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PIERS PLOWMAN:
AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY
FOR 1900-1968

This bibliography was compiled during a research assistantship for the Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies at UCLA. The entire bibliography consists of secondary criticism dealing with the problems of authorship, manuscript collation, dating and provenance of manuscripts, source and linguistic studies (Section I) as well as critical and historical studies of the poem (Section II).

Although the information in Section I forms a valid part of the history of Piers Plowman scholarship, in many instances its chief interest is to specialists. A reader who is interested only in the general outline might look to George Kane’s work of 1950 which summarizes the knottiest tangles (Piers Plowman: The Evidence for Authorship). Nevertheless, anyone who wishes to approach Piers Plowman seriously must inevitably face this mass of scholarship. It is hoped that a bibliography such as this one will serve as a guide which will ease this task somewhat.

Anything of even slight relevance to criticism will be found in Section II along with the dissertations and German entries, which are not annotated. I have not, however, included all of the epistolary battles waged in the TLS.

The sources used in compiling this bibliography are as follows:

Modern Language Association Annual Bibliography (PMLA)
Year’s Work in English Studies (YWES)
Modern Humanities Research Association Bibliography (MHRA)
Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature
Wells Manual, and supplements

Current issues of all journals cited through December, 1969. Abbreviations used for all notations are those used by PMLA.
Predictably enough, the earlier articles are mostly concerned with historical and authorship problems and the establishment of the texts. W. W. Skeat, Wells, Knott, R. W. Chambers, and J. H. G. Grattan were the foremost scholars in this work, which has been taken over by D. C. Fowler and George Kane. Much of the literary criticism before 1930 is appreciative rather than analytical. Since the study of *Piers Plowman* depends on establishing the text and the linguistically literal meanings of words and passages, it is an ongoing project even now.

One is always disappointed with the attempts to identify the sources of the poem. The analogue studies are, of course, valuable, but to attempt to pin down a particular source is futile since little is known of Langland's life or reading—Augustine and some of the other patristic writers mentioned in the poem notwithstanding. He could have come by this information through listening to sermons or through secondary sources such as florilegia. The proof is never sure, and one is left only with more or less educated (or wild) guesses. The principal scholars here are Bright, Carnegie, Coghill, Day, and Owen. The articles which attempt to explain contemporary historical, theological and psychological currents of the time are invaluable in recreating the intellectual atmosphere from which Langland might have profited. (Chadwick, Hort, H.S.V. Jones, Bloomfield).

R. E. Kaske, George Kane, E. T. Donaldson, Robertson and Huppé, M. W. Bloomfield, J. J. Lawlor, T. P. Dunning, and Elizabeth Salter are the foremost contemporary scholars of the poem's "literary" merit. Kaske has done some ingenious work on the patristic exegetical problems of individual passages while Bloomfield has dealt with larger theological patterns and he has discovered some historical contexts which might have influenced the poem. (Both, however, show a bias toward superimposing Joachistic analogies onto the poem). These two critics, in my opinion, represent the vanguard of literary criticism of the poem.

The critical trend has been, historically, from an early preoccupation with historical, textual and appreciative criticism to a more modern concern with specific passages and with the structure of the poem as a whole. The attention to patristic sources, oversimplified and misleading as it may be with Robertson and Huppé,
is the latest development—together with a growing interest in iconography. I feel that the careful use of patristic exegesis, in the manner of E. T. Donaldson’s work, is the most hopeful possibility for explaining the large gaps in the structure and continuity of the poem as we now understand it.

SECTION I

1. Bennett, J. A. W. "The Date of the B-text of Piers Plowman," Medium AEvum XII (1943), 55-64.
Finds evidence tending to date the B-text later than 1376-7 (Skeat’s dating). From an examination of nine passages, Bennett concludes that the poet was working on the B-text between 1377 and 1379.

Surveys the editions of the B-text from Crowley to Skeat and discusses errors in Skeat’s edition of Laud MS 581, and arrives by collation and reconstruction, at the conclusion that occasionally all B-text MSS. agree in an erroneous reading, proving their descent from one faulty (hypothetical) archetype MS.

Agrees that Manly (MP III (1906)) proves strange incoherencies in the A-text that cannot have come from the poet himself and must be due to accidents in the archetypal MS. All MSS. of the A-text lack the confession of Wrath and the confession of Sloth has seven inappropriate lines about restitution plus eighteen lines of Robert the Robber’s confession. Manly failed to see that the proper place of lines 236-59 is after l. 145, at the end of the confession of Covetousness because of a scribal error. The C-text restores Robert the Robber to its original (correct) place.

Concerns the provenance of the MS. D.4.1. at Trinity College, Dublin containing the memorandum of the author’s parentage. This MS. may be the one known to have been in Ireland at the end of the 14th century as the property of Walter de Brugge,
prebendary of St. Patrick’s Cathedral. After a 300-year blank period, between 1688 and ca. 1745, it came to Trinity.


Rejects the usual dating of the A-text in 1362 and argues for May of 1376. The reference in A. V. 14 to the great wind of 1362 is no objection to a later dating, since references can be found to the storm twenty years after its occurrence. Cargill’s dating depends on his interpretation of the allegory. The first vision was written while the Good Parliament of 1376 was in session, and it was written to encourage the Church Party to help William of Wykeham to power. Various characters in the poem are identified with the political enemies of the Church Party (e.g., in False, he finds Sir William Latimer).


Concerns the authorship controversy and includes a discussion of textual matters (Robert the Robber and Sloth’s confession). He also compares the A-texts with the texts in several MSS. and concludes that there are misunderstandings of the B-text in the A-text and that there are dialect differences between the A-, B-, and C-texts.


It is possible that the author knew the Glossa Ordinaria attributed to Walafrid Strabo since he quotes several paraphrases of Psalms from it. Hence, the A-text was probably written not very long after 1362 and the B-text ca. 1376-8.

The A-writer is generally considered to have been a careful poet, but there is a plan for the ostensibly abstruse sections in the B-text. Only, “in his haste”, the B-writer omitted stages in his story.

Chambers feels that arguments for different authorship of A and B are not justified.

Both Huntington MSS. (HM 114 and HM 143) are faulty and hence not very useful in establishing the text. HM 114 is inaccurate where the scribe substituted more modern words for archaic ones and HM 143 could be useful in establishing parts of the C-text.


Chambers opposes Bradley’s suggestion of publication of the A-text in three installments (*HLQ* VIII (1935)). He argues that the ‘other werkes bothe’ mentioned by John Butt were the parts of the B-version, and that by ‘this werk’ he meant the complete A-text. Further argues that Butt’s contribution must have been all of Passus XII of A, or only from line 89 onwards.


It is anachronistic to assume that Will the dreamer is not the same as the poet. Poets of the 14th century didn’t think of themselves as different from the dreamer. We have no evidence against assuming that William Langland was the son of Stacy de Rokayle. Also anagrams and puns in the texts seem to support the name William.


A list of all extant MSS. and the libraries where they are located. Also the establishment of texts from archetypal and/or descendant MSS. and a critique of Skeat’s collations.


Contains some of the results of Chambers’ and Grattan’s collation and study of the 14 MSS. of the A-text and concludes that only when the diction, meter and sentence structure of the original A1-text is known can it be argued with certainty whether these are, or are not, materially different from those the B additions use or whether B’s treatment of A is really inconsistent with unity of authorship.


MSS. collation and an unfavorable critique of Knott’s essay on the same subject (*MLR* V (1910)).
An explanation of the methods of textual analysis and MSS. collation in their editing of the fifteen A-MSS. and a collection of exegeses of various disputed passages.

The nature of the revisions found in B and C indicate that neither was the work of the author of the original (A), and that the differences of treatment in these two revised texts point to two distinct revisers.

Donaldson's purpose is to demonstrate the probability that the author of the C-text was the same as the author of the B-text because the author of C understood and approved of B's form.
The *Visio* of C illustrates four types of revision: (1) a line by line reworking of B; (2) radically altered passages in VI-VIII; (3) simple omission; (4) additions of passages to prolong a narrative without the alteration of the framework. The art of the C-text moves away from the concrete and visual toward more abstract ideals, prosaic repetition, abstractness of diction and loose, inaccurate composition.

As for the politics of the C-text, Langland appears to have been a political moderate. All texts approve of justifiable mendicancy.

Donaldson's conclusions as to the author's biography are that Langland was a married clerk no higher than an acolyte who made his living in an irregular fashion by saying prayers for the living and dead. He was condemned to a beggar's life, but sought some justification for the life he was leading. The last passus, in the conversation with Need, seems to show the poet under spiritual duress, trying to explain his life, and is hence, autobiographical.

Three Appendices: A: on MSS. and locations; B: on the "Authenticity of the C-text MSS. and variant readings"; C: numerical tabulation: "The extent of C's Revisions, Passus I-XII."
Reviews: *Speculum* XXIV.422-7; *MP* XLVII.207-8; *English Studies* XXXIII.24-8; *TLS* Feb. 10, 1950, p. 87; *RES* II.268-0;
Durham Univ. Journal XI.76-7; MLR XLV. 368-9; Medium AEevum XXI.51-3; Museum LVIII.79-80; Angla LXXI. 352-5.


The authorship problem is relevant to the textual problems because it involves a question of historical truth which can be validated with historical documents. It contributes to evidence concerning the unity or multiplicity of authorship problem.

17. Fowler, David C. Piers Plowman: Literacy Relations of the A and B Texts. (Seattle, 1961; University of Washington Publications in Language and Literature no. 16.)

The A-text is the root and arsenal for material re-worked in B. There is a distinction between the allegorical methods of the Visio vs. the Vita. The Vita is the internal debate between personifications and a stupid narrator; it forms a complete poem with the Visio and grows out of the dispute with the priest.

The B-"continuation" is a "cosmological poem in the form of a dream-vision" attached to an already existing poem (A) but elaborates on the satire of contemporary conditions.

The "Swiftian Dreamer of the A-text becomes God's Fool in the B-Continuation," and Dowel, Dobet, and Dobest are designed to express the gathering momentum of the divine plan in human history.

Fowler develops parallels with romance (Chretien's Conte del Graal and Perceval), the Corpus Christi pageants (especially the Chester Cycle), the Stanzaic Life of Christ and the Legenda Aurea. He concludes with the suggestion that the author may have been John of Trevisa.

Reviews: MLQ XXIII.84-5; Speculum XXXVII.120-3; MLR LVII.627; Études Anglaises XV. 277-8; JEGP LXII.208-13; RES XIV. 177-9; Moyen-Age LXX.590-1; Medium AEevum XXX-III.230-1.


Contamination of several MSS. due to their descent from an exclusive common ancestor.

Cites errors in all three texts to show uniformity of types of scribal errors and to support the unity of authorship thesis.


An examination of MSS. of Piers Plowman on the basis of independent substitution of similars, that is, the type of substitution and the probable and immediate cause of scribal error, as opposed to mere contamination per se.

The discussion of the implications of certain substitution types on MS. family inharmony can indicate errors which reveal family concord. The most valuable signs of family agreement or disagreement are inexplicable nonsense readings and substitutions of dissimilars.


The A-text composed when quarrels between the clergy and the friars were at a particularly acute stage. He identifies "this Iurdan with his iuste wombe" of B. XIII. 83 as William Jordan the Dominican active in controversy from 1335-67. B-text in this light might be closer to his activities than the usually accepted 1377.


Approves of Manly's ideas in CHEL v. 2, but feels that he doesn't do justice to the quality of the B-text; "... not only is the C-text a debasement of the author's own work, but the nature of many of the changes precludes the suppositions of their being from the same hand which penned either the original (A) or the enlarged (B) version..." He finds evidence of separate authorship in dialectical peculiarities of the C-text.

23. — —. "Was Langland the Author of the C-text of The Vision of Piers Plowman?" MLR IV (1908/9), 1-13.
The C-text is a debasement of the author’s own work by another author because of omissions, insertions of new matter, structural changes and dialectical differences. The author of C is a schoolman and moralist with little imaginative sensibility whose revisions are antiquarian rather than literary.

24. HUPPÉ, Bernard F. “The Date of the B-Text of Piers Plowman. SP XXXVIII (1941), 34-44.
Establishes the terminus a quo at Spring or early summer of 1377 because he thinks Reason’s sermon points to Edward’s death; the terminus ad quem after the summer of 1378, because B.XIX. 413-21 is an attack on Avignese cardinals, but before 1381.


_Piers Plowman_ is the work of one author: the A-text was discontinued and allowed to lie fallow because of insolvable difficulties; when Langland resumed with B he included allusions to historical events that had intervened and deepened the ironic and pessimistic note of the work.


Huppé disagrees with the early dating of A. Gwynn (RES XIX (1943)) on the basis of textual and revisional inconsistencies. No evidence of his can place the date earlier than 1376 and even if Gwynn’s evidence were accepted, the early part of the B-text should be dated after 1376 and the latter part not much after 1380. Huppé sticks to his 1377-79 dating.

Agrees with Manly’s 1906 discovery of the so-called misplaced passage, but does not agree with the assumed implication of the independent author of B. C is the work of an older man, but not necessarily a different man. Variations internally do not argue for differences of authorship.

Jusserand’s reply to Manly’s defense of his (Manly’s) theory of authorship. Jusserand calls attention to the inherent uncertainty of evidence of the kinds that Manly had announced that he would
ultimately offer and indicates the great difficulty of obtaining necessary information from MSS. which are obviously modified and so remote from the original text.


Kane is concerned to establish an accurate archetype from all of the B MSS. This article includes the present state of his study, problems in establishing archetype readings and the value of MS. ADDIT. 35287 and MS. Rawlinson Poet. 38.


Kane argues for literal autobiographical details in the poem.


There is no internal evidence against the case for single authorship and Kane argues for single authorship. Most ‘scientific’ editing is unlikely to recover the original linguistic form of the poem and so one cannot make conclusions based on dialect, vocabulary, alliteration, etc. The editor cannot proceed unless he has committed himself on the question of authorship. The editor of Piers Plowman texts should create an hypothesis out of textual detail, but the reconstruction of the poet’s biography from the text is not proof of authorship.

Kane’s conclusions are: (1) The authority of the Trinity College, Dublin ascription to William Langland is not, in the present state of knowledge, subject to challenge. (2) The Trinity College ascription refers to the poem in any or all of its forms. (3) On the evidence of medieval conventions of signature, the name Will was also the name of the poet.


"Our notions of the personalities of these two poets, and our sense that we 'know' them as men, are attained by inferences both logically dubious in themselves, and unauthorized by the literary
history of the 14th century.” Personalities projected into the work can be disingenuous or self-dramatizations, and although they are not totally fictions, they cannot establish biography.


Offers five objections to the work of J. M. Manly, Henry Bradley and Carlton Brown (earlier letters in the Nation, Modern Philology and Athenaeum). After summarizing each argument, Knott concludes that the three men are ignorant of medieval composition methods; they are inconsistent in shifting passages in the text around. With the help of mathematical calculations, Knott concludes that there are two folios missing.


Summarizing and criticizing Chambers, Manly, and Jusserand and defining Sloth (to show that Robert the Robber is not Sloth), Knott shows that the A-text is not incoherent, but structurally skillfull. Because, however, the dialect of A₂ is different from A₂ and from B, there are three different poets. Any further argument needs critical texts of B and C which are not yet available.


A list of A MSS. and locations. Knott constructs a genealogical tree and divides the MSS. into subgroups by common errors and deviations.


Favors the Ashburnham, Bale, Crowley designation of the author’s name as ‘Robert’.


A reply to Jusserand’s criticism of his theory of authorship, confining himself to meeting Jusserand’s arguments but offering no new evidence.


Announces that he had, and would publish at a later date, proofs that (1) the B- and C-texts are by two different authors, neither
of them the author of A; and (2) the A-text up to Passus IX is by one author, and the A-text from IX to the middle of XII is the work of another, and (3) that John Butt wrote not only the Rawlinson Passus XII.101-12 but at least half of Passus XII. Autobiographical details were intended to be taken as attributes of the dreamer who was a fictional character.


Differences demonstrating that there were five authors are found in diction, metre, sentence structure, methods of organizing material, number and kind of rhetorical devices, power of visualizing objects and scenes presented, topics of interest to the authors, and views on social and theological questions.


The "old tradition of a single author seems to be not yet seriously disturbed." The Vitae contain experiences and confessions of the author in autobiographical chronology and the different periods appear disguised as allegorical figures. Personal revelations of the A- and B- writers seem to confirm identity of authorship.


A collection of linguistic notes on four passages: (1) C.II.95: The discovery of the adjectival nature of the genitive explains that "for no lordene love" means "for love of no lord". (2) C.III.16-18: "Hoes wyf a were . . ./ layn nought yf ye knownen" shows merging of direct and indirect speech. (3) C.IV.140-42: One group of MSS. differs from another in the addition of "as an ancre" in 1. 141. Anchorites don't live in dungeons. Shut up as an anchorite, Meed will learn reform. The treatment 'as an ancre' is important, not the place. The C-text's alterations and additions are more often than not either the working out of B's ideas more fully or a rendering of the sequence of ideas more explicitly.

42. — —. "A Newly Discovered MS of the C-text of Piers Plowman," MLR XXXVI (1941), 243-4.

A list of the common errors supporting the affinity of a 'new' MS. of the C-text owned by Sir Louis Sterling with the other C-text MSS.
43. — — and G. H. RUSSELL. The Three Texts of 'Piers the Plowman,'" JEGP LII (1953) 445-56. Mitchell and Russell criticize Fowler in Modern Philology (L (1952)) for not having used passages in which no considerable revision is apparent. They challenge Fowler's contentions that the scribe's eye skipped lines and that the scribe is either observant and clear-headed in his copying or mechanical and stupid according to the number of lines misplaced, skipped and/or repeated.


Both articles concern the question of antecedent probability of single authorship, the scholarly tradition of the texts, the external evidence of the texts and the MSS. as well as the evidence extant concerning the name of the author. Conclusions are: (1) No presumption in favor of single authorship founded on antecedent probability; (2) no evidence tending to prove or disprove that A₁ and A₂ are by one author; (3) possible evidence that the author of A₂ wrote the B-text; (4) no evidence as to single authorship of the C-text; (5) No evidence in favor of a single authorship of all texts; (6) evidence regarding the author's name points not to a single author or one name (Will), but rather to the hypothesis that at least two persons wrote them — one being Robert Langland (a Shropshire man), and the other, the son of Stacy de Rokayle. Moore prefers to accept all of Passus XII of the A-text as by John Butt.


Gives evidence that John But of the A-text may have been the John But of the Patent Rolls: a king's messenger c. 1381-5. Fever's speech in which Cotidian and Tercian are described realistically in terms of courours (1) distinguishes between messenger and courour and (2) changes the conception of the allegory by introducing a royal messenger where the lines immediately preceding describe a different person. If John But were the messenger of the Patent Rolls, he would draw on the experience of his life to write poetry and ll. 56-112 of the Inglilby MS. of A.XII would be written by John But. But Rickert concludes that Piers Plowman is the work of several men in addition to John But.
SECTION II


The poem is the embodiment in the dreamer's life of man seeking salvation in which a single life is being studied chronologically, and not modes or stations of life. The poem describes the life of Christ as recapitulating the life of man, and thus establishes characteristics of the three ages of man as lived by the dreamer. Piers is neither Christ nor Grace nor the divine incarnation: He is the limited deputy of Christ. Dobest is not an objective state at all, but is salvation, spiritual perfection, and Grace. At the end of the poem life and Dreamer merge; "His" becomes "Me" in B.XX. 179-183.


The fact that the different parts of the Bible are similarly used in all versions of the poem seems against the theory of multiple authorship. The manner in which Biblical quotations and references are introduced and expounded shows a desire to make the Bible intelligible to the common people, and the parts of it which the author chooses are such as would appeal to a "humble priest in the lower orders". A very large number of the quotations are from the Roman Breviary and Missal.


In C.VIII.9-12 Sloth confesses that he doesn't know his Pater Noster, but does know the rhymes of the Erl of Chestre, Robin Hood, etc. Randolf was probably Ranulf de Blundeville, Earl of Chester who married Constance, the widow of Geoffrey Plantagenet, went on crusades and was a protector of England militarily. He appears, among other places, in *Launfal*. Here and in 16th century plays he is associated with Welshmen and is found in the company of Robin Hood. His literary appearances are always associated with love.

Thinks Langland was born at Longlands. His birthplace is always given as Cleobury Mortimer on the sole authority of Bale whose information is not very accurate. Bannister has found a place called “Longlands” on the western slope of Malvern Hills. Also Pewtress’ Spring has been rediscovered: it was called Primeswell in the old days and it was probably the “broad bank bi a bournes’ side” of Piers Plowman. Herefordshire Beacon is the tower on a toft.

50. Baum, Paul F. “The Fable of the Belling of the Cat in B. Prol. 146, ff. and C.I.165, ff.,” MLN XXXIV (1919), 462-470. Baum’s ostensible purpose is to ascertain Langland’s possible source. But this article is more useful simply as a catalogue of fifty-one western and oriental analogues.


This is an answer to Peregrinus’ inquiry (p. 121 of same volume) about Langland’s education. James Nott in his Church and Monastery of Moche Malverne (1885) says: “A tradition is extant that the author of Piers’ Ploughman there composed his remarkable poem.”


Langland could have known Dante’s works because both include Heaven, Earth and Hell and because B.Prol.7 parallels Paradiso II. 3-9.


Bennett has found a clue to the interpretation of this passage in the history of the cameral merchants of the Papacy. The Popes used Italian bankers as agents for deposit, transport and exchange of money (beginning in 1227 with Gregory IX). Bennett thinks that the letter that Avarice speaks of in this passage refers to these bills — which were great temptations for corruption. B.V. 242-4 contains another reference by Avarice to Lombards just before a reference to coin-clipping; Jews could be called Lombards if they were Italian.
The words of this passage are to be found in f. 147v of MS. Lambeth 61 following a sermon preached by Henry Harclay in 1315 while he was Chancellor of Oxford.
The poem relates the world of nature to the world of the spirit, and the life of study contemplation to the life of action.

(In this bibliography, see the author’s last name for each of the following articles).

SMITH, A. H.: “Piers Plowman and the Pursuit of Poetry.”
LAWLOR, J. J.: “The Imaginative Unity of Piers Plowman.”
ZEEMAN, Elizabeth: “Piers Plowman and the Pilgrimage to Truth.”
TROYER, H. W.: “Who is Piers Plowman?”
MITCHELL, A. G.: “Lady Meed and the Art of Piers Plowman.”
MAGUIRE, Stella: “The Significance of Haukyn, Activa Vita in Piers Plowman.”
KASKE, R. E.: “Ex vi transicionis and its Passage in Piers Plowman.”


In these passages Langland yokes together the pardons of the Bishop of Pamplona with those of the Pope in order to cast especial obloquy on St. Mary’s Rounceval.

Piers Plowman is concerned (1) with Christian perfection and (2) with how to live in a society so as to be saved. These questions are presented dialectically as part of a dialogue in the broadest sense of the word between Will and the exterior and interior worlds, i.e., saeculum and anima.

The genre is the French pilgrimage dream-vision, and the philosophies of monasticism and mysticism are behind Langland's general aims. Marriage is the major subject of Dowel where the Tree of Charity is considered as a representative of Heilsgeschichte.

60. — —. "Piers Plowman as a Fourteenth-Century Apocalypse,
Centennial Review of Arts and Sciences V (1961), 281-95. This is the original shorter version of what later became his book of the same title.

61. — —. Piers Plowman as a Fourteenth-Century Apocalypse.

The subject of Piers Plowman is Christian perfection (rather than salvation). Themes such as life as a pilgrimage, the goal of deification, the grades of perfection (with a social orientation), and the role of temperance suggest that Langland was working in the tradition of an older, monastic philosophy. Reliance on monastic influence is also seen in the poems form: complaint, commentary and sermon. Also, friars are criticized violently, whereas monks create a perfect, just and loving society. The image at the heart of monastic philosophy is that of the cloister as earthly paradise, the image of a heavenly paradise.

Langland was fundamentally concerned with the reform of the religious orders as a key to the reform of the world. Criticizing the friars, he was against mendicancy and in favor of manual labor.

Drawing on Augustine and Joachim of Flora, Langland made perfection a political and social phenomenon. But against all tradition, he exalted temperance, restitution, and measure over the other cardinal virtues because they lead to charity.

Conscience is superior to Will in that he knows whom he seeks (Piers) and what the world needs (reform of the friars). At the end, Conscience crying for grace (i.e., the Holy Ghost) suggests a Joachite point of view: the new age will be that of the Holy Ghost.
Reviews: *MLQ* XXIV.410-13; *JEGP* LXII.202-8; *EA* XVI.70-1; *MLR* LVII.89-90; N&Q X.232-3; *Medium AEvum* XXXII.72-3; *Speculum* XXXIX.121-4; *Comparative Literature* XV.374-6; *Archiv* CCI.134-5; *RES* XVI.188-90.


A summary of the last thirty-five years of *Piers Plowman* research as well as a recapitulation of late eighteenth-century and early nineteenth-century authorship and textual debates (Ritson, Moore, Wright, March and Skeat); and the ‘lost leaf’ controversy (Moore, Manly, Jusserand, Knott, Chambers, Grattan, Hall, Mensendieck, Day, Krog and Görneman). Also discusses earlier sixteenth and seventeenth-century opinions on the authorship problem. A review of suggested sources and analogues leads Bloomfield to suggest, as possible analogues, Grosseteste’s *Chasteau d'Amour* and Huon de Merci’s *Tournoiement de l’Antichrist*. Bloomfield sees future criticism moving in the direction of (1) study of the meaning of Langland’s words and lines, (2) backgrounds in folklore, art, theology, homilies, tractates, social and economic history.

63. ——. "Was William Langland a Benedictine Monk?" *MLQ* IV (1943), 57-61.

Suggests that it is "eminently reasonable" that Langland was ‘Willelmus de Colewell’ who was ordained on Dec. 20, 1348 by John de Trillek, Bp. of Hereford. Illegitimate, he seems to have taken the name of his natal parish, Colewall, but it is possible that he also used the name Langland for inflammatory writings. An assumption of Langland’s association with the monastery of Whitby explains *Piers Plowman*’s mildness of satire against the monks, its apparent support of Uhtred de Boldon in his quarrel with the friars, and its Augustinian bias, mingled with a vague anti-Thomism (B.X.116 ff., B.X.11 ff., B.XIV.315 ff., etc.)

64. BONSDORFF, Ingrid von. “Hankyn or Haukyn?” *MP* XXVI (1928-9), 57-61.

The name (mentioned in B.XIII.221) occurs in both forms in the MSS. of the poem and in the names of actual persons of the times. Bonsdorff prefers *Haukyn*, but the evidence is not decisive.

65. BOWERS, R. H. "Foleuyles Lawes (Piers Plowman C.XXII.247)," *N&Q* VIII (n.s.) (September, 1961), 327-8.
Construes the allusion to "Foleuyles Lawes" as a reference to the five notorious Folville brothers of Ashby-Folville, Leicestershire, Teigh and Rutland whose names appear in records for two decades following 1326. Langland refers to "Folville's law" in a eulogistic context which suggests that it had become a "registered and popular doctrine of justifiable redress."


The poem was called a satire by Crowley, Gascoigne, Puttenham and Meres. There are elements of satire and social criticism, but these elements exist within a larger framework or literary genre which Bowers sees as belonging to the tradition of Boethian Consolation, i.e., Varronian or Menippean satire.


Attempts to identify John But as a king's messenger of that name mentioned in the patent rolls of Richard II. But "there seems to be not the slightest reason for inclining either to acceptance or denial of the identification."


'Aliri' in A.VII.117 and B.Prol.123 may mean that the beggars twisted the lower leg because of the dialectal lire, verb, to plait a shirt-front. Objects to the identification of the 'Angel' with Bp. Brunton and the 'goliardeys' with Peter de la Mare (B.Prol.).

69. Bright, Alan H. "Langland and the Seven Deadly Sins," MLR XXV (1930), 133-139.

Extrapolates autobiographical references from the poem and concludes that the different attitudes towards the sins in each of the three versions represent Langland's own attitudes at various periods of his life.

70. — —. New Light on 'Piers Plowman'. (London, 1928).

Chapter I. The poet was born at Ledbury c. 1332 and wrote his poem at the Priory at Great Malvern. He was ordained an acolyte under the name Willelmus de Colewell in 1348, but never took higher orders. B.XIII.371-5 shows that Haukyn is William in middle life.

Chapter II. A discussion of Langland field near Ledbury with regard to the poet's surname and A.VII.
Chapter III. The braggart of A.VII who threatens to rob Piers is probably William de Conley. Clergy is James de Brockbury (A.XII), and Scripture is James’ second wife: the whole passage refers to a time when Langland was a tutor at Brockbury.

Chapter IV. William went to London c. 1355 where he portrays himself as Haukyn.

Chapter V. The B-text was written in 1377 when William was married and living in London.

Chapter VI. A discussion of Langland’s life in London with his wife.

Chapter VII. Concerns the anonymity of the poet who gives his name as Will but is careful to avoid anything but hints at further identification because he is a critic of Church, state, and religious authorities. He is a conservative reformer and a supporter of the Commons against the power of the crown and claims of democracy.

Reviews: RES VI.92-4; MLN XLV.203-4; Ang. Bbl. XLI. 295; Englische Studien LXVIII.112.

71. — —. “Sources of Piers Plowman,” TLS April 24, 1930, p. 352.

In the Bulletin of the John Ryland’s Library for January 1930 W. A. Pantin lists proverbs from MSS dating c. 1362. *Hu michi quod sterilum vitam duxi iuvenilem* is one of them which also occurs in B.I.139 and B.V.448 (as well as in the C text). Bright lists six others Langland also used and concludes that this book must have been used by Langland after 1363 and 1377.


John Bale, Bp. of Ossory, says (in *Illustrium Majoris Britanniae Scriptorum Summarium*) that Langland was born in “Clibery.” Bright thinks this is a mistake for Lidbery.


In C.IV.369-70 Langland says he ought to bear the name of his father, but can’t because he was illegitimate. The “W” which frequently appears after the name William in later MSS. probably means “Wickliflanus”. Bright has seen a MS written c. 1450 which contains the following note (a possible explanation for the “W”): “The author, Robert Langland, a chief disciple of John Wickliffs.”

The descriptions of castles in Piers Plowman refer to the Berkeley Castle where Edward II was jailed in 1326 because Eustace de Rokayle and the Despencers were closely associated with it.


Compares the Cantos and other writings of Pound's to Piers Plowman. Both show traces of anti-semitism and use the techniques of the voyage of discovery, dreams, memory and love as the linking power beyond anger and didacticism.


78. — —. Der Dichter des Ackerman aus Böhmen und Seine Zeit in Vom Mittelalter zur Reformation, III 2. halfte 1, p. 140 ff. (Berlin, 1926).


The second vision (plowing of the half-acre) is a complete action with a beginning, middle and end, from confession to pilgrimage and pardon. Langland believed in pardons (B.VII.176-8), but thought that the external form could usurp the inner spiritual reality. As a substitute for a pilgrimage, the plowing of the half-acre is sufficient to embody Dowel.


The following people were known to have owned MSS. of Piers Plowman: Walter de Brugge, a wealthy canon of York; John Wyndhill, Rector of Arncliffe; John Ball, a priest, mentions the poem in a letter to the peasants of Essex in 1381. The poem may have been written as part of a movement to combat ignorance among the lower orders of the clergy: it appears to have been known among clerks. Burrow also notes a more sophisticated
and disengaged relation to the alliterative tradition and hence suggests a "heterogeneous and impersonal audience."


Shows that by Chaucer's time, the folklore motif of the compact with the devil had become an integral part of English literature. Langland combines this motif with that of a marriage contract in B.II.


Carnegy stresses the importance of labor in the 14th-century when labor problems and their relation to the state were pressing. The plowing of the half-acre illustrates the salvation from evil attained through work, but search fails at this stage and continues as Dowel, where the dreamer learns through study and experience the rules for the attainment of salvation and for the performance of honest labor. Piers can lead man to salvation because he has found the way to Truth through honest and faithful labor.

In Visio the life of the laity in the commonwealth is threatened by the greed of the upper classes and the idleness of the lower classes. Dowel and the other Vitae concern theological learning on the theme of pacientes vincunt. The object of the poem is to deal with the laity and the labor problem is used allegorically to illustrate the search for and failure to find salvation. Most important of the themes of the poem are fiat voluntas tua and pacientes vincunt (i.e., complete abnegation of self and dedication to one's role as laborer.)


N.E.D. shows "Malkin" is a typical lower-class familiar female name dating from the late 13th-century with possible connotations of wantonness. In B.I.182 her chastity is a negative virtue: she is chaste because she has not been tempted.

The dreamer of the poem is the mouthpiece of a reformer who preferred the customs of the preceding age to those introduced since the pestilence. Langland ironically accounts for the absence of miracles by the unworthiness of the people and charges bishops with ignorance and corruption. The unity of the church depends on the relations between the higher clergy and the laity. He also questioned the duties and privileges of the priesthood. A reformed clergy might save the nation.

As for the secular government, in discussing country life, Langland admitted the justice of serfdom and seems to have been personally acquainted with agriculture.

There are two themes *Piers Plowman* shares with sermons, miracle and morality plays, and other didactic writings for laymen: life as a pilgrimage and the struggle between the good and evil forces.

Reviews: *New Statesman* April 6, 1922, p. 126; *Spectator* CXXIX. 279; *Saturday Review* CXXXIII.442-3; *Anglia Bbl* XXXIV. 87-9; *English Historical Review* XXXVIII.105-6.


Discusses possible meanings of the pardon. In the A-, B-, and C-texts, Piers appeals to his Psalter and, since the authority seems to be on the side of the priest, he tears up the pardon. The search for Dowel naturally follows. There are three problems involved in the search: predestination, salvation of the learned and the salvation of the righteous heathen (Aristotle, Trajan), and the problem of learning vs. simple piety. Both Dante and Langland fall back on mystical interpretations of baptism (Dante deals with the same problem in *Paradiso* XIX.19-25; 70-8.)


Langland deplored the decay of feudalism and the rise of capitalism. The meaning of the poem is, as in the *Divina Commedia*,
to be found in the quest for the meaning of God. Dowel is active labor, Dobet is the contemplative monastic life, and Dobest is the episcopate.

88. — —. “Poets and Their Critics: Langland and Milton,” *Proceedings of the British Academy* XXVII (1941), 109 ff. Defends the unity of the poem and feels that the B-text is as well constructed as the A-text. The bond between Milton and Langland is ‘patient fortitude’.


The A-, B-, and C-texts use “a dialect of a rather eclectic type” and are similar in their use of provincialisms. But, the dialectical differences are incompatible with the supposition of a single author.


There is an edition of *Piers Plowman* proposed for E.E.T.S. under the joint editorship of R. W. Chambers and J. H. G. Grattan.


Piers was intended as an emblem or personification of Dowel, Dobet and Dobest successively as the lewd, clerkly, and episcopal lives. They are associated with God the Father, Son and Holy Ghost and hence, the Active (creating the world), Contemplative (redeeming the world) and Authoritative (sustaining Christendom).

Piers himself appears once for each life.


Langland’s poetry and style give a “sense of the union of opposites” and a “huge fluidity”. There is a search for some great epiphany. Piers has changeable characteristics as an allegorical figure, but he eventually becomes Christ in his humanity.


Attempts to explain A.VII.212-15 by using B.VI.226 ff. (concerning the problem of poor relief) as a gloss.
Although Coghill assumes one author, he feels that the A and B texts are about different things, and belong to different species of poetry. The passus concerning the pardon show confusion of mind, but there are connexions to be found. The narrative impetus of the story is finished with the tearing of the pardon and the poet’s commentary on it becomes the additional poems of Dowel, Dobet and Dobest.

95. —.—. “Two notes on ‘Piers Plowman’: I. The Abbot of Abingdon and the date of the C-text and II. Chaucer’s debt to Langland,” Medium AEvum IV (1935), 83-94.
I. The poor tenants of Winkfield in 1394 sought king’s justice against the Abbot of Abingdon and it is possible that this case is referred to in B.X.317, ff.
II. Chaucer and Langland both lived in London. In the parallel descriptions of plowmen, Chaucer is “secretly allegorical while Langland is openly so”. Chaucer is, therefore, “particularly indebted” to Piers Plowman.


This article is a superficial recapitulation of the ostensibly autobiographical elements in the poem and a brief account of the authorship controversy including MSS. rubrics. Piers Plowman is not as orderly and comprehensive as the Divine Comedy and it is not a treatise on mystical theology, but a poetic account of personal intellectual struggles on the scheme of salvation.

The Castle of Kynde in Piers Plowman uses the ancient idea that the body is composed of four elements and the heart is the location of the soul. Certain parallels (building materials) are to be found in The Abbey of the Holy Ghost.
Douglas finds parallels with the Roman in Langland's use of Favel to signify falseness and deceit, the first to use Favel in the sense of hypocrisy in English.

A linguistic study including various editors' translations of the line and MSS. variants, as well as other contemporary poets' use of some of the words (e.g., William of Palerne).

Supports the theory of multiple authorship, and finds that the varieties of alliteration found in B2 (XI-XX) divide it from all the other texts. This characteristic is not developed in C, as one might expect if all the parts were written by the same author. A1 and A2 are distinguished by the alliteration of to in the former and by, but and especially with in the latter.

102. — —. "'Din' and 'Doom' and 'Piers Plowman,'" MLR XXVI (1931), 336-8.
Of the variants 'dome' and 'dune' in A.II.138, 'dome' is correct. 'Din' must have had exactly the same meaning as 'dome' in the C-text where it is substituted for 'dome'.

The vision of the tree in B.XVI is an imitation of the simile of the tree in Duns Scotus', De Rerum Principio, B.XVI where Piers is said to have taught the child Jesus the art of healing, may also be explained by the teachings of Duns Scotus.

Day finds parallels to this reference in the Gospel of Nicodemus and St. Patrick's Purgatory, although with variations on the exact time.

The C-author was against irresponsible charity and believed in 'discrimination in relief', as opposed to A.VII.212 and B.VI.226. This may be due to increasing conservatism of advancing years.


A study of alliteration in the three texts of Skeat's edition. "The alliteration gives no support to Prof. Manly's theory." It actually gives no conclusive evidence one way or the other in resolving the authorship controversy.


Identifies the 'angel' as Bishop Brunton, who attacked many of the same evils as Langland: "His social philosophy was similar to that of the writer or writers of Piers Plowman . . . ." Direct influence is yet to be established.


Explicates the imagery having to do with redemptive love acting through the incarnation in B.I.146-56. Imagery of medicinal ointment (trecacle and spise) can be found in Exodus xxx.22-5, Song of Songs i.2, Mark xvi.1, Luke vii.36, Matthew xxvi.6 and in Origen's and St. Bernard's commentaries on these passages. Next, "Leaf upon lynde" suggests Job xiii.25 where 'leaf' is an image of immortality. Love as quick and piercing as a needle suggests Book of Wisdom and Hebrews. The imagery of the incarnation is therefore of medicinal ointment, spice, growing plant, Moses, light, weight, and piercing needle. Langland uses traditional material and links it traditionally.


Patristic exegesis is only valid when a poem has a clear Christian preoccupation. Piers Plowman is an allegory concerned with charity in which the author cites the Fathers, uses symbols of the Tree of Charity and Patience based on Biblical texts, and quotes scripture. Also a long critique of Robertson and Huppé's Piers Plowman and Scriptural Tradition.

Investigates the meanings of hope and despair in the poem with the aid of Augustinian background. Langland stresses the importance of the will in obtaining salvation, and Augustine's doctrines on the subject appear 'substantially unaltered' in the poem.


In the A-text *Vita*, Langland was not yet actively concerned with the salvation of the righteous heathen and the related theme of predestination, because his subject was the place of learning in the good life. In the mid-14th-century, Bradwardine's *De Causa Dei contra Pelagium* had roused intense discussion in Europe. Hence Langland was moved to add two discussions to the B- and C-texts (revisions and expansions of the A-text).


Investigates the aspects of the spiritual life with which the *Visio* is concerned. Gregory's teachings explain that the contemplative life is not two lives lived separately by distinct categories of people, but one life lived by everyone. Pure contemplation is beyond the power of human nature and one should divide his time between works and prayer: contemplation is open to all. Dowel, Dobet and dobest are stages in the progress of growth in justice and charity.

The *Visio* stops short of the proposed pilgrimage because reform of society is not possible on a corporate basis. The *Visio* is concerned with *animalis homo* in the first stages of regeneration, the *Vita* with the spiritual life proper. The poem ends "with the poet going out into the world to seek, apparently, a true pope who will effect a reform: the Piers Plowman described in Dobest."


Drawing on patristic background (principally, Aquinas, Gregory and Augustine), Fr. Dunning sees the principal theme of the poem as the moderate use of the world's goods according to reason. In the end, sin consists of cupidity and truth is love. The book elucidates the scholastic and political background— which emerges
as inseparable from the theological — and provides all the necessary foundations to the understanding of the “moral function” of the state. Dunning’s book is one of the few treatments of the poem in which patristic background is not used so ingeniously as to obscure the poem for the beginning reader.

Reviews: N&Q 174.413; Beiblatt zur Anglia 49.202; TLS 1938, p. 232; Oxford Mag. 1938, p. 428; Medium AEvum 7.232; MLR 33.577; MP 36.101; Englische Studien 73.263; YWES 18.95.


The poem exemplifies (1) the democratic ideal of a king made king by the people and (2) the reign of Love and Reason, Mercy and Truth, all of which embody caritas as the virtue binding the king to his subjects, as well as (3) authority with power — by which Durkin means that Langland incorporates Christian Democratic themes, such as the fable of the rats.


117. ——. William Langlands Piers Plowman (Eine Interpretation des C-Textes) (Heidelberg 1957). (Frankfurter Arbeiten aus dem Gebiete der Anglistik und der Amerika-Studien, 3.)

118. FAIRCHILD, Hoxie N. “Leyde Here Legges Aliri,” MLN XLI (1926), 378-81.

In B.VI.123-6, aliri is derived from OE laehryecg, Modern Dialectical learing meaning a grass field, unploughed land, etc. The passage means that the beggars hid their legs in the grass.


“Langland showed little inclination either to justify the wealth of the knighthood or to find any political function for its members in society.” He subscribes to the principle of hereditary aristocracy and has sympathy for hereditary gentility without riches, but he was opposed to ‘wastoures’. The duty of knights was
"treweliche to fyghte", but Langland had little use for them in civil life.

120. Fowler, David C. "The 'Forgotten' Pilgrimage in Piers the Plowman," MLN LXVII (1952), 524-6.

"Treuthe herde telle here-of" is a reference to the impending famine of the last lines of passus VII. Truth is telling Piers to stay home to work his land instead of undertaking the pilgrimage and sends a pardon to those who stay home.


The second vision of Dobest concludes with the scene of disaster, Conscience's vow to become a pilgrim, and his resolve to help Piers destroy Pride and to help the friars get a 'fyndyng'. The friars oppose conscience because of their theoretical poverty (as distinct from the endowed monastic orders and the beneficed priesthood). Need says poverty makes friars dangerous: they flatter and beg, a problem which requires administrative action within the Church. Conscience cries for grace which is possible only when the friars are not motivated by need.


The A-text contains three visions, B contains ten, and C has nine.

123. — —. Piers Plowman and the Scheme of Salvation. An Interpretation of Dowel, Dobet and Dobest. (New Haven, 1957).

The purpose of the book is to elucidate the vitæ without placing them in any religious or political movement. Dowel recounts the poet's belief in his early years: to be a follower of Christ in poverty and love. Dobet and Dobest are not different, but the same concern with perfection on earth according to Christ's life. The poem as a whole is concerned with how active, working men can achieve salvation and all of the lives are generic divisions of Dowel.

The Visio depicts working men in the world and the corruption of Meed. The pardon is valid, and when Piers tears it up he doesn't say he won't work anymore at all, but just that he won't work so hard — the principle of ne solliciti sitis. The chief doctrines of the poem are: love, ne solliciti sitis, poverty, penance, and patience.
Reviews: *EA* XI.245-6; *Speculum* XXXIII.395-7; *Medium AEvum* XXVIII.215-6; *MLR* LIV.85; *MLN* LXXXIV.730-3; *Anglia* LXXVII. 83-6; *MP* LVI.204-5; *MLQ* XX.285-7; *RES* XI.57-9; English Studies XLII. 248-50.


Using the B-text, Frank deals with the misconceptions about the scene. Since those to whom the pardon is given conduct themselves as Holy Church and Reason advise, the pardon must be valid or the whole *Visio* is a tasteless joke. Langland says the pardon is sent by Truth (i.e., God) and contains lines from the Athanasian Creed. Piers’ tearing of the pardon, his quote from the Psalter and his anger really signify acceptance. The pardon is really only a device for stating an ethical principle dramatically.


A supplementary list to Skeat’s listing of Langland’s quotations from the Vulgate.


Langland introduced the figure of Christ jousting in a medieval tournament (B.XVI, XVIII, XIX) as though it were already established in the literary tradition. The most complete and consistently developed form of it is to be found in an Old French poem in MS. Phillips 8336 and MS. Cotton Junius Av ascribed to Nicole de Bozon.

127. GERould, Gordon H. "The Structural Integrity of *Piers Plowman* B," *SP* XLV (1948), 60-75.

Despite colophons, B is a unity dealing with the theme of good and evil in the world of man’s salvation. The dreamer is concerned to rouse men to seek truth and liberty in the form of a pilgrimage. The poem is about a pilgrimage for the religious education of the dreamer. Piers is the divinely appointed leader. The three lives are three different aspects of life to which any Christian might aspire. Man’s share in the act of salvation is *redde quod debbes*.


Finds a sharper tone toward friars in the B-Text (than in the A-Text) where they interfere with the clergy in their work, seeking to exercise unwarrantable privileges in the matter of preaching or burial; they are too ambitious for worldly honors, deceitful, lying, and greedy. All of this is the tradition of Guillaume de Saint-Amor, Jean de Pouilli, and Richard FitzRalph. The passage on Constantine’s Coffers refers to 1370 when two Austin friars petitioned Parliament for the expropriation of the *possessionati* (priests) with the idea that Christian Churches have no doctrinal right to temporal wealth. (Langland apparently thought that the clergy of all kinds should live on the alms of the faithful.)


The Abbot of Abingdon was a strong man whose wrath Langland wanted to avoid; hence the change to Abbot of Engelonde in C.VI.177-8. In 1359, Hall found that there were tenements in Winkfield holding to the king, as well as some holding to the Abbot of Abingdon. Hall offers a legal interpretation in which the tenants were holding to the king because the demesne was *ex dono regis* to the Abbot.


Hamilton tries to show that Spenser and Langland are significantly related. Spenser places himself in the tradition of Chaucer and “The Pilgrim that the Plowman playde a whyle” in the *Shepheardes Calendar*. The *Faerie Queene* Book I is related to *Piers Plowman* as a parallel analogue in that both Langland and Spenser express encyclopedic visions of man’s life in terms of fall, redemption, grace, regeneration and ultimate restoration. Both gather in political and religious history of the age within the universal history of God’s chosen people as an expression of Scripture.


Langland attributed the darkness at the crucifixion to an eclipse in C.XXI.139-40 illustrating that medieval writers knew about lunar and solar eclipses.
St. Paul the hermit is depicted in medieval art dressed in a mat of palm-leaves. In Jerome's Vita S. Pauli he refers to Paul the hermit: tunicam ejus quam sportarum modum de palmae foliis ipse contexuerat. This leads Hemingway to conclude that it is not Paul the apostle, but Paul the hermit who is referred to in B.XV.235.
Chapter VII ("Dreaming in Piers Plowman") argues from the ambiguous use of words and illogical sentence structure to a statement that the poem — unlike Pearl and Chaucer's visions — reflects the illogicality of dream visions. It is not one dream but a series of dreams. Waking sequences provide motivations for the visions that follow.
"Condensation and transference, and the concomitant usual phenomena of dreams could explain a great deal of the presumed confusion." Her Freudian bias as well as her preoccupation with modern psychology in general do little to elucidate anything in the poem.
Disagrees with Kaske's Anglia LXXVII (1959) article which suggests that there are echoes of Psa. 18:18 in Boke's speech referring to the Old Law and looking forward to the New Law, i.e., the third Joachite status mundi of the Age of the Holy Ghost. These echoes, Hoffman says, look forward to the New Law and Resurrection of which Boke is a symbol.
Piers Plowman is a narrative whose structure is primarily built around the character of the dreamer, who is not on a religious mission, but is receptive to the spiritual implications of all he sees.
After the pardon scene (a rejection of the commercial, not the spiritual value of pardons) the dreamer awake is confused. He is confused so often, in fact, that feigned ignorance becomes a satirical device. His arguing shows pride and headstrong intellectual curiosity. These are two chief impediments to salvation: wealth and false learning. The poem is written for the common peoples' edification.


The unifying and controlling force of the poem is the theological element, but Langland wrote for those who understood little theology. Langland's difficulties in solving his problems are caused by the clash of authority with authority.

As for his actual knowledge of theology, the texts show that Langland was familiar with the Breviary and Missal, but there is no reason to assume any knowledge of the Bible itself. Of 301 biblical quotes in *Piers Plowman*, 216 are also in the Breviary.

The social aspects of the first seven passus are part of the theological aspects and are subordinated to them. The first answer to the *salus animarum* is *qui bona egerunt*, etc. This shows an essentially Pelagian faith in the power of the human to earn his own salvation. Langland's allegory is the same as the *lex naturalis* except that Langland omits any reference to synderesis, but we can assume it because he uses Scholastic conceptions.

In the question of audience, Hort finds that the two known owners of MSS. were priests and concludes that *Piers Plowman* originated in a clerical circle.


Chapter 4: "The Body Politic and the Lust of the Eyes: *Piers Plowman*."

The poet puts heavy emphasis on the temptations which spring from purely economic motives (lust of the eyes). The earth will supply the needs of the body, but the body — taught by the lust of the eyes, the lust of the flesh and the pride of life — will tempt men to misuse earthly things.

Langland elaborates the ideal of a Christianized *mundus*: it is a hierarchy ruled by a King who is obedient to the Church and it
presupposes subservience of mundus to ecclesia—a sentimental ideal.

The conflicts in the poem are never solved and every hope, ideal and virtue presented is a lost cause. Interludes when the dreamer awakens are moments of intellectual enlightenment revealing a pattern which oscillates between Christian ideals and worldly imperfections.

141. HULBERT, J. R. “Piers Plowman After Forty Years,” MP XLV (1948), 215-25.

It is not necessary to assume that separate versions of a poem in the Middle Ages are by the same author. The structure of A, says Hulbert, is quite unlike any plan that can be found in B and at times B even misunderstands and ‘spoils’ A’s development.

142. —.—. “Quatrains in Middle English Alliterative Poems,” MP XLVIII (1950), 73-81.

Hulbert tries to discover whether or not Patience, Cleannness, The Seige of Jerusalem, The Crowned King, The Wars of Alexander A&B, Chevalere Assigne and Piers Plowman were written in quatrains. In the matter of Piers, he comes up with a “curious” but not “significant” fact that there are quatrains in A1, but one cannot assume the author’s design from this.

143. HUPPÉ, Bernard F. “A-Text of Piers Plowman and the Norman Wars,” PMLA LIV (1939), 37-64.

On the basis of Meed’s speech in III.182-201, the reference to the account of the Battle of Edward in France on Black Monday before the signing of the Peace of Bretigny, and the fact that Lady Meed suggests Alice Perrers, Huppé dates the A-Text c. 1370-76. At the time of the C-Text, this incident had passed and hence it was effaced from the C version.


Huppé gives samples of word play (alliteration, consonance, and rhyme) and discusses their architectural function in the poem. The poet seems to have concentrated on details of Will’s appearance and surroundings in such a manner as to make them constants upon which variations are played. These constants are fixed in: (1) the time and season of the year; (2) the surroundings of Will’s resting place; (3) sounds; (4) his costume; (5) his wandering and
weariness or other references to his state of mind. Huppé then analyzes the wakings and fallings asleep in terms of this scheme to show variations on constants.


Contends that a direct source for the lives cannot be isolated in either patristic or contemporary writers (i.e., Hilton or Rolle). Hilton does not place the mixed life above the contemplative life while Langland does not make a special distinction between the lower and higher active life as Hilton does. Dowel, in fact, is Langland’s main concern in the poem because Dowel is defined first and receives greatest attention. Dobet and Dobest are degrees of the same thing.


It was the literary tradition of Wynnere and Wastoure which inspired Langland to choose his dream framework, allegory, the debate form, alliterative meter, and subject matter, i.e., the proper use of wealth.


Langland’s social position made him fit to act as a mediator between the nobility and peasants and as a bridge between clerics and laymen. His special animosity against friars may have a psychological explanation in the consciousness of an affinity with their calling.


Compares Dickens’ Hard Times with Piers Plowman and finds affinities in subject matter, social analysis and emotional thrust. In both, Meed subverts fiduciary relationships and then demands homage from society. In both, there is an underlying conviction that society is a moral enterprise and both authors exploit the ironies of this situation. The profit motive is not legitimate: it substitutes for the aggrandizement of stewardship and violates the collective responsibility of men to society.


Imaginatif "makes very clear the distinction between mere secular curiosity about the natural world and the use of its phenomena
as similitudes of spiritual truth" (B.XII.236ff.) Imaginatif is a spokesman of Reason and is gifted with a vision of joy and sorrow to come and is hence entitled to speak of the relation of Kind Wit to Clergy and the uses to which we should put images in our spiritual education. These characteristics are accounted for by medieval Christian psychology (of which Jones gives a brief survey).


Mitchell (MLN LIX (1922) 222ff.) had construed this passage to mean that if the bishop were worthy to keep both his ears, he would make proper use of them by learning of abuses. Johnston finds information in the Townley Plays (ed. G. England, EETS, 1897, pp. 171-2) to confirm Mitchell's hypothesis.


In III.160-1 of the B-text “Lawe is so lordeliche and loth to make ende / Withoute presentz or pence she pleseth welfewe.” Meed gets her way; she corrupts law and on this account Conscience won't marry her. This is odd because it is hard to conceive of Meed without presents and pence. “She” of 1. 161 could be perhaps “he,” referring to the Law. The meaning then is: Law is so arrogant and procrastinating and, as he does not give bribes, he pleases very few. This passage appears to be an error regardless of the number of MSS. with a feminine pronoun because scribes were in the habit of transcribing heo/he as she, even though he could be a man.


The form of the poem is not satire, although satirical elements are found in the poem. Neither is it a cross-section of the life of the times. It is full of allegory and symbolism, yet neither are radical or thoroughgoing. Kane concludes that it seems to have been written for a wider public than most alliterative poems and that the author must not only have been steeped in the alliterative tradition but also written a great deal before the A-text.

“Ex vi transicionis” in B.XIII.133-56 refers to a “grammatical relationship as described by Peter Elias’ Commentary on Priscian’s Institutiones ... [and it means] the power of transivity by which a verb rules its direct object in the accusative case.”

The second part of Patience’s speech in ll. 151-156 is a definition of his role in preservation of Dowel through Charilas.

In conclusion, Kaske paraphrases ll. 151-56 as: “By means of the fundamental Christian injunction to charity...” 154. — —. “Gigas the Giant in Piers Plowman,” JEGP, LVI (1957), 177-85.

(Concerns Book’s speech in B.XVIII.249-51)
Kaske has found a passage in several authors’ commentaries on Psalms 18:6 in the Patrologiae Latina. The giant referred to in these passages (Exsultavit ut Gigas ad currendum viam. ...) is universally interpreted as referring to Christ and the Piers Plowman passage actually refers to Psalms 18:6 (C.XXI.1263) where it is paraphrased as “For Iesus as a gyaunt with a gyn cometh yonde.” This speech may be the turning point in the poem where Will’s quest for truth merges with his quest for charitas.

In B.X.300-5 (“For if hevene be on this erthe and .../Ese to any soule” and “be many skilles I fynde”) there are many fillers and nonce expressions. The first two lines of B.X.300-5 are word for word quotations from Benvenuto da Imola’s Commentary on the Divina Commedia Paradiso XI.12 in which a quotation from Petrus Ravenna is being discussed. In Sermo in Festo S. Nicolai Myrensis Episcopi (attributed to Peter Damian, but actually by Nicholas of Clairvaux) there is also a reference to the idea of the cloister as paradise with reference to study and love, although Langland’s treatment is much more humanistic. A further appearance of this theme is found in Alphanus of Salerno’s ode on Monte Cassino.

Kaske thinks that the Walnut-Simile of B.XI.148-310 is of exegetical origin. Dividing the walnut into hull, shell, and kernel is from Pliny’s Naturalis Historia. The reference to the bitter shell and the sweet kernel in Canticles 6:10 and Numbers 17:8, as well as
the commentary by Rabanus Maurus and the *Glossa Ordinaria*, associate the nut and kernel with the consolations of the virtuous and to various aspects of Christ.


The traditional interpretation of these lines suggests that ‘bras’ means money. But the phrase ‘on thi bac’ seems inappropriate to describe the transportation of money to Calais. In fourteenth-century wills, ‘bras’ meant miscellaneous household utensils of copper and bronze. The passage could therefore, mean “Without pity, pillager, you robbed poor men and carried off their household utensils on your back to sell them at Calais.”


The speech of Book can be explained by means of two traditional themes: (1) the witness borne by the elements on Christ’s divinity and (2) the medieval interpretation of Psalms 18:1-8 as a prophecy of the career of Christ. Book’s speech falls within the most suspenseful period between the crucifixion and the Harrowing (i.e. between the Old and New Laws). The Janus-like pattern of allusion is developed by the use of the two broad eyes. His speech is a composite of several means of ‘witnessing’ employed by God for the manifestation of his truth united in the Incarnation.


The simple figures of speech in *Piers Plowman* perform descriptive, structural and narrative functions, but their chief use is in expressing ideas and opinions. The most important kind give concrete expression to abstract material. The framework of the poem is translation by figures from general to specific, from spiritual to mundane.


In B.I.112-122 Langland is expressing a “purely political idea.” The lunatic summarizes St. Thomas’ discussion of proper rewards of kingship (B.I.125); the Angel speaks for those who can’t speak for themselves. It follows logically from the lunatic’s speech that to gain the proper reward, the King must “lead his land,” not
"Iangle ne iugge." This means that justice should be compatible with Christ's law and mercy. The king, therefore is promised heaven if he rules well. The king is the key figure in his relationship with the law and commons. If Meed is banished then Love, Lowness and 'Lewte' control human affairs.


The influence of Piers Plowman is seen in the tilling of a piece of ground to 'eschew ydulness,' although it differs in the inclusion of a battle of vices and virtues instead of 'wastours' and 'faytours'.


In B.X.274-87 Langland says that few clergy are blameless enough to 'be bolde to blame the gyltie' and the 'Borel clerkes' accuse the 'doumbe houndes.' Kellogg considers this passage as a rebuke to secular clergy or as a concern that unchecked criticism might endanger the church. The source of this passage is Isaiah LVI.10 "... canes muti no valentes latrare."


The Latin phrase in C.II.109-115: "Ponam pedem meum in aquilone, et ero similis altissimo." Kellogg claims that it is not from Isaiah, but from Augustine's paraphrase of Isaiah in Ennarratione in Psalmum XLVII (where Satan is associated with the North), and from De Gratia Novi Testamenti Liber seu Epistola CXL.

Augustine, in these two passages, associates the North and South with two cities (ep. Civitate Dei XIV, 28). In the North, Satan is the founder of the city symbolizing love of self. Langland does not elaborate here because of the sensibilities of Northern men; but he does in C.II.116-22.


Brunton's sermon number 60 in MS. Hanley 3760, delivered May 18, 1376, includes the fable of the rats. Because of the date and occasion, the audience was "probably" the convocation meeting in conjunction with the Good Parliament. If this is the case, the
author of the B-text could hardly have failed to know of it. The sermon was probably the stimulus for Langland’s inclusion of the fable in B and thus makes May, 1376 the *terminus a quo* of B-text. 165. KENT, Muriel. “A Fourteenth-Century Poet Surveys the English Scene,” *Hibbert Journal*, XL (1942), 381-5.

Kent tries to show how *Piers Plowman* relates to the national situation of England in 1942. In the pardon scene, Langland qualifies as the first poet of Labour in England, expounding social gospel through symbolic figures.

166. KIRK, Rudolf. “References to the Law in Piers Plowman,” *PMLA*, XLVIII (1933), 322-27.

The A-Text contains few legal terms and none of them would be unfamiliar to “intelligent” men of the period. The B and C texts have larger legal vocabularies and more specialized knowledge of the law. But Kirk does not think this is evidence for multiple authorship.


Knowlton thinks the poet drew from Alanus’ *De Planctu Naturae* for details in his description of Kynde in the general impression of divinity, heavenly diadem, neck and breasts, emphasis on love, sympathetic reception by flowers, fish, and natural objects, and in the poet’s failure to recognize her and her mysterious robe.

169. KRATINS, Ojars. “*Piers Plowman* and Arthurian Romance,” *Essays in Criticism*, XIII (1963), 304.

The “Romantic uncertainty” of *Piers Plowman* is also characteristic of Arthurian Romance in that biographical aspects of characters are subordinated to didactic or exemplary significance.


171. — —. *Studien zu Chaucer und Langland*. (Heidelberg, 1928).


The imaginative focus in the poem is our habitual incapacity to grasp doctrine as bearing directly on us. The redemption is perfectly fulfilling of the inexorable law, but the dreamer must learn this over and over.
The poem displays logical imagination in the satiric mode. The center of the imaginative excitement is the difference between 'knowledge' and 'realization.'


Lawlor sees the Pardon Scene as a "bridge from the satirist's work of destruction to the thinker's work of construction." The Pardon is a "statement of universal moral law" unfulfillable because it is absolute. The torn Pardon signifies the end of the law.


Haukyn is in some way related to Piers; he represents the inferior form of the Active Life and that he has a hidden *signification* as well as a place in the surface narrative. Perhaps he is the embodiment of the more concrete world of the *Visio* than of the abstract *Vita*.


Investigates the logical adequacy of two of the main dramatic and narrative units of the poem: that of fool and dream-wanderer. There are three aspects of "I" in Langland: (1) the representation of mankind, (2) a dramatic characterization and (3) a stylized reflection of the author himself.


The dreamer lacks knowledge of 'ful charite' only in part and must learn *distinctio caritatis* in the manner of Paul (I. Cor. 13: 4,5,12). In this context B.XV.148 ("I haue lyued in londe") parallels *factus sum vir*, a Pauline paradox beside Anima's quotation from Matthew: "*nisi efficiamini sicut parvuli*." This may point to the meaning of Longe Wille, i.e., long experience, observation and suffering.


In a dinner address to the Guggenheim memorial Foundation, Moé used ideas from Piers Plowman to support the idea of tax-free foundations. (Revised version of 178a.)


A list of the MSS. variations for this line. From the number of MSS. either reik, or rede is correct.


Skeat construed Prydie as pri-dieu, meaning faldstool. But Oliphant thinks this is not necessarily French and could, in fact, be Latin. In John Myrc's Instructions for Parish Priests, qui pridie refers to a procedure to be followed by a priest when he has forgotten bread and wine. Myrc says he should go and get it and begin again with qui pridie. Langland is pointing out that Sire Piers is careless.


In these lines, 'declynede' means to 'recite' or 'narrate' (from the French decliner). It is attested in this sense by the N.E.D. three times and also used with this meaning in the Chanson de Roland.


The earliest English versions of the rat parliament are by Walter of England, Odo of Cherinton and Nicholas of Bozon. Bishop Brunton also uses the fable of the rats to describe the Good Parliament in 1376. Langland, was in favor of the reforms of the Good Parliament. He also agreed with the "raton de renon" (presumably Peter de la Mare). In appealing to reason and claiming to work for the "commune profyty" the poet was using phrases calculated to win our approval.

In *Piers Plowman*, allegories are used to bring out forces of contemporary life, to emphasize the chief events in the life of Christ, to state abstract and ethical truths and to embody the personal experience of the writer's life as a type of humanity. All of these characteristics are also found in Ruteboeuf's *Voie de Paradis*, De Guilleuvile's *Pélerinage de la Vie Humaine*, Huon de Meri's *Tournoiement de l'Antechrist*, Raoul de Houdenc's *Songe d'Enfer*, and the *Roman de Carité*. There is, however, no evidence that these were to be found in any English monasteries, judging from library catalogues.


Owst's thesis is that the angel in Conscience's sermon is Bp. Brunton and that the goliardeys is Sir Peter de la Mare.

186. — —. *Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England: A Neglected Chapter in the History of English Letters and of the English People*. (Cambridge 1933; 2nd ed., Oxford, 1961.) Langland's methods were borrowed from the pulpit and he uses allegorical figures of evil which he applies to the various classes of society. The allegory of Lady Meed is from *Sermo Dom. Quinquag.* of MS. Gloucester Cath. Library. The fair field full of folk opening is a high development of a form that some socially aware preachers had been describing.

The beatification of manual labor is found in many contemporary authors, such as Nicole de Bozon, Vincent de Beauvais and the *Summa Praedicanantium*. Langland drew from this tradition and he was undoubtedly also familiar with the sermons of Bp. Brunton of Rochester.

The lunatic in the B-Prologue is Langland and the angel of heaven is Brunton. Langland's championship of justice for the oppressed, his sane admixture of respect for institutions, his rebuke for those who defile them, his gospel of mutual sympathy and work—as contrasted with revolution—, his stress upon good deeds and moral reform without theological subtlety: all of these and many more themes were being proclaimed from the pulpits of the land.


Langland was concerned with whether the endowment of the Church was necessary or even desirable when he repeated the legend of
Constantine’s endowment. The argument regarding private property as a conventional arrangement is superimposed upon the more natural condition of common ownership. Langland depicts the friars as ‘proving by Seneca that all things under Heaven ought to be in common’ (C.XXIII.273 ff.). Pantin thinks this is a significant reference to Stoic doctrine.

188. PEREGRINUS. [sic] “Langland at Great Malvern, N&Q 181 (1941) p. 121.

This is a letter of inquiry asking where the traditions mentioned by A. H. Bright in *New Light on Piers Plowman* (O.U.P., 1928) are recorded. He wants to know information concerning the suggestion of Langland’s having occupied a room over the Abbey Gateway of Great Malvern and his having been educated at the Priory.


The earliest allegories of the castle of the body are found in Grosseteste’s Anglo-Norman *Le Chasteau d’Amour, Sawles Warde* and *Piers Plowman* A.X.1 ff. *Piers* resembles *Sawles Warde* in that Wit and Inwit, and their opponents outside, are led by the devil. The house is governed by Intelligence and the distress of the body when that power is absent is also reminiscent of the earlier poem.


The use of ‘kind’ in conjunction with ‘wit’ distinguishes it from absolute or divine reason. It is a gift of God (Kind) and a teacher of Conscience. Inwit is a ‘classic’ translation of *animus*: man’s intellectual powers. But in Langland these are not synonymous. His use is precise and technical. For Langland, Inwit is not Conscience. He maintains the scholastic distinction between them, but to us it’s blurred. They are not separate faculties: Conscience is one of Inwit’s activities. Conscience is Inwit’s awareness of right and wrong brought to bear on action.


Reidy interprets the pardon literally. Piers receives an indulgence, but allegorically it is a general pardon of redemption for all mankind.
Tearing the pardon means that if good works are the condition for gaining heaven, then Piers’ actions seem adequate. The pardon is valid and the tearing cannot be fully explained. Reidy attempts to superimpose Hilton’s three lives on the pardon scene, saying that Piers opts for the contemplative life. He concludes that further research is needed.

192. Riach, Mary. “Langland’s Dreamer and the Transformation of the Third Vision,” Essays in Criticism XIX (1969), 6-18. There is a subtle, ironic relationship between the dreamer and the poet. No personal fact about the poet can be deduced logically from the text, as it may be ironical. Within the dreams, the dreamer’s behavior is marked by his contentiousness. This turns much of the A-text Vita material against him and shows him in an ironic light. “It subjects him to a searching, humiliating revelation of the unwarranted pride he had shown in his search for Dowel in the A-text.”

193. Richardson, M. E. “Characters in Piers Plowman.” TLS Jan. 13, 1940, p. 24. Richardson tries to prove that Coueytise (Avarice) was a real character, and identifies him with a character by the name of Hervey found in the Calendar of Patent Rolls for 1361-64 who was a seller of sacks of wool and keeper of the king’s gaol until 1379.

194. — —. The “Characters in Piers Plowman: The Bishop of Bethlehem,” N&Q 180 (1941), 116-17. (Concerning C.XVIII.277-80). In both the B- and C-texts there is a mention of the virtues of St. Thomas of Canterbury followed by an admonition to the Bishop of ‘Surrye’ (i.e., Bethlehem) because of undignified conduct. The title of Surrey was revived for Richard II’s half-brother Thomas, who was bearing it in 1386. “Is ‘Surrye,’ Syria as is suggested by the appointment of the Bishop, or is there a sly play upon the word which suggests the Bishop’s association and his patrons, always supposing he has been correctly identified?”

195. — —. “Piers Plowman,” TLS March 11, 1939, pp. 149-50. “Rose the Regratour . . . who holden hoxterye . . . Elevene wynter” seems to be the woman of this name mentioned in Pleas and Memoranda Rolls to the City of London at Guildhall v. I, 1323-84 (ed. A. H. Thomas), This volume says “Rose la Hokestere” fined 3/17/1350 for forestalling. Eleven years from this date brings us to within
a few months of the events referred to in the A-text, e.g., the wind
and the pestilence. Hints that the author of the poem knew her
as a real woman and that by the time of the B-text she had died
and left Avarice a widower.

196. Risse, Robert G., Jr. "The Augustinian Paraphrase of Isaiah
14: 13-14 in Piers Plowman and the Commentary on the 'Fa-

The paraphrase of this text (Ponam sedem meam in aquilone, et ero
simile allissimo (Satan's boast)) in B.I.116 and C.II.117 substitutes
pedem for sedem. Kellogg (Speculum XXIV.413) identified the source
as Augustine's Ennarationes in Psalmos and noted that the para-
phrase was associated with the tradition which associates Satan
with the North.

Risse has found the paraphrase also in commentaries on the Fa-
bles of Avianus (De Testidudo et Aquila and De Vento et Sole).
These fables identify the tortoise and Boreas as Satan. Avianus
was read in schools as a curriculum author and this may be a partial
answer to the cultural channels making patristic exegesis available
to medieval writers and their audiences.

197. Robertson, D. W., Jr. and Bernard F. Huppé. Piers Plow-
man and Scriptural Tradition. (Princeton Univ. Studies in
English, no. 31, 1951).

The thesis of this book is that the scriptural quotations in Piers
Plowman are not decorative or macaronic, but are connected in-
timately with the sentence of the poem. Tropological, allegorical,
anagogical and literal interpretations are offered for the poem.

The development by symbolic repetition, Robertson and Huppé
claim, may sometimes be obscured by the fact that the connection
between symbols is often made through an understood scriptural
nexus.

Reviews: Personalist XXXIII.433-4; Speculum XXVII.245-9;
TLS July 25, 1952, pp. 477-8; MLN LXVIII.194-6; English
Studies XXIV. 79-82; RES IV.150-1; EA VI.57-8; JEGP LII.253-
5; Medium AEvum XXIV.23-9.

198. Russell, G. H. "The Salvation of the Heathen: The Explora-
tion of a Theme in Piers Plowman" Journal of the Warburg
The poet's central concern is with the search for salvation of the individual soul of the fictional dreamer, with the regeneration of society and, through this, the establishment of an order of justice and charity. The poem seeks to place this experience in a theological frame that is essentially and centrally apocalyptic.

Russell thinks Langland was aware of Uthred de Boldon's view on baptism (the soul could have a vision at the moment of death and choose or reject God. His life's moral calibre could then be ignored.) Langland was obviously not "semi-literate". His views bear a marked resemblance to Uthred's.


There are five modern idioms to be found in the poem: over do it; the why's the wherefore; plenty and peace; life and limb; first and foremost. Citations from Piers Plowman for the last two antedate the earliest citations for these expressions in the N.E.D.


Salter is concerned with the genre and artistic merits of the poem. Piers Plowman reinterprets the common stock of doctrines and images in a highly personal vision using homiletic material and form, but working through sermons to conclusions outside and beyond sermons. Langland presupposes the inseparability of religious and artistic forces.

The poem also partakes of (1) the alliterative tradition, (2) miracle play cycles, (3) universal biblical histories like the Cursor Mundi, and (4) dream-vision poems.

Piers Plowman himself is the main unifying link between the sections, and symbolizes medieval institutions and ideas in his changing forms. The transformation of Piers from plowman to Christ—Petrus id est Christus—is a mystical conception of the growth of the divine in ordinary man brought about by grace. The struggle to comprehend God by love is a major activity of the poem. Langland is concerned with the illuminative as well as moral and satirical processes.

Reviews: Listener LXVII.567-8; JEGP LXII.213-14; RES XIV. 279-80; Philological Pragensia V1.316-17: MLR LVIII.458; MP LXII.62-4; Medium AEvum XXXIII.147-9; Speculum XL.751-3.
201. **Sanderlin, Geoge.** "The Character ‘Liberium Arbitrium’ in the C-text of *Piers Plowman,*" *MLN* LVI (1941) 449-53. The role of *Liberium Arbitrium* in the C-text is greatly enlarged over its treatment in the A- and B-texts. In C, he instructs the dreamer about charity. John Damascene and Hugh of St. Cher considered this character a universal power of the soul. In C.XVII, 173-7 he seems to be the power to choose the good in preference to the evil. "The passage is an allegory of the cooperation of grace and free choice in defence of the righteous soul against evil" p. 453). All of this bears witness to the learning and theological training of the C- "reviser". The C-text conception of the faculty of free choice is orthodox catholic and far removed from the determinism of Bradwardine.

202. **Schmidt, A. V. C.** "Note on Langland’s Conception of ‘Anima’ and ‘Inwit’" *N&Q* n.s. XV (1968) 363-4. Schmidt suggests that the probable sources of two passages in the A-text (X.43-5 and 49-54) are the *De Anima* of Cassiodorus and the *De Spiritu et Anima* attributed to Alcher of Clairvaux.

203. ---. "A Note on the A Text of *Piers Plowman,* Passus X. 91-94," *N&Q* n.s. XIV (1967) 365-66. Schmidt thinks that Langland doesn’t see Conscience here as an infallible guide. The exact form of the source that Langland used for these lines is found in the 13th c. MS. of the *Summa de Vitiis* of Jean de la Rochelle.


The theme of *Piers Plowman* is the search for truth and salvation in the form of a pilgrimage. In the *Visio*, the material treasure is the source of worldly evil. The remedy is repentance and obedience, then a life of toil and simple virtue in the form of the three lives (the *Vitae*).


Smith gives four possible interpretations of ll. 150-5. In ll. 153-4, 'Saturday that first set the calendar' is translated into the seventh day of creation and Wednesday becomes the fourth, which, in medieval *Hexamera* were correlated respectively with charity and wis-
dom. But the solution to the fourth day of the next week lies in
the transitive gloss to Psa. iv.7.

206. — —. Traditional Imagery of Charity in Piers Plowman. (The
Hague, 1966). (Studies in English Literature, no. 21).

"Piers Plowman is an explicitly Christian poem composed by a
cleric, and couched in language heavily indebted to Scripture both
in allusion and in verbal parallel...." (p. 13).

Chapter I deals with Lady Holy Church's characterizations of
charity and the sources for Love as the triacle of heaven, the "plante
of pees" which falls to earth and eats of the earth to become fully
incarnate. The figure is inevitably associated with the traditional
prefiguration of the Incarnation of Christ.

Chapter II is an extended treatment of Patience's riddle in XIII.
135-56. The progression of disce, doce, dilige not only asserts the
scholastic concept of the interdependence of wisdom and love, but
it also suggests a gradual distentio charitatis. The use of the image
of the burning coals is seen to accord with standard commentary
on Proverbs xxv.21-22 qnd Romans xii.20.

Chapter III deals with the tree of charity as derived from the
Tree of Jesse, the Tree of Virtues, and the Tree of Adam's Progeny.

Smith suggests that the search for charity is the primary aspect
of Will's quest and the motif of the quest governs Langland's use
of the imagery of charity.

207. SPEARING, A. C. "The Art of Preaching and Piers Plowman,"
in Criticism and Medieval Poetry (London, 1964) (Chapter IV,
pp. 68-95.)

The difficulty with Piers Plowman lies in the problem of organi-
zation and not in the individual passages. The poem is presented
as the experience of an 'I' who is never fully in control of what
happens to him. The poem is made up of expository, sermon-like
speeches — even in narrating a vision, he turns aside to homiletic
discourse.

The poem is fiercely concerned with action rather than doctrine
and therefore, the theme cannot be precisely formulated — it is,
however, embodied in an acting person. The division of Dowel,
Dobet and Dobest is simply a part of the technique of preaching.

The Ars praedicandi can explain local development as well as
overall structure. Reason's sermon has a spiralling motion return-
ing to the theme of punishment or penance. No interpretation of
the poem is offered, but Spearing, like Owst, establishes the re-
lationship between the poem and the art of preaching. Langland’s
purposes are achieved by the fusing and interweaving of themes
from the Ars praedicandi.
208. — —. “The Development of a Theme in Piers Plowman.”
RES XI (1960), 241-53.
Spearing discusses the ideas of hunger, bread and ‘lyflode’ as ex-
amples of thematic recurrence. The root of the half-acre problem
is the lack of love. The people must be lead to love as well as to
labor. Bread is a symbol for Hunger’s solution to the problem — a
materialist solution to economic problems. But man doesn’t live
by bread alone. The materialist ‘lyflode’ is only a temporary
satisfaction even for an agricultural community because society
is not reformed on a corporate basis. Each individual must reform
himself. On the other hand, the Christian sacraments and the Church
Hierarchy are dependent on material products of the active life.
209. — —. “Verbal Repetition in Piers Plowman B and C,” JEGP
LXII (1963), 722-37.
Verbal repetition is consistently intensified in the C-text. Spear-
ing gives three examples: B.I.128-35; C.III.120-30 and C.XXI.
164-66. “Langland seems to see himself as writing in an age of
decaying scholasticism.” The dreamer, therefore is presented as
an amateur scholastic whose great need is to unlearn curiosity and
learn patience.
The central effort of the poem is directed against the making
of intellectual distinctions and towards the building up of large,
theologically undefined ideas which will have the power to stir
men’s emotions and move them to action. One means to this end
is the use of verbal repetition that fuses intellectual concepts into
significant vagueness.
210. Spencer, Hazelton. “Worth Both His Ears” MLN LVIII
(1943), 48-49.
B. Prol. 78 means that the bishop should be “fit to keep both his
ears.” The implication is that this particular bishop deserves to
have his cropped.
211. Stewart, George R., Jr. “The Meter of Piers Plowman,”
PMLA XLII (1927), 113-28.
Reconciles the four-stress and the seven-stress views by his theory of dipodic verse, which allows the poem to be read more rhythmically.


Discusses three problems of philosophers and churchmen of the poet's time: (1) the value of faith vs. works, (2) predestination and free will, and (3) questions as to what constituted authority (Church, Scripture, or man's Reason). The poet seems to think that works count and he wants to be orthodox, but teaches Truth as a higher ideal than the Church (though he desairs of finding it). He stops with omnium probate, quod bonum est tenete.


Shows that most texts of the poem in this passage read vestiri and not vestire. Another variant is nudum vis for nudum ius. Its origin is pushed earlier and further from Langland.


Langland's version of the line suggests familiarity with the existence of a lyric on the felix culpa theme different in context from the Missal version, but with similar structures involving motivated inversion. Strang thereby dates the B-text in the 1370's.


The metrical patterns of the half-lines reflect normal colloquial speech. However much the poem is concerned with spiritual things, there is always a firm root on earth (e.g., 'commune as a cartwey', etc.)


A mathematical formula is applied to linguistic aspects such as the position of subject and predicate, the relation of predicate to other elements in a clause, etc.
217. TRAVER, Hope. *The Four Daughters of God: A Study of Versions of this Allegory with Special Reference to those in Latin, French, and English.* (Bryn Mawr, Penn.: 1907) (Bryn Mawr College Monographs vol. VI), pp. 147-52. Traver cannot find a likeness to Langland’s treatment of this theme in any source except perhaps Bernard or Bonaventura; but she thinks the poem was influenced by the *Castell of Perseverance*, Lydgate’s *Prospect of Peace* and his *Life of Our Lady.*

218. TRAVERSÍ, D. A. “Revaluations X: The Vision of Piers Plowman,” *Scrutiny* V (1936), 276-91. Argues that the chief quality of all of Langland’s language is to be found in his immediacy, direct personal and emotional appeal without adornment, his tendency to abstraction and in his popular instinct for realistic description in allegory. Traversi tries to establish Langland’s greatness by comparing it with Spenser’s *Shepheardes Calendar.*

219. TRISTRAM, E. W. “Piers Plowman in Early English Wall Paintings,” *Burlington Magazine* XXXI (1917), 135-40. Shows that certain wall paintings derive their subject matter from *Piers Plowman*. The central figure in all of them is a nude figure standing upright with outspread hands displaying wounds. A cruciform nimbus around the head, surrounded by tools of labor, forms a halo. Obviously this is an attempt to convey the idea of the analogy of Christ’s suffering and crucifixion to the life of the laborer. This analogy, Tristram says, is the theme of *Piers Plowman*. All paintings are dated after 1372 and are located at Ampney, S. Mary’s Gloucester, West Chiltington, Sussex, and Hessett, Suffolk, Inkpen, Berkshire. (Five illustrations and two photographs.)

220. TROYER, Howard W. “Who is Piers Plowman?” *PMLA* XLVII (1932), 368-84. Argues that Piers is a plowman, a king, an overlord, a pope, St. Peter and Adam. His role as Christ adds the divine element, but Christ was also a man. The poem is, therefore, “a vision concerning man in this life, in his attainment of economic and political well-being, and in his attainment of salvation and a free access to heaven, through the medium of the son of God who became man to save men” (p. 384).

This is an anthology of earlier articles. See entries in this bibliography under each author's last name. Valuable introduction.

3. N. Coghill: "The Character of Piers Plowman Considered from the B-text."
7. R. W. Frank: "The Art of Reading Medieval Personification Allegory"
11. R. W. Frank: "Visio and the Pardon Scene" from Piers Plowman and the Scheme of Salvation.
12. R. E. Kaske: "Patristic Exegesis in the Criticism of Medieval Literature."

Defines the nature of salvation in Langland as that of the mystic. The quest in this life is for the real, but supernatural, union between the soul (with its powers of knowledge and love) and God. The quest for personal salvation holds the poem together.

Contends that "truth" refers to a spiritual condition achieved this side of beatitude. Truth in the tower (B.I.) has an ethical meaning referring to God's will as man's absolute rule of action and the end man ought to desire. Earthly truth is the kind man (e.g., the dreamer) ought to seek: true in thought, word and deed and not just in his intellectual qualities.

The pardon scene is the "supremely logical climax to the Visio and is the *sine qua non* of the Vita" (p. 64). Activity is at the heart of Langland's view of Christianity. Piers realizes that honest communal plowing is the beginning of spiritual perfection — but only a beginning.

225. Wells, Henry W. "The Construction of *Piers Plowman,"

*PMLA* XLIV (1929) 123-40.

Finds symmetry and artistic consciousness in the poem to a degree not generally appreciated. In particular, he points out the structural parallelism between the Visio and the Vita.

226. ——. "The Philosophy of *Piers Plowman,"

*PMLA* LIII (1938), 339-49.

Langland's sources for the Vita, according to Wells, are the *Meditationes Vitae Christi* and St. Thomas Aquinas. Dowel is the active life; Dobet is the contemplative life; and Dobest is both plus episcopal authority. Langland's three lives, however, are not vocational callings, but mental states of mind.

227. Woolf, Rosemary, "Some Non-Medieval Qualities of *Piers Plowman*,


*Piers Plowman* is a well-organized poem once it is understood, medieval conceptions of allegory underlie its four levels of meaning. Piers as a character lacks visual characteristics and it is irrelevant to visualize him as a plowman. All that remains on the literal level is the name and the emotional force of the poem concentrated in Piers by "a skillful accumulation of reference to him." The dreams in the poem also show the absence of visualization and the abrupt shifting of time and place.


The Meed episode shows the problems of the relationship of the City of God to the City of Man. It is conventional venality satire. Langland was particularly concerned with official venality as opposed to the loyalty of the commons. He secularized an originally clerical theme.

Langland was not circumscribed by any particular doctrine (e.g., as was Hilton). The need to seek truth is the first clear theme of the poem. It is achieved only through love (B.1.202-3). The search for the three lives is a subdivision of the pilgrimage for truth.

SECTION III
(DISSERTATIONS)


240. Döring, G. Die Personennamen in Langlands Piers the Ploughman University of Leipzig, 1922.


251. McGinnis, Ethel. Piers Plowman in English Literature to 1625. Yale University, 1932.


255. Palmer, William Packard. The Intellectual Background of ‘The Vision of Piers Plowman’ with Particular Reference to
259. Sellert, Friedrich. Das Bild in Piers the Plowman University of Rostock, 1904.

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