to find the riddle hinted at, and as *I Fatti* proves (cited in the text) the prophecy by letters had long been attached to this place in Lucan, in various prose histories of the Civil War. Thus it is unlikely that Laurent was the first to attach the *six* letters and the six words to this prophecy, as Koeppl (note, p. 16) would imply. The question then arises, where did Laurent find the riddle and the explanation? Obviously, in the French prose version of the *Pharsalia* and the Life of Caesar from which Lydgate was to take it. Lydgate did not use the version of Laurent in the other details of the Prodigies before the War. The hills of Athlantys are not mentioned in Laurent, for example, and there are other differences. The fact, then, that Laurent *has used* the Sibyl's prophecy in this place is a further argument for belief in the existence of a French version of Lucan, containing this material.

Koeppl can find this prophecy nowhere else, and further search would be profitless. But see C. Alexandre, *Oracula Sibyllina*, Paris, 1856, vol. ii, p. 254, for the Sibylline prophecies in the Middle Ages.

Boccaccio of course has none of the Prodigies in his chapter. Lydgate followed Laurent throughout this passage, when he came to write the *Fall of Princes*, and the passage is interesting to compare with that in the *Serpent of Division*. I quote only in part.

Bk. VI, ch. xi. fol. cxlvi-cxlvii (ed. of 1558):

Senatours beyng in Rome town
Came to the woman that called was Sybil . . .
. . . To whom she gave an answer full obscure,
. . . Toke them sixe letters set in playne scripture,

Thre RRR fyrst she set on a rowe,
And thre FFF in order fast(e) by,

Of this worde Regnum the fyrst letter is R
So is the capitall of Rome the citey,
Who loketh aright, the thirde is not ferre,
This worde ruet gynneth with R, parde,

Touching the FFF who can aduertise,
Of this word Ferro, F goth toforne,
And the chief letter of Fame to deuyse,
Is F also, the process wel forth borne,
The same of Flamma, by whiche the towne was lorne,
Of whiche reasons make a coniunction
Causing of Rome finall distruction.

One other point in connexion with Laurent's account of Caesar and Pompey should be noticed here. On p. 64 of our text Lydgate speaks of 'a pore man called Tongilius' who gave Caesar letters warning him of danger if he should continue his progress to the capitol. This detail of the man's name occurs nowhere else so far as I can learn, unless it is to be found in Laurent's version of Boccaccio. It appears in Lydgate's version of Laurent, Bk. VI, ch. xii, which summarizes the *Serpent of Division*. But Laurent does not mention the name of Tongilius anywhere. Lydgate here is only repeating the story of the *Serpent*, and we must look elsewhere for the story of Tongilius.

Lydgate's stanza runs as follows:—

Fall, Bk. VI, ch. xiii :

A poore man called Tongilius
Whiche secretly the traizon did espy,
Let write a letter toke it to Julius
The case declaring of the conspiracye
Which to rede Cesar lyst nat apply :
But wo, allas, ambitious negligence
Caused his murdre by unware violence.

With bodkins persing as a nail
He muredred was. . . .

It is interesting to note in this connexion, that when Lydgate wrote his envoy to Laurent's account of Caesar, he himself went back to his own *Serpent of Division* for a brief summary of the narrative. Here again he perpetuates the Brutus Cassius error, against the express statements of Laurent in the next chapter, that Brutus and Cassius killed each other (cf. Koepfel, p. 75). The imaginary line of Chaucer (p. 65 of my text, and see p. 40 of this study),

'Mordred at Rome by Brutus Cassius' becomes the refrain of Lydgate's poem.

Bk. VI, ch. xiii (I quote four of the seven stanzas, which give the details as found in the *Serpent of Division*):—

Throughe all this book, rede eche tragedy,
Afore rehersed and put in remembraunce,
Is none more wofull to my fantasy,
Than is the fall of Cesar, in substaunce;
Which in his hiest imperiall puissaunce
Whan he wende haue be most glorious
Was muredred at Rome, by Brutus Cassius.

This marciall prince, riding through Lombardy
Eche countre yelded and brought to obeisaunce,
Passyng the Alpes rode through Germany,
To subiectioun brought the realme of Fraunce,
Gate Brutus Albion by long continuaunce,
Two lustres passed this manly Julius
And muredred at Rome by Brutus Cassius.

Among the Senat was the conspiracy
All of assent and of one accordaunce,
Whose triumphe they proudely gan deny,
But maugre them was kept thobseruaunce
His char of golde with stedes of plesaunce
Conueied through Rome this prince most pompous
The mordre folowing by Brutus Cassius.

.
Princes considre in marciall policy
Is nouthre trust, faithe, nor affiaunce,
All stande in chaunge with twincling of an eye,
Up toward heuin set your attendaunce,
The worlde vnsure, and all worldly plesaunce,
Lordship abydeh nat, recorde on Julius,
Muredred at Rome by Brutus Cassius.

At this point in his narrative Lydgate seems to have turned to a new source. We may well pause here, therefore, to summarize the results of the examination of the Lucan story in its original and in the French and Italian redactions, and deduce therefrom a theory as to Lydgate's source. I here briefly capitulate the nine sections into which I have arbitrarily divided this portion of the *Serpent of Division*, and the results of the study.

I. *a.* Origin of the Dictatorship.

Follows Jehan most closely, with a few changes introduced from M. (Codex Marcianus).

b. Causes of the war. From Jehan.

II. Caesar's Conquests and History up to Julia's death.

a. Caesar's and Crassus's mission. From Jehan.

b. Conquests. From Jehan.

The Britain passage, from Lydgate's memory of the Brut (?)

c. The death of Crassus. From Jehan and another source, possibly Higden's *Polychronicon*, in Trevisa's version.

III. The death of Julia, and the recall of Caesar. From Lucan or more likely a French version based on Lucan, the latter section probably from Vincent of Beauvais, or his source.

IV. The Triumph. From Jehan, Trevisa, and Isidore of Seville.

V. The Refusal of the Triumph, and Caesar's anger. From Jehan de Tuim.

VI. The discussion on the causes of the war. Partly from a combination of Jehan and Lucan in some version, but chiefly original, in the Chaucerian manner.

VII. The Rubicon. From a combination of Lucan and *Li Fait des Romains*.

VIII. The Exemplum of Valerius. Not drawn from Valerius direct, probably taken by Lydgate himself from a *Liber Exemplorum*.

IX. The Prodigies before the War. From a redaction of Lucan, not any known one.

Now we know that the Italian version of *I Fatti*, based on *Li Fait des Romains*, contains matter not in the earlier version. (See under IX.) Further, we know that Jacot de Foret quotes the 'mestre d'orliens', who, it may be, were the authors of *Li Fait des Romains*. It is therefore not at all unreasonable to believe that the combination of Jehan, 'Marcianus,' and Lucan, which as I think goes to make up Lydgate's source (the Britain episode, the triumph, and Valerius excepted), was a single French work, on lines similar to Jehan's version of Lucan, but filling out with other matter, from Lucan and other sources. It is certainly much easier to accept this theory than to think that Lydgate was the sole composer of this very mixed mass of classical and mediaeval history. We can understand Lydgate's introduction of the Brut material—he was an Englishman; we place to a similar cause the use of Trevisa in the account of a triumph; we can ascribe to his monkish use of exempla the insertion of a Valerius fable—though this last may not be his own idea; but here, I believe, Lydgate's own labours at composition must end; the rest has already been done for him by

some fourteenth-century prose biographer of Caesar, who knew Lucan, Jehan de Tuim, and the version in some form of *Li Fait des Romains*.¹

On the other hand, the very freedom with which Lydgate added matter from John of Trevisa and the *Brut* indicates that he felt himself at full liberty to depart from his source when necessary. And having arrived at this point in his narrative, he evidently saw that a Life of Caesar on these lines would be a longer work than was needed as a political pamphlet. Further than this, the French original led nowhere to his purpose, for following Jehan de Tuim, it must have left Caesar at the highest prick of Fortune's wheel. He must go elsewhere for the rest of his story.

The words, therefore, on p. 25, 'But *shortly* to entre to the *substance* of the story,' are not a mere convention; Lydgate is here changing his source of supply, and intends to stick to the one source for the rest. This is, as he himself tells us on pp. 62 and 64, Vincent of Beauvais, in his great work, *Speculum Historiale*, a part of the immense *Speculum Majus*.

Everything in the *Serpent of Division* through pp. 61-5 is derived from this source; and comment upon the original text here presented is unnecessary. I shall therefore merely transcribe the parallel chapters in Vincent, which carry the story up to the conclusion, and the quotation from Chaucer.

I do not believe that Lydgate is following Vincent through any French version. There would be no reason for a Frenchman to leave off his main sources, Jehan and *Li Fait*, to follow an encyclopaedia rather than the originals. But Lydgate had a distinct reason for closing up his account of Caesar in short space; he was writing, for a political purpose, an exemplum of the dangers of division in the state. Further than this, Lydgate's rendering of Vincent is so close at times as to make it improbable on any ground that a French intermediary was used.²

X. Vincentius Bellovacensis (from the copy in the Harvard library, 1494). *Speculum Historiale*, Lib. VI, ch. xxxv, De Fuga et nece Pompei (the first part of this chapter has already been transcribed, see p. 18):—

'... Deinde decretum est a senatu : Vt in urbem numquam nisi dimisso veniret exercitu. quod cesar graviter tulit, et contractis undique viribus romam hostiliter contendit. captoque

¹ Corroborative evidence for this conclusion may be found in Dr. E. Koeppl's study of the *Story of Thebes* (Munich, 1883). We have seen how this work of Lydgate's was completed shortly before the *Serpent of Division*, and emphasized in a similar way the dangers of the Serpent of Envy and Division. Koeppl concluded, after a minute study of the material of the poem, that Lydgate's version of the *Story* was derived from a French prose version, similar to that in the *Roman de Thebes*, but not that particular version, nor any other one extant.

² For a brief account of Vincent of Beauvais, see the article under his name in *La Grande Encyclopédie*. Vincent seems to have flourished from 1190 to 1260. He was the librarian and reader in St. Louis's family. His great work, the *Speculum Majus*, *Speculum Triplex*, or *Bibliotheca Mundi*, was completed about 1253. The *Speculum Naturale*, *Speculum Doctrinale*, and *Speculum Historiale*, its three parts, form one of the greatest mediaeval compendia.

arimino rauennam se contulit. At vero pompeius et omnis romanorum senatus crescentibus cesaris viribus trepidi tanquam italia pulsi greciam adierunt, dirachium gerendi belli sedem eligentes. Porro cesar cum iam duces contra pompeii certamina multa peregissent; tandem romam intrauit: ¹ et ex erario publico fractis ianuis pecuniam tulit: quam suis militibus erogauit. Interea vero apud dirachium multi reges orientes cum auxiliis venerunt ad pompeium, quod ut cesar audiuit, agmine preparato per epyrum in thessaliam venit. Pompeius lxxxviii cohortes ordine triplici collocauit. fueruntque in eius exercitu peditum xl. milia equites in sinistro cornu sexingenti et in dextro quingenti. inter quos erant reges multi et senatores equitesque romanorum plurimi. Contra vero cesar similiter lxxx. cohortes ordine triplici disposuit. et in eius exercitu fuere minus quam xxx. milia peditum equites .M. Atque dum utrique certatur universus pompeii exercitus in fugam vertit. Cesa fuit ibi pompeianorum xij. milia et centuriones xxxij. Pompeius ita fugiens onerariam navim nactus in asiam preparauit, et inde per tyrum in egyptum transiit: ibique statim ut littus attigit; iussu ptolomei adolescentis in gratiam cesaris victoris occisus est.

C. XXXVI.

Qualiter Ptolemeus adolescens cesari repugnans periit. cesar syriam peruagatus alexandriam venit: ubi petentibus alexandrinis prefatum ptolemeum alexandrie regno donauit qui cum illico contra cesarem rebellauit: et bellum instruxit; in quo bello cesa referuntur homines xx. milia et xij. milia nauibus dedita. Unde territus ptolemeus scapham ascendit ut fugeret; atque multis post eum in eandem insilientibus mersus ac necatus est, cuius dum corpus ad littus deuolutus fuisset; indicio lorice aureo cognitum est. quam cesar alexandrie promisit; et sic alexandrius ad conditionem desperationis coegit. Quibus patris rursus egypti regnum cleopatre dedit. Deinde vero syriam ² peruagatus pharnacem in ponto deiecit. Inde romam vero regressus dictator et consul est appellatus. Deinde transiens in aphyricam omnes Pompeii duces ac nepotes debellauit. filiamque eius pompeiam et faustum et sillam affranium et postremum interfecit. Cato vero apud vticam sese interemit. Suetonius ubi supra. Questori ulterior hispania obuenit ubi cum mandato populi R. iure dicendo conuentus circuiret. gadesque venisset animaduersa apud herculis templum alexandri magni imagine ingemuit; et quasi pertesus ignauiam suam quod nihil tum a se memorabile actum esset. in etate quam iam alexander orbem terrarum subegisset: emissionem continuo efflagitauit. ad captandas quas primas maiorum rerum occasiones in vrbe etiam confusum eum somnio prime noctis, nam visus erat per quietem stuprum matri intulisse; coniectores ad amplissimam spem incitauerunt arbitrium terrarum orbis portendi interpretates. Quod mater quam subiectam sibi vidisset, non alia esset quam terra quae omnium parens habetur.

C. XXXVII.

De Initio imperii cesaris.

Denique cesar romam reuersus regum summam ac potentiam quam greci monarchiam vocant: solus sibi presumpsit. Sic? in ro. republica imperium obtinuerunt monarchis: et repetitum est post tempora consulum iussu parendi. Anno ab vrbe condita. Dcc. xxij.

¹ Note that Lydgate tells in detail how Caesar 'made breke the wal'.

² This matter is passed over in a general way by Lydgate, p. 62.

ab exactis vero regibus ccc. lxxix. ac *pro* regibus imperatores sunt appellati. Euse. in. chro. Primus itaque apud ro. Caius Iulius Cesar singulare arripuit imperium. Cepit anno regni cleopatre iij. hyrcani vero. XXX. S. etatis quante quinquagesimo xliiij. mundi vero iij. M. dcccc. xvi. et imperavit annis fere quinque. Ab hoc romanorum principes appellati sunt cesares.

C. XLI.

De Presagiis mortis cesaris.

Porro cesari futura cedes euidetibus prodigiis denunciata est paucos ante menses cum in colonia capua deducta lege iulia coloni ad extruendas villas vetustissima sepulchra discerent; idque eo studiosius facerent; super aliquantulum vasculorum operis antiqui scrutantis reperiebat. tabula enea in monumento in quo dicebatur capis compitor capue sepultus inuenta est scripta literis grecis verbisque hac sententia. Quamcumque ossa capi detecta essent; fore ut iulio prognatus manu consanguineorum necaretur; ne quis fabulosam aut commentitiam putet; auctor est Cornelius Balbus familiarissimus cesaris. Proximis diebus equorum greges quos in traiciendo rubicone flumine consecrat; ac vagos et sine custode dimiserat comperit pertinacissime pabulo abstinet; vbertique flere. et imolantem monuit; caueret periculum quin non ultra martiae proferretur. Pridie ante idus easdem Uetoniis. auem regaliolum cum laure ramulo pompeia ne curie se inferentem volucres varii generis ex proximo nemore presecute ibidem discerpserunt. Ea vero nocte cui illuxit dies cedis et ipse sibi visus est per quietem interdum supra nubes volitare, alias cum iove dextra iungere. et calphurnia uxor imaginata est collabi fastigium domus maritumque in gremio suo confodi; ac subito cubilis fores sponte patuerunt. Comestor. Centesimo die ante mortem eius fulmen cecidit iuxta statuum eius in foro. et de nomine eius superscripto c litteram eius capitalem abruptit. nocte precedente diem obitus eius fenestre thalami eius cum tanto strepitu aperte sunt. ut exiliens a stratis ruituram domum estimaret. Eadem die cum iret in capitolium: date sunt ei littere indices mortis imminetis. Que dum referret occisus: in manu eius inuenta sunt nondum solute. Die sequente apparuerunt tres soles in oriente. qui paulatim in unum corpus solis redacti sunt. significantes quod dominium lucii antonii et marci antonii et augusti in monarchiam rediret. vel potius quod notitia trini dei unius toti orbi futura imminebat.

C. XLII.

De Nece eiusdem et exequiis.

Ichardus.

Denique cesar dum reipublice statum iuxta morem maiorum clementer instauraret actoribus bruto et cassio in curia viginti quattuor vulneribus confossus interiit. In hac coniuratione .cclx. ferunt conscios fuisse, Romanus itaque populus dolore stimulatus cum auctoribus cedis incendere voluit. apud quos etiam ita postmodum memorabilis factus est: ut omnes post eum imperatores appellarentur cesares. Suetonius. Animaduertens cesar vndique se strictis pugionibus peti: toga caput obuoluit: simulque sinistra manu sinum ad ima crura deduxit. quo honestius caderet etiam inferiori parte corporis velata atque ita tribus et .xx. plagis confossus est. vno tantummodo ad primum ictum gemitu sine voce edito. percussorum cesaris fere neque triennio quisque amplius superuixit:

necque sua morte defunctus est. Damnati omnes : alius a alio casu periit : pars naufragio, pars prelio. Nonnulli semet eodem pugione quo cesarem violauerant interemerunt. Comestor. Occisus est cesar dolo bruti et cassii anno etatis sue lvi. corpus eius pro rostris combustum est . . .'

Certain minor differences between Lydgate and his source may be briefly commented on here.

1. According to Lydgate, some authors say that Caesar broke in the wall at Rome. I can find no account in which this is stated, but I wonder whether some such statement was made in the prose life of Caesar, used before this place by Lydgate. In the version of *I Fatti*, when Caesar came to *Ravenna*, he 'fece tagliar da l'una parte 'l muro'. See *Intelligenza*, p. 17. Can this story, which does not appear in *Li Fait des Romains*, have been transferred into Caesar's entry into *Rome*?

2. In the statistics of the two armies, Lydgate tries to improve on Vincent's statement. He changes 80 cohorts to 88, while at the same time admitting that the number of men was 40,000, and that each cohort contained 500 men. Again he assigns to Caesar 40 cohorts, while keeping Vincent's total of 30,000 men. This arithmetic must be our monk's.

3. On the number in a cohort.¹

Lydgate might have picked up this information from any encyclopaedia ; according to *De Bello Civili*, i. 7. 7, the 13th Legion had 5,000 men at Ariminum ; but in *De Bello Gallico*, v. 49. 7, Caesar's two legions had not quite 7,000 men. There were always 10 cohorts in a legion.

4. Lydgate is evidently confused by the narrative of Vincent in regard to the death of Ptolemy, and so simplifies it.

5. The names of Pompey's relatives have naturally enough become confused in manuscript transmission.

6. The passage from Suetonius is our best evidence that Lydgate is following Vincent ; for this passage in Suetonius occurs at the very outset of Caesar's career, when he actually was a quaestor in Spain. Lydgate contrives to get around the word quaestor very cleverly, by giving it a quasi official meaning, as who should say, ' Caesar, as if quaestor, &c.'

7. The omens in Vincent, being taken from two sources, are somewhat confusing. Lydgate follows the first source in giving the dream of Calphurnia, but introduces the ' windows ' instead of doors from the second narrative.

8. The name Tongisius, or Tongilius, is not in Vincent. It is not, however, unknown in Latin,² nor in this connexion.³

¹ Probably Lydgate got this information by a short computation, from the figures as given in Vincent, of Pompey's and Caesar's forces.

² See Cic. *Cat.* ii. 2, and Juvenal, vii. 130.

³ For a reference to Tongilius as the warner of Caesar, see p. 32.

XI. There is one curious point in which Lydgate differs from Vincent of Beauvais, which may properly be used to introduce our consideration of the epilogue of the *Serpent of Division*. This is the mistake of 'Brutus Cassius'. There was, as I have already pointed out, considerable confusion in mediaeval authority on the 'workers' of the assassination of Caesar. We have seen that Petrarch in his *Triunfo di Fama*, and Trevisa in the *Polychronicon*, have spoken of the 'two Bruti'. This last fact is particularly interesting, because I have already shown that Lydgate had read and used the *Polychronicon* in composing his *Serpent of Division*. He of course read this passage too, where the two Brutuses are mentioned, and thus he would be naturally disposed to doubt any passage that might contradict this statement. Now in Vincent of Beauvais it so happens that the names Brutus and Cassius occur side by side in this order in both places where they appear. In the one case we have the phrase 'actoribus bruto *et* cassio', in the other case 'dolo bruti *et* cassii': and in the printed volume in the Harvard library (Venice, 1494?) the *et* is represented by a single symbol. It is likely that the manuscripts used by Lydgate had a similar abbreviation, which may have become faded and possibly obliterated by time. With the two names in combination here, then, and with a recollection of the statement concerning the 'two Bruti' in John of Trevisa, Lydgate would be predisposed to consider Cassius as merely the second name of one of the Brutuses.

But as the text shows, it was chiefly the fact that his master Chaucer had fallen into the same error, that led Lydgate into the 'Brutus Cassius' phrase. His fidelity to his great model leads him to accept any statement made by him without question.

Yet it is interesting to note, in closing this discussion of the sources of the *Serpent of Division*, that Lydgate is again trusting to his faulty memory. The two couplets quoted by Lydgate nowhere appear in Chaucer. It is the substance and not the word that the follower remembers, though neither Haslewood, Miss Toulmin-Smith, nor Prof. Skeat, who have all commented on the passage, seem to have noted the fact.

It is not, however, necessary to hypothecate an earlier version of the Julius Caesar in the *Monk's Tale*, or to believe that a lost fragment of another poem has been discovered. The lines Lydgate meant to quote are these:—

Monk's Tale, B. 3885 (Oxford edition):

To Rome agayn repaireth Julius
With his triumph, laureat ful hye
But on a tyme Brutus Cassius,

.

3896 ff.

This false Brutus and his othere foon
And strikede him with boydekins anoon.

B. 3324 ff. Hercules:

Thus starf this worthy mighty Hercules
Lo, who may trust on fortune any throwe?
For him that folweth al this world of prees
Er he be war is ofte y-leyd ful lowe.

When Laurent de Premierfait (see note, p. 32), in his translation of *De Casibus*, tells the fate of the conspirators, and names Brutus and Cassius, Lydgate doubts his authority, and retains his own version. Brutus Cassius is one of the two Bruti, clearly, so far as Lydgate is concerned. Laurent had made Brutus and Cassius kill each other.

Book VI, ch. xiii of the *Falls of Princes*:

Chefe conspiratour was Brutus Cassius
Which of this murdre made all thordinaunce,
Another Brute surnamed Decius
Was one also conspyryng the vengeaunce,
Wrought on Cesar, he after slain in Fraunce . . .

So far as I have read, the only other place in which the error of 'Brutus Cassius' appears is the first book of the *Life of St. Werburgh*, l. 1711.¹ Henry Bradshaw, its author, was a devout Lydgatian, and in a list of emperours derived I think from the *Fall of Princes*, he says:—

I. 1711 ff. Tyll Iulyus Cesar excellynge all conquerours,
Subdued Pompeius and the hole monarchy,
And the rule of Rome to hymselfe manfully;
But Cassius Brutus the fals conspiratour
Caused to be slayn the sayd noble emperour.

Lyndesay, in *The Monarchie*, III. 369r, speaking of Caesar, says:²

That prudent Prince wes trampit doun
And murdrest, in his counsall hous,
By creuell Brutus and Cascius.

We learn elsewhere of Lydgate's acquaintance with Chaucer's 'tragedies'. Skeat quotes (*Oxford Chaucer*, vol. iii, 430-1) from Lydgate's *Fall of Princes*:—

My mayster Chaucer, with his fresh comedies
Is dede, alas, chief poete of Bretayne,
That sumtyme made full pitous tragedies,
The fall of princes he dide also compleyne . . .

¹ E. E. T. S. 88, p. 66. Bradshaw died 1513. For the Lydgatian elements in the poem see Horstmann's preface, and cf. ch. iv, p. 389.

² E. E. T. S. 11, p. 121. Written after 1540.

The fall of Julius Caesar, and the dream of Croesus, are related in the second mumming printed by Brotanek, *Die Englischen Maskenspiele*, pp. 310-11. Both are evidently abbreviated accounts from memory of Chaucer's tragedies, though Brotanek refers Croesus to the *Roman de la Rose*, vv. 7225 ff. The fall of Caesar is worth quoting here, for comparison with the prose story of Lydgate, in his *Serpent*. Lydgate's reference to Alexander, Caesar, and Croesus is in the order of the Monk's Tragedies, as given in the *Oxford Chaucer*.

Fortune, says Lydgate, is contrarious:—

- l. 64 She made alixaundre wynnen al,
 That noman him with stonde dare,
 And caste him dovne, er he was ware.
 So did sheo Sesar Julius;
 She made him first victorius,
 *Tha*ughe to do weel sheo beo ful loothe;
 Of a Baker's sonne, in soothe,
 She made him a mighty Emperroure.
 And hool of Roome was gouuernour,
 Maugrey *the* Senat and al *theyre* might.
 But whanne *the* sonne shoone mooste bright
 Of his tryumphe, fer and neer,
 And he was corouned with laurier,
 vnwarly thorughe hir mortal lawe
 with bodekyns he was esclawe
 At the Capitolye in Consistorye;
 Loo, affter al his gret victorye
 See howe *this* lady can appalle
 The noblesse of theos prynces alle.

The tradition that Caesar's father was a baker is found in Hoccleve's *De Regimine Principum*, E. E. T. S., E. S., 72, p. 127, ll. 3513 ff.:—

A man also to Iulius Cesar ones
 Crabbidly seid, and schrewdly for the nones;
 And among othir worde that he speak,
 'Iulius', quod he, make it noght so tow,
 ffor of thy birthe art thou noght wort a leek:
 Whens that thou cam, men knowen wel I-now:
 Wenest thou naght that I can tellen how
 Thy fadir was a bakere? o, lat be;
 Ne make it nat so queynte, I pray the.
 Smylyng, vnto hym spak this Emperour:
 Whether supposist thou bet, that noblesse

Begynne in me, or noblesse and honour
Diffaile in the?

Hoccleve's sources were Guido's *De Regimine*, the *Secreta Secretorum*, and the moralized game of chess (Jacobus de Cessolis). The story is, I suppose, to be found in Guido. Lydgate may, however, have read it here. Hoccleve's poem was written in 1411-12.

A further digression in this connexion is perhaps permissible, to show the source of Chaucer's account of Caesar, in his *Monkes Tale*.

Professor Skeat, who has in practically every other case named the probable source of the Monk's information, is content to leave the fall of Caesar with no suggestion. In his note to line B 3909 :

Lucan, to thee this storie I recomende,
And to Sweton, and to Valerie also . . . ,

Professor Skeat says that Chaucer does not call these writers his sources. In his note to l. 3863, at the beginning of the tragedy, he refers to a *Life of Caesar* by Plutarch, and speaks of the incidental reference to him by Boccaccio.

Now it is perfectly clear that Chaucer took the story from none of these authors. Lucan's *Pharsalia* only carries Caesar through the war in Africa, against Pompey's relatives.¹ Valerius wrote a couple of dozen anecdotes in which Caesar appears.² Suetonius never misled Chaucer into the 'Brutus Cassius' or 'father-in-law' error. Similarly *Plutarch's Life*, unknown then in England, did not form the basis for this little account.

What Chaucer really used was, I think, Vincent of Beauvais' *Speculum Historiale*, Bk. VI, chaps. xxxv and xlii. These are the first and last chapters of Vincent's account of Caesar, and furnish the best summary of Caesar's rise and fall that I know. Chaucer, in selecting the material for a short tragedy, would naturally pick out the first and last chapters.

These two chapters, in no more space than Chaucer takes to tell the story, give every detail of Chaucer's narrative.³ Some of the phrases (*iuxta morem* : as he was wont, 3894 :—*quo honestius caderet* : of honestee, &c., 3908 :—*pugionibus* : with boydekens, 3892 :—*Vno tantummodo ad primum ictum gemitu* : But

¹ ll. B 400-401, in the *Tale of the Man of Lawe* :

Noght trowe I the triumphe of Julius,
Of which that Lucan maketh swich a bost. . . .

show Chaucer's poor memory of Lucan. Caesar's great triumphs came after his Spanish campaign, and were not mentioned by Lucan at all.

² One of them is quoted at the end of Trevisa's account, and was probably read by Chaucer. Skeat's note on Valerius is entirely insufficient. See the Index to the ed. of Valerius, cited p. 2.

³ The 'Capitolium' is not mentioned in ch. xlii, but in xli. 'Curia' represents the place in xlii.

never gronte he at no strook but oon, 3889) are so close to Vincent that they must be renderings of the Vincent authorities in some form.¹

Further, so far as my investigations show, it is only in Vincent that Brutus and Cassius are coupled when ever mentioned. A phrase like 'dolo bruti *et* cassii' was just the one to leave the impression on Chaucer's mind of a single name, especially if the *et* were faint; while at the same time it shows that Chaucer had not read widely in other places, such as Petrarch's *Life of Caesar* (in Latin), where Cassius and Brutus are dwelt on at length.

Again, Vincent nowhere mentions Pompey's marriage to Julia, and so furnished no correction of Chaucer's 'fader thyn in lawe', as other sources would have done. This mistake was based on some other account than Vincent's, though it was not necessarily before him as Chaucer wrote. In Higden's *Polychronicon* (and in Trevisa's translation) this reference to Pompey as Caesar's father-in-law is twice made. In each case it seems to be the mistake of Higden himself, for he quotes no source. It is evident that the mistake would most naturally arise from a statement of Suetonius, where Caesar proposes for the hand of Pompey's daughter, and is not, in so many words, refused.²

The references in Higden are:—

Polychronicon, vol. iv, p. 188: 'Ortum est bellum civile inter Julium et Pompeium socerum ejus in hunc modum. . .'

P. 192: (Caesar) 'mandavit Pompeio, cujus filiam desponsaverat, ut pararet sibi triumphum.'

If Chaucer had read widely in other Lives of Caesar, he would have corrected this error, as Lydgate did. But in confining himself to these two accounts, one of them probably by way of mere memory, he had no opportunity of correction.

Caesar's real relations with the various 'Pompeiae' were slippery enough, according to mediaeval lore. His second marriage was to Pompeia, the daughter of Quintus Pompey. (See Suetonius, chap. xxvii.) He asked for the hand of Cneius Pompey's daughter, but was refused. (See Mommsen, iv, p. 341.) According to the Italian version of Suetonius in *I Fatti* (p. 268, l. c.), Caesar debauched Muzia, a daughter of Cn. Pompeius Magnus. Thus Professor Skeat's note to C. T. B 3870 does not give the whole story.

It is worthy of note that Trevisa's account does not contradict the 'Brutus Cassius' error, gained from the Vincent passage. Trevisa says, as we have seen,

¹ For a transcription of these chapters in Vincent, see pp. 35-8 of this paper.

² Suetonius, *Historia XII Caesarum*, ed. C. B. Hase, Berlin, 1828, p. 42 'Ad retinendam autem Pompeii necessitudinem ac voluntatem, Octaviam . . . quae C. Marcello nupta est, conditionem ei detulit, sibi quae filiam eius in matrimonium petiit, Fausto Sullae destinatam, . . .' Pompey's refusal is not in Suetonius.

that the *two Bruti* were the leaders in the conspiracy.¹ This statement would assist in keeping the 'Brutus Cassius' error, rather than eliminate it; Cassius would then be a cognomen of one Brutus. The 'duo Bruti' mentioned here² were, of course, Decius Brutus and Marcus Brutus, both of whom are prominent in the Caesar story of the Middle Ages, and of Shakespeare.

XII. Lydgate's exhortation is of course his own, made up chiefly of his recapitulation of the causes as outlined on p. 2, with an additional reference to Crassus. It is perhaps worth pointing out that the 'merour in here mynde' may have been suggested by Lydgate's constant use of the 'mirour historiall' of Vincent of Beauvais. I mention this, in view of the fact that Baldwin and Sackville, the compilers of the *Mirroure for Magistrates*, had read this tract, and very likely borrowed their title from this very place.³

¹ Vol. iv, p. 206. 'Coniuratum est in eum a ducentis sexaginta Romanis, sed potissime a duobus Brutis.' Cf. with this Petrarch, *Historia Cesaris* (ed. C. Schneider, Leipz., 1827), 'Coniuratum est in eum a sexaginta senatoribus, Gaio Cassio et Marco ac Decimo Bruto tantae caedis ducibus.'

² And in Petrarch, *Triunfo di Fama* (Graf, l. c., i, p. 300), and in *Eutropius*, Book VI. Higden's passage is a quotation of this latter authority.

³ For a discussion of 'my maister' see the section on Date and Authorship. For Norton and Sackville see the quotation from Miss Toulmin-Smith's *Gorboduc* in the same section. The word 'mirour' occurs frequently enough in *The Fall of Princes*, as well.

MANUSCRIPTS AND PRINTS

MANUSCRIPTS.

1. *The McLean MS. 181 in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.*

Vellum, quarto, 35 lines to the page. Well and clearly written in a good clerical hand, of the second quarter of the fifteenth century. þ and ȝ are constantly used, and abbreviations whenever possible. The MS. is more accurate in proper names and in general has a more consistent adherence to the text than other MSS. At times, however, clauses are omitted through carelessness.

The MS. contains, in addition to our piece, which takes up the first ten folios, some envoys from *The Fall of Princes*, and a version of the *Governance of Kings and Princes*, by Lydgate, and the *Regiment of Princes*, by Hoccleve (with the prologue). It is described in Dr. James's catalogue of the collection.

The first folio is lacking. I have therefore used the Calthorpe MS. as my text, up to the point where the Fitzwilliam begins.

This MS. was formerly no. 134 of Lord Ashburnham's collection, and is described in the sale catalogue of Ashburnham MSS. III, app. 134. Through Mr. Yates Thompson's hands it passed into Mr. McLean's, who gave it to the present owner. Another MS. of the Ashburnham collection, loc. cit. III, app. 128, contained an eighteenth-century transcript of a print of this work, I believe from the 1590 text. I have not found this transcript.

The Fitzwilliam MS. was evidently written at some cost for a 'wise governour' who wanted 'mirroures' of government. It is not unlike in its contents the MSS. which Stephen Scrope compiled for Sir John Fastolf, and Great Book of Arms which William Ebesham compiled for Sir John Paston about this time. (See the *Paston Letters*, ii, 335.)

2. *The Calthorpe MS. Yelverton 35, London.*

Paper, quarto, 37 lines to the page. Our piece occupies folios 146 b-156 b. Written in a small, rapid, careless, but easily readable hand of about 1460. The handwriting is not unlike some of the hands in the Paston correspondence. This MS. may have been in the hands of the Calthorpe family from the beginning, since the Calthorpes were at Yelverton throughout the later fifteenth century, as the Paston letters show. The forms in dialect show modern tendencies. It is stricken from the past plural (were for weren, &c.), and the general absence of þ and ȝ point to a departure from original forms. Nevertheless this MS. alone gives the colophon ascribing the work to Lydgate, and dating

the production. I use it to supplement F in most cases, and for the lines in the lost first folio of F.

The MS. is described in the Royal Historical MSS. Commission Report, II, App., p. 42. I am greatly indebted to Lord Calthorpe for his kind permission to have the MS. photographed for my purposes.

3. *The Pepys MS. 2006 in the Pepysian Library at Magdalene College, Cambridge.*

Vellum, 30 lines to the page, 391 pages. Written about 1450. Described in Dr. James's catalogue of the collection. The MS. contains Lydgate's *Complaint of the Black Knight* and *Temple of Glas*, Chaucer's *Legend of Good Women*, A. B. C., *Hous of Fame*, *Mars and Venus* (two copies), *Fortune*, and *Parlement of Foules*, an anonymous prose version of *The Three Kings of Cologne*, *The Serpent of Division*, Burgh's translation of Cato, Chaucer's *Tale of Melibeus*, *Parson's Tale*, *Anelida*, *Envoy to Scogan*, A. B. C. (a second copy), *Purs*, *Trouthe*, and *Merciles Beaute*. The handwriting is clear and well executed, in beautifully regular lettering. The text of the *Serpent*, on pp. 191-209, is in general sensible, but is marred by a number of inserted glosses and alterations of phrases throughout. Single words and letters are often omitted through carelessness.

4. *The MS. A. R. 5 in the Harvard University Library.*

Paper, 211 folios, large quarto. Written in two hands, of which one is that of John Shirley (d. 1459), the other—in which the *Serpent* is written—contemporaneous with it. The MS. contains *The Complaynt of Crist* (verse); *Guy of Warwick*, a poem by Lydgate; *The Three Kings of Cologne*, *The Governance of Princes*, *The Serpent of Division*, and a text of the *Brut* (*Cronycles of the Reaume of England*), all in prose. Professor F. N. Robinson describes the MS. fully in *Harvard Studies and Notes*, v. 181-6. Like the Fitzwilliam MS. the Harvard MS. puts our tract next a tract on the governance of princes—these two pieces in the Harvard MS. being in the non-Shirley handwriting. The Harvard text is the only one which preserves a title (quoted below); and in general its readings are excellent; but it lacks the *Envoy*, and in minor details is inferior to the Fitzwilliam copy, with which it seems to me to have some relation.

PRINTS.

1. *The Treverys Fragment.*

This was printed complete by J[oseph] H[aslewood] in Brydges's *Censura Literaria*, ix. 369 (ed. 1809). Treverys used an excellent MS. though not any here described. He may have modernized the spelling to some extent. In the print the *envoy* follows his colophon. This fact misled Mr. Sidney Lee (see under Lydgate, *Serpent*, &c., in the *Dict. Nat. Biog.*), who ascribes the stanzas to the printer. For the text of the colophon, see p. 66.

2. *The Print by Owen Rogers, 1559.*

This print, so far as I can examine, seems to derive from the Treverys print, with possible reference to earlier MSS. The title, *Serpent of Division*, is probably derived from the title of Treverys which is lost. The title runs: 'The Serpent of Division, set forth after the Auctours old Copy, by J. S. Anno M. D. L. IX. The iij of May. Imprinted at London by Owen Rogers in Smithfield by the Hospitall in little S. Bartolmews.' Collation A⁸-D⁸, in fours. Both this and the previous print are in black letter, 8vo.

3. *The Print by E. Alde, 1590.*

'The Serpent of Devision. Wherein is contained the true History or Mappe of Romes overthrowe, Gouerned by Auarice, Enuye, and Pride, the decaye of Empires be they neuer so sure. Whereunto is annexed the Tragedy of Gorboduc, sometime King of this Land, and of his two sonnes Ferrex and Porrex. Set fourth as the same was shewed before the Queenes most excellent Majesty, by the Gentlemen of the Inner Temple. At London printed by Edward Alde for John Perrin, and are to be sold in Paules Churchyard at the signe of the Angell, 1590.' 4to. 44 leaves. Collation, *Serp. of Div.* A-C in fours; *Gorboduc*, A-H in fours. In this last print, while no additions are made to the source, the whole treatise is rewritten, so that for purposes of collation the whole tract would need re-printing.¹

It is certain that Rogers followed Treverys, and that Alde followed Rogers, in setting orth his copy. The former fact may be proved from my collations at the end of the tract. Alde's print I leave to a student of the Elizabethan period for analysis.

While I have on my desk photographic reproductions of all three MSS. and a careful transcript of the fourth made by myself, as well as a complete transcript of the Rogers print, I can see no advantage in printing my comparative study of the possible relations of the versions. I give in my text a faithful transcription, with modern punctuation, of the Fitzwilliam text (F), and of the Calthorpe where F fails, enclosing every alteration in brackets. I give in footnotes all the important variants of the other MSS. and of the Treverys print. I believe each MS. to be an independent transcript, with possibly a closer relation between F and H than among the others. C and P have taken the greatest liberties with the text.

The end of the text in C, which varies from the others, is probably derived from an early draft, omitted in later texts. This omission and revision was probably Lydgate's own. As I state in the *Lydgate Canon*, Lydgate got out his work in different forms. *Death's Warning* is a revamping of stanzas from the *Fall of Princes*, *The Prayer in Old Age* a similar alteration of the *Verses of St. Bernard*.

¹ *Gorboduc*, the first English tragedy, was intended by its authors to illustrate the dangers of division. It was written by admirers of Lydgate, and this union of it with Lydgate's tract was not a mere accident of publication. The dumbshow in *Gorboduc*, of the fable of the bundle of sticks, was probably suggested by the similar *exemplum* in Lydgate's text, of the hairs in the horse-tail.

THE SERPENT OF DIVISION

WHILOME, as olde bookis make[n¹] mencion, when tholde² noble famovs I^a. The Citie of Rome was [most]³ shyning in his felicity and flowring in his glory,—^{origin of the Dictators.}liche as it is remembered in bookis of olde antiquyte⁴,—the prime temps of his fundacioun, whenne the wallis were reised on heithe bi the manly & prudent diligence of Remvs and Romvlus; fro þe which tyme þe Citie stood vnder⁵ governaunce of kyngis, tyl at the tyme Tarquyne soone of Tarquyne the prowde, for his outrageous offence doone vnto Lucesse wife of þe worþy Senatour Collatyne, . . . in pvnysshing of whiche trespase by the manly pursuite of Collatyns kynrede and ful assente of all the Senate the name of kyngis ceased in the Citie of Rome for evur more, and all the Roial stokke of þe forsaide Tarquyne was¹⁰ proscrip^te & put in exile. And aftir bi prvdente advice of the Senate the Cite was gouverned be twoo Covncellours, and so contvnyd vnto the tyme that Pompey the proude was repaired hoo^me ageyne from the Conqveste of Thire, bi fors made subgette to thempyre of Rome, wher with grete worthines of fame he was receyved. So that ilke tyme⁶ for his grete noblesse he was chosen oon¹⁵ of the iij^o to gouverne the Citie; assigned other twoo⁶ vnto hym ful renovnyd of knyghthoode⁷, Julius Cesar and Marcus Crassus. And thoo⁸ was the name of Counsellours tvrned vnto þe name of Dictatours, whiche was thilke tyme⁹ a name of an office pertynent to prynces for governaunce of other.

And for a special cavse¹⁰ this office and this¹¹ occupacioun bassente of all²⁰ the hoole Senate was committed vnto thre¹²; leste yif that oon offendid, the oother tweyne¹³ shulde be mighty and strong to correcte the iij^{de}¹⁴: and another cavse was this, while¹⁵ þat tweyne were occupied in Conqueste owtewardes, the iij^{de} shulde gouverne at hoo^me.

And thus all þe while they weren¹⁶ of oon herte and of oon assente, and²⁵ voide of variaunce withinne herselfe, the noblesse of Rome flovred in prosperite; I^b. The but als¹⁷ sone as fals covitise broughte Inne pride and vayne ambicion¹⁸, the^{causes of division.}

In the collation which follows, I follow the Calthorpe Yelverton MS. 35 (C) as far as p. 52, where I follow the Fitzwilliam Museum McLean MS. 182 (F), which begins at that point, to the end. For purposes of collation the Samuel Pepys MS. 2006 in Magdalene College, Camb. (P), and the Harvard MS. AR 5 (H) are also used. The print by Rogers (R) of 1559 is occasionally referred to.

¹ So PH: make C. ² when the. ³ most] from PH, om. C. ⁴ auncetrie PH. ⁵ thenn P: thilke H. ⁶ tweyne PH. ⁷ that is to seye *ins.* P. ⁸ this P: thus H. ⁹ thenne P. ¹⁰ and an entent *ins.* P. ¹¹ om. P. ¹² and that was this *ins.* P. ¹³ two P. ¹⁴ him P. ¹⁵ the whiles P. ¹⁶ were C. ¹⁷ also PH. ¹⁸ thenn *ins.* P.

contagious Serpent of Division eclipsed and appalled their worthines; concluding sothely as in sentence that every kingdome be division is conveyed
 fol. 147 a. to his distruction. For the¹ surquidous² pride [on the party]³ of Iulius, and the contagious Covetise entremelled with envye on⁴ the party of Pompey, made
 5 the famous Citie of Rome full waste and wilde, not oonly of their innvmerabill treasour, but caved hem also to be full barreigne and desolate of here menne, where⁵ toforne [as⁶ of] worthines of knighthood⁷ and of Cheualry they weren⁸ incomparabill. And finally the fals division amongs themmsilf was more imp[o]rtabill⁹ vnto hem, and caved more rvyne of her tovnne, thanne when
 10 they had werre with all the worlde; lyche as this litil story compendiously shal devise.

II. Caesar
 and
 Crassus.
 II b.

And to conseive briefly þe proces of this matier;—Ye shal first¹⁰ vndirstande þat Marcus Crassus was sente towardis the parties of the Northe with vj. legiones of knightes agenst the Kyng of Parthes; and þe manly man Sesar Iulius with
 15 other vj. legions of knightes was sent downe, passing the large & thidous¹¹ bovdnis of lumbardye, descending¹² bi the highe Alpies, and avaling bi the large plage of Germany & all¹³ Almaigne; til bi conqueste of his manly force and his mortal swerde he broughte all Fraunce to¹⁴ subieccioun, and all the boundes of Burgogne¹⁵, Brabande, Flaundris, and Holande; til almost the space of his
 20 lustre was wasted oute. That is to saye,—ther was a space lymtyed of¹⁶ the Romaynes, whiche was called a¹⁷ lustre, whiche is accompted þe space of v. yere; and who so evur¹⁸ passed the space by the occasion of any conqueste, and nat repaired at his tyme sett & lymtyed of v. yere, he was anon¹⁹ foriuged, dempte, and nempned²⁰ rebell, as plain enemy and rebell vnto the Citie of Rome.

And²¹ this manly man Iulius, demyng in his opynyon that tyme loste, whanne fortynes blavndisshing & favourable covntenaunce throughe the contagion of his necligence & of slowthe was aftirward full froward to be recovered; wherfore of knighthoode and of manly prowes he set the Romaine estatutes²² aside, and fully purposed in his knightly herte to passe þe bovdnes of the space
 30 of his lustre, and taforce himself with his Chevalrye to wyne the bovdnes of Bretaine, and toversayle by force the weste party of oure occian.

But for all his surquedous pride he was twyous²³ bette of at his arryvaile by the worthynes of the worshipfull Bretaonne²⁴ kyng called Cassibolan. And plainly [withouten favour]²⁵ to declare & specife the trouthe, he mighte never
 35 atteigne taryve at his luste, til this manly king Cassibolan & Androgius the Duce of Cornewaile²⁶ felle at debate among hemselfe; wherby I²⁷ may conclude

¹ om. PH. ² of ins. P. ³ on the party of] so PH, om. C. ⁴ of P. ⁵ whenn.
⁶ as of P: the C: of H. ⁷ om. P. ⁸ were PH. ⁹ impartabill C. ¹⁰ first] om. P.
¹¹ the grete PH. ¹² down by PH. ¹³ al] of PH. ¹⁴ in PH. ¹⁵ P inserts and of.
¹⁶ by P. ¹⁷ by hem the lustre P. ¹⁸ om. P. ¹⁹ then add. P. ²⁰ declared H, om. P.
²¹ But P. ²² statute PH. ²³ to tymes P. ²⁴ Bretaine P. ²⁵ so PH, om. C. ²⁶ A contemporary hand in P alters this word to Kent. ²⁷ ye P: may wel add. H.

that whiles vnite & ¹ acorde ² stode vndefowled and vndividid in the bondis of fol. 147 b.
 Bretayne, þe myzti ³ conquerowre Iulius was vnable and impotente to venqvische
 hem. By whiche example 3e may evidently consideren & seen þat deuision,
 liche ⁴ as is specified toforne, is originall cause in prouynces & regions ⁵ of all
 destruciovn; for liche as hit is made mencion in the story whan Iulius bi þe 5
 fauowre of Androgenes ⁶ recouered arivaille ⁷; & within a litill space aftir
 Cassibelan the manly kyng full prowde and knyztly met with him; atwene
 whome ⁸ þer was full mortall ⁹ werre. But ¹⁰ liche as hit is specially remembrid
 & recordid bi writynge of ¹¹ þe worþi clerke Eusebius, þat þilke ¹² fatall day whan
 Iulius and Cassibolan mettyn in the felde, þis forseide Cassibelan had a famous 10
 and a ¹³ passing manly man to his broþer, the whiche with his blody mortall
 swerde neuer sesid to sleen and oppresse þe prowde Romeyne knyztis so ferforþe
 þat þei fled and eschewed his swerde as the deþe ¹⁴; for wher as ¹⁵ he wente þer
 was no resistance. And þis continued so longe þat þe Romeynes were impotent
 to resiste ¹⁶. But O, alas, when he was wried of fyt, hit befille casuelly of 15
 Fortvne, whiche is ay ¹⁷ contrary and peruers, þat he of aventure mette with þis
 manly man Iulius; and bothe twoo, liche as made is mencion, ferdn as Tigres
 and lions, eueryche woundinge other full [mortally] ¹⁸; tille sodeynely, bi dis-
 posicion of ¹⁹ fate, Iulius with an vnware stroke of his dredefull swerde rofe him
 evyn atweyne. And albe hit so þe stori makith no mencion whate þis worþi 20
 knyzt hiȝten; (I fynde none oþer name of him ²⁰ but þat he was broþer to þe
 noble Breton kyng Cassibelan); þe deþe of whome Bretons owȝte full well to
 compleyne. Bi þe occasion of whiche Iulius was made victorious, and Cassibilan
 browȝt vnto þe subieccion of þe Empire of Rome, and constreyned bi Cesar to
 paien for his trewage ²¹ þre þowsande pownde eueriche 3ere. 25

And in signe of this conqvest and famous victory, Iulius Cesar ²² edefied in þis
 londe dyuerse Castelis & Citees, for a perpetuell memorye to putte his name in ²³
 remembraunce, þat is for to seyne þe Castelles of Dovir, of Cantorbury, Row-
 chestire, and þe towre of London, and [þe] ²⁴ castell and þe towne of Cesareisbury,
 takynge his name aftir Cesar, þe whiche is now Icalled Sawlisbury. And ouur 30
 more as seiþe myne auctowre ²⁵ he edified Cesarischestre, þat now is callid fol. 148.]
 Chichestre, and þe castell of Excestre.

And in þis mene while þat Cesar þis prowde hadde ²⁶ hoolly & enterely þe II c.

¹ and good *add.* H. ² Here begins MS. F., the text of which is followed to the end. ³ and
 victorious *add.* H. ⁴ suche H: liche as it CP. ⁵ reignes P. ⁶ Androglus CPH. ⁷ his
 aryvaille *add.* CP. ⁸ and thenn there was P. ⁹ a full mortaille batail and werre *add.* P.
¹⁰ and PH. ¹¹ in wryting bi C. ¹² om. P. ¹³ and a] om. C. ¹⁴ eschwuede and fiedd
 fro his swerd as deth P. ¹⁵ om. P. ¹⁶ venqvesshe or resiste C: consent to resiste H: content to
 resiste P. ¹⁷ ay PHC: a F. ¹⁸ full sore P: full mortally to þe deþe HF. I follow C. ¹⁹ of
 PCH: or F. ²⁰ P reads at this point yet I fynd his name was knowen Nennius (*this word inserted*)
 thus that he was broþer &c. ²¹ Triage P. ²² The seide Julius P. ²³ to . . . in] om. P.
²⁴ þe] so PCH, om. F. ²⁵ doctour P. ²⁶ hadd hadd P.

gouvernaunce of Brutes Albion, his felow Marcus Crassus, of whome is made mencion toforne¹, was slayne in þe Este partie of the worlde, whilis he made moste cruell werre ageyne þe [fers]² peple of Parthes; and for his gredy vnstawncheable þruste of Covetise his enemyes slowe him in þis wise. Þei made³ milte golde, and all hote powred hit in his mowþe, seyenge to him in this wise: 'Aurum sitisti, aurum bibe'. 'Þu haste þrustid aftir golde all thi life, now drynke þi fill.' Lo here ye may considryn and se þe schorte and þe momenta[rie]⁴ tyme, transitorie and not abidyng, of all þis werreows⁵. And as þe stori rehersith also, as for a⁶ lamentable kalendes of more⁷ infortune⁸ þat aftir schulde folowe, Iulia þe noble wife of Pompeye, and⁹ dowȝter to¹⁰ Cesar, deied of a childe berynge; for whiche cause Pompeye pretende a colour to synde a cause to reuoke Cesar ageyne to Rome bi assente of all þe Senate¹¹; to þis syne, þat he schulde come in his owne persone to avenge in all haste þe deþe of his felow Marcus Crassus toforeseide so vengeably slayne in his conquest: this same Pompey hauynge a secrete drede in his conseite¹², leste þat Iulius wexe so myȝti in his conqueste, that he hymself were not egall of power, nor able to resiste him in his repeire; and dredynge also in his imaginacioun lest þat Iulius wolde of presumpcious pride¹³ vsurpe by tiranie to take vppon him þe lordschip and þe domynacion of Rome. But þis manly man Cesar, aduertynge full prudently and aperceyuyng þe¹⁴ fraudulent meouyng of Pompeye on þat one side, and þe compassif sleiȝte of þe Senat on þat oþer side, full avisely gafe answeere ageyne, þat he wolde accomplissche and performe his conqueste, whiche he hadde bigonne¹⁵, and þan mekely and humbely at there requeste repeire home ageyne.

And in this wise enterid in þe Snake of Wantruste and of discorde, whiche causid eueryche to haue false suspecion of oþer; and þis began to [kyndill]¹⁶ þe hote maliciows fire of envie, indvcyng in successiflyche werre and debate among hem selfe.

III. Cae-
sar's recall. And hereuppon withowte more prolongynge¹⁷ or delay, to execute þere purpose, and evidently to schewe the fyne of þere entente, Pompey and þe Senat of one assente, withoute respite or dilacion¹⁸ foriugged Cesar gilty, dissobeisaunt, rebell and traitour to Rome, & ȝafe vppon him a sentence diffynitife of exile and prescripcion for euermore, withoute reuokynge or repeire, and fully executed þer venenis malice; Iulius all þis while¹⁹ beyng absent. But Iulius, not consideryng nor aduertynge²⁰, nor hauynge noo maner evidence nor suspecion of the malicious and

¹ toforne is made CHP. ² foreseide F. Others fers. ³ did do C. ⁴ momentance F sic: momentance H; momentanye P. I follow C, momentare sic. ⁵ werres. ⁶ more C. ⁷ om. C. ⁸ infortunitee PH. ⁹ om. C. ¹⁰ of C. ¹¹ bi alle the assent of the Senat. ¹² owne herte and conseyte C. ¹³ presumpcioun & pride C: presumpcioun pride H: presumpeyon only P. ¹⁴ and . . . þe] om. C. ¹⁵ gonne P. ¹⁶ kyndely F: kyndill C: kyndle HP. ¹⁷ prolowgynge sic C. Others as in text. ¹⁸ any delaye or respite C. ¹⁹ tym P. ²⁰ om. P.

par
prudent

venemous conspiracie of Pompey and þe Senat¹, wrowt and purposid agayne hym², but all innocent & vnknowynge of here envious malyce, bi good avise and diligen[t]³ deliberacion of entente, sente his Ambassatours, not onely to his sone in lawe Pompeye, but also well to all⁴ þe worþi cowrte of the Senat, and to all⁴ oþer noble Citisenis of þe towne, requerynge hem of equite þat for his meritorie deserte, not to be contrari nor for none occasion of wilfulnes to denye him, his customable guerdon; þe whiche is dewe of olde antiquite to be ȝevyn to conquerours, but þat þei wolde frely and wilfully vncompellid grawnten him and put hym in possession of þe palme and the Tryumphe, whiche he so longe bi knyȝtly labowre and manly deligens⁵ haþe for þe encresse and þe awmentacion¹⁰ of þe comyn profite of þe Empire of Rome traveilid [sore]⁶.

IV. The
Triumph
requested.

But for to specifie and declare þe honour of Tryumphe whilom vsid in Rome to hem þat were victours. Firste ȝe schall vndirstonde þat Triumphus bi descripcion is as mochell to seyne in pleyne englisch, as a treble⁷ gladnesse, or ellis a singulere excellens of Ioye in þre⁸ maner of⁹ wise, ordeyned for victors¹⁰,¹⁵ whiche þorowȝe here hiȝe renovne and manly prowes hadde browȝte regions and Citeis be wey of¹¹ knyȝtly conqueste to be soget and tributarie to þe Empire of Rome. And þe firste of þese iij worschippis done to a conquerrowre was þis: firste in his repeire to þe Citie, all the peplis¹² of hiȝe estate and lowe schulde with grete Ioye & reuerence, in þer beste and richeste aray, mete him on þe²⁰ waye; and¹³ þis was þe furste. The seconde was þis: þat all þe prisonneres, and þey þat weren in captiuite, schulde¹⁴ fetrid and manaclid gone rownde abowte environ his chare, some toforne and somme behynde. And¹⁵ þe þirde worschip done vnto him¹⁶ was þis, þat he schulde be clad in a purpurat¹⁷ mantell of Iubiter liche a¹⁸ god, and sitte with a crowne of lawrer vpon his hed in a riche chare of²⁵ golde, and abowte his nekke in maner of a Cercle schulde environ abye¹⁹ made of golde in similitude and likenes of a palme. And [if so were þat his conqueste was accomplished and perfourmed withoute swerde or shedding of blood thanne shulde the coroune of þe palme]²⁰ be forged withowte prikkis or spynis and ȝif so were þat his victori was fynisschid bi þe cruell fate of werre þan of custome³⁰ his cercle or his pectorall was forgid full of scharpe prikyng þornes to declare and specifie þat þer is none conqueste acomplischid [fully]²¹ to þe fyne bi [mediacioun]²² of werre withoute þat þer be [felt and found]²³ therinne þe scharpe prikkynge thornes of aduersite and þat oþer [bi deth]²⁴ oþer bi pouerte.

¹ senate that C. ² agayne hym omitted in F. ³ deligens sic F. ⁴ well to all] tall C.
⁵ prowess and diligence add. H. ⁶ sore HCP: for F. ⁷ tresle P: trewe CH. ⁸ om. P.
⁹ om. CH. ¹⁰ victories C. ¹¹ wey of] om. C. ¹² pepull C: puple P: people H. ¹³ and . . .
furste] om. P. ¹⁴ shulde be . . . to goon H. ¹⁵ and] om. C. ¹⁶ done . . . him] om. P: bem C.
¹⁷ purpull C. ¹⁸ as a add. C. ¹⁹ aby P: be C: and be H. ²⁰ F omits from And if so to þe
palme, by a natural confusion with palme in the preceding clause. I insert from C with which the others
agree. ²¹ so CP: fulfilled F. ²² meditacion F. Other MSS. give as above. ²³ so PH: felt
and om. C: felde and formde F. ²⁴ bidith sic F!

And þis riall and þis victorius chare toforeseide was drawe with fowre white stedis þorowe the moste riall stretis of þe Cite to þe chapitoile hauynge a septré in his honde full richely devisid and þervppon in signe of victori an Egle of golde.

But to schewe clerely þat all worldely glorie is transitori and not abidyng
 5 and evidently to declare þat in hiȝe estate is none assuraunce þere was set at þe backe of þis conquerour behyndyn in þe chare the moste vnlikly persone and þe moste wrecche þat in eny Cowntrey myȝt be fownde disfigured and Iclad in the moste vgly wise that eny man cowde devise and amyȝd all þe clamour and noyse of þe peple to exclude þe false surqvedie veyneglory and Idill laude this
 10 forseide wrecche schulde of custome & of consuetude smyte þe conquerroure euer in þe necke and uppon þe hed and stowndemele seyne vnto hym in greke þis worde Nothis politos¹, whiche is as mochill to seyne in owre englische tonge as knowe þiselfe, which declarith and vnclosith vnto him þat he nor none oþer schulde for no suche worldely glorie be surquedous nor wex prowde. And þilke
 15 day hit was lefull without punyschyng to euery man of hiȝe estate and of lowe to seine to him þat was victour whate some euer² he wolde, were it of honoure or of worschip, of reprefe or of schame, as this was admittid withowte vengeance for þis cause, þat he schulde truly consideren and aduerte þat þer is none erþely glorie þat fully may ben assured withowte the dawngere of Fortune.

20 And schortely to declare þe deference atwene Tryumphus and Tropheum, Triumphe is a full and a plener³ ouer comynge of Enemyes bi bataile, and Trophe is whan a man put his fomen for drede vnto flyȝte withowte stroke of swerde.

V. The
Triumph
denied.

But towchyng þis honowre toforeseide whiche þat Iulius requyred and askid of riȝte as for a guerdone whiche him þowȝt was meritorie and due vnto hym⁴.
 26 Anonc þis foreseide Pompey with full assente of all þe Senate denyed all with o voyce his requeste, and of one acorde answerde ageyne and seide him platly⁵ he schulde not be acceptid to no suche honoure, but pleynelly bade hym knowe as for finall conclusion þat he had rapir deservid to be dede þan to haue eny
 30 suche worschipe, alleggyng ageyns him þat he was boþe a traitowre and a rebell to þe statutes of Rome. And whan þat Iulius clerely conceivid the schorte answer of þe Senat and of þis⁶ Pompey to foreseide⁶, þer kyndlyd a full hote brennyng⁶ fire of envie⁶ in his⁷ herte of þe⁶ fretyng hate specially þat he bare⁸ in his breste to bene avenged vppon Pompey. And lyche as Lucan
 35 rehersith in his poetical boke þat the denyenge of þis worschip to þis Iulius was chefe grownde and occasion of all þe werre þat began in Rome, [root⁹ and] begynnyng also of þe contageous deuysion amonge hemselfe.

¹ ilitos P: zelitos C: iolitos H.

man of hiȝe estate. *I follow C.*

righte hym thoughte C, others as in F.

... breste] thoughte P.

² Here F repeats a phrase from the line above, what some euery

³ pleiner H: playn P.

⁴ was due and meritorie to hym as bi

⁵ planly P.

⁶ om. C.

⁷ his] Iulis C.

⁸ bare

⁹ and also add. C. root and] om. F. *I supply from PH.*

But so as Lucan likith to reherse & specyfie in his boke toforeseide amongis VI. The
 oþer causes þat he put he¹ in especiall writeth² of þre, whiche were chiefe^{three}
 begynnyng and rote of deision amonge hem-selfe preuyng bi reson in þilke þre^{causes of}
 þat hit muste nedes bene þat þe felicite and þe prosperite of Rome muste abate
 and drawe to declyne, þe whiche þre that Lucan put bene þese. 5

Firste he seithe hit was necessarie and³ hit was consuetudinarie, and þe
 þirde was voluntarie. Firste, þat hit was necessarie he preuyth hit bi ensample
 of nature in þis wise, þat evenliche as Phebus þe sonne whan he arisith in þe
 Oryent and bi successife cours assendith into þe hieste poynt of þe mydday
 spere, ond þan of his kynde naturell muste descende and baþe his golde tressid 10
 hornes in þe westryne [wawes]⁴ and þan dymmen and durken owre Emysperie
 bi absence⁵ of his liȝt. And also eke whan þe same golden wayne of Titan
 from þe Ariete is whirlid vp to þe hiȝeste towre of his assencioun into þe celestiall
 signe of þe Crabbe, and þan bi þe myȝti⁶ compellynge of natures riȝt he is
 constreyned⁷ to discende downe and auale his chariet, Riȝt so semblablie þer is no 15
 wordely worschip so briȝte nor so⁸ clere schynyng in erþe but þat hit muste
 enclyne and auale downe as sone as he haþe atteyned þe hiest and þe moste
 famows poynt of his assencion. For liche as þe rage⁹ of [þe¹⁰] haboundant flode
 whan hit haþe rawȝt his stordi¹¹ wawes to þe hieste sodeynely þer folwith an ebbe
 and makith hym resorte ageyne, and In þe same wise whan eny temperall¹² 20
 prosperite is moste flowenge in felice þan is a sodeyne ebbe of aduersite moste
 to be dradde. Eke in þe same wise as ȝe may clerely discernen and consideryn
 at þe Eye in trees and in erbes, þat whan þe vegetatife vertu bi þe comfortable
 influence of þe sonne is aftir þe colde wyntere in grene veer litill and litill ascendit
 into brawches and bowes and causith hem to budde and blossome newe and in 25
 herbis makith a lusti fressche grenes newly to apere and bi processe of tyme with
 here holsome bawme apareilith hem with manyfolde colours of rede and white
 and grene, þan anone aftir in dessence of Apollo þe sonne þilke same vertu fro
 þe crop avalith ageyne to daren¹³ in þe rote, riȝt so þer is none felicite so
 flowryng nor so appareilid with blosomes and blomes of transitori riches but 30
 al sone as þe [schynyng]¹⁴ sonne of here¹⁵ glorie schedith his bemes moste clere
 þat ful vnwarely or þei can aduerte or taken hede þey be robbid and reved of
 here lordeschip and plungid adowne oþir bi occasion of some aduersite Ibrowȝt
 and inducid in oþer bi sekenes or deþe. And þis towchyng þat þe firste cause
 is naturell and necessari þat all worldely pompe and pride schall passe, myne 35
 autoure Lucan haþe preuyd¹⁶ bi reson. And towchyng þe second cavse, whiche
 is callid customable and consuetudinar[i]e¹⁷, ȝe may consideren of reson that euer

¹ hem MS. ² write MS. ³ om. PH: Secund C. ⁴ so CH: welles P: walis F. ⁵ and
 hit P. ⁶ om. C. ⁷ compelled C. ⁸ ne C. ⁹ tharage C. ¹⁰ þe om. MS. *I supply from PCH.*
¹¹ sturdy PCH. ¹² worldly C. ¹³ to daren om. F: daren CP: duren H. ¹⁴ MS. schyng sic.
¹⁵ his C. ¹⁶ towched bi reason and proved C. ¹⁷ MS. consuetudinare. *Other MSS. as above.*

of custome hit fallith þat when þe blynde goddessse of variawnce Dam[e]¹ fortvne haþe enliansed a man hieste vpon hir whele, with a sodeyne sweihe² sche plungeth hym downe. Evidente ensample 3e maye take of kyngis and prynces þat haue bene toforne. And towchyng þe þirde cause of distruccion of þe Cite
 5 lucan likith to call hit in his poeticall mvses voluntarie, whiche is as mochell to seyne as cause rotid vpon wilfulnes withowte eny grownde fowndid vpon reson, for onely of volunte³ þei were so blyndid in þer hiȝe prosperite þat them liste not to knowe hem selfe but þowȝte hem so assured in here felicite þat þei myȝte not bi no collaterall occasion of aduersite be perturbed. And þis þorowȝe false
 10 surquedauce þei were made so wilfull þat none liste to obeyen oþer. And so was browȝte obstinacie eueriche demynge him selfe egall to oþer. And this of contrarious discorde amonge hem selfe onely of volunte thei stode disseuered and devidid whiche was one of þe chefe occasion of distruccion. And for þis skele
 fol. 4 a. toforne⁴ declared lucan callith þis þirde cause voluntarie in [so moche]⁵ as hit
 15 was falsly fowndid vpon wille, and þis of cause necessarie bi ensample of kynde, and bi þe seconde cause callid consuetudinarie schewed toforne bi ensample of custome, and bi þis laste þirde cause callid voluntarie rotid onely vpon wille.

VII. The
 Rubicon.

The Romeynes amonge hemselfe stode in suche contrauercie þat þei dowtid to whiche partie þei schulde enclyne. And compendiously to declare how all þis
 20 causes of deuysion and how þe werre þe whiche of clerkis is callid Bellum Ciuile, as mochell⁶ to seyne in englische as werre amonge hem selfe. For þe clere compendious processe of whiche, firste 3e schall considre þat Iulius platly enformed of þe malicious conspiracie compassid and wrowȝte azens him anone as in his repeire owte of albiȝon þat he was passid þe bowndes of Almaigne & had
 25 atteyned þe hiȝe alpiȝes whiche bene of Autours callid þe colde frosty hillis and þe bowndis of lumbardye, and so holdynge his passage bi þe parties of assoine lyne riȝt till he aprochid þe rage flode and þe sturdy Ryvere callyd of lucan Rubicanis, þere⁷ aperid vnto him an olde Auncien lady triste and drery in a mantell of blake, wympled hir face toforne in full dolerous wise, þe tresses
 30 of here hedde for age full hore and white. And for constreynte of her hertely wo even vpon þe tyme whan the blake derke nyȝte had ouersprad ther⁸ Emysperye with þe bordour of her owgly and her clowdie cope, This wofull ladye toforeseide bigan hir lamentable compleynt to Iulius in þis wise.

‘O 3e⁹ noble and worþi knyȝtis moste renommed of fame, alas whedir purpose
 35 3e with soo myȝti apparaile of Mars to procede, or where caste 3e to f[i]cche¹⁰ youre sturdy standartis or to displey your dredefull penouns and baners? O alas ageyns whome haue 3e caste finally to execute þe mortale hate þat brennyth in yowre herte, or ageyne whome purpose 3e in so cruell wise to preue yowre myȝt.

¹ MS. dam. Other MSS. dame.

² swynge C: swygh P.

³ voluntarie will P.

⁴ fore P.

⁵ so moche] om. MS. F. I supply from C.
 þere. ⁸ MS. F ther. Other MSS. the.

⁶ whiche is alsmoche CP.

⁷ MS. F þei. Other MSS.

⁹ the PH.

¹⁰ MS. F. fecche. Others ficche.

Remembrith in your þowȝt þat ȝe bene withholde with þe Senat of Rome and yowre selfe accompted as for noble and full worþi knyȝtes of þe Cite, and Schewe not now yowre selfe enemyes to þe Empire bi whos worþynes aforetyme hit haþe be sustened and myȝtily suppowailed ageyns þe [assavtes]¹ of all here foon. O Alas aduertith and considerith in youre herte þe noble and þe prudente statutes of þe Polecie of Rome þe whiche full pleyndly express þat hit is lefull to no² man armed to pas þe bondis of þis streme but ȝif he be mortall enmy and rebell to Rome. Alas ȝe þat haue be so longe frendis and so manly mayntened þe honour of þe Cite, withdrawe youre foote and hastith not to faste but, lete good deliberance³ restreyne youre Reynes þat hasti wilfulnes lede yow nat to confusion not onely of youreselfe but into þe originall ruyne of þe Cite bi þe habowndawnt schedynge of blod þat is likely to [sewe]⁴. And suddenly whan þis ladye had brefely⁵ expressed þe somme of hir sentence withowte more abode sche disapered. This manly man and þis fortunate knyȝt Iulius, in partie disamaied of þis vnkouth apparence restreyned his oste and made hem to picche here tentis endelonge þe stronde vpon þe hyndere parties of þe Ryuer; and in his vnkouth afraye he sodeynely abreide in þis wise. 'O þu myȝti Iubiter vndir whos demeyne⁶ wlcanus forgith þe dredefull sownes of þe thondir and causith hertis to agrise with þe fire leuene, And O ȝe goddes and goddesses þat whilom hadde þe gouernance of oure worþi Awncestres in Troye⁷, And ȝe noble goddes Romus and Romulus þe⁸ famovs fowndours and þe⁹ myȝti protectours and patrons of the Cite of Rome, I as an humble soget to yowre deitee full lowly beseche you and requyre yow of equite & riȝt to be wellwillid and favourable to promote my trewe querell and cause, And benygngly of your bownteuous goodnesse to fauowren and fortune þe hiȝe Emprise, þe whiche of iuste title I purpose fynally for life or deþe þorowȝe your fauowre to execute. And not as enemy nor rebell to Rome but as a trewe Citesyn and a previd knyȝt I caste me fully to perseuere, with condicion þat liche as I haue manly deservid I may be resceived, makynge a protestacion þat not as enemy but as ful frende and soget to Rome I woll be fownde stedefaste and trewe. Wherefore, ȝe myȝti and ȝe noble Senatowrs of Rome, I requere yow of riȝt þat ȝe noþynge arrette nor ascrive to my gilte that I come with stronge and myȝti honde þat I entre þe bondis of yowre Imperiall fraunchise, makynge a full protestacioun þat onely with a clene¹⁰ concience and¹¹ entrikied with none entente of Iuell menyng that I come to yow, of full purpose to be resceived as for youre frende and not youre foo. requiryng yow also to holdyn him whate so euer he be full enmy to your noble cite, þat of wille and entente labowrith to make discorde atwene vs

¹ assentes MS. Others assavtes.² MS. a. Others no.³ deliberacion in other MSS.⁴ sewe H: siwe P: shewe C: be sched F.⁵ compendiously and brefly add. P.⁶ Diete sic P.⁷ the noble towne of Troye add. P.⁸ the most add. P.⁹ om. P.¹⁰ clere C.¹¹ not entrikied C.

tweyne, for so þat my meritorie gerdon whiche þat I haue in my conqueste Iustely deservid be not denyed me I am and euer will bene for life or deþe a trewe knyzt to þe Cite¹ to my livis ende.

And forþewith makynge no delay liche a lion not dismaied nor aferde,
 5 Firste of all in his owne persone passed þe ryuer, the whiche ryuer liche as lucan remembrith þilke same tyme at þe² comynge of Cesar ageyne his custumable cours was reised³ on heizte into a grete flode, and all þe white snowes of þe Alpyes were resolued with þe bemes of Phebus, where þorowe þe rivers in þe valis were reised so hiþe þat vnneþe eny myzt passe ouer. But Iulius of none
 10 vnkowþe adventures afraied, but liche a manly man full well assured in hym selfe in þe presence of all the worthie knyztis seide in þis wise: 'Here I leve behynde all þe olde confideracions⁴ made bitwixte Rome and me and here I leve all þe frendship of olde antiquite and onely folowe þe traxis of fortune and of hole entente I begyn a ríztfull werre, for cause onely þat bi mediacion of pees proferid on my
 15 side I may nat atteyne my title of rízt.'

And anon withowte more dilacioun, evne⁵ vpon þe sprynge of þe day whiche of Clerkis is callid Aurora he vnwarely with all the worthye⁶ multitude of his knyztis enterid into þe Cite of Lucan callid Arymynum, a Cite pertinent to Rome, and þer he toke firste possession of the Empyre none so hardie
 20 resiste nor to withstonde þe furie of his swerde. And all þis while þe Romeyns stondynge in dowte to whiche partie þei schulde enclyne, oþer þe partie of Sesar or of Pompey, for of chierte þat þei had to here wivis and here childeryn and to þe olde statutes of þe Cite þei were fauowrable to Pompey, and of drede þei had of Cesaris swerde þei stode in so grete ambiguite þat þei cowde not deme whate
 25 was beste to do: Lo how þe mortale envie of tweyne was cause and occasion þat þilke noble worþi Cite whiche had all þe worlde in subieccion and was callid ladye and Emperes of all regions was browzte vnto distruccioun⁷. For in this ilke two began⁸ þe devisioun whiche neuer aftir myzte perfitley be restorid nor reconsilid to vnyte, whereby as semyth vnto men þat all prudent prynces whiche haue
 30 gouernaunce in provynces and regions schulde take ensample whate harme and damage is and how finale a destruccioun is to bene deuyded amonge hemselfe.

VIII. An
 exemplum
 from
 Valerius.

And for to ratefyte bi more Autentike ensample how moche þat vnite more availith þan deuysion, I woll schortely reherse an⁹ ensample whiche þat Valerie putte and is þis. This auctowre rehersith þat whilome whan þe Cite of Rome
 35 stode likely to haue be devided of a debate þat was newly begonne amonges hemselfe, ther was a wise philosophir amonge hem¹⁰ þe whiche of hiþe discrecion considrid þe grete perell þat was likely to sewe, and þouzte he wolde of wisdomed voide þe grete myschefe þat myzte sewe. in presence of all the Senate and lordes

¹ of Rome *add.* C.
MSS. confederacies.

² ageyns the C.
⁵ *om.* H.

³ *MS.* resseyued. *Other MSS.* reised.
⁶ *om.* P: hoole C.

⁷ vnto distruccioun broughte H.

⁴ *Other*
⁸ first

⁹ *MS.* F and. *Others* an.

¹⁰ *om.* *MS.* *Others* supply.

of þe Cite, he made brynge forþe an hors which had a longe þikke taile growen behynde¹, and þan he commawndid þe myȝtieste champion of the towne² to sette on boþe hondes and asaye ȝif he myȝt bi force pull of þe hors taile at a pluk; but all be þat he plukkid to þe vtteriste of his myȝt hit wolde not availe. And anone þis Philosophir made calle to þe presence of þe Senate þe moste impotent⁵ man in þe Cite, a man vnweldye and crokid of age and þis Philosophir made þis olde manne to pluk one here aftir anoþer of þe hors taile till litill and litill bi proces þe taile was wastid clene away, and þe hors nakid and bare behynde. 'Beholde' quod the Philosophir þo 'þat whilis þe taile of þe hors was hoole and on in þe selfe, and eueryche here with othir vnvedidid, þe myȝtiest champion of¹⁰ yowre Cite myȝt do þerto no damage. But also sone as eueriche here was devided and disseuered from oþer he þat was leste of powere amonge yow all lefte neuer till þe taile was consumed and browȝte to nowȝt. Bi whiche ensample,' quod þe Philosophere, 'prudently aduertith and wisely castith toforne þat also longe as ȝe bene one in yourselfe and of one herte þer is none so stronge nor soo myȝti¹⁵ that may availe bi force to atempte your worþines. But also sone amonge youre selfe as one be devided fro anoþir your enemyes, þowȝe þei bene full impotent of powere and of litill reputacion, þei schull bi proces pluk away þe faireste and þe moste schene feþeres of yowre worþines.' And bi þis ensample þis Philosophir³ toforeseide reconsilid Romeyns aȝene to vnite and voided away²⁰ devisioun amonge hemselfe.

Now compendiously to resorte aȝen to my matere liche as þe storie makith IX. The mencion. The Romeynes stondynge in grete contreuercie amonge hemselfe to^{Signs of War.} whiche partie þei schulde drawe, þe goddes bi many signes of pro[nosti]cacion⁴ declared vnto hem þe grete myschefe þat was likly and very sembleable to²⁵ folowe. For þer apperid vnto hem many vnkowþe ymages of sterres some in⁵ brennyng haburgeons of fuyre, and some with [bryghte⁶ brondis in] here hondes castynge flawme environ, and somme with fyrre dartes and scharpe hokid arwis schetyng in þe eire. And in especiall þere aperid a large grete Comete⁶, the stremes of whiche rawȝte here Radies þe fowre plages of þe firmamente, and³⁰ þe sonne also sodeynely whan he schone moste bryȝt in þe meridionall plage þe day [vnwarly]⁷ turned into nyȝt, and þe pale mone ageyne þe comyn cours of kynde sodeynely was clypsid of here lizt and ferþir þe dredefull Karibdis of þe see Cicillye was turned into blode, and all þe howndes beyng in the bondes of Rome lefte þe noise of here berkyng, and in signe and pronosticacion⁴ of grete³⁵ sorowe þat was to⁸ comynge þei howlede and waymentid þat pite hit was to hire. Also [the]⁹ supersticious fire whiche contynuelly toforne was wonte to brenne

¹ PC *om.* pikke, behynde.
cacion *sic.* Others as above.

⁸ MS. Comede. Others Comete.
Others supply.

² renovn H.

³ in . . . bryghte *om.* in F. I supply from C with which PH agree.

⁷ MS. vnwardly. Others vnwarly.

⁵ felowship P *sic* (!): *om.* C.

⁸ *om.* C.

⁴ MS. provastacion

⁹ *om.* MS.

in þe chaste temple of þe goddes callid Vesta, the flawme of þe same fire euer beyng bryȝt vpon here Auteris, of the whiche fire bi olde tyme was profecied þat al so sone as hit deuidid and departid on tweyne þat þe festis and þe solemnpnitees of Rome schulde cese, And liche as þe smokes of þe funerall fire of þe Theban ¹ breþere ² departed at thebes, riȝt so þe departyng of þe fire vpon here Autirs was a trewe signe and a verye prenostike of diuysion þat schulde folowe amonge hem selfe. Fynally to declare to euery region þat where as the fire of loue and perfite charite stonte departid and deuided amonge hem selfe ³, hit is a very trewe evidence and a prenosticacioun þat withowte remedie hit drawith to his destruccion. Also in evident tokyn of þe sodeyne myschefe of deuysion þat ⁴ schulde folowen in Rome, þe fomyng wawes of the adiacente see were stowndemele [enhawnsed] ⁵ so hiȝe [that they surmounted thigheste] ⁶ Athlantes hillis. Also eke þe riche ymagis of þe temples of Rome made of golde silvere and sondrie meteles so as þei stode in here riche tabernacles þei were seyne þilke tyme ⁷ of devisioun full wofully compleynyng and wepyng so ferforþe þat þe teres of here eyen distillyd downe to þe erthe, to compleyne þe desolacion of þe Cite onely causid bi occasion of þer contagious devisioun ⁸ amonge hemselfe. Briddis also ageyne þe custome of here nature were seyne flyenge vpon nyȝtis, and bestis also weren herde spekyn and wemen browȝte forthe monstrous childeren. ⁹ And all þis vnkowþe wondirs fillen but a litill toforne þis foreseide deuysion in þe noble Cite of Rome, for þe dredefull tyme aprochid full nere of þe whiche Sibille soo longe hadde profecied aforne whan sche sente þe schorte somme of hir sentence [to] ¹⁰ þe Senatures of Rome compendiously in þe Nombre of sixe lettirs, þre .R. R. R. & þre F. F. F., þe whiche weren fully prenosticacioun ¹¹ and declaracion of sixe mischevis þat schulde of necessite fall to Rome comprehendith and includith in þis vj. lettirs specified in þis wise, Regna Rome Ruent Ferro Flamma Fame. þis is to seyne þe Region of Rome bi þre þyngis schall be drawen too rvyne: Firste bi þe swerde of werre among hemselfe, and nexte bi fire and hungir, þe whiche tweyne myschevis so contagiously schal ¹² asaile þe Cite þat hit schall be verely vnportable vnto hem. And grownde and Rote of all þis confusion [shall be amonge hem selfe bi discorde and diuision] ¹³. Furþermore to declare sondrie pronosticacions þat fille in þere Cite, whan þe prestes made sacrifice to þer goddes hire firis sodeynely queynte. In the gravis and sepultures of dede men þer were hirde wofull and lamentable noyses and sownes ¹⁴ whiche putte þe peple in passyng grete drede and afraye, and moreouer whan þe grettiste bisschope of here lawe hadde in þe Cerimonyall ritis Itake a bole, and constrayned hym tenclyne mekely his necke vnder þe Awtere of þe temple,

¹ MS. Theba *sic*.² MS. C inserts here from Chaucer Arcite and Pallamon.³ MS. selde *sic*.⁴ MS. omits.⁵ MS. enhawnsed *sic*.⁶ Omitted only in F.⁷ oonly caused be their occasion of

outrageous diuision C.

⁸ MS. of. Others to.⁹ provastacion MS.¹⁰ shal . . . diuision

om. MS. I supply from C, in which others agree.

and þere wassched and bathid his hornes in þe beste wyne þei kowde fynde and þan þei dempte hym able to be slayne for sacrifice, and þan whan þe prouost or þe preste of þe lawe þilke tyme called Arryns with a swerde dismembrid þis bole toforeseide, But in signe of þis lementable and þis wofull deuysion þat þis sacrifice was not acceptable to þe goddis the blode of þis beste whiche þat 5 kyndely schulde haue be rede was blake as eny picche. And whan þe preste with a dedly pale chere was ferefull and aston[y]ed¹ in his herte hopynge to fynde more fortunate tokenes in þe entrailles within, liche as myne auctowre makith mencion þei were [horrible]² and stanke as eny careyne, in signe and evident tokene þat none oblacion noþer of bestes nor of blode is acceptable in þe sijte 10 of God, specially whan hit is offerid of hertis þat bene deividid. So þat I may Iustely conclude that deuision departith not onely man fro man but hit disseuerith and departith a man from God, and whan þis foreseide Bole was þis dismembrid and departed I fynde þat he toke þe mawe and þe herte and partid hit on tweyne, þe to partie to Cesar and that oþer to Pompey. And whan they 15 were boþe putte in þe fire of sacrifice þe partie of Pompey sodcynely qveynte, and þe partie of Iulius was with a briȝt and a³ clere³ flawme consumed in the fire in evidente [signe that in this mortal division]³ Cesar schulde be victor and Pompey discomfited. And in this wise þe myschefe and þe ruyne was schewid and declared firste bi dyuerse figures and sondrie likenesses of sterres schewid in þe heuene, and 20 nexte bi wondirfull monstres in þe erþe, and also be merveilous tokenes schewed in þer sacrificise of beestes [for I finde that whenne somme beestes were dismembred to here sacrifice]⁴ how they were sovnde withoute herte, to declaren bi open evidence to theire Cite how þe hertes of here goddes were finally turned fro hem. Also þe birdis and þe fowlis of þe eire came homely and not afraied fleenge into 25 the Cite bi whiche signes þer clerkis þat bene callid Auguryes expowned hit to here confusion. And bi manyfolde mo signes þan I may or can declare þe Euercion of þe Cite full longe was schewed toforne of þis contagious deuision.

But schortely tentrete the substawnce of þe storye, vpon þe tyme þat Cesar X. The with stronge honde aproched þe bondes of Rome, aftir whan he had wonne þe Wars. Citee of Arymye & had⁵ also conquered Ravenne, and Pompey for ferde was 31 fledde towards þe parties of grece to make himselfe stronge. Thei of Rome hadde schortly determyned in sentence þat Cesar schulde not entre þe Cite but so were þat his hole retinue were lefte behynde. But whan þei knewe and sawe hym so passyngly myȝti & stronge⁶ þei gan to quake⁷ in þer hertes, and namely whan 35 þei weren destitute of an hed of whiche some of the Dukes of Pompey drowe hem towarde þe partie of Ytaille to a Cite whiche was whilome⁸ called dirachyum.

¹ astoned F. Others as above. ² MS. oreblye. I follow C. C alters the order here in severa phrases in the next three lines, but gives the same sense. PH agree with F. ³ om. MS. I supply from C. ⁴ for . . . sacrifice om. F. I supply from C. F substitutes how. PH follow C. ⁵ had] om. H. ⁶ mighty and passing stronge tho C. ⁷ to quaked P. ⁸ that whilome was H.

And euer þis worþi knyȝt Iulius with his cheualrye pursued aftir and all þat with-
stode he slowe, and þe remenaunt he put manlye¹ to the fliȝt, and day be day þe
powere of Cesar gan multeþlye and encrese, and magrey all his enemyes of very
force he entrede þe Cite, & liche as some Autours expresse whan þe Romeyns
5 for drede were redy to haue resseyved him bi þe gatis he of indignacioun and
disdeyne made breke þe wallys² & prowdeley entered as a conquerowre & Iuste-
fied þe Romeynes at his liste, and hoolly vndevided toke on him þe gouernaunce
not onely of þe Cite but of all þe hole Empire, and³ magrey þe Senat he brake
þe brasyn dores of here tresor⁴ and bi violens toke and rawȝt hit away and
10 plentiously departed amonge his knyȝtes.

And in þe mene while full many knyȝtis of þe Este partie of þe worlde came
& assembled tofore þe fore seide Cite⁵ Dirachyum of entente to sustene þe partie
of Pompey ageyne Iulius. And also sone as þer was made relacion to Cesar of
þis grete assemble he made none delay but with all his powere passede bi a con-
15 tre whiche [of] my auctour is called Epirum⁶, and so he entrede into þe costes of
Thesalye⁷ where as he fownde Pompey batailed⁸ aȝenste hym with foure skore
Cohortes and eiȝte⁹ departed into þre¹⁰ wardes. Now to declare¹¹ þe nombre
and þe multitude¹² of a Cohorte, ȝe schall vndirstonde þat þer be two maner
Cohortes þe more and þe lasse & þe more bi discripcioun of Auctours conteynyth
20 fyve hunderid & þe lasse þre hunderid¹³. There weren also in þe party of
Pompey fourtye þowsande of fotemen¹⁴ and in þe lefte whynge þer were beside
all þis sixe hunderede knyȝtis on hors backe and in þe riȝt whynge þer were five
hunderede amonge þe whiche as vynyent in his merowre historiall makith mynde
þer were many kynges and prynces & many oþer worþi Senatours and knyȝtis
25 of Rome þe whiche came in defence of Pompey, and liche as it is remembrid also
Cesar had fowre skore of Cohortes devided and departed in þre wardes and with
þis he had þritty þowsande of fotemen withowte passynge grete nombre of worþi
knyȝtis on horse backe. And in þis mortale bataile all þe partie of Pompey was
put to fliȝt & slawen¹⁵ on his side xij þowsande, and of worþi leders which be
30 called Centauryenes slayne þrittye and þre. And Pompey fledde oute of the felde
and for his refuge toke a schippe, & bi þe bondis of Asye he passed þorowȝe¹⁶
Tire & arrivede in Egipte, and þer anone at his arryvaille bi þe comawndement
of Tholome kynge of Egipte he was beheueded onely for love and¹⁷ fauowre¹⁷ of
Cesar. And [fro]¹⁸ þilke victorie þis foreseide Cesar hastede to þe parties of
35 Syrie towarde þe myȝti Cite of Alisaundre & þer Tholome kynge of Alisawndre
helde a bataille with Cesar bothe one londe and watere. In whiche were slayne

¹ manly *om.* P.² wal H: to breke the walle C.³ and thanne C.⁴ tresorye C.⁵ callid D— *add.* PH: thoó called Dirachon C.⁶ Epiron C.⁷ of grete Tessalye C.⁸ batailled H: enbattelled C: enbatailled P.⁹ eche C *sic.*¹⁰ twoo.¹¹ and to know C.¹² *om.* P.¹³ & . . . hunderid] *om.* C. the lasse cc P.¹⁴ Salsmen.¹⁵ of them was slayn P.¹⁶ throughout C.¹⁷ *om.* P.¹⁸ fro HCP: for F.



POMPEY'S FLIGHT, AFTER PHARSALIA
(From the Yates Thompson MS. of *Li Fait des Romains*.)

two and twenti þowsande in þe felde & xij. hundered schippis discomfited and dreynte, and Tholome þe kynge as he wolde haue fledde owte of schippe and come to londe for haste he fille into þe see and was drowned and as his bodye was caste to londe he was knowen and discerned bi a gilte haberion, the whiche haberion¹ Cesar made to be sente to þe Cite of Alisawnderc for drede of the 5 whiche þei Alisawndere ȝelde þe Cite vp to hym.

Than he repeired ageyne in to Egipte and bi occasion of þe deþe of Tholome þe kynge he gafe þe Ceptre and þe regalie and hole þe² governaunce of Egipte to þe quene Cleopatre³. And so aftir þe conqueste of many opir prouynces and londes he repeired ageyne þe seconde tyme vnto Rome, and þer he toke vpon him two 10 offices boþe⁴ of counsell and dictator.

And fro thens he wente to þe conqueste of Affrike and gan a newe werre in especiall ageyne all þe aliaunce and þe blode of Pompey, and slewe all þe Dukks þat weren⁵ enclyned or favowrable to þe partie of Pompey, amongis whiche were slayne þre myȝti prynces Faustus⁶ Cilla & Postumus⁷, and Pompeya þe dowȝtir 15 of Pompey lugged to be dede, and fro þilke parties he entrede with myȝti and with stronge honde in to Spayne, And þer so as Suetonye writith⁸ he toke vpon hym powere to resceyve þe tribute whiche on þe partie of Spayne was dewe to Rome. And so as þis auctowre makith mynde he in his conqueste procedede so ferre þat he came to þe pillars of Gades, and þer he entrede into þe temple of þe stronge 20 myȝti champion called Hercules, and whan he behelde in þe same temple a riche ymage of golde set vp for a memoriall of kynge Alisawndre, anone þis Cesar gan to sigh and compleyne⁹ in hymselfe þat he neuer myȝt atteyne in his conquest to disserue so victorious a palme of worþynes as in here tyme dede Alisawndre and hercules. And þus ful¹⁰ truste and heuy he yssynge owte of þe temple of 25 hercules fully purposed him in his corage knyȝtly to take vpon hym of knyȝtly corage some newe Emprices of hiȝe prowes. whiles þat he was þis suppressed [in]¹¹ his besy þowȝte þe nexte nyȝt sewenge he had a wonderfull avision whiche was þis: hit sempte vnto hym in his slepe þat he medled fleschely with his owne moder. Of þe whiche dreame he full gretely afraied and horribelye agresid, he made call to 30 his presence his wise Philosophers and dyuynours to yiue a pleyne & a clere interpretacioun vpon his dreame. And þei anone concluded in sentence þat hit was an evident signe þat he schulde be fully¹² put in possession to haue þe Imperiall domynacion of all þe worlde, for þis prudent filosofers vndirstode noȝynge bi þe fleschely coniunccion he had with his modir but a knotte of aliaunce performed 35 vp¹³ atwene þe erþe and hym, vndirstondynge in þer exposicion þat bi þat he schulde atteyne to be lorde & Emperour ovir all parties of þe erþe, and þis in all

¹ and that Cesar C. haberion] *om.* P. ² þe] *om.* H: hoole and the C: þe olde gouernance P.

³ Cleopatrace C. ⁴ þat is to sey *add.* P. ⁵ so were. ⁶ Rausius H. ⁷ Pompus C.

⁸ as wrightynge witnesseth C. ⁹ compleyned H. ¹⁰ for P. ¹¹ in] *so* CHP: *om.* F.

¹² fully] *om.* P. ¹³ vp] *om.* C.

haste aftir þe myȝti conqueste of Affrike, he repeired ageyne to Rome and was made Emperour of all þe worlde so fer forþe enhaunsed on heiȝte þat þe sonne of his worþines was ronne so ferre vp in his spere þat hit atteyned the hiest prikke of his exaltiacon, so þat of necessite he muste discende, for as þe storie makith
 5 mencion he percevered not in his Empire fully þe space of a ¹ ȝere.

XI. The
 signs of
 Caesar's
 fall.

And for to reherse compendiously þe prodigies and þe wondirfull signes þat fille aforne his deþe hit is remembred þat þe same ȝere of Julius deþe in þe yle of Capwe was fownden bi quareours of þe countree a riche towmbe of stone; & þerin was fownde a litill tablet of golde grauen with Grekisse lettirs, seyenge in
 10 þis wise: 'Whaneuer hit falle þat þe towmbe of Capis be opened and þat his bonys be vnclosed þat ȝere schall þe worþi conquerowre Iulius Cesar be mordrid in þe Capitolie at Rome bi false conspiracie of hem þat he trusteth moste' ². Now was þis foresaide Capis a worþi man & of grete auctorite and þe firste fowndowre and begynnere of þe Countre of Capwe, þe cowntrey named ³ aftir him. And
 15 liche as þe lettirs in greke specified ⁴ hit befill. And þe seconde signe and prodigie þat fille tofore þe deþe of Cesar was þis: vpon þe same nyȝt tofore þat he was slayne in þe morowe þis Iulius had a reuelacion, seynge vnto hym in his slepe þat he was whynged like an egle & how he toke his fliȝt so hie þat he sorede above þe skyes and aproched to þe celestiall see of Iubitere and fille
 20 adowne vpon þe riȝt honde of þis god. Anoþer prodigie þer fille also his noble wife Calaphurmya a litill tofore the deþe of hir lorde hadde a dreame semynge in hir slepe þat þe hiest pynacle of þe imperiall paleis sodeynely fill downe ⁵, and þer vp anone all þe wyndowes of þe chambre where sche slepe withoute honde of eny man sturdely brake a two þe barres of yren and opened, of whiche noise afraied in hir slepe
 25 [sche abrayde] ⁶ and of hir femynyne drede full sore sized in hir herte as sche þat cowde not conceyve whate hit mente. Also as Vincent in his historiall merowre makith mencion an hundred daies tofore his piteous mordre In þe large market-place of Rome where as þe statute and þe grete Image of Cesar stode vpon an heiȝe pilere, þe name of Cesar with lettirs of golde graued above his hed, the
 30 tyme of day whan þe wedir and þe attempre ayre was moste clere and still with a sodeyne stroke of þe fire ⁷ leuene ⁸ the firste lettre of his name C was smete away declarynge bi þis pronosticall signe þat liche as þe lettre C in nombre betokeneth an hundered and was also moste craftely wrouȝt and graued as for þe chefe capitall lettre of his name, to schewe openly þat þe racynge away of his
 35 lettre bi violens of þe leuene, þat he þat was hed of þe erþe schulde ⁹ within þe space of an hundirde daies next sewynge be vengeably mordered in Rome. Also, þe same daye of his mordir as he wente moste riall in his imperiall araye towarde þe consistorie a pore man called Tongilius toke him lettirs of all þe purposid

¹ v. CPH.

² most to *add.* P.

³ was named P.

⁴ *om.* P.

⁵ adowne.

⁶ sche

abrayde] so C: abrayde H: abrayed P: *om.* F Trev. and Rog.

⁷ fire] *om.* PHC.

⁸ leme.

⁹ schulde be Trev. Rog.

conspiracie bi þe Senat vpon his deþe, but for he was neccligent to rede þe lettris and vnclos hem þe vengeable mordre was execute vpon him bi whiche example lete no man be slowe nor neccligente to make delaye to rede his lettirs leste astir for his necclygence hit turne hym to grete damage whiche astir may¹ not listly² be recured³. 5

The⁴ chefe causere and werkere of þis mordre was Brutus Cassius, associed XII. Cae-
vnto hym two hundred and sixty of þe Senat, all⁵ hauynge boidekyns hid in here sar's fall.
sleues, and as hit in storie remembrith⁶ he had fowre and twenty dedely wowndes as he sate in the Capitolye, and as seiþe myne auctour he neuer in all his smerte made neiþer crye nor noise excepte onely a lamentable and dolorous size like 10
a man þat with sodeyne sorowe were afraied. so þat towchyng þe vengeable maner of his piteous⁷ mordre I may conclude with hym þat was flowre of poetis in owre englishe tonge & þe firste þat euer enluminede owre langage with flowres of Rethorike and of⁸ elloquence, I mene my maistere Chaucere whiche compendiously wrote þe deþe of þis myzti Emperour seyenge in þis wise : 15

‘with boidekyns was Cesar Iulius
mordered at Rome of Brutus Cassius,
whan many⁹ land and regne he¹⁰ had¹¹ browzte full¹² lowe;
loo who may triste fortune any throwe?’

This bi recorde of my wise prudente maistere to foreseide, þe frowarde and XIII. The
þe contrarious ladye Dame Fortune þe blynde and þe peruerse goddes with hir Exordium. 7
gery and vnware violence sparith noþer Emperour nor kynge to plunge him 22
downe sodeynely fro þe hiest prikke of hir vnstable whele. Alas lete euery man lifte vp his hertis eye and prudently aduerten þe mutabilite and þe sodeyne change of þis false worlde. And lete þe wise gouernours¹³ of euery londe¹⁴ and 25
region make a merowre in here mynde of þis manly man¹⁵ Iulius, and consideren in þer hertis þe contagious damages & þe importable harmes of deuisioun, and lete hem seen avisely and take example how þe ambitious pride of Iulius, and þe fretyngie enuie of Pompeyus, and þe vnstawncheable gredy covetise of Marcus Crassus were chefe and primordiall cause firste of here owne distruccion execute 30
and complissched bi cruell deþe, and not onely þat þese þre¹⁸ abhominable vices were cause of here owne deþe but occasion of many a þowsande oþer mo þan I can tell, the 17 cite of Rome not onely made bare and bareyne of þer olde richesis and spoiled of here tresowre on þe too side, but destitute and desolate bi 18 deþe¹⁸ of

¹ astir is not H. ² listly] om. P. ³ remedied ne recoured C. ⁴ The] om. HCP. ⁵ alle they C. ⁶ is in story remembrid HPC. ⁷ this petitous H. ⁸ of] om. C Rog. ⁹ many a region C Rog. ¹⁰ he om. Rog. ¹¹ om. P. ¹² om. P. ¹³ gouernance C. ¹⁴ Region and londe C. ¹⁵ man] om. C. ¹⁶ foreseide iij. HPC. ¹⁷ Thus the, Trev. Rog. ¹⁸ om. P.

here kniȝthod on þe toþer side ; whiche me semyth owȝte Inow suffise to exemplifie whate hit is to begynne a werre, & specially to conside¹ þe irrecuperable harmes of division. and for þis skille moste especially² bi commaundement of my moste worschipfull maistere & souereyne³, I toke vpon me þis litill and þis compendious
 5 translacion, &⁴ of entente to don him plesaunce⁴ after my litill connyng I haue hit put in remembrawnce.

[Lenvoy]⁵.

This litill prose declarith in figure
 The grete damage and distruccion,
 That whilome fill, bi fatell auenture,
 10 Vnto Rome, þe myȝti riall towne,
 Caused onely bi false devisions
 Amonge hem selfe, þe storie tellith þis,
 Thorowe covetise and veyne Ambicion
 Of Pompey and Cesar Iulius.

Criste hymselfe recordith in scripture
 That euery londe and euery region
 Whiche is devided may no while endure,
 But turne in haste to desolacion ;
 For whiche, ȝe lordes and prynces of renowne,
 20 So wyse, so manly, and so vertuous,
 Maketh a merowre toforne in youre resoun
 Of Pompey and Cesar Iulius,

Harme don bi deþe no man may recure,
 Aȝeins whose stroke is no redempcion,
 25 Hit is full hard in fortune to assure,
 Here whele so ofte turnith vp and downe.

¹ C ends after this word : in theire hertis themportable harmes of division. The foreseide division so to schewe I have remembred this litill translacion, the moneth of decembre the first yere of onre souvereigne lorde that now ys . King Henry the vjth. A Lenvoye } J. b. Here endeth the cronycule of Julius Caesar
 Lidgate }

Emperour of Rome tyme, specifying cause of the ruyne and destruccion of the same, and translated by me, Danne John Lidgate, monke of Bury seint Edmund the yer of our lord god mⁱ iiiith.

² in especiall P. ³ & souereyne om. HPC Rog. Trev. ⁴ & . . . plesaunce] om. P: to put it P. ⁵ Envoy om. in CH. Thus endeth this lytle treatise entytuled the Damage and destruccyon in Realmes. Newly and of late Enprynted by me Peter Trenerys, Dwellynge at London in Southwarke, at the sygne of the wedowes. Trev.

The Lenvoy follows on the last page without title in Trev. : Thus endeth this litle treatise entituled the serpent of diuision, made by John Lydgate ✠.

The Lenvoye is entituled : The declaracion of thys tragical History in this lytle Booke.—Rog.

THE SERPENT OF DIVISION

67

And for teschewe stryf and dissencion
Within yowreself beth not contrarious,
Remembring ay in yowre discrecion
Of Pompey and Cesar Iulius.

Explicit. J

At the end in Rog. Finis. Imprinted at London by Owen Rogers dwelling in Smithfelde by the Hospital in litle S. Bartelmewes.

Explicit quod J. de B. in P: Explicit H.

Collation in Envoy: Of Pompey and of Trev. Rog. Pompey is probably trisyllabic in the original.

NOTES

OF PASSAGES NOT CONSIDERED IN THE STUDY OF SOURCES.

P. 49, l. 25. *while they weren of oon herte, &c.*] Rome was then, as it is to-day, the classic example of the dangers of division. The following parallel from Hoccleve, *De Regimine Principum*, 5237 ff., is remarkably close to this passage, and antedates it by nearly ten years:—

Whiles that Romaynes were in hert al oon,
And undeuyded al hool stode, thei were
Lordes of al the worlde; foo was ther noon
Outwarde, as who seith, myghte greue or dere.
But al sauf welthe may men suffre and bere;
Withinne hymself sprang such deuysioun,
That it hem broughte to confusioun.

P. 50, ll. 1-2. *concluding sothely as in sentence, &c.*] One of Lydgate's most common tags. The vice of doubling the term, which is Lydgate's worst fault, shows up well in this sentence. The Book of Common Prayer, it is true, testifies to the prevalence of the habit long after this time. We have in this sentence 'pride and ambicion', 'clipsede and appallede', 'waast and wilde', 'bareyn and desolat', 'Knighthode and chiuakye'. A little below comes the worst of all, 'of custom and of consuetude'. And again, 'Round aboute enviroon, some toform and some behinde'.

P. 50, l. 10. *compendiously*] The *Serpent of Division* is really compendious, for Lydgate. In a passage in his *Troy-Book*, the 30,000 lines of which are their own vindication against such a charge, Lydgate blames the writer Cornelius for being too compendious:

350 For his writing was particuler;
 Withoute frute he was compendious,
 This forseyde Romeyn, this Cornelius.

The mediaeval ideal was to 'Be fructuous, and that in litel space'.

P. 50. Anacoluthon occurs ll. 25-31 and frequently elsewhere in Lydgate. The opening sentence in his most carefully written work, *Troy-Book*, is a fine instance, too long to quote. On the practice see Schick, *Temple of Glas*, ch. viii, and Sieper, *Reson and Sensuallyte*, ii. 57. Cf. the habit in Chaucer, *Parlement of Foules*, 310 ff.

P. 51, ll. 13, 14. *wher as he wente per was no resistence.*] Many such lines in the *Serpent* recall the decasyllabics of Lydgate's usual practice. The very lame blank verse which Professor Saintsbury constructs in his *History of English Prosody*, i. 315, out

of the opening prose lines of Chaucer's *Melibee* could be easily surpassed anywhere in this present tract. Without the alteration of more than a word, a couple of pages solid at the end of the piece could be set in decasyllables.

P. 51. As I state in my study of the sources, I can find no early tradition as to the origins of all these castles and towns. In the fourteenth-century *Parlement of the Thre Ages*, the castle of Dover and the Tower of London are mentioned as built by Caesar. Caesar is there treated as one of the Nine Worthies, a favourite theme in Lydgate. Some such account he may have had in mind, and added to the Brut story.

Parl. Thre Ages, ed. I. Gollancz, Roxb. Club, 1897 :

405 Thane sir Sezare hym seluen that Julyus was hatten,
 Alle England he aught at his awun will,
 When the Bruyte in his book Bretayne it callede,
 The trewe toure of Londone in his tyme he makede
 And craftely the condithe he compaste there aftire,
 And then he droghe him to dovire and duellyd there a while,
 And closyd there a castell with cornells full heghe,
 Warnestorede it full wisely als witnessis the sothe.
 For there es hony in that holde holden sythen his time.
 Than rode he into Romayne and raunsede it sone
 And Cassibelaunit the kynge conquere ther aftire . . .
 Then graythed he hym into grece and gate hym belyve
 The semely cite Alexander seside he theraftire,
 Affrike and Arraby and Egipt the noble,
 Surry and sessoyne sessede he to gedir,
 With all the iles of the see appon iche a syde.

The incidental references given by Gollancz do not throw any further light on the Caesar legend. He gives *Cursor Mundi*, *The Vows of the Peacock*, 1312, *Morte Arthure*, and a lost mumming. In *Huon of Burdeux*, p. 96, mention is made of 'the toure of Dunother the whiche is a meruelous grete toure standynge on the see syde. Iulius Cesar causyd it to be made'. Similarly, the *Castle of Adamant*, p. 410, 'Syr, knowe for trouthe that Iulius Cesar, father to the noble kyng Oberon, causyd this castell to be made by crafte of the fayry'. According to the fairy, Caesar was there besieged by three kings of Ptolemy's family, but the Adamant stone in the castle drew the ships to the rock, and the besiegers all died of famine. Oberon forsook this castle after Caesar's assassination.

P. 54, l. 1. *foure white stedis*] This phrase became one of the few set comparisons in Lydgate's verse. Cf. *Hors, Goos, and Sheep*, 47 ff. :

The goldyn char of olde conquerours
 Towardise the tryumphe for theyr knightly deedis
 Conveyed were with foure white stedis.

P. 55, l. 23. *at þe Eye*] At a glance. Cf. *Oxford Chaucer*, vii, note to l. 6, p. 516.

P. 57, l. 1. *withholde with*] Employed by.

P. 59, ll. 18, 19. *pluk away þe faireste . . . feþeris of youre worþines*] Cf. *Fall of Princes*, I. x: 'She (Fortune) gan away the brightest fetheris pull.' The source is *Troilus*, v. 1546:

Fortune . . .

Gan pulle away the fetheres brighte of Troye.

After the horse-tail story, the metaphor is, to say the least, strained at this place.

P. 65, l. 24. *lyfte vp his hertis eye . . .*] Cf. Lydgate's 'Like a Mydsomer Rose. Lyft the ieen of your advertece'. Glauning, *Nightingale*, l. 103, note, gives numerous parallels from other Lydgate pieces. The closest is, 'Lyfte vp your hertly eye, beholde and see.'

P. 66, l. 1. *whiche me semyth owzte Inow suffice*] A line straight from Chaucer, common in Lydgate. Cf. *Temple of Glas*, note to l. 1026, for parallels; and *Reson and Sensuallyte*, 2316, note. The envoy at the end of the story is exactly in the manner of the numerous envoys appended to the stories in the *Fall of Princes*, which, as the desponding Lydgate tells us, were insisted upon by Humphrey of Gloucester.

GLOSSARY

ABBREVIATIONS USED

<i>adj.</i> , adjective.	<i>p. pl.</i> , past indicative plural.
<i>adv.</i> , adverb.	<i>prep.</i> , preposition.
<i>conj.</i> , conjunction.	<i>pres. p.</i> , present participle.
<i>n.</i> , noun.	<i>s.</i> , singular.
<i>pl.</i> , plural.	<i>v. i.</i> , verb intransitive.
<i>pp.</i> , past participle.	<i>v. t.</i> , verb transitive.

abreide, *v. p.* broke forth, 57/17.
 accompted, *pp.* accounted, 50/21.
 aferde, *pp.* afraid, 58/4.
 afraye, *n.* fright, 57/17.
 ageyns, *prep.* against, 57/4.
 agresid, 63/30.
 agrise, *v. i. inf.* become frightened, 57/19.
 all be pat, although, 59/4.
 Almaine, *n.* western Germany, 50/17.
 Alpes, *n.* Alps, 50/16.
 als, *conj.* as, 49/26.
 ambition, *n.* ambition, 49/26.
 anoon, *adv.* anon, 50/23.
 antiquyte, *n.* antiquity, 49/3.
 aparellith, *v. t.* 3 *s.* appareleth, 55/27.
 aperceuyunge, *v. t. pres. p.* perceiving, 52/20.
 appaiaile, *n.* equipment, 56/35.
 arrette, *v. i.* ascribe, 57/31.
 arryvaile, *n.* arrival, 50/32.
 arwis, *n.* arrows, 59/29.
 Arymye, *n.* Ariminum, 61/31.
 asaye, *v. i. inf.* essay, 59/3.
 ascrive, *v. i.* ascribe, 57/32.
 associated, *pp.* associated, 65/6.
 atteigne, attain, 50/35.
 atwene, *prep.* between, 51/7.
 auctowre, *n.* author, 58/34.
 auenture, *n.* 66/8.
 auncetrie, *n.* ancestry, 49/3 note.
 autentike, *adj.* authentic, 58/32.
 avaling, *pres. p.* coming down, spreading over as a river, 50/16.
 avisely, *adv.* advisedly, 52/21.
 avision, *n.* vision, 63/28.
 awmentacion, *n.* augmentation, 53/10.
 Azeins, *prep.* against, 66/24.
 barreigne, *adj.* barren, 50/6.
 bassente, by assent, 49/19.

bawme, *n.* balm, 55/27.
 be, *pp.*, 61/6.
 beheuded, *pp.* beheaded, 62/33.
 behyndyn, *adv.* behind, 54/6.
 bene, *v. i. inf.* be, 54/34.
 berkynge, *n.* barking, 59/35.
 besy, *adj.* busy, 63/28.
 bette, *pp.* beaten, 50/32.
 bigonne, *pp.* begunn, 52/23.
 boidekyns, *n.* bodkins, daggers, 65/7.
 bole, *n.* bull, 60/36.
 bordour, *n.* border, 56/32.
 Brabande, *n.* Brabant, 50/19.
 brennynge, *pres. p.* burning, 54/33.
 Bretaine, *n.* Brittany, 50/31.
 brepere, *n. pl.* brethren, 60/5.
 Burgogne, *n.* Burgundy, 50/19.

Calaphurmya, *n.* Calphurnia, 64/21.
 Cantorbury, *n.*, 51/28.
 caste, *pp.* planned, 56/37.
 Castelis, *n.* castles, 51/27.
 ceptre, *n.* scepter, 63/8.
 Cesareisbury, *n.* Sawlisbury, Salisbury, 51/30.
 Cesarischestre, *n.* Chichestre, 51/31.
 chapitoile, *n.* Capitol, 54/2.
 chare, *n.* chariot, 53/23.
 chere, *n.* cheer, 61/7.
 chierie, *n.* regard, devotion, 58/22.
 Cicillye, *adj.* Sicilian, 59/34.
 clypsid, *pp.* eclipsed, 59/33.
 colour, *n.* pretext, 52/11.
 comyn, *adj.* common, 53/11.
 comynge, *v. ger.*, 59/36.
 conseite, *n.* conceit, thought, 52/15.
 contonynd, *v. i. p.*, 49/12.
 Cornewaille, *n.* Cornwall, 50/36.
 coroune, *n.* crown, 53/29.
 consuetude, *n.* custom, 54/10.
 contrauercie, *n.* controversy, 56/18.

covitise, *n.* covetousness, 49/26.
 cowde, *v. i.* could, 54/8.
 daren, *v. inf.* remain, 55/29.
 dawngere, *n.* control, 54/19.
 demeyne, *n.* power, 57/18.
 dempte, *pp.* deemed, 50/24.
 derke, *adj.* dark, 56/31.
 dessence, *n.* descent, 55/28.
 depe, *n.* death, 55/34.
 dewe, *adj.* due, 53/7.
 diffynityfe, *adj.* definitive, 52/32.
 dilaoion, *n.* delay, 52/31.
 disamaied, *pp.* dismayed, 57/14.
 dissobeisaunt, *adj.* disobedient, 52/31.
 doone, *v. pp.* done, 49/7.
 Dovir, *n.* Dover, 51/28.
 dowtid, *v. p. pl.* doubted, 56/18.
 dowtzer, *n.* daughter, 52/10.
 dradde, *pp.* dreaded, 55/22.
 drawe, *pp.* draw, 54/1.
 drawen, *pp.* 60/28.
 dredefull, *adj.* dreadful, 51/19.
 dreary, *adj.* dreary, 56/28.
 dreynste, *pp.* sunk, 63/2.
 drowe, *p. pl.* drew, 61/36.
 Duce, duke, 50/36.
 durken, *v. t. inf.* darken, 55/12.
 dymmen, *v. t. inf.* dim, 55/11.
 edefied, *v. t. p.* built, 51/26.
 egall, *adj.*, 52/16.
 Egle, *n.* eagle, 54/3.
 eire, *n.* air, 59/29.
 emprise, *n.* enterprise, 57/25.
 Emysperie, *n.* hemisphere, 55/11.
 encrease, *n.* increase, 53/10.
 enhansid, *v. p.* enhanced, 56/2.
 enterely, *adv.*, 51/33.
 entrailles, *n.*, 61/8.
 entremelled, *v. t. pp.* intermingled, 50/4.
 environ, *prep.* about, 53/23.

eny, *adj.* any, 54/8.
 estatutes, *n.* statutes, 50/28.
 Este, *adj.* eastern, 52/2.
 euercion, *eversion*, overthrow, 61/28.
 eueriche, *adj.* every, 51/25.
 evenliche, *adv.*, 55/8.
 Excoestre, *n.* Exeter, 51/32.
 expowned, *v. i. p.* expounded, 61/26.

felicik, *n.* felicity, 49/2.
 ferden, *v. i. p. pl.* fared, 51/17.
 ferforpe, *adv.* far, 51/12.
 fers, *adj.* fierce, 52/3.
 feperes, *n.* feathers, 59/19.
 ficche, *v. i. fix*, 56/35.
 fille, *p. pl.* 60/32.
 fillen, *v. i. p. pl.* fell, 60/20.
 fire, *adj.* fiery, 57/19.
 Flaundria, *n.* Flanders, 50/19.
 fleschely, *adv.* carnally, 63/29.
 floved, *v. i. p.* flourished, 49/25.
 flyzte, *n.* flight, 54/22.
 fomen, *n.* foemen, 54/22.
 foon, *n. pl.* foes.
 foringed, *pp.* judged, 50/23.
 fortune, *v. i. inf.* favour, 57/25.
 fro, *prep.* from, 49/5.
 froward, *adj.* difficult, 50/27.
 fundacioun, *n.* foundation, 49/4.
 furste, *adj.* first, 53/21.
 fuyre, *n.* fire, 59/27.
 fyne, *n. end*, 52/12.
 fynlæschid, *pp.* finished, 53/30.

gafe, *v. i. p.* gave, 52/21.
 gery, *adj.* rash, 65/17.
 gone, *v. i. inf.* go, 53/22.
 grekisse, *adj.* Greek, 64/9.
 grete, *adj.* great, 49/14.

heithe, *n.* height, 49/4.
 hemselfe, *pron. pl.* themselves, 49/25.
 here, *pron.* their, 50/6.
 here, *n.* hair, 59/10.
 herte, *n.* heart, 50/29.
 hertely, *adj.* heartfelt, 56/30.
 hirde, *pp.* 60/34.
 hire, *v. i. inf.* hear, 59/36.
 hit, *pron.* it, 52/5.
 hiȝe, *adj.* high, 53/19.
 hiȝten, *v. i. p.* was called, 51/21.
 hokid, *adj.* hooked, 59/28.
 hole, *adj.* all, 63/8.
 holsome, *adj.* wholesome, 55/27.
 hoole, *adj.* whole, 49/20.
 hoonly, *adv.* wholly, 51/33.
 homely, *adj.* familiar, 61/25.
 hore, *adj.* hoar, 56/29.

I-called, *pp.* called, 51/30.
 Idill laude, *n.* vainglory, 54/9.
 ilke, *adj.* same, 49/15.

importabill, *adj.* unbearable, 50/9.
 indocynge, *v. pres. p.* bringing on, 52/27.
 infortune, *n.* misfortune, 52/9.
 innvmerabill, *adj.* innumerable, 50/5.
 Inow, *adv.* enough, 66/1.
 iustified, *v. i. p.* judged, sentenced, 62/6.

kynde, *n.* nature, 55/10.
 kyndill, *v. inf.* kindle, 52/26.
 kyngis, *n. pl.* kings, 49/6.
 kynrede, *n.* 49/9.

lasse, *adj.* less, 62/19.
 lawrer, *n.* laurel, 53/25.
 lefull, *adj.*, 54/15.
 leste, *conj.* lest, 49/20.
 liche, *adv.* like, 49/3.
 litill, *adj.* little, 50/10.
 litill and litill, *adv.* little by little, 55/29.
 lumbardye, *n.* Lombardy, 50/16.
 luste, *n.* desire, 50/35.
 lymyted, *pp.* set, 50/20.

magrey, *prep.* malgré, mangre, in despite of, 62/3.
 maleen, *pres. plur.*, 49/1.
 maner, *n.* manner (of), 52/35.
 mantell, *n.* mantle, 56/29.
 matier, *n.* matter, 50/13.
 mawe, *n.* belly, 61/14.
 mediacioun, *n.* mediation, 53/33.
 medled, *v. i. p.* mingled, 63/29.
 mencion, *n.* mention, 49/1.
 mene, *adj.* mean, 51/33.
 meouyng, *n.* acting, 52/20.
 merowre, *n.* mirror, 62/23.
 mettyn, *v. i. p. pl.* met, 51/10.
 milte, *v. i. inf.* melt, 52/5.
 mo, *adj.* more, 61/27.
 mochell, *adj.* much, 53/14.
 mochill, 54/12.

negligence, *n.* negligence, 50/27.
 nekke, *n.* neck, 53/26.
 nempned, *pp.* named, 53/24.
 noblesse, *n.* nobility, 49/25.
 noo, *adj.* no, 52/35.
 noper, *conj.* neither, 61/10.

oblacion, *n.* sacrifice, 61/10.
 occian, *n.* ocean, 50/31.
 occupacioun, *n.* occupation, 49/19.
 olde, *adj. pl.*, 49/1.
 oon, *adj.* one, 49/20.
 oother, *adj.* other, 49/20.
 oste, *n.* host, 57/15.
 oper, *conj.* either, 53/34.
 owgly, *adj.* ugly, 56/32.
 owtewardes, *adv.* outwards, 49/22.
 owȝte, *v. i.* ought, 51/22.

Parthes, *n.* the Parthians, 50/14.
 party, *n.* part, 50/31.
 pectorall, *n.* breastplate, 53/31.
 penouns, *n.* pennons, 56/36.
 peple, *n.* people, 52/3.
 pepilis, 53/19.
 pertynent, *adj.* pertaining, 49/18.
 peruers, *adj.* perverse, 51/16.
 plage, *n.* plain, 50/17.
 platly, *adv.* plainly, 54/27.
 plener, *adj.* plenary, 54/21.
 preuyng, *pres. p.*, 55/3.
 prikkes, *n.* pricks, 53/29.
 prime temps, *n.* beginning, 49/3 [Fr. printemps].
 proces, *n.* process, 50/12.
 profecied, *pp.* prophesied, 60/2.
 prowde, *adj.* proud, 49/6.
 purpurat, *adj.* purple, 53/24.

queynte, *v. i. p.* were quenched, put out, 60/33.

racynge, *v. p.* erasing, 64/34.
 radies, *n.* rays, 59/30.
 rapir, *adv.* rather, 54/29.
 rawȝt, *pp.* reached, 55/19.
 recured, *pp.* recovered, 65/5.
 reised, *v. i. pp.* raised, 49/4.
 renowned, *adj.* renowned, 56/34.
 reprefe, *n.* reproof, 54/17.
 reson, *n.* reason, 55/37.
 riall, *adj.* royal, 54/1.
 rofe, *v. i. p.* from rive, cleave, 51/19.
 ronue, *v. pp.* run, 64/3.
 rotid, *pp.* rooted, 56/17.
 Rowcheastre, *n.* Rochester, 51/28.

scharpe, *adj.* sharp, 53/34.
 schene, *adj.* sheen, bright, 59/19.
 schetyng, *pres. p.* shooting, 57/29.
 se, *v. i. inf.* 52/6.
 sekene, *n.* sickness, 55/34.
 sempite, *v. i. p.* seemed, 63/29.
 septe, *n.* scepter, 54/2.
 Sesar, *n.* Caesar, 50/14.
 seaid, *v. i. p.* ceased, 51/12.
 sewe, *v. i. inf.* ensue, 57/12.
 shulde, *v. p.* should, 49/21.
 Sibille, *n.* the Sibyl, 60/22.
 sized, *v. i. p.* sighed, 64/25.
 skele, *n.* skill, reason, 56/13.
 slawen, *pp.*, 62/29.
 sleen, *v. i. inf.* 51/12.
 sleizte, *n.* sleight, deceit, 52/21.
 slowe, *p. pl.*, 52/4.
 slowthe, *n.* sloth, 50/27.
 smete, *pp.* smitten, 64/32.
 sodeynely, *adv.* suddenly, 51/18.
 soget, *adj.* subject, 53/17.
 solempnitees, *n.* solemnities, 60/3.
 sone, *adv.* soon, 49/26.
 sonne, *n.* sun, 55/8.
 soone, *n.* son, 49/6.
 sorede, *v. i. p.* soared, 64/19.

sownes, *n.* sounds, 57/18.
 spekyng, *adj. pres. p.* speaking, 60/19.
 spere, *n.* sphere, 55/10.
 standartis, *n.* standards, 56/36.
 stokke, *n.* stock, 49/10.
 stordi, *adj.* sturdy, 55/19.
 stowndemele, *adv.* suddenly, 60/12.
 suddenly, *adv.* suddenly, 57/13.
 subieccioun, *n.* subjection, 50/18.
 successiflyche, *adv.* successively, 52/27.
 suppowailed, *pp.* supported, 57/4.
This word scarcely occurs outside of Lydgate's work.
 suppressed, *pp.* suppressed, 63/27.
 surgvedie, *n.* arrogance, 54/9.
 surgvidous, *adj.* overbearing, 50/3.
 surquedauunce, *n.* surquedry, 56/10.
 sweihe, *n.* swoop, 56/2.
 swerde, *n.* sword, 50/18.
 taforce, to afforce, *v. i.* strengthen, 50/30.
 temperall, *adj.* temporal, 55/20.
 tentrete, to entrete, *v. inf.* to consider, 61/29.
 teschewe, *v. inf.* to eschew, 67/1.
 thempyre, the empire, 49/14.
 thidous, the hideous, 50/15.
 thilke, that ilke, *see* ilke, 49/17.
 Thire, *n.* Tyre, 49/13.
 pis, *adv.* thus, 51/33.

tholde, the olde, 49/1.
 porowȝe, *prep.* through, 53/16.
 thre, *adj.* three, 49/20.
 pritty, *adj.* thirty, 62/30.
 pruste, *n.* thirst, 52/4.
 prustid, *pp.*, 52/6.
 tiranie, *n.* tyranny, 52/18.
 toversayle, to oversayle, *v. t. inf.* oversail, conquer, 50/31.
 tracia, *n.* steps, 58/13.
 travellid, *v. i. p.* travailed, 53/11.
 trowage, *n.* truage, tribute, 51/25.
 triste, *adj.* sad, 56/28.
 truste, *see* triste.
 twayne, *n.* twain, 49/20.
 twyous, *adv.* twice, 50/32.
 tyl, *adv.* till, 49/6.
 Valerie, *n.* Valerius, 58/33.
 variaunce, *n.* variance, 49/25.
 vayne, *adj.* vain, 49/26.
 veer, *n.* spring, 55/24.
 venomous, *adj.*, 53/1.
 venenis, *adj.* venomous, 52/33.
 venqvische, *v. t.* vanquish, 51/2.
 vndefowled, *adj.* undefiled, 51/1.
 vnlikly, *adj.* unlikely, mean, low, 54/6.
 vnnepe, *adv.* scarcely, 58/9.
 vnportable, 60/30.
 vnweldye, *adj.* unwieldy, 59/6.
 volunte, *n.* will, 56/7.

Wantruste, *n.* suspicion, 52/25.
 wawes, *n.* waves, 55/11.
 waymentid, *v. i. p.* lamented, 59/36.
 wayne, *n.* wain, 55/12.
 wellwillid, *adj.* favorable, 57/23.
 wemen, *n.* women, 60/19.
 weren, *v. p. pl.* were, 49/24.
 werre, *n.* war, 50/10.
 werreows, *n.* warriors, 52/8.
 westryne, *adj.* western, 55/11.
 wexe, *v. i. subj.*, 52/15.
 whedir, *adv.* whither, 56/34.
 whele, *n.* wheel, 56/2.
 wher, *adv.* where, 49/14.
 whiles, *conj.*, 51/1.
 whynged, *pp.* winged, 64/18.
 withholde, *pp.* employed by, on the side of, 57/1.
 wordely, *adj.* worldly, 55/16.
 wrecche, *adj.* wretched, 54/8.
 wrowȝt, *pp.* wrought, 53/1.
 wymped, *pp.* wimpled, veiled, 56/29.
 wyne, *v. i.* win, 50/30.
 yif, *conj.* if, 49/20.
 yren, *n.* iron, 64/24.
 ysaynge, *pres. p.* issuing, 63/25.
 Ytaille, *n.* Italy, 61/37.
 ȝafe, *v. t. p.* gave, 52/32.
 ȝelde, *v. t. p. pl.* yielded, 63/6.
 ȝevyn, *pp.*, 53/7.

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