

The Manuscript Context of English Courtly

Love Lyrics, c.1450-1530.

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Declaration

Some of the material contained in this thesis has been used (in much abbreviated form) for a paper on 'The Manuscripts of Fifteenth-Century Courtly Lyrics', given at the York Manuscripts Conference in July 1981, and due to be published by Boydell and Brewer in Autumn 1983.

Abstract.

The original manuscript context of medieval writings can offer unique information on contemporary attitudes towards them, suggesting both why and how they were read, and permitting a wider perspective than that normally available in modern critical editions, which impose classification by genre, and which isolate texts from their sometimes very pertinent manuscript surroundings. This study investigates the original contexts of some lyrics which are today normally encountered as a group, tidily anthologized, to see if the manuscript situation in any way alters our reading of them.

The lyrics included (about 400) are listed in an index, and all the manuscripts into which they were copied during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries (about 100) are fully described in an accompanying catalogue, which concentrates particularly on the make-up of the volumes, the choice and arrangement of their contents, and their provenance. Texts of unpublished lyrics are also supplied. Five introductory chapters consider the general nature of the manuscripts; the layout and presentation of the lyrics; evidence for their authorship; the transmission of the poems, and the importance of music to their circulation; readers and owners of lyric manuscripts during the period.

From the survey, it appears that reading copies of collected English courtly love lyrics were neither generally available nor generally desired, even though English readers acquired impressive collections of short French courtly poems. The English variety seem to have been valued for reasons outside themselves: connections with authors famous for other works; suitability as short 'autograph' items; currency as songs, for private or convivial entertainment (although music seems always to have been something of an optional extra), or potential as exercises in 'fashionable' writing. The homogeneity often assumed for the poems is almost entirely belied by these varying roles apparent in the manuscripts.

Abbreviations

In Chapters 1-5 references are cited in full the first time they occur, and in abbreviated form thereafter; in the Catalogue of Manuscripts abbreviated forms are used throughout. All these abbreviated references are listed alphabetically in the Bibliography, where fuller details are given. The following standard abbreviations for journals and libraries have been employed throughout:

<u>Ann.Med.</u>	<u>Annuale Mediaevale</u> (Duquesne)
<u>Archiv</u>	<u>Archiv fur das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen</u>
<u>Archiv.Ling.</u>	<u>Archivum Linguisticum</u>
<u>Bibl.Soc.</u>	<u>Bibliographical Society</u>
<u>BIHR</u>	<u>Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research</u>
<u>BJRL</u>	<u>Bulletin of the John Rylands Library</u>
<u>BL</u>	British Library
<u>BLJ</u>	<u>British Library Journal</u>
<u>BLR</u>	<u>Bodleian Library Record</u>
<u>BMQ</u>	<u>British Museum Quarterly</u>
<u>Bodl.</u>	Bodleian Library
<u>Camb.Antiq.Soc.</u>	<u>Cambridge Antiquarian Society</u>
<u>Chaucer Rev.</u>	<u>Chaucer Review</u>
<u>Comp.Lit.</u>	<u>Comparative Literature</u>
<u>CUL</u>	Cambridge University Library
<u>EC</u>	<u>Essays in Criticism</u>
<u>EETS</u> e.s.	<u>Early English Text Society</u> , extra series
" o.s.	" " " " ordinary series
<u>Eng.Studien</u>	<u>Englische Studien</u>
<u>Eng.Studies</u>	<u>English Studies</u>
<u>Harl.Soc.</u>	<u>Harleian Society</u>
<u>Hist.Ling.</u>	<u>Historiographia Linguistica</u>
<u>JAMS</u>	<u>Journal of the American Musicological Society</u>
<u>JEGP</u>	<u>Journal of English and Germanic Philology</u>
<u>JWCI</u>	<u>Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes</u>
<u>MAe</u>	<u>Medium Aevum</u>
<u>ML</u>	<u>Music and Letters</u>
<u>MLN</u>	<u>Modern Language Notes</u>
<u>MLQ</u>	<u>Modern Language Quarterly</u>
<u>MLR</u>	<u>Modern Language Review</u>
<u>MP</u>	<u>Modern Philology</u>

MQ Musical Quarterly
Mus.Brit. Musica Britannica
Mus.Disc. Musica Disciplina
NLS National Library of Scotland
NLW National Library of Wales
NM Neuphilologische Mitteilungen
NQ Notes and Queries
OHS Oxford Historical Society
PBSA Proceedings of the Bibliographical Society of America
PLPLS Proceedings of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary
Society
PMLA Proceedings of the Modern Language Association
PRMA Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association
PRO Public Record Office
RES Review of English Studies
Rom.Phil. Romance Philology
SATF Société d'Anciens Textes Français
SB Studies in Bibliography
Surrey Arch.Coll. Surrey Archaeological Collections
TCBS Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society
TCC Trinity College Cambridge
TCD Trinity College Dublin
TEBS Transactions of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society

Introduction.

The recent growth of interest in codicology has revealed it as something which can tell us as much about the reception of texts during the age in which they were copied into manuscripts as it can about the physical processes involved in the production of a hand-made book. Adequate study of the sources in which any individual text survives is coming to seem as vital to our full, objective understanding of it as are the linguistic and stylistic analyses which are already an expected part of the apparatus designed to assist the reader in his search to establish some kind of valid interpretation. It is surely only just that the evidence supplied in written copies should be allowed some weight in our assessment of any text which circulated in a manuscript culture; the texts are, after all (rather obviously), accessible only through the medium of the manuscripts. Most importantly, perhaps, the manuscripts can provide a contemporary critical perspective of a unique kind, information on what the copyists and the first readers thought about the texts in front of them. This may appear as explicit comment - perhaps in the form of notes appended to a work which offer some opinion on its merits or deficiencies, like John of Angoulême's running commentary on The Canterbury Tales, in which The Knight's Tale is commended as 'valde bona', The Monk's Tale thankfully left behind as 'valde dolorosa', and The Squire's Tale abandoned altogether as 'valde absurda'¹. Alternatively, the comment may be implicit in factors such as the choice and juxtaposition of different works, or the arrangement and layout of single ones²; the contents with which the Harley lyrics are included in their manuscript, for example, offer a valuable clue to

1. Paris BN MS anglais 39, described by J.M. Manly & E. Rickert, The Text of 'The Canterbury Tales', 8 vols. (London & Chicago 1940) i p.403.
2. M.B. Parkes, 'The Influence of the Concepts of Ordinatio and Compilatio on the Development of the Book', Medieval Learning and Literature: Essays Presented to R.W. Hunt ed. J.J.G. Alexander & M.T. Gibson (Oxford 1976) pp.115-41.

the provenance of these poems, and permit some assessment of the nature of their original audience¹. In helping to reveal both how and why works were copied and read, 'manuscript context' provides a vital and sometimes exciting perspective on them.

The proliferation of facsimile editions and descriptive catalogues is no doubt closely related to the developing interest in this manuscript perspective, partly a cause, and partly a result of it². Enterprises like the Variorum Chaucer, the facsimiles of Middle English verse manuscripts and anthologies, and the catalogues of romance manuscripts and grammatical writings which have recently appeared all represent the same impulse towards investigating the original contexts of different single works or genres³. This is only a start, however, and much more remains to be done; writers on religious lyrics and on Middle English prose works have signalled the need for further research⁴. Lyrics particularly have much to gain from this approach, for their status in manuscripts - often as short, insignificant fillers, sandwiched between more substantial items - has been somewhat overlooked. Studies of lyrics too have tended to adopt a thematic or a literary-critical approach which of necessity concentrates on the poems in isolation, uprooted from their original beds⁵.

1. N.R. Ker (intro.) Facsimile of BM MS Harley 2253, EETS o.s.255 (1965).
2. Some of the developments are discussed in A.G. Rigg (ed.) Editing Medieval Texts (Toronto 1977).
3. See the facsimiles produced by Scholar Press and by Brewer and Boydell; G. Guddat-Figge, Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Middle English Romances (Munich 1976); D. Thomson, A Descriptive Catalogue of Middle English Grammatical Texts (New York & London 1979).
4. R. Woolf, English Religious Lyric in the Middle Ages (Oxford 1968) p.376, and N.F. Blake, 'Middle English Prose and Its Audience', Anglia 90 (1972) pp.437-55. The need for more investigation of the different contexts in which Chaucer may be read is discussed by D.A. Pearsall, 'Chaucer and the Modern Reader: a Question of Approach', Dutch Quarterly Review of Anglo-American Letters 11 (1981) pp.258-66.
5. For example, D. Gray, Themes and Images in the Medieval Religious Lyric (London 1972), and L. Spitzer, 'Explication du Texte Applied to Three Great Middle English Poems', Archiv.Ling. 3 (1951) pp.1-22, 137-65.

Accessible as they generally are only in selections and anthologies, they have invariably been tidied and polished for a peculiarly 'literary' kind of presentation which may well be totally unrepresentative of their original appearance, and damagingly inappropriate to the meaning they convey. The mere process of anthologizing may well suggest more homogeneity - of form, of function - than is justified by the original manuscript appearances of the poems. Perhaps more dangerously, in these new settings (and with the anachronistic yet inevitably suggestive title of 'lyrics') the poems invite comparison with works of an essentially very different nature - spontaneous, powerful, and overflowing expressions of lyrical 'feeling' which in fact have no connection at all with these pieces, whose single distinguishably common characteristic is their brevity.

Preliminary investigations into the manuscript contexts of carols and of some fifteenth- and sixteenth-century songs have been made in the work of R.L. Greene and J.E. Stevens¹. The editions of secular and historical poems by R.H. Robbins (and his numerous associated short articles) also provide incidental illuminating details of the manuscript sources, but once again, there is scope for far more work; Robbins himself, in a recent consideration of the various possible interpretations of Earl Rivers' Virelai, has demonstrated the pitfalls which await the innocently contextless reader². This study makes a start on the context of secular lyrics by taking what has become familiar from anthologies as a sub-group of the larger category-courtly love lyrics, specifically - and subjecting them to scrutiny in their original settings. Here it may be possible to see if the homogeneity which is remarked in the poems (and which permits tidy distribution of them in compartments of one sort or another) is in fact matched by a homogeneity of purpose among their earliest scribes and readers.

1. R.L. Greene, The Early English Carols (2nd ed. Oxford 1977), especially the 'Bibliography of Original Sources', and J.E. Stevens, Music and Poetry in the Early Tudor Court (London 1961, repr. Cambridge 1979), intro.
2. R.H. Robbins, 'The Middle English Court Love Lyric', The Interpretation of Medieval Lyric Poetry ed. W.H. T. Jackson (Columbia 1980) pp.205-232; cf. also J.A. Burrow, 'Poems without Contexts', EC 29 (1979) pp.6-32.

The process of selecting poems for inclusion has inevitably involved the formulation of some kind of working definition of a courtly love lyric, and here I have relied heavily on the unstated but clearly distinguishable guidelines which are offered by anthologists who have offered selections of them¹. Beginning with the most notoriously indefinable part of the collocation, I have taken 'lyric' (in terms of late Middle English poetry) to mean, broadly, a 'short poem', and, more specifically, an 'essentially non-narrative' one. This excludes most of the so-called 'courtly love aunters'², like Lydgate's Complaint of the Black Knight, in which action of some sort - even the most limited kind - is described; although a grey area remains, with hybrids such as How a Lover Praises his Lady standing uneasily somewhere between lyric and narrative, the definition seems generally workable enough. The 'courtliness' of the poems is more a matter of their implicit values than of any connection with real, historical courts, although of course these may sometimes incidentally be present. The values assumed in the poems (whether strongly and sincerely felt, or merely temporarily adopted for particular purposes) might be best described as those of a leisured, cultivated society, with time on its hands for the expression and elaboration of exquisite and refined sentiments. The 'love' element in the poems is in many ways merely a function of their 'courtly' qualities; any study of courtly poetry is almost bound to find itself concentrating on love poetry, quite simply because courtly values can be as it were epitomized in this most exalted of earthly relationships. As Puttenham noted, the experience of love is a universally comprehensible one, 'of all other humane affections the most puissant and passionate, and most generall to all sortes and ages of men and women'³; but at the same time

1. Notably the 'Courtly' section in R.H. Robbins (ed.) Secular Lyrics of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries (2nd ed. Oxford 1955).
2. The term used of these poems by Robbins in his discussion of 'The Chaucerian Apocrypha' in A Manual of the Writings in Middle English ed. J.B. Severs (in progress; New Haven 1967-) iv.
3. G.D. Willcock & A. Walker (eds.), Puttenham: The Arte of English Poesie (Cambridge 1936, repr. 1970), Bk.I, ch.xxii.

its cultivation as an art was peculiarly the province of the leisured élite, whose 'worshyp' was so much enhanced by it¹. Considerations of what must have been the realities of court life - the difficulties of finding preferment, the precariousness of 'life at the top' - rarely enter into these poems (some of the lyrics in the Blage manuscript which have been connected with Wyatt are amongst the few examples which could be cited), and it has seemed reasonable enough to confine this study uniquely to love lyrics - 'courtly game', perhaps, as opposed to the rather more sombre 'courtiers' reflections'.

Date limits of some kind, although undesirable on many counts, have proved a practical necessity, and I have chosen to limit the lyrics studied to those which seem to have been written down between c.1450 and c.1530. In view of the impossibility of dating most scribal copies with any exactitude (especially in connection with lyrics, which tend not to be awarded the distinction of informative introductions or colophons), the limits can only be approximate ones, and I have also had to be particularly careful to refer to the lyrics as 'copied' rather than 'composed' within the chosen dates, as dates of composition are even harder to localise than handwriting. The cut-off point of c.1530 has been in some ways imposed rather than selected, as the Index of Middle English Verse and its Supplement - invaluable tools for the choice of lyrics - in general omit poems copied later than this². The middle years of the fifteenth century seemed a suitable starting point as the beginning of a relatively anonymous literary period, dominated by no single living figure (even though the shade of Chaucer loomed grandly over it), and comparatively untrodden ground in terms of literary histories and literary scholarship; the period also witnessed

1. cf. Malory's comment that 'there was never worshypful man nor worshypfull woman but they love one bettir than another'; E. Vinaver (ed.) Malory: Works (2nd ed. London 1971) p.649.
2. C. Brown & R.H. Robbins, The Index of Middle English Verse (New York 1943); R.H. Robbins & J.L. Cutler, Supplement to the Index of Middle English Verse (Lexington, Kentucky, 1965).

a general increase in the number of vernacular manuscripts owned and copied, and is consequently rich in source material¹.

The lyrics included in the study, then, represent all those poems copied between the chosen dates, and fitting the definition set out above, which are included in the Index and the Supplement. Other relevant ones, which have come to light since the publication of the Supplement in 1965, have been included as they came to my notice; the selection process can hardly claim to be exhaustive, since so many sources remain poorly catalogued (even undiscovered), but it has been as comprehensive as circumstances allowed. The lyrics included are indexed by alphabetical order of title in a handlist which refers to all the manuscripts in which each poem appears. A catalogue of detailed descriptions of all of these is then supplied, giving information on physical composition, on the contents which accompany or surround the individual lyrics, and on the provenances of the volumes (where they are known). For practical reasons, the detailed manuscript descriptions have had to be limited to those concerning volumes in collections within the United Kingdom. I have inspected as many of these as possible (omitting only those which are readily available in facsimile, which are comprehensively described in modern printed sources, or which for some reason proved physically inaccessible or impossible to locate²), and have sometimes been able to provide new bibliographical and descriptive details where none existed before. Important collections now in foreign libraries have been considered as fully as possible by means of photographic reproductions and printed sources, and the resulting descriptions are placed at the end of the main manuscript catalogue. A full study of the English lyrics to be found in manuscripts abroad would be an enormous undertaking, but one which would no doubt significantly swell the size and interest of this thesis. General discussion of the facts and trends which emerge from the evidence supplied in the manuscript catalogue, and an overall assessment of what the manuscript context can tell us about these poems, is presented in five introductory chapters. Finally, two appendices contain lyrics - courtly ones and other varieties - which have not yet been published.

1. See below pp.127-28.

2. An asterisk next to the title of a manuscript in the catalogue signals one which I have not personally seen.

Part I

CHAPTER 1: A SURVEY OF THE MANUSCRIPTS

I. Introduction

The most outstanding feature of the late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century manuscripts which contain courtly love lyrics is, perhaps, their diversity: the poems appear with surprising and sometimes delightful arbitrariness in Books of Hours, collections of medical recipes, sermon-books, and chronicles, as well as more predictably in anthologies of verse¹. This same diversity, a feature of the manuscripts of all Middle English lyrics, both secular and religious, indeed a feature common to the written copies of all texts making their first appearance within a manuscript culture, leads to difficulties in formulating generalizations about manuscript context. Another spectre looming over any attempt to categorize the evidence is what N.R. Ker described as 'the fallacious test' of surviving manuscripts²: how can we be sure that the range and nature of the manuscripts we are left with is an accurate reflection of their original distribution? The most one can hope to do is to offer some broad divisions, and an indication of the general scope of the manuscripts in which these lyrics are included, emphasizing that the structured format in which the information is presented is no more than a convenient device; the neat pattern which it suggests is hardly a characteristic of the bewildering assortment of manuscripts to be considered.

In one of the most useful of all discussions of Middle English lyrics³, R.H. Robbins provides a skeleton summary of the different kinds of manuscript in which they appear, distinguishing four major types of collection in which secular lyrics have been gathered

1. For examples of manuscripts in the first four of these categories, see San Marino, California, Huntington Library HM 28175; Lambeth Palace 306; Princeton University, Scheide Library 66; Glasgow University, Hunterian Library 230, all described below.
2. N.R. Ker, Medieval Libraries of Great Britain (2nd ed., London 1964) p.xi.
3. R.H. Robbins, Secular Lyrics of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries (second ed., Oxford 1955) pp.xvii-xxx.

together with an overall purpose: the 'aureate collection', a large, well-written, 'literary' volume, often specially commissioned and usually professionally executed; the 'minstrel song-book', a small-format record of the repertory of a professional entertainer; the 'songbook' proper, usually larger, and including musical notation; and the 'commonplace book', a collection of items of miscellaneous and often personal interest, copied down by an individual, or perhaps by the different members of a family or of a religious community. Outside these compilations, all governed by a unifying principle, Robbins sets firstly, the collections of lyrics made in religious institutions, and secondly the manuscripts in which lyrics have found their way onto blank leaves, or gaps in the main copy - casual jottings made by a reader of a manuscript, usually unrelated to any general theme which its contents may have. Robbins's categories are necessarily broad, as befits his introductory purposes, but they point out clearly the important distinction between the planned and chance copying of lyrics which governs any consideration of the manuscripts involved. Keeping this distinction prominent, and bearing in mind Robbins's general remarks on the manuscripts of all secular lyrics, I propose in this chapter a brief description of the different kinds of collection in which courtly love lyrics, specifically, appear. The questions I shall be considering are, broadly, these: whereabouts are the poems copied - on their own, or together with other material? Are there any indications that they were recognized as a particular genre? Are they given any special or unique function? The discussion will be divided into three main sections, dealing with the poems firstly in homogeneous collections, secondly as components of wider-ranging anthologies, and thirdly as additions to already-existing manuscripts; a concluding section will compare the first courtly lyrics to appear in printed editions.

II. Collections of Courtly Love Lyrics.

One important point emerges very clearly from the enormous range of manuscripts included in this survey: very few collections made up solely of English courtly love lyrics seem to have been made. Among the hundred or so manuscripts which I have included in the

Catalogue, only one complete volume, BL MS Addit.17492, and one section of a quasi-fascicular manuscript, Bodl.^{MS}Fairfax 16, are made up entirely of such poems. This may seem odd, particularly to a modern reader who is acquainted with anthologies, and sections of anthologies, presenting him with nothing but courtly love lyrics¹; it seems even odder in the context of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries when the very few English courtly love lyric collections are compared with the relatively numerous manuscripts made up entirely of religious lyrics², or of courtly love lyrics in French³. The modern anthologist is faithful to his sources, as far as these last two categories are concerned, but in the case of the first one, may well be misrepresenting the original situation. It is perhaps worth examining BL MS Addit.17492, and the appropriate section of MS Fairfax 16, to see what information they can offer.

BL MS Addit.17492, the so-called 'Devonshire Manuscript', is one of the famous collections associated with the name of Wyatt, to whom many of its contents have been ascribed. Its one hundred and seventy lyrics, some of them dating from the fifteenth century and before, have been copied by at least twenty-three hands, probably during the 1530s. Some of the signatures in the manuscript ('Mary Shelton', 'Margaret Howard', 'Mary Fitzroy'), and the details of its later history, associate it clearly with the court of Henry VIII, and in particular with a group of friends who were at some time closely related in the service of Anne Boleyn⁴. The stints of copying, and the fact that the manuscript seems to have returned at intervals to Mary Shelton, who acted as a kind of overseer, suggest very forcibly that it circulated in the manner of an autograph

1. See, for example, T. Stemmler (ed.), Medieval English Love-Lyrics (Tübingen 1970), or J. MacQueen (ed.), Ballatis of Love (Edinburgh 1970).
2. For instance, BL MS Addit. 37049; Trinity College, Cambridge, MS R.3.21; Bodleian MS Douce 302 (John Audelay's poems); CUL MS Ee.1.6 (James Ryman's poems).
3. See below pp.153-54, for some examples.
4. Information on this is provided in the description of the MS in the Catalogue below. References to printed descriptions of MSS mentioned in these chapters are included here only if the MSS are not described below, in the Catalogue.

album, and that the items copied into it were designed to have some piquant personal relevance which would be appreciated by its closely-knit group of readers and compilers. Given that the manuscript circulated in this way among men and women whose 'real' love affairs are partially documented¹, it is hardly surprising that they chose for the most part to copy into it lyrics which dealt with the subject of love - love, even more significantly, among courtiers. Once such a tone had been established in this kind of collective compilation, too, it was likely to be maintained, even by those who had no 'real' reason to send love epistles in these tantalizingly semi-secret circumstances; love lyrics like these have been a perennially popular means of leaving one's mark in an autograph album. So the Devonshire Manuscript comes to seem less like a collection of courtly love lyrics put together for the purpose of compiling a 'book', and more like a sequence of letters, with a particularly (although not exclusively) personal application. It certainly does not give the appearance of a collection carefully organized as a permanent record of lyrics seen to have a special literary worth: some of the poems are copied twice²; the hands are informal, even slipshod; gaps and blank pages crop up from time to time, in a random way. It is hardly an édition de luxe.

The individual section of MS Fairfax 16 which fits the bill of 'collection of lyrics' is, however, rather different. This, in contrast, gives every impression of a carefully designed and professionally executed piece of work. I include it as a separate collection of lyrics because of its claim to independent existence as a 'booklet' within the larger scope of the whole manuscript, whose different sections, although copied by the same hand, are separated by blank leaves, foliated by different scribes, and appear to reflect a series of booklet exemplars, as if selected by a purchaser from a choice of material³. The lyric section (ff.314-340), the fifth booklet in the manuscript, consists of two series of poems: one group

1. R. Southall, The Courtly Maker (Oxford 1964) pp.18-21, and J. Stevens, Music and Poetry in the Early Tudor Court (London 1961, repr. Cambridge 1979) pp. 118-19.

2. Nos. 35 and 59 in my description, for example.

3. J. Norton-Smith, Bodleian MS Fairfax 16 (London 1979) pp.vii-viii.

organized into the Venus Mass¹, and the other formed from a string of 'ballads', 'complaints', and 'letters' (so termed in the contemporary table of contents), supposedly directed from a lover to his mistress. Most of the lyrics are unique copies (evidence of the surprising dearth of duplicate copies of courtly lyrics in general), but one of them, a complaint, O thou fortune which has the governaunce, is also found in the so-called 'autograph manuscript' of Charles d'Orléans, BN MS fr.25458. On this evidence, MacCracken attributed all the lyrics in MS Fairfax 16 to the Duke of Suffolk, in line with his theory that Suffolk, as the 'English translator' of Charles d'Orléans' French poems, acquired his own resulting characteristically French style which can be discerned in the Fairfax 16 poems.² While the conclusions of his argument seem unnecessarily overstated, it does seem probable that the Fairfax 16 love-lyrics at least have a French connection of some unidentifiable kind. The purchaser of the manuscript (on the latest evidence, probably John Stanley, Usher of the Chamber for a time under Henry VI, and guardian of the imprisoned Duke of Suffolk in 1440³) may well have specified that he wanted a fashionably French-influenced series of poems, in his impressive and unusually 'courtly' manuscript.

This emphasis on 'frenkysch fare' in Fairfax 16 is particularly instructive, for it highlights one of the few general points to emerge from this survey of manuscripts: English readers who wanted to own collections of courtly lyrics (a different category from the group of friends who compiled the Devonshire Manuscript) went for poems either in French, or obviously French-influenced. The evidence for this connected with the provenance of manuscripts, and book ownership in general, will be discussed in Chapter 5, but useful comparative material for the present purposes comes from the manuscript situation earlier in the century, from the period between 1400 and 1450. Despite the fact that courtly love lyrics in English

1. E.P. Hammond, 'The Lover's Mass, JEGP 7 (1908) pp. 95-104, and English verse between Chaucer and Surrey (Durham N.C. 1927, repr. New York 1965) pp.207-213.
2. H.N. MacCracken, 'An English Friend of Charles d'Orléans', PMLA 26 (1911) pp.142-180.
3. Norton-Smith, Fairfax 16 pp.xiii-xiv. For other suggestions, see below, pp.131-32.

were undoubtedly in circulation at this time¹, it is again remarkable firstly that so few have been recorded in written form, and secondly how much French lyrics dominate the scene. The largest surviving collection, and the only one to concentrate on lyrics to the exclusion of everything else, is BL MS Harley 682, the series of English poems associated with Charles d'Orléans. This contains translations, or parallel versions, of a large number of the French ballades and chansons grouped together in the manuscript owned and partly copied by Charles himself, BN MS fr. 25458, together with a selection of English poems (on similar themes) which have no surviving French equivalents². The lyrics in the English collection are organized into a pseudo-narrative sequence, linked by longer explanatory passages, and they form a cycle of the kind which was particularly favoured by French poets of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries³; they are something of a freak occurrence, though, - the only lyric 'chain' to survive in English, unless the definition is stretched to include works like Troilus and Criseyde and The Temple of Glass⁴. The 'Englishness' of MS Harley 682 is questionable on other grounds, too, for it seems quite likely that the collection was compiled for Charles himself,

1. cf. Chaucer's references to his 'balades, roundeles, vyrelayes' (LGW, F422, G410), and 'many a song and many a lecherous lay' renounced in the Retractions (CT X 1086) - although, as R.H. Robbins points out, we cannot be sure that these were not in French; see 'Geoffroi Chaucier, Poète Français, Father of English Poetry', Chaucer Rev. 13 (1978-79) pp.93-115. More evidence for the circulation of lyrics in English, though, is provided by John Quixley's translation into English of the 19 French ballades contained in Gower's Traitié pour Essampler les Amantz Marietz, see H.N. MacCracken, 'Quixley's Ballades Royales', Yorks.Arch.Jnl. 20 (1908), pp.33-50.
2. Correspondences between the French and English poems are pointed out in R. Steele and M. Day (eds.), The English Poems of Charles d'Orléans, EEFS o.s.215, 220 (1941 and 1946, repr. as one volume 1970).
3. See, for example, Froissart's Le Livre du Tresor Amoureux, ed. A. Scheler, Oeuvres de Froissart 3 vols. (Brussels 1870-72); Machaut, Le Remede de Fortune, ed. E. Hoepffner, Oeuvres, 2 vols. (Paris 1908), and Le Livre du Voir-Dit, ed. P. Paris (Paris 1875, repr. Geneva 1969); Christine de Pisan, Le Livre du Duc des Vrays Amans, ed. M. Roy, Oeuvres Poétiques, SATF 3 vols. (Paris 1886-96); René d'Anjou, Le Livre du Cœur d'Amours Espris, facsimile ed. F. Unterkircher, trans. S. Wilkins (London 1975).
4. See R.H. Robbins, 'The Lyrics', in B. Rowland (ed.), A Companion to Chaucer Studies (Toronto, New York, London 1968) pp.313-31.

during his imprisonment, like BN MS fr. 25458¹. In this case the 'English' poems need have been no more than exercises in translation and comprehension - proof of Charles's developing proficiency in the language of his captors (if the versions are his own), or graceful compliments executed by some acquaintance (if not). Whatever the exact nature of the background, it is clear that this manuscript is not a typical example of the copying and circulation of English courtly lyrics; interest in Charles's poetry in England, apart from the enigmatic but undoubtedly connected items in MS Fairfax 16, concentrated on the French versions, and the lavish anthology put together at the end of the century, BL MS Royal 16.F.ii, included only three English poems, these more by accident than design.

It emerges then, that courtly love lyrics in English tend not to survive in homogeneous collections, unlike their French counterparts, and unlike English lyrics of other sorts. The two examples of such collections to remain from the period c.1450-1530 are both unusual - one an extended autograph album, and the other a selection of poems with probable French parallel versions, perhaps the work of a French poet known personally to the purchaser. Evidence from the earlier fifteenth century merely reinforces the general impression, for the one surviving lyric collection here is a freak occurrence associated with the same French poet, and apparently not a great influence on later readers and manuscript owners.

III. Lyrics as Components of Anthologies

Much more information is available here, as many of the lyrics survive, singly or in groups, as component parts of larger collections of different material. The nature of these varies widely (they include examples from all four of Robbins's 'purposefully compiled' categories), but I have amalgamated them under the general title of 'anthologies' in order to differentiate them firstly from lyric collections, and secondly from manuscripts put together in a random

1. Steele and Day, English Poems, p.xxi, point out the close connections between the two manuscripts: they are 'of the same size, the arrangement of the verse on the page is the same, they are substantially identical in matter, and what is still more significant, in order - an order not found in any other manuscript'.

and unconnected way, which follow no particular sequence or plan of compilation beyond the arbitrary one dependent on the physical travels of the volume from owner to owner. Lyrics in these last manuscripts are copied in as afterthoughts, whereas in anthologies (as I am using the term) they play a particular and a considered role in the sequence of contents, according to the various schemes or guiding principles underlying the choice of material. In order to cope with these different schemes I have sub-divided the anthologies into several categories (not all of them mutually exclusive, of course); between them these account for around half the manuscripts in the accompanying catalogue.

(i) 'Collected Works' Manuscripts.

Most numerous, and most important, amongst these anthologies are the collections which gather together works associated with single authors. Inevitably, the most prominent of these are based on the works of Chaucer, or of poets acknowledged as Chaucerian 'disciples' - particularly Lydgate. Most of those which I consider here extend their central concern with Chaucer's poems to include works written by other authors in obvious homage - like Lydgate's Temple of Glass, or The Complaint of the Black Knight. Ironically, but indisputably, the later fifteenth century was the great age of the Chaucerian lyric: almost all the manuscripts which preserve 'genuine' Chaucerian lyrics were copied during this period¹, and also most of those which record 'apocryphal' material. The fifteenth century witnessed a surge of interest in individual authors and their oeuvres², and the interest was to reach fruition in the early printed editions of 'collected works', with Thynne's volume of Chaucer's poems (published in 1532) standing as a landmark.

In the manuscripts which are organized around Chaucer's works, the shorter poems play interesting and varied roles, although one point

1. Exceptions are CUL MS Gg.4.27 (s.xv¹), and the collections of John Shirley (copied before his death in 1456).
2. See R. Woolf, English Religious Lyric in the Middle Ages (Oxford 1968), p.375.

which emerges is that the love-lyrics¹ and the short poems on moral and philosophical subjects are not particularly differentiated in terms of function. Significantly enough, too, in Chaucer's case all the minor poems, regardless of subject, tend to be copied in groups or sequences: it is unusual to find a single, isolated one². The first section or booklet of MS Fairfax 16 contains an important group of them, some running indistinguishably into each other; there are thirteen of Chaucer's short poems included here in all, six of them love lyrics. Bodleian MSS Tanner 346 and Bodley 638, certainly related in terms of content to MS Fairfax 16 (although perhaps lacking the close textual affiliations which were for a long time supposed to exist) also include some lyrics (courtly and otherwise) with their longer poems: in MS Tanner 346 they are grouped together at the end of the first booklet; in Bodley 638 they are spread more generously throughout the volume, acting perhaps as 'programme fillers', allowing pause for reflection between the longer items. Magdalene College, Cambridge, MS Pepys 2006, however, follows the pattern of MS Fairfax 16 in preserving its Chaucerian lyrics as a group, concentrated in its third section, which contains no other items³. Interestingly enough, too, even in manuscripts in which Chaucer's lyrics are included more as respectable 'fillers' than as adjuncts to other examples of his work (or to the work of supposedly 'related' poets), the 'sequence' presentation is maintained; BL MS Cotton Cleopatra D.vii, mostly taken up with French chronicle material and a copy of The Three Kings of Cologne, concludes with three of

1. Those of Chaucer's shorter poems which I include as courtly love lyrics are The Complaint unto Pity, The Complaint of Venus, A Complaint to his Lady, To Rosemunde, Womanly Noblesse, together with the 'doubtful' Against Women Unconstant, Complaynt d'Amours, Merciles Beaute and A Balade of Complaint. The Complaint of Anelida is included only when it is isolated from its narrative frame (see entry in Index of Lyrics).
2. Norton-Smith, Fairfax 16 p.viii, lends some support to the theory suggested by Brusendorff that the minor poems were originally copied in a set of six booklets and that subsequent copies reflect, in various ways, these composite exemplars. See A. Brusendorff, The Chaucer Tradition (London and Copenhagen 1925), p.187.
3. The lyric section in MS Pepys 2006 follows an incomplete copy of The Canterbury Tales which has sometimes been described as part of the same section. The first section of the manuscript also includes copies of The Complaint of Mars, The Complaint of Venus and Fortune.

Chaucer's lyrics, copied as one continuous piece, despite obvious differences in subject matter¹; BL MS Harley 7578, consisting mainly of moral and hortatory material, groups together seven of Chaucer's lyrics in one section.

In the case of most of the 'collected works', then, it seems that the simple label of 'Chaucer' attached to a lyric was enough to guarantee its entry; little distinction seems to have been made between the different kinds of lyric, and perhaps the general tendency for the poems to circulate in groups or sequences reinforced this impression of indivisibility. Odd examples remain of peculiarly apposite choices - The Complaint unto Pity as the single lyric in the courtly Chaucerian-Lydgatian MS Longleat 258 was perhaps designed to complement such other contents as The Temple of Glass and Anelida and Arcite, and To Rosemunde to preserve the 'tregentil'² tone of Troilus and Criseyde in Bodl. MS Rawlinson poet. 163 - but in general it seems to have been the broadly 'Chaucerian' rather than the specifically 'courtly' or 'amorous' qualities of Chaucer's lyrics which determined their inclusion in collections. Fewer courtly lyrics connected with the name of Lydgate survive³, but mention might be made here of one lyric in Harley 2251, a 'collected Lydgate', and of another manuscript including fragmentary remains of what seems to have been another 'collected Lydgate' which made use of such poems. The main section of the manuscript, BL MS Sloane 1212, consists of a copy (on paper) of Hoccleve's Regiment of Princes, but enclosing this are six parchment leaves from what must have been once a Lydgate anthology. These contain fragments of The Temple of Glass, of The Defence of Holy Church and of the Ballade in Commendation of Our Lady, together with the tail-end of an unidentified verse epistle, and two love lyrics, one of which makes extensive use

1. The three are Lack of Steadfastness, Truth, and the spurious Against Women Unconstant.
2. Both Troilus and the lyric have the colophon 'tregentil Chaucer'.
3. Those which do survive mostly preserve rubrics explaining the circumstances of the composition and excusing Lydgate from the role of 'lover'; A Ballade of her that hath all the Virtues, for example, (Index 869, not included in this survey, on account of the date of the copy) is headed 'a balade whiche þat Lydegate wrote at þe request of a squyer þat serued in loves court'. See H.N. MacCracken, The Minor poems of John Lydgate II, EETS o.s. 192 (1934, repr. 1961), p. 379.

of quotations from The Temple of Glass. All of these last three items are sufficiently Lydgatian in style to qualify either as genuine additions to the canon, or as admiring and clever tributes; their inclusion with the other items has more to do with the Lydgatian tone of the whole than with anything else.

Connected with these generally recognized examples of 'collected works' are many manuscripts which hover between 'verse anthology' and 'collected works' status. In view of the fifteenth-century confusion of 'canonical' works with those which we now more scrupulously deem to be 'apocryphal', it seems somewhat superfluous to attempt to draw rigid dividing lines. In fifteenth-century terms, Bd.MS Arch.Selden B.24, with its enormous number of what now seems to be preposterous Chaucer attributions¹, is in some ways as much a 'collected works' as the earlier, and to us more acceptably Chaucerian, CUL MS Gg. 4.27². It is perhaps worth bearing in mind that certain significances which originally gave coherence to the selection of items in a manuscript (assumed connections with well-known authors, for example) may now be totally hidden from a modern reader. In view of this blurring of the edges, it is impossible to cite a fixed number of manuscripts which seem to have been arranged on a 'collected works' principle, but a conservative reckoning would include at least half a dozen from the catalogue supplied here.

(ii) Manuscripts Associated with John Shirley's Collections.

Rather different from collections which concentrate on the works of a single author are those which gather together large amounts of similar, but not 'officially' related material, anthologies which feature a particular milieu, perhaps, rather than a particular writer. The most important of these, from the point of view of love lyrics, are those which manifest a general concentration on material written in the courtly tradition - obviously to a certain extent 'Chaucerian', although not concentrating exclusively on Chaucer and his successors. Such collections include a wide variety

1. Works attributed to Chaucer here include Lydgate's Complaint of the Black Knight and Hoccleve's Mother of God.
2. Excluded from the manuscript catalogue here because of its early date - s.xv¹.

of contents: courtly poems on the subject of love; parodies of courtly material; devotional, moral, didactic, and informative works. Authors featured include Lydgate, Hoccleve, Burgh, Walton, other anonymous writers, and of course, Chaucer himself. These, like the 'collected works' in the previous section are no doubt included in Robbins's category of 'aureate collection', but as this is a term which seems to me rather too specific in its suggestion of uniform style¹, I avoid using it.

Volumes like these owe so much to the efforts of the scribe - compiler John Shirley that it is impossible to move on without pausing to discuss his influence, even though his own compilations, put together in the first half of the fifteenth century, fall outside the strict boundaries of this study. Born way back in the 1360s, Shirley spent many years in the service of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick (1382-1439), and was evidently at some time his secretary². References in London records reveal that he lived within the precincts of St. Bartholomew's Hospital for a number of years (at least ten, probably more) before his death, and that he was on familiar terms with a circle of London clerks and scribes. The scope and nature of his acquaintance is indicated in a lively fashion in the surviving manuscripts copied in his own hand³, which cultivate such a keen impression of personal friendship between Shirley and the authors whose works he includes that we can hardly doubt contact of some kind. Some of his rubrics admittedly smack of gossipy hearsay - in TCC MS R.3.20, Chaucer's Truth, for example, is headed 'Balade pat Chaucier made on his deeth bedde' (p.144), a note which is so dramatically suitable that it is attractively persuasive; others, however, taken with what we know of Shirley's own life, have

1. While many of the works of Lydgate etc. included in these volumes undoubtedly follow the example of the 'maister Chaucier', their tone and style (like Chaucer's own) can hardly be described as uniformly 'aureate'. MS Fairfax 16 seems to me the only collection which can be described as an 'aureate' one.
2. See A.I. Doyle, 'More light on John Shirley', MAe 30 (1961) pp.93-101.
3. BL MS Addit, 16165, Trinity College Cambridge R.3.20; Bodl. Ashmole 59; also parts of BL MS Harley 78 and Sion College MS Arc.L.40.2/E.44. This last may once have formed part of Trinity MS R.3.20; see N.R.Ker, Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries 2 vols. (Oxford 1969 and 1977) i pp.290-91. Two further lost volumes are suggested by the tables of contents attached to MS Ashmole 59 and MS R.3.20, both inappropriate to what they actually contain.

a stronger claim to be fact: the information on a virelai in BL MS ^{Addit.} 16165 (Index 1288)¹, 'Balade made of Isabelle countasse of warr. and lady dispenser by Richard Eorlle of Warwyk' (f.245v), for example, might easily have come to Shirley from his own employer. The general contents of his collections, from poems associated with prominent court and literary figures to devotional pieces and English translations of prose treatises, nicely reflect the particular range of Shirley's own social contacts, and give us some clues about the nature of the audience for whom he compiled². He is providing volumes for the 'lettered' (literate in Latin and French as well as in English), and for those conversant enough with the contemporary literary and social scene to understand the 'coterie' jokes - jibes at the monk Lydgate's lack of success with women, for example³. The courtly love lyrics

1. Index numbers are supplied only for lyrics not included in the Handlist, or not easily traceable there.
2. Shirley's own library, as far as it can be reconstructed from surviving manuscripts, repeats this pattern of interests: the courtly and the moral/devotional. Manuscripts known to have belonged to him at some time include Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 61, Chaucer's Troilus and Criseyde; London University, Sterling Library MS1, a late fourteenth-century copy of the French Life of the Black Prince by the Chandos Herald; Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, MS 669*/646, treatises by Rolle etc. (copied by John Cok, priest, one of Shirley's executors); San Marino, Huntington Library MS EL 26.A.13, a collection of poems by Chaucer, Lydgate, Hoccleve etc., and BL MS Royal 20.B.xv, a French translation of Vegetius's De Re Militari (partly copied by Richard Caudrey, dean of the Collegiate Church of St. Martin le Grand, and another of the executors of Shirley's will). Information on the first four of these is supplied by M. Parkes & E. Salter (eds.), Troilus and Criseyde: a facsimile of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 61 (Cambridge 1978) p.11, and on the last by G.F. Warner & J. Gilson, A Catalogue of the Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections 4 vols. (London 1921) ii p.367.
3. See, for instance, BL MS Addit.16165, ff.253v-254v, where the poem now known as The Lover's New Year Gift (Index 1496) is headed 'Amerous balade by Lydegate pat hape loste his thanke of wymmen'. There is evidence that Shirley's volumes circulated (presumably among friends and acquaintances) rather in the manner of library books - perhaps as 'sample' copies for those wanting to place orders with him. BL MS Addit.16165 includes a rhyming index (a kind of publisher's blurb), while Bodl.MS Ashmole 59 and Trinity MS R.3.20 both contain a plea to the reader to return the volume, after use, to 'Johan Shirley'. For more information on the circulation of Shirley's collections, see A.S.G. Edwards, 'Lydgate Manuscripts: Some Directions for Future Research', conference paper, York Manuscripts Conference, July 1981, forthcoming.

in these collections (most of the shorter pieces generally, in fact) are almost all introduced with some tantalizing information about their 'real-life' associations - details concerning the poet, perhaps, or the well-known figures supposed by Shirley to have supplied the subject-matter¹. I have already quoted the remark which prefaces Warwick's Virelai; a similarly exciting biographical introduction heads the series of French courtly lyrics in Trinity MS R.3.20, 'made by my lorde of suffolk whylest he was prysonnier in Fraunce' (beginning on p.32), while the copy of Chaucer's Complaint of Venus in the same manuscript, set together with The Complaint of Mars², is announced as referring to the relationship between 'My lady of York doughter to be kyng of Spaygne and my lord of Huntydoun some tyme duc of Excestre' (p.139).

Shirley's influence on manuscript production and compilation particularly in London, and particularly in connection with large-format verse anthologies, was great; many manuscripts which were demonstrably produced after his death in 1456 reflect his own style, whether in specific features such as orthography and rubrics, or more generally in the nature of the contents³. Much of our access to the courtly tradition of writing in the later fifteenth century has depended on the survival of these imitative collections. Amongst those later fifteenth-century manuscripts which contain courtly love lyrics are several neo-Shirleian compilations: BL MSS Addit.34360 and Harley 2251, large anthologies; BL MS Harley 7333, an enormous

1. English courtly love lyrics in Shirley's collections are mainly associated with either Lydgate - A Gentlewoman's Lament (Index 154) in MS R.3.20, A Lover's Lament (Index 746) in MSS Addit.16165 and Ashmole 59, and A Lover's New Year Gift (Index 1496) in MS Addit. 16165; or with Chaucer - The Balade of Complaynt (Index 650) in MS Addit.16165, The Complaint of Anelida (Index 3670) in MS R.3.20, and The Complaint of Venus (Index 3542), in MSS R.3.20 and Ashmole 59. Apart from Warwick's Virelai, the only other courtly love-lyric is the anonymous Roundel (Index 870) in MS R.3.20.
2. This is a pairing which has no textual or thematic justification whatsoever beyond Shirley's evidence of the biographical connection, but which was to be repeated in many post-Shirleian manuscripts.
3. One of Shirley's orthographical idiosyncracies is his use of 'eo' for 'e' (as in one of the rubrics in MS Ashmole 59: 'A Polletyk Balade ryale made by pat approbate Poete Lidegate þe Munk of Bury with þe gode Refrayde To fynde a freonde at neode', f.35r), a feature which is reproduced in some of the later group of manuscripts.

volume connected with the abbey of St. Mary de Pratis, Leicester, compiled by many different scribes, but reflecting considerable dependence on Shirleian models; and Trinity College, Cambridge, MS R.3.19, made up of several smaller, booklet anthologies. All of these are large, substantial volumes¹, including among their varied contents some lengthy pieces - The Canterbury Tales in Harley 7333, a long series of extracts from The Fall of Princes in Harley 2251. The courtly love lyrics play various roles. In BL MS Addit. 34360, the connection with Chaucer, who figures largely in the collection, is stressed: Womanly Noblesse, for instance, is headed 'Balade that Chauncier made' (f.21v), and The Complaint unto Pity is introduced 'And now here folwith a complaynt of pite made bi Geffray Chauncier the aureat poete that euer was founde in oure vulgare to fore his dayes' (f.49r). The Chaucerian connection of the lyrics in MS Harley 7333 is made clear, too. In MS Harley 2251, the single courtly love lyric is Lydgate's Gentlewoman's Lament, included in a large group of his minor poems towards the end of the manuscript, and again functioning as part of an inner group of 'collected works'.

Trinity MS R.3.19 is a different and rather special case, and is worth describing at greater length. Although this is a fascicular manuscript, the dominance of the same main scribe in each of the booklets, and the fact that the individual booklet foliation has been carried out throughout by another single hand, suggest that the separate sections came originally from the same source, and were perhaps designed to be put together as one manuscript at an early stage. The connection with Shirley's hypothetical 'workshop' (or at least with scribes having access to his manuscripts) is suggested by the fact that the main scribe of MS R.3.19 also worked on Trinity MS R.3.21 (an anthology of religious and moral works) in the company

1. The usual size is about 11 x 8 ins., except for the giant MS Harley 7333, which is 17 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 13 ins. - perhaps a reflection of its status as part of a communal rather than a private library.

of another scribe whose access to Shirley's own collections is well documented¹. The numerous contents cover the works of Chaucer (The Parliament of Fowls, The Legend of Good Women), Lydgate (Churl and Bird, Aesop's Fables, selections from The Fall of Princes, and part of the Testament), George Ashby (The Prisoner's Lament), and anonymous authors (The Assembly of Gods, The Court of Love), with the last booklet including a lengthy prose piece on The Pedigree of England².

Most of the lyrics in the manuscript are clustered in the first and the tenth booklets³. The first, copied entirely in the hand of the main scribe, includes thirteen courtly love lyrics - an unusually large number to find together in one place. Interspersing them, though, and shattering any impression of homogeneity of subject or of tone, are some other short poems of rather different kinds. The booklet opens, for instance, with a short Christmas 'pageant' - moral advice of a conventional nature from seven renowned 'philosophers'; it goes on to include three pieces by Lydgate - extracts from The Fall of Princes extolling chastity, Bycorn and Chichevache, and parts II to IV of the Testament; ~~further on comes~~ a Ballade against hypocritical women, and a longer piece which a later hand has entitled The Craft of Lovers - a ludicrously 'aureate' dialogue which contrives to expose both the fatuity of conventional courtly language and the frailty of female vows of chastity. It is almost as if the 'straight' courtly lyrics in this booklet are there expressly to provide a

1. A.I. Doyle and M.B. Parkes warn against the notion of scribal workshops, 'central, highly organized scriptoria', and suggest a much more fluid system of scribal collaboration; see 'The Production of Copies of The Canterbury Tales and the Confessio Amantis in the Early Fifteenth Century', Medieval Scribes, Manuscripts and Libraries: Essays Presented to N.R. Ker, ed. M.B. Parkes & A.G. Watson (London 1978) pp.163-203. The Shirleian scribe of MS R.3.21 also features in BL MSS Addit.34360 and Harley 2251, as well as in other contemporary collections; for a note on his work, see below p.260.
2. Part of this also appears in Bodl.MS Rawlinson c.86 (item 53).
3. Although, interestingly, the copy of Chaucer's Complaint unto Pity is set apart, with The Legend of Good Women, in booklet VIII.

butt for the satirical ones. The contents of the tenth booklet confirm this pattern of courtly sentiment undercut by realism and anti-feminism: O Mossy Quince and The Describing of a Fair Lady - both grotesque mock-panegyrics; a ballade warning the reader to 'beware of deceitful women'; Lydgate's Horns Away, against extravagance in dress. The volume as a whole, and particularly the lyric booklets, cannot by any means be said to distil a quintessentially courtly tone; the courtly lyrics are present as part of a humorous kind of debate on the nature of love and of women - rather different from their role in the ostensibly similar booklet of MS Fairfax 16. Like the three other Shirley - influenced manuscripts considered in this section, Trinity MS R.3.19 provides valuable clues about the role of lyrics in a wider context.

(iii) 'Hold-all' Collections.

This sub-division of the 'anthology' category concerns those manuscripts which gather together examples of a wide range of material, forming in themselves small 'libraries' in which individuals could collect all the reading matter that they were likely to want¹. Some of these were no doubt professionally copied, either on a speculative basis or in response to a special commission; others were most likely put together and copied by their future owners². Sometimes they approach 'verse anthologies' or commonplace books, but usually the range is both wider than the first of these (making provision for items in prose, and for non-literary 'informative' matter), and more carefully organized than the second, with planned stints of copying designed to produce an ordered and pleasing whole. The vogue for such volumes seems to have increased during the fifteenth century, as the availability of writing materials, the currency of texts, and the size of the literate and

1. See P. Hardman, 'A Medieval Library In Parvo', MAe 47 (1978) pp.262-73, for a description of one such collection (NLS MS Adv.19.3.1).
2. Examples of the professionally-produced 'hold-all' volume might be BL MS Lansdowne 285 and Pierpont Morgan Library MS 775, large collections resembling John Paston's 'Grete Booke'; see C.F. Bühler, 'Sir John Paston's Grete Booke', MLN 56 (1941) pp.345-51. Amateur 'hold-all' volumes would include Robert Thornton's own manuscripts, Lincoln Cathedral Library MS 91, and BL MS Addit.31042.

book-owning public simultaneously grew¹; courtly love lyrics are included in them as just one of the many examples of popular contemporary reading matter.

A miniature example of this kind of collection might be BL MS Harley 3810 (a manuscript best-known for its inclusion of a copy of Sir Orfeo). The first part of this, copied throughout in the same hand, covers practical instruction (Precepts in -ly; directions for the observation of Friday, for example); devotional material (a verse paraphrase of the Penitential Psalms); and entertainment (Sir Orfeo, and presumably the single love-lyric). The second and third parts of the manuscript², while reflecting similar interests, differ slightly from this first section, being much less carefully organized and copied. If (as is probable) the different sections were associated from an early stage, it seems quite likely that the first section began as a planned anthology, and that the subsequent additions accumulated around it in something much more the manner of a commonplace book, added according to the whim of the owner³.

Harley 3810 is a small volume, measuring only $5\frac{3}{4}$ x 4 inches. Larger and more capacious 'hold-all' collections are to be found in parts of Bodl. MS Rawlinson c.86 and Lambeth Palace MS 306, both of them composite manuscripts which include lyrics in one or more of their component booklets. In the case of MS Rawlinson c.86, the two central booklets, almost certainly related to each other⁴, make up an anthology on their own, even before the addition of the 'enclosing' material (a copy of The Northern Passion, and a booklet containing historical material in verse and prose). The central booklets include unique translations of Book I of the Polychronicon and of the story of Guiscardo and Ghismonda

1. See M.B. Parkes, 'The Literacy of the Laity', in The Medieval World, ed. D. Daiches & A. Thorlby (London 1973) pp.555-77, particularly pp.568-70.
2. Not included in the description below.
3. The whole volume is described as a commonplace book by A.G. Rigg, A Glastonbury Miscellany of the Fifteenth Century (Oxford 1968), p.25.
4. One hand seems to appear in both booklets; see description below.

from the Decameron; moral and devotional poems (many by Lydgate); a courtesy book (Lydgate's Stans Puer ad Mensam); romances (Sir Launfal and The Wedding of Sir Gawain and Dame Ragnell); extracts from Chaucer (The Clerk's Tale, The Prioress's Tale, and the story of Dido from The Legend of Good Women); humour (of a sort - Jack and his Stepdame, Piers of Fulham, Colyn Blowbol's Testament).

Separating all these longer items, but added in continuous sequence with the rest of the material (not afterthoughts scribbled in at a later date) are many medical recipes and proverbs (in English and Latin), together with pieces of information; the single courtly love lyric (a Song of Joyful Love, interestingly ascribed here to 'Quene Elysabeth') is sandwiched between a recipe ('For þe ache of þe goute') and some details on English shires and taxation, set among the longer items.

MS Lambeth 306 also has a central 'core' of booklets, bound up with gatherings which are distinct in format and copying, although related in terms of subject matter. The early Tudor binding of the manuscript, which survives almost intact, shows that the different sections were together at an early stage, gathered up into one volume to provide a 'library' of varied reading matter. The 'core' booklets contain historical material (an abridgement of the Brut; Lydgate's Verses on the Kings of England; a London chronicle); information on hunting (The Manner to Keep Hawks); a saint's life (St. Eustace), and a romance (Libaeus Desconus). Exactly contemporary with these sections of the manuscript are two more gatherings (related to each other, on the evidence of similar format and leaf signatures), one of which includes a selection of courtly love lyrics. These are set with lyrics on other subjects (carols supporting the Yorkist cause, translations of Latin hymns to the Virgin), rather as if the booklet were designed as a 'sample volume', displaying different examples of the genre¹; the same kind of genre arrangement can be discerned

1. Arrangement by genre seems to have recognized the broad category of 'short poem', if not the sub-divisions into carol, love-lyric, religious lyric etc. which we would make. Apart from this booklet in MS Lambeth 306, the first booklet of Trinity MS R.3.19 is a small lyric anthology; P. Hardman, MAe 47, describes one of the booklets in NLS MS Adv.1913.1 as a similar lyric collection.

in some of the other booklets - the first concentrates on historical material, the eighth on hunting and hawking, and the sixth on poems on broadly religious subjects (Horse, Goose, and Sheep; The Stations of Rome; two Complaints of God). These are some of the clearest examples of 'hold-all' volumes to include courtly love lyrics; other similar collections are BL MSS Cotton Cleopatra D.vii and Cotton Vespasian D.ix (section VII as a miniature anthology on its own, collected up into a wider-ranging composite volume); Harley 541 (section VIII only), and Bodl.MS Douce 95. The lyrics are included in all of them as one of several different types of entertaining writing - like romances, carols and humorous stories - felt to be worthy of record.

(iv) Commonplace Books.

The last two manuscripts mentioned in the section above, BL MS Harley 541, and Bodl.MS Douce 95, are instances of the sort of collection which lies somewhere in between a 'hold-all' anthology and a personal commonplace book. A distinction between the two is not always easy. What is the difference, for example, between Robert Thornton's manuscripts, copied for his own use and made up of his own selections, and some of the better-known commonplace books from the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries - Richard Hill's manuscript, Balliol 354, perhaps? A.G. Rigg, in a useful discussion of the nature of the commonplace book, which introduces his description of Trinity College, Cambridge, MS O.9.38¹, describes it as a collection 'of miscellaneous material assembled simply for the interest and amusement of the compiler', and excludes from his definition song-books, sermon source-books, collections planned in advance, books copied in scriptoria, and other volumes demonstrating a particular 'singleness of purpose' - even though these may well have been 'assembled for the interest and amusement of the compiler'. This definition disposes of the difficulty concerning collections like Robert Thornton's manuscripts - because 'planned in advance', they are something more than commonplace books -

1. Rigg, Glastonbury Miscellany pp.24-26.

and I have adapted it for my own purposes in categorizing lyric manuscripts¹. The commonplace books included in this section are collections put together over a period of time, usually in a fairly random way, in which a single compiler or a group of related contributors have copied items which, for various reasons, struck them as worthy of record. The important distinguishing features are the lack of advance planning and the miscellaneous nature of the contents.

Rather surprisingly, Richard Hill's book, which must be the best-known example of a commonplace book from this period, contains no courtly love lyrics, despite its large numbers of carols and lyrics on other subjects². However, a similar collection put together in London at approximately the same time, BL MS Harley 2252, contains two examples of the form, and provides a useful starting-point for discussion. This manuscript was assembled by the mercer John Colyns³, who seems to have built his collection up around two professionally-copied romances, Ipomydon and the alliterative Morte Arthur, putting together the booklets containing these with a number of blank gatherings which he could fill with information and matter as he pleased. Many of the contents reflect his own business interests in London: there are notes on weights and measures, copies of statutes concerning foreign merchants, and information on civic dignitaries. The practical items include medical recipes, instructions for making coloured inks, and mnemonics for calculating the dates of movable feasts. Amongst the verse items are several political pieces, some of them critical of Wolsey (Skelton's Colin Clout and Speak Parrot; The Complaint of North), others alluding to notable incidents like the Battle of Flodden (The Lamentation of the King of Scots; Flodden Field). There are surprisingly few lyrics -

1. I differ from Rigg on some points - particularly BL MS Harley 3810, which he includes as a commonplace book; to me it seems that the first part of this is carefully enough laid out and copied to suggest 'advance planning' rather than mere jotting. I have also separated off from the general commonplace book category those manuscripts which seem to be student collections.
2. Hill must have been familiar with the form, however, for he includes a parody, Lord how shall I me complayn (Index 1957).
3. Colyns gives his name on ff. 1v, 133v, 166r.

especially in comparison with the large numbers in Richard Hill's book - and Colyns may well have cared little for this kind of verse: the second of his two courtly love lyrics peters out unfinished, as though he lost interest half-way through the copying.

Compensation for Colyns's dearth of love lyrics, however, is enthusiastically supplied in Humphrey Newton's commonplace book - Bod.MS Lat. misc.c.66. Like Harley 2252, this is built around some existing gatherings (in this case, legal memoranda and notes relating to the Newton family estates in Cheshire - part I of the manuscript, as it now exists - together with some model letters, on parchment leaves, bound up in part II). The material copied by Newton himself is generally of a much more inflated 'literary' nature than any of Colyns's pieces, and the manuscript as a whole lacks the business and political interests evident in MS Harley 2252. Practical information is included, however, and of various kinds : recipes for making inks and colours (similar to Colyns's section); notes on palmistry, physiognomy, and the humours; recipes (culinary rather than medical - how to cook rabbit , for example), and the ubiquitous Advice for Purchasers of Land. Apart from a copy of Lydgate's Saying of the Nightingale, and some fragmentary remains of Richard de Caistre's Hymn, the verse contents have good claim to be Newton's own compositions. Whereas The Saying of the Nightingale is carefully laid out and copied, the other verse contents - almost all courtly love lyrics, the recurring names and acrostics hinting at a primitive kind of sequence - are scribbled onto the leaves in odd available spaces, full of deletions and revisions suggestive of autograph copies. Newton seems to have used the spare leaves of his commonplace book as handy spare paper on which to draft and polish his lyrics, but he has hardly aimed at producing a finished, 'reading' copy; these are little more than jottings.

Other commonplace books with courtly love lyrics include BL MS Sloane 1584 (apparently put together by a canon of the Premonstratensian abbey of Coverham in Yorkshire); Trinity College, Cambridge, MS O.2.53;

NLW MSS Peniarth 26 and Porkington 10; and BL MS Arundel 26. These last three are manuscripts whose exact provenance is uncertain, and whose contents are copied in several different hands; only their overall nature, and the miscellaneousness of their contents, indicate commonplace book status. Trinity MS O.2.53 is a more informative example of a 'collective' commonplace book, with notes and personal details which supply a clearer background. This is an early sixteenth-century collection, and amongst its contents are two snatches of love-lyric, neither of them a complete poem. The contents in general are not easy to summarize, ranging as they do over a vast quantity of material in both English and Latin, but it seems likely that several generations of hands were responsible for the different 'layers' of copying, the early ones leaving references to places and families in Kent, and the later ones focusing on a Ramston family of Essex. Similar 'layers' of copying are evident in the other 'collective' commonplace book to contain courtly lyrics, CUL MS Ff. 1.6, the so-called 'Findern Anthology'. In its earliest stages this seems to have consisted of a number of booklets filled with longer items copied by semi-professional or careful amateur hands. Most of the lyrics appear to have been inserted at different dates by later hands, perhaps even after some of the original booklets had been bound together. In some ways they function as 'autographs', added to record the fact of the writer's association with the manuscript, in a manner similar to the contents of BL Addit.17492; in other respects the volume seems more of a verse anthology, for the contents preserve a noticeable and unusual homogeneity of courtly tone. The processes of its composition, though, undoubtedly suggest a commonplace book.

The lyrics in all these collections (with the possible exception of the Findern manuscript), more or less prominent according to the tastes of the different compilers, are included with other material of such diversity that it is impossible to formulate a 'purpose' for them. That courtly love lyrics should feature in so many commonplace books perhaps suggests a greater currency and a popularity more widely spread than is often supposed, but beyond this one can say no more than they are among the many different and sometimes inexplicably assorted items gathered together to suit individual tastes.

(v) Student Collections.

Included in a separate category from commonplace books, because of the specialized nature of their contents, are three manuscripts which I have described as 'student collections', volumes put together by students or teachers for the purposes of handy reference or instruction. These are Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, MS 383/603, BL MS Harley 3362¹, and the recently discovered BL MS Addit. 60577, the so-called 'Winchester anthology'. All of these contain much formal instructive material, usually in Latin (treatises on grammar in MS Harley 3362; instructions for writing deeds and charters in Caius 383/603, for example), but in all these cases the 'heavier' material is interrupted by more light-hearted pieces, in both Latin and English - jokes, riddles, carols and songs. The courtly love lyrics in these collections are included as 'material for entertainment', surely; perhaps some of them were indeed remembered as songs, and jotted down so that the texts would not be forgotten. The titles in MS Caius 383/603, suggesting suitable melodies to fit the words, certainly bear this out. In addition to these complete manuscripts are two small sections in composite volumes, Bodl.MSS Ashmole 191 and 1393, which - while hardly student commonplace books in themselves - perform the same function of offering light relief, and have the same musical associations. In both cases, the sections containing lyrics are sandwiched between medical, alchemical and astronomical material, and their context is certainly a learned one, broadly speaking. In both cases, too, the lyrics are supplied with musical notation - the very fact of this indicating a scribe of more than usual education and capability.

(vi) Songbooks.

'Songbooks' proper, performing copies providing both texts and musical notation, and song repertories providing words alone, account for a large proportion of the courtly love lyrics which survive from the later fifteenth and (particularly) the early sixteenth centuries, even though the manuscripts themselves are not numerous. There remain

1. Included by Rigg, Glastonbury Miscellany p.26, as a commonplace book.

no chansonniers (on the continental model) concentrating uniquely on English love-songs¹, but several surviving English manuscripts include love-songs among their otherwise more varied musical contents. Some of these songbooks have verifiable connections with particular institutions, and their contents represent the repertory of the resident choir: BL MS Addit.5665 has been connected with Exeter Cathedral, for example, and Bodl.MS Eng.Poet.e.1. with Beverley Minster, while BL MSS Addit.5465 and Addit.31922 appear to have been used at the courts of Henry VII and Henry VIII. Later collections which include love-songs, part-books this time rather than full scores, are BL MS Royal Appendix 58, and PRO SP 1/246. In all of these the courtly love lyrics play an obvious and uncomplicated role: songs for public or private performance, valuable as social diversion. The subject matter - refined love and its conventions - has little significance beyond its suitability for secular entertainment.

(vii) Lyrics in Other Kinds of Anthology.

A number of manuscripts which include lyrics as an integral part of their contents do not fit easily into any of the above categories, and indeed resist classification altogether. Particular examples are the two collections associated with the Paston Letters, BL MSS Addit.43490 and 43491, in which lyrics of all kinds are occasionally inserted², and George Cely's account-book, PRO C.47/37/11, which records the titles of various love-songs learnt from a singing-master during a stay in Calais. The most intriguing case, I think, is Bodl.MS. Rawlinson c.813, a small and scrappily-written volume, put together in the early sixteenth century by a number of different scribes, which combines large numbers of lyrics - courtly, political and moral - with verse and prose prophecies in English and Latin. The appearance of the collection - small, informal, probably copied by amateur scribes - suggests a collective commonplace book, rather along the lines of Trinity MS O.2.53, but the organized nature of the contents (with

1. Continental chansonniers which include English love-songs are Yale Univ., Beinecke Library MS 91 (the 'Mellon Chansonnier'); Trent MS 88; Madrid, Escorial Library MS IV.a.24; see the descriptions below.

2. For a list of all the lyrics occurring in the collection, see N. Davis (ed) The Paston Letters 2 vols. (Oxford 1971 & 1976) ii, index, s.v. 'verses'.

the prophecies collected together apart from the lyrics), and the concentration on the two particular genres, rather belie this impression; besides, there are none of the 'personal' inscriptions which the compilers of commonplace books often insert¹. Another tempting explanation for this collection would be a musical association, with the lyrics representing the texts of well-known songs², but once more the evidence is lacking, indeed contradictory: none of the lyrics appears elsewhere with music, and the few correspondences which there are tend to be with specifically 'literary' texts - the works of Stephen Hawes, for example, from which several of the pieces are extracted. What we seem to be left with is a comprehensive lyric-and-prophecy anthology of a unique kind.

IV. Lyrics as Autographs ('Flyleaf' Lyrics).

So far all the manuscripts to be discussed have included their courtly lyrics as integral parts of their contents, whether as component units of an anthology, as jottings in a commonplace book, or as songs in a repertory. Except in the cases of collective commonplace books, the lyrics have almost always been copied in by a scribe who has been responsible for copying some other part of the manuscript as well, and have been positioned according to some sort of plan, albeit the somewhat random one of a personal collection. Even the 'fillers' which a scribe might insert in the empty space left at the end of his copy play a planned and coherent part in the composition of a manuscript, in terms of layout.³

An enormous number of Middle English lyrics of all kinds, however, take the form of fortuitous additions which an owner or reader has

1. For example, the notes in MS Harley 2252 on ff.1v, 133v and 166r, 'John colyns boke is this late of london..'etc., and in MS Sloane 1584 on f.12r, 'Scriptum per me Johannes Gysborn..'.
2. cf. the well-known carol collections, BL MS Sloane 2593, and Bodl. MS Eng. poet.a.1, in which almost all the texts are supplied without music.
3. Sometimes - very occasionally - these seem chosen to complement the tone of the major items. Not long a goo purposyd I and thought, added after Troilus and Criseyde and Hoccleve's Letter of Cupid in Durham Univ. MS Cosin V.II.13, fits admirably with the preceding items, while at the same time filling in some of the empty space at the end of the last gathering.

made to an already-completed manuscript, copying his poem into some inviting empty space left by the original compilers. These oddments - generally, if misleadingly, known as 'flyleaf' lyrics - are different from fillers, because they have no place in the initial organization of the manuscript's contents. Sometimes, in fact, they have been added several centuries after the completion of the main copy, as is the case with the lyric Trust in my luf hy schall be trw, copied in the late fifteenth century onto one of the flyleaves of the tenth-century manuscript of the Blickling Homilies, Princeton University, Scheide Library MS 66. Apart from flyleaves, one of the favourite places for these added lyrics is the gap remaining between major items in a manuscript. BL MS Harley 4011 contains an unindexed love lyric in just this position: in the space remaining between the end of a copy of Bokenham's translation of the Description of England from the Polychronicon and the beginning of a prose Treatise on the Calendar, an early sixteenth-century hand has copied a love epistle, My owne dere hart I gret yow well. Printed books offered equally attractive empty spaces: in a copy of Caxton's edition of Boethius's De Consolatione Philosophiae now in the Pierpont Morgan Library¹, an unknown hand has added a definition of love, Love pat is powre it is with pyne; and in a copy of Caxton's Royal Book in the same library², another lyric, In hond and herte I grete yow well, has been scribbled onto one of the flyleaves. The additions sometimes develop into small cycles of their own (space permitting), like the series of anti-feminist snippets, interestingly combined with extracts from Troilus and Criseyde, which a single hand has copied at the end of Capgrave's Chronicle in CUL MS Gg.4.12.

There is no obvious correlation between inserted courtly lyrics and the contents of the manuscripts they are copied into, as the examples I have quoted make clear enough. Major works which occur more than once in conjunction with added love lyrics are The Prick of Conscience, Hoccleve's Regiment of Princes, and Lydgate's Life of Our Lady³, but

1. Printed book 775, described below.

2. Printed Book 698, described below.

3. For The Prick of Conscience with added lyrics, see Bodl. MS e Mus. 88, and Trinity College, Dublin, MS D.4.15; for The Regiment of Princes, BL MSS Royal 17.D.vi and 17.D.xviii; for The Life of Our Lady, Bodl. MSS Ashmole 39 and Bodley 120.

as these are all texts which survive today in over twenty manuscripts each, it is obvious that the incidence of texts with inserted lyrics merely reflects the general incidence of manuscript survival¹. No one sort of work seems to have been any more likely than another to provoke the later addition of a love lyric. On the other hand, so many poems like these survive only as additions, on flyleaves or elsewhere, that it seems as if they may have been thought of as particularly suitable for 'autograph' items. The editor of the many versions of Erthe upon Erthe suggested that this poem may have had some peculiar significance of its own as a prefatory, flyleaf piece², and it is certainly not impossible than some short poems were felt to be better for these purposes than others. The function of Erthe upon Erthe in such a position is obvious - a reminder of mortality, perhaps designed to recall to the memory of the later reader of the manuscript the transience of his dead predecessors (registering the fact of their existence in one of the only possible 'lasting' ways, by writing in a book). Love lyrics might be seen as having^a rather different effect, hinting at the 'interesting' and reputation-enhancing amorous involvements of the writers, and perhaps suggesting easy familiarity with the conventions of polite, courtly behaviour. But this may be loading too significant a weight of meaning onto added, flyleaf poems; their main attractions as 'autograph' items must have been their brevity and their suitability as items to^b memorized^a.

V. The Earliest Printed Courtly Lyrics.

Judging from the texts which survive, the advent of printing had less effect on the circulation and transmission of courtly lyrics in England than might have been supposed. No collections of English lyrics on their own (of any kind) survive from the years before 1500, and none of those which appeared after this date - until the mid-century, and publishers like Tottel - can rival the full-scale French collections such as Antoine Vérard's Le Jardin de Plaisance³ (1502),

1. See R.H. Robbins and J.L. Cutler, Supplement to the Index of Middle English Verse (Lexington, Kentucky 1965), Appendix D, 'Preservation of Texts', pp.421-24.
2. H.M.R. Murray, The Middle English Poem 'Erthe upon Erthe', EETS o.s.141 (1911, repr.1964), pp.ix, xxxv.
3. E. Droz & A. Piaget (eds.), Le Jardin de Plaisance, SATF 2 vols. (Paris, 1910 & 1925, repr.1968).

and the later La Chasse et le Depart d'Amours (1509)¹. Caxton seems to have used lyrics from time to time as fillers, as scribes had done: in his translation of The Curial (STC 5067) from Alain Chartier's French original, he filled the blank space at the end with an English ballade, Ther is ne dangyer but of a vylayn (Index 3540), also a translation from French²; and in printing The Complaynt of Anelida (STC 509) he filled the tenth and final leaf with The Complaint of Chaucer to his Purse and the pseudo-Chaucerian prophecy When faith faileth in prestes sawes (Index 3943). No love lyrics seem to have been used for these purposes, though. This copy of Anelida and Arcite, like the copy of The Complaint of Venus in Notary's The Loue and Complayntes bytwene Mars and Venus (STC 5089), and the apocryphal Letter of Dido which appeared in Pynson's Book of Fame (STC 5088)³, represents the attempts of early printers to capitalize on the success of their best-sellers - Chaucer's longer works - by putting out copies of the shorter pieces, either in pamphlets or gathered together in anthologies. The lyrics are surely published more because of their association with Chaucer, though, than for any intrinsic attraction of their own; any publication on his list which invoked Chaucer's name must have heightened the prestige of an early printer.

The earliest surviving collection of lyrics dates from around 1520, when Pynson put out a four-leaf booklet containing some short poems attributed to Skelton. The impulse behind this may have been similar to that which prompted the publication of some of Chaucer's lyrics, for Skelton's 'laureate' status was well publicized (mostly through his own efforts), and - like a Chaucerian association - may have shed reflected glory on the printer. The booklet is entitled,

1. Described by S. Minta, Love Poetry in Sixteenth-Century France (Manchester 1977) p.13. and by J. MacFarlane, Antoine Vérard, Bibl. Soc. Illun. Monographs 7 (London 1900) p.44.
2. W. Ringler, 'A Bibliography and First-Line Index of English Verse Printed through 1500: a Supplement to Brown and Robbins' Index of Middle English Verse', PBSA 49 (1955), pp.153-80, no.72.
3. This is associated with the story of Dido from The Legend of Good Women, following on from the 'lettre' recorded at line 1354.

tellingly enough, Dyuers balettys and dyties solacyous deuysed by Master Skelton Laureat (STC 22604), and it contains five short lyrics. Only two of these are truly courtly in tone: Knolege, acquayntance, resort, favour with grace, an aureate panegyric addressed to a lady whose name is revealed in an acrostic as 'Katernyn'; and Go pytous hart, rasyd with dedly wo, a lament written 'at the instance of a noble lady'. The remaining poems - My darlyng dere, my daysy floure (Index 2231.5), The auncient acquaintance, madam, between us twayne (Index 3302.5), and Though ye suppose all jepardys are paste (Index 3707.5) - all exploit courtly forms as a vehicle for anti-feminist satire¹, rather like the poems in the first booklet of Trinity MS R.3.19. The only other printed lyrics attributed to Skelton are embedded in the dream episode of The Garland of Laurel (STC 22610), which appeared in 1523.

The 1520s saw the first English printed musical collections, as well as the first small anthologies of lyrics. The earliest printed musical fragment to survive is a single leaf, BL Mk.8.k8, bearing Rastell's colophon, which contains words and music for the carol Now she that I louyed trewly, with the refrain 'Care away away away!' - hardly courtly in tone. Interestingly enough, some of the names scribbled on the broadsheet have been traced to the same sort of monastic provenance as some of the better-known carol collections from the fifteenth century². Other surviving fragmentary leaves provide evidence that Copland and de Worde also produced cheap, small-format carol books, or pamphlets³. In 1521 Copland also printed The Maner to Dance Bace Dances (STC 1386), a translation of L'Art et l'Instruction de Bien Dancer by Michel Toulouze which had been available in printed editions in France since 1496. Although containing only music, this collection heads some of its pieces with the first lines of the texts with which they were usually associated, and so provides information on the currency of some songs; none of them duplicates the courtly lyrics considered here, however. The earliest

1. See M. Pollet, John Skelton, Poet of Tudor England, transl. J. Warrington (London 1971), p.264.
2. See R.L. Greene, The Early English Carols (Oxford 1935, second ed. 1977), p.338.
3. Greene, Early English Carols p.339.

surviving extensive collection of English words and music, containing a relatively high proportion of courtly love lyrics amongst its songs, is the fragmentary Book of XX Songes (STC 22924), long thought to have been printed by de Worde, and dating from 1530. All that survives is the bass part and the title leaf of the treble part (BL printed Book K.1.e.1), with two recently-discovered leaves from the medius part-book in the binding of a Westminster Abbey manuscript¹. The list of contents which accompanies the bass part describes '.xx.songes .ix. of .iii.partes/ and .xi. of thre partes', while the colophon on the fragment of the medius part finally disposes of the attribution to de Worde by its reference to 'the signe of the black mores', the mark of a printer who still remains unidentified.

Like the texts in the Tudor songbooks, some of these 'XX songes' are pieces with a lengthy earlier history. Love wyll I and leue so may befall, for example, appears without music and copied in an earlier hand in Bodl.MS e Mus.88. The first printed collected editions of Chaucer's works have a similar retrospective interest; their editors must have gathered together many Chaucerian and pseudo-Chaucerian texts from fifteenth-century manuscripts, and have in fact preserved for us many pieces which do not otherwise survive. Modern editors have been uniformly critical of this eclectic approach, following the example of Skeat, who commented, 'It was Pynson who introduced the lamentable precedent of mixing up the works of Chaucer with those of others, and Thynne unfortunately followed his example with an almost unbounded recklessness². To be fair, the apocryphal works are not always passed off as Chaucer's, but merely included unremarked along with the 'genuine' examples of his work. Thynne's edition, for instance, advertised itself as The workes of Geffray Chaucer newly printed with dyuers works whiche were neuer in printe before (STC 5068), and amongst its twenty-three apocryphal items (nineteen of them appearing in print for the first time) included three courtly lyrics which have not been preserved in manuscript: A goodly ballade to

1. See H.M. Nixon, 'The Book of XX Songes', B1Q 16 (1951), pp.33-36; Stevens, Music and Poetry p.467; Greene, Early English Carols p.338.

2. W.W. Skeat (ed.), Thynne's Chaucer (London 1905), p.xv.

his lady Margaret, The flower of courtesy, and To my sovereign lady.

Stow's edition of 1561, outside the confines of this study, continued the gradual accretion of 'apocrypha', maintaining the precedent as an example to his successors.

No remarkable trends emerge from the general pattern of the early printing of courtly love lyrics. Collections of lyrics of all kinds were slow to appear, and even once established, seem to have been small-scale productions, broadsheets and booklets rather than substantial volumes. 'As with the manuscript situation, the two important 'carrying' factors were either a famous name, or the presence of music, to establish the lyrics formally, as 'songs'. The taste for collections along the lines of Tottel's Miscellany¹ seems either not to have existed in the early decades of printing, or to have been satisfied by some means now unknown.

VI. Conclusions.

The most obvious point to emerge from this survey of manuscripts and early printed editions is that courtly love lyrics in English seem to have commanded little literary status. They do not appear at this time in collections on their own (apart from two rather special exceptions), and if recognized as a literary genre at all, seem to have been bundled together with other unrelated pieces into a general category of 'short poems'. Only a very small number are at all carefully copied, or included by design in manuscripts of any artistic or literary worth. Most (and especially those few which were printed) possessed the special attraction of some literary or prestigious association - a connection with Chaucer, usually - which had nothing to do with their own content or its appeal. Music, too, seems to have been an influential factor: courtly love songs are collected together in much greater numbers than courtly love poems. This low literary status can probably be explained in part by the very nature

1. The early Court of Venus unfortunately survives in too fragmentary a form to be of much relevance here. The original collection was probably put together c.1536, including lyrics by Wyatt and his contemporaries, and the satirical Pilgrim's Tale; it was printed by Thomas Gibson. A full description is provided by R.A. Fraser, The Court of Venus (Durham N.C. 1955).

of lyrics - short, and needed in enormous numbers to fill a complete and substantial volume¹ - but on the other hand, it seems strange that this difficulty appears to have been overlooked in the case of religious lyrics, of carols, and of French poems. Why should courtly love lyrics be different? The fact remains, too, that writers and readers were obviously familiar with the form, and recognized it as something handy for 'autograph' purposes; courtly love lyrics in English were obviously composed in some numbers during the period, even if they did not circulate in impressively compiled collected editions. Some investigation of the appearance of the poems, as they are copied down, and comparison with other English and French collections of short poems, may tell us more about this question of status, and give a clearer idea of the functions of the poems in the manuscripts in which they appear.

1. This has recently been pointed out by R.F. Green, Poets and Prince-pleasers: Literature and the English Court in the Late Middle Ages (Toronto 1980), p.130: '...most love poems - dream visions and allegories, as well as lyrics - were too short in themselves to make up a whole volume. (certainly the kind of impressive volume demanded by the etiquette of presentation) and unless the poet had composed a sufficient number to comprise a personal anthology, his work could only circulate informally - orally, or on scattered leaves, or in booklets of one or more gatherings, or bound with similar poems by other hands'.

CHAPTER 2: THE PRESENTATION OF THE POEMS.

I. Introduction

Once again, the diversity of manuscripts in which these poems appear is a complicating factor in any assessment of the evidence provided by their presentation and appearance in written form: a lyric copied into a professionally-produced manuscript designed for open sale will obviously be set out rather differently from one scribbled onto a flyleaf by a barely literate amateur, just as a love-song copied by a clerk into his collection of sermons will differ from a poem destined to serve a practical purpose in the 'game of love'. The major difficulty connected with the physical presentation of these particular poems, however, results from the relatively high proportion of them which fall into the category of 'flyleaf' jottings, copied down with little or no regard for layout or visual impact. The predominance of such copies - far more numerous than is usual with other contemporary genres (excepting, perhaps, proverbs) - is a potential distorting factor, for it might utterly convince us that lyrics, compared with other longer and generally more carefully copied poems, were considered to have little literary status. The logic behind this argument is not necessarily valid though, for careful copying does not invariably indicate the relative desirability of a literary text¹, and all we can really learn from the large numbers of lyrics which appear in 'flyleaf' positions is that such poems possessed qualities which made them particularly suitable for such a role - brevity, and a consequent power to imprint themselves upon the memory. In order to avoid unfair and distorting contrasts, though, I intend in this chapter to concentrate more on lyrics which have been copied as integral parts of a manuscript, comparing them (in terms of presentation and appearance) with the items which they accompany;

1. The manuscripts of The Canterbury Tales illustrate this point well. On the evidence of the numerous surviving copies, and of its demonstrably wide reputation, this was obviously a work which was highly rated, and considered in some way 'of value', yet most of the extant manuscripts are merely workmanlike, even amateur copies, executed with speed and cheapness as the prime considerations; see J.M. Manly & E. Rickert (eds.), The Text of the Canterbury Tales (8 vols., London & Chicago 1940) i pp.561-605.

this should give a clearer picture of the role which lyrics occupied in any imagined hierarchy of texts. The chapter begins with a survey of the layout and decoration of the poems, and moves onto a more general consideration of the role of lyrics in manuscript design.

II. The Evidence of the Manuscripts.

Out of the one hundred or so manuscripts considered here, only a minute proportion include courtly love lyrics which are 'displayed' (usually by means of some kind of decoration) in an arresting or an aesthetically pleasing way. The methods of display vary from full-scale illustration, with accompanying miniature, to discreet or even crude ornamentation by means of coloured capitals or flourishes. For clarity, I have divided the description of them into sections, according to the different methods used.

(i) Lyrics with Accompanying Miniatures.

Only one miniature accompanying a lyric survives in the manuscripts under consideration. This is the full-page illustration occupying f.14v of Bodleian MS Fairfax 16¹, situated opposite^{to} the opening stanzas of Chaucer's Complaint of Mars on f.15r, a poem which in this manuscript is amalgamated with the now familiarly but inappropriately entitled Complaint of Venus, much more of a courtly lyric than the narrative Complaint of Mars. Nothing in the text of either poem suggests that it should be linked with the other - the so-called Complaint of Venus in fact translates three French balades, avowedly following 'word by word the curiosite/ of Graunson' (lines 81-82) - but a precedent for joining the two, and for the neatly symmetrical titles, must have been set early in the fifteenth century, for they appear side by side in a total of six copies².

1. For reproductions of the miniature, see O. Pächt & J.J.G. Alexander, Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Oxford 3 vols. (Oxford 1966-73), ii pl.XC1, and Norton-Smith, Fairfax 16, frontispiece.
2. Bodleian MSS Fairfax 16, Tanner 346, and Arch.Selden B.24; TCC MS R.3.20; Magdalene College, Cambridge, MS Pepys 2006 (twice).

Robinson suggested, plausibly, that Shirley was responsible for the original conflation; he quotes Shirley's rubrics to the poems in TCC MS R.3.20, where The Complaint of Mars is described as referring to 'My lady of York daughter to the kyng of Spaygne, and my lord of Huntyngdoun some tyme Duc of Excestre', and where Graunson's French models for The Complaint of Venus are said to have been written 'for Venus resembled to my lady of York, aunswering the Complaynt of Mars' (pp.130-42)¹.

The miniature has a tripartite structure, with its three gold frames enclosing individually Jupiter, Mars, and Venus. Jupiter, across the top, looks down on the lovers, who are placed side by side; Mars, on the left, is half-turned to face Venus, naked and rising from the sea; enclosed with her are Vulcan, the three Graces, and Cupid, aiming an arrow at Mars². The whole is surrounded by an elaborate floral border which includes, along the bottom, the arms of Stanley quartering Hooton³. On the facing page of text - four and a half stanzas of The Complaint of Mars - the initial letter is executed in gold, on a ground of red and blue, and subsidiary initials have been flourished in red; another border, a similar but slightly muted version of that surrounding the miniature, encloses the text on three sides. The miniature is painted on a single leaf, which was probably inserted at a late stage in the composition of the manuscript, once the prospective owner had commissioned or approved suitable decoration. The work has been attributed to the artist William Abell, or to an anonymous associate of the same school, connected with several other impressive manuscripts which date from the 1450s and 1460s⁴. One interesting point about Abell is his possible connection

1. F.N. Robinson (ed.), The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer (2nd ed., Boston, Mass. 1957), pp.586-87.
2. For descriptions, see F. Saxl & H. Meier, Verzeichnis astrologischer und mythologischer illustrierter Handschriften des lateinischen Mittelalters, Handschriften in englischen Bibliotheken iii (London 1953) i pp.382-83, ii T.6, Abb.18; Norton-Smith, Fairfax 16 pp.xi-xii.
3. See below p.131.
4. The artist is identified as Abell by Pücht & Alexander, Catalogue iii pp.84, 92 and by J.J.G. Alexander, 'William Abell, 'Lymnour', and Fifteenth-Century English Illuminations', A. Rosenauer & G. Weber (eds.), Kunsthistorische Forschungen Otto Pücht zu Ehren (Salzburg 1972) pp.166-72. Norton Smith, Fairfax 16 pp.xxi, suggests instead an anonymous artist, also responsible for illuminating Bod.MS Digby 227 (the Abingdon Missal), and St. John's College, Cambridge, MS H.5 (Scrope's translation of the Épître d'Othée).

with John Shirley: he was a churchwarden of St. Nicholas Fleshshambles, which had strong links with St. Bartholomew's Hospital, from 1452-53 and again in 1469; even more suggestively, he seems to have been responsible for historiating the initials of the hospital's cartulary, copied by Shirley's friend and executor John Cok in the 1450s and 1460s¹.

No extravagant claims can be made for the appropriateness of this one miniature to the lyric it accompanies. It is associated with The Complaint of Venus in spite of, rather than because of, the 'lyric' nature of the poem, and indeed only functions effectively because the text in this manuscript, set as it is with The Complaint of Mars, becomes a pseudo-narrative. The considerations governing the assortment of texts with illustration seem at any rate to have been eminently practical, rather than literary or artistic. For one thing the amalgam of Mars and Venus begins the collection (ff.1-13 being blank, apart from a table of contents), and provides the obvious opportunity for whatever decoration the manuscript was going to be given. Again, the Chaucerian connection of the poems may well have endowed them with some extra prestige - enough to single them out as a worthy 'opener' and as deserving of illustration. Finally, and perhaps most important of all, a convenient iconographic tradition associated with the story of Mars and Venus was already available². Significantly enough, what might be called the 'illustrative potential' further on in the collection is totally ignored: there are inviting blank spaces between some of the numerous other lyrics³, and rubrics which positively draw attention to possible decorative vignettes - 'How þe louer ys sett to serue þe floure' on f.325v, for example - but none of the chances are taken up. The remaining lyrics in the collection are rubricated and ornamented, but not decorated in any other way.

1. Alexander, William Abell, and Doyle, MAe 30.

2. Saxl & Meier, Illustrierter Handschriften.

3. For example, f.186, between The Ten Commandments of Love and The Complaint on the Death of Pity, and f.313, between How a Lover Praises His Lady and The Lovers' Mass. The blank leaves generally fall between the different booklets which make up the manuscript.

(ii) Lyrics with Decorated Borders or Initials

Those few lyrics which are awarded the distinction of decorated borders or initials are to be found in the small number of de luxe manuscripts which feature in this survey - either continental collections, or volumes with a known connection with the English court. Of this second category, the manuscript of French pieces compiled for Prince Arthur, BL Royal 16.F.ii, is perhaps most interesting. This contains six large full-page miniatures, three of them associated with some of the French poems by Charles d'Orléans in the manuscript, and the others illustrating some of the longer anonymous pieces¹. While none of the miniatures accompanying a lyric has any particular relevance to the three English lyrics in the collection - they are all set with French poems - they are nonetheless interesting for the light which they throw on the general possibilities of lyric illustration. The first, set right at the beginning of the volume, on f.1r, accompanies the long allegorical poem called by Champion La Retenue d'Amours², which introduces the ballades; in it, the poet, represented by a kneeling youth, is introduced to Bel Accueil and Plaisance, two of his companions at the 'manoir/ Trop bel assis et plaisant a veoir' (lines 103-104) which is the seat of the God of Love. The miniature effectively sets the scene for the allegorical play of the ensuing shorter poems, and at the same time offers in its borders the possibility of including mottoes and devices of relevance to the future owner of the volume: together with a red rose, a red dragon, and the arms of Henry VII, are the mottoes 'La plus eure' and 'Dieu et mon droit'. The second miniature, probably the best-known, accompanies one of the lyrics which refers specifically to Charles's period of imprisonment and exile:

1. The miniature on f.137r illustrates 'Les Epistres de Labesse Heloys du Paraclit'; that on f.188r 'Les Demandes D'Amour', and that on f.210v 'Le Livre dit Grace Entiere sur le fait du Gouernement d'un Prince'. Two of the miniatures are reproduced in J. Fox, The Lyric Poetry of Charles d'Orléans (Oxford 1969), frontispiece and facing p.18.
2. P. Champion (ed.), Charles d'Orléans: Poésies, 2 vols. (Paris 1923, repr. 1971) i pp.1-16.

Des nouvelles d'Albion
S'il vous en plaist escouter
Mon frere & mon Compaignon
Sachiez qu'a mon retorner.
Iay este deca la mer
Re ceu a joyeuse chiere ... (f.73r)¹

It depicts, in a sort of simultaneous time, three scenes connected with the Duke's imprisonment: he looks wistfully down from a high window in the Tower; signs a declaration (presumably on his release) in a large hall within it; and finally joins a procession of waiting men as if to leave for good. The whole is framed in a window-border, suitably enough adding to the impression that the writer of the poem is gazing from his prison just like the figure in the miniature. The English royal coat-of-arms is again included. The last miniature in this section accompanies one of the more overtly political poems, a combined lament for France's current decline and prayer for her recovered prosperity:

France iadis on te souloit nommer
En tous pays le tresor de noblesse. . .(f.89r)²

Within the same window-shaped frame are the Virgin, praying to Christ on the cross, and the people of France, outside the walls of Paris. As with the previous illustration, there is a backdrop of spires and city buildings, and a selection of English royal motifs in the borders.

The English lyrics in this manuscript, like the rest of the French ones, are carefully and pleasingly written in a bold lettre bâtarde³, with the initial letters of each line of text executed in gold, on a square, coloured background; the opening letter of each separate poem is similarly decorated, but usually on a larger scale, so that it occupies two or three lines. The finished effect is of a broad, solid band of rich colour down the left-hand side of each lyric, which provides a sumptuous, if not particularly delicate, impression. The inclusion of English poems in the manuscript, however, must have been

1. Champion, Poésies i p.143.

2. Champion, Poésies i p.258.

3. M.B. Parkes, English Cursive Bookhands 1250-1500 (London 1969) p.xxi.

a matter of pure chance, rather than the result of a specific request from the future owner (or possibly the donor) of the volume. What was obviously required was a collection of the Duke's French, rather than English, lyrics, and a library of other useful French texts. Any manuscript destined for the library of the Prince of Wales would almost certainly have been costly and decorated, so there is nothing remarkable in the decision to illuminate this copy. Deriving as it probably does from a Burgundian copy of Charles's works made for the library of Philippe le Bon¹, it is probably a pale shadow of a much more lavish original. The main interest of the collection is the evidence it provides for an existing taste for library copies of short poems like these chansons and ballades, and its proof that lyrics could be, and indeed were, illustrated.

The remaining two court manuscripts to include decorated lyrics are both songbooks, BL MSS Addit.5465 and 31922, which include festive, religious and humorous songs along with their courtly poems. Addit.5465 may well have been something of a performing edition, destined for use in public on ceremonial occasions, and consequently requiring some sort of colourful and impressive format; like the costumes of the musicians who performed the songs, and like their decorated instruments, such a manuscript might have been an integral part of the spectacle which it served, and its decoration more an enhancement of the social occasion than a tribute to the status of the songs within it. This is a large manuscript (11 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 8 ins), and the musical notation itself plays a decorative part, executed in red and black ink. The initial letters of the words which accompany each part are copied in blue, on a flourished red background, with the names of individual composers, and the titles of songs, also added in red. MS Addit.31922 (less likely to be a performing edition, on the evidence of its musical layout), is in some ways still more impressive. It is another large volume, parchment throughout, and each part of the individual songs begins

1. This suggestion is made by Champion, Poesies i p.xi.

with an ornate and colourful initial letter, occupying the whole depth of the stave. The letters are gold, red and blue, on a flourished background of a contrasting colour (gold or blue on red, red on blue, and so on). The texts themselves are copied very carefully: the words of the first stanza usually accompany the music, but the following ones are written out beneath the final part in a laboriously executed formal script, guided by three ruled horizontal lines for each line of writing.

An interesting comparison to these court songbooks is provided by one of the manuscripts of continental provenance which contains some scraps of English courtly love-lyric - the so-called 'Mellon Chansonnier' (Yale University, Beinecke Library MS 91), probably produced at the Neapolitan court, under Burgundian influence, in the later years of the fifteenth century. Amongst its French, Italian, Latin and Spanish contents, this includes the words and music for three English songs (somewhat garbled by the foreign scribes) and, like the continental pieces, these are delicately and attractively decorated. The initial letters of almost every text in the manuscript are illuminated in gold on a red or blue background (rather like the initials in MS Royal 16.F.ii), and many of the margins are decorated with fine floral sprays¹. Unlike the Tudor songbooks, this collection seems to have been designed for personal, rather than public or communal, use; its small size (only about 8¼ x 5¼ inches, almost half the size of MS Addit.5465), and its sumptuous decoration suggest that it must have been something of an objet de luxe, for chamber use only - if indeed for any sort of practical use at all. Many similar continental collections of attractively displayed words and music can be cited² - perhaps the most notable are the Chansonnier Cordiforme (Paris, BN MS Rothschild 2973) and the Laborde Chansonnier (Washington D.C., Library of Congress MS M2.I L252 Case - the initials in this

1. See the facsimile, L.L. Perkins & H. Garey (eds.), The Mellon Chansonnier (New Haven 1978).

2. A useful list is provided in Droz & Piaget Le Jardin de Plaisance ii p.105, updated by H.M. Brown, Music in the French Secular Theatre (Cambridge, Mass. 1963) pp.285-93.

collection are actually historiated with scenes relevant to the songs) - but no comparable English volumes survive. The obvious conclusions are either that the smaller-scale chansonnier was not a favoured type of manuscript in England, or (probably more likely) that anyone with the fashionable continental notion of desiring one specified that it include only fashionable continental songs. The library of Prince Arther again provides a clue on this point: Magdalene College, Cambridge, MS Pepys 1760, which seems to have belonged to him, is a small book of songs with French and Latin texts, copied and decorated by Flemish scribes and artists, and, 'elegantly prickt and illuminated' (in the words of the seventeenth-century library catalogue)¹ with floral borders and illuminated initials.

(iii) Ornamented Lyrics.

One step down the scale from lyrics with initials and borders which have been in some way decorated come those which have been awarded lesser ornamentation of some kind - coloured flourishing of initial letters, perhaps. These fall into two categories: firstly, ornamented copies of lyrics in manuscripts where the longer items have been allotted some more comprehensive decoration, and secondly, ornamented copies of lyrics in manuscripts where such ornament is merely the norm. The distinction may seem a petty one, but it is useful in assessing the role that the lyrics were felt to play in the volume as a whole. MS Fairfax 16, of course, provides clear examples of lyrics from this first category. While the amalgamated Complaints of Mars and Venus at the beginning of the volume are decorated (in a relatively sumptuous fashion), none of the remaining items - which include a further twenty-eight courtly lyrics - is awarded anything more than coloured ornament and rubrication. This seems to be a case in which a small amount of decoration was added to an already completed manuscript, inserted in the most practically convenient position (the beginning), in an attempt to enhance the status of the collection as a whole.

1. M.R. James, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Library of Samuel Pepys: Part III, Medieval Manuscripts (London 1923) pp.36-38.

Perhaps more interesting from this angle is MS Selden B.24, where the decoration is less of an added extra, and must have been anticipated when the collection was first projected. Here it very definitely singles out the most important item in the manuscript - a copy of Troilus and Criseyde. The poem begins with an illuminated border, and a delicately historiated initial; further illuminated borders follow, some of them marking the openings of the subsequent books¹. Illuminated borders also highlight the opening stanzas of The Kingis Quair, the individual Legends of Good Women, The Complaint of the Black Knight, The Cuckoo and the Nightingale, and the Hymn in Praise of the Virgin. Oddly enough, the Complaints of Mars and Venus are juxtaposed here as they are in MS Fairfax 16 (although a pointed rubric, 'The Complaynt of Venus folowith', marks the break between them). Mars begins with a decorative border, as does its own internal 'complaint', but Venus is merely ornamented, in the same style as the two other lengthy formal love lyrics in the collection - The Lay of Sorrow and The Lover's Complaint². Because the manuscript was rebound in the eighteenth century, and many of its leaves cut out and remounted, it is now impossible to reconstruct the original collation to see how the lyrics fitted into the general scheme - it seems quite possible that they were used as 'fillers', albeit of a somewhat lengthy sort; their position in the 'decorative hierarchy' of the manuscript certainly indicates a minor role.

The two pseudo-Chaucerian lyrics in MS Tanner 346 are much more evidently 'fillers', and like the minor poems of MS Selden B.24, they are merely ornamented, singled out for much less prominence than some of the longer items in the collections. This manuscript has been ornamented in red, and rubricated throughout, but on the opening recto a three-margin border and a large, coloured initial letter introduce The Legend of Good Women. Large coloured initials introduce most of the other Chaucerian texts. The lyrics come mainly at the end of the first of the four booklets which make up the manuscript³.

1. Interestingly, another border on f.111v marks the end of the Litera Troili at Book V, line 1421.
2. The third love lyric in this manuscript is an addition to the original copy, and is neither decorated nor ornamented.
3. The Ballade with Envoy to Alison concludes the second booklet, and another, later fragment has been scribbled onto one of the final leaves.

This is made up of ten gatherings - nine eights, and one closing bifolium. It includes The Legend of Good Women, The Letter of Cupid, Anelida and Arcite, the Complaints of Mars and Venus (juxtaposed again), and three more lyrics - Chaucer's Complaint unto Pity, and the anonymous ballades As ofte as syghes ben in herte trewe and For lak of sighte grete cause haue I to pleyne. These three start half-way down the recto of the sixth leaf of the last eight, and continue onto the final bifolium, almost as if the scribe, having intended to include The Complaint Unto Pity, as a filler, became carried away, and was forced to include two extra leaves to complete his project. But the lyrics still occupy a minor place in the manuscript; their role is something like that of an encore - tantalizing, but essentially final, and confirmed as such by the unemphatic ornament.

Moving on to ornamented lyrics in manuscripts where modest ornament, rather than decoration or illumination, is the norm, we come to workmanlike collections such as Durham University Library MS Cosin V.II.13, and BL MSS Harley 2251, Harley 7333, Cotton Cleopatra D.vii, Royal Appendix 58, and Sloane 1584. Some of these are professional or semi-professional productions in which a separate rubricator or flourisher has been brought in to supply the ornament; others are amateur collections in which the owner-scribe has done all the work himself. BL MS Sloane 1212 might also be included here as containing uniquely 'ornamented' lyrics, for its scribe surrounded his love-poems with mottoes and names which have a semi-decorative effect. Apart from MS Cotton Cleopatra D.vii, which seems to have been compiled over a number of years and added to at different dates, these are all planned collections, in which the ornament often plays a helpful, clarifying part: it can indicate the breaks between items, or highlight particular stanza forms. Beyond this, though, it has little significance, and tells us nothing more about lyrics than that they were considered worthy of inclusion, on equal terms, with the other contents of 'respectable' productions like these.

(iv) Lyrics with Projected but Incomplete Decoration.

Ironically, this is one of the largest groups. Again, it involves several workmanlike, professionally-copied collections - MSS Pepys 2006, TCC R.3.19, BL Addit.34360 and Harley 7578 (section I), and Longleat 258; two songbooks, BL MS Addit. 5665, and Escorial MS IV. A.24, are also included. Sometimes the decoration or ornament has been partially completed: in BL MS Addit.5665, for example, the religious songs, which were the first pieces to be copied, are laid out with large blue initials on a red flourished ground; the courtly love-songs, which (on the evidence of the hands) were copied in at a later date, were mostly destined to receive the same sort of treatment, and appropriately-sized spaces were left for the decoration of the initials, but for some reason the work was never carried out. Sometimes, flourishing and rubrication have been supplied, but not the decoration of the major initials, as is the case with the first booklet of MS Pepys 2006: work on the capitals here was never started, and only the guide-letters remain; BL MSS Addit.34360 and Harley 7578, and TCC MS R.3.19 are the same, while MS Longleat 258 remains altogether untouched. The case of the Trinity manuscript is particularly tantalizing, for - infuriatingly enough - this is one of the fullest anthologies of love lyrics, and it would have provided interesting evidence about the decoration of such poems. The plan was obviously to decorate or ornament the initial letter of every piece in the collection; gaps three lines deep have been left in the appropriate places, and only small scribal guide-letters written in. Exactly why the planned decoration was abandoned is impossible to tell. The manuscript was produced in booklet form, and it was possibly sold, undecorated and in small portions, at a fairly low price. Perhaps the option of later decoration was purposely left to the owner, enabling him to embellish his growing library as and when his means permitted. The manuscript certainly looks as if it was produced for open sale, rather than commissioned. Decoration evidently was sometimes added to manuscripts once they had left the scriptorium (or, to put it more conservatively once they had left the hands of the scribe). BL MS Harley 2887, a book of hours, has had twelve leaves containing miniatures inserted some time after the initial copying in order to turn it into a 'luxury edition'¹. Unfortunately,

1. K. Scott, 'A Mid-Fifteenth-Century English Illuminating Shop and its Customers', JWCI (1968) pp.170-96.

of course, the nature of the decoration planned for MS R.3.19 will never be known - it may have taken the form of simple coloured capitals, or on the other hand of more sumptuous historiated initials. In its present form, along with the other instances included in this section, all it can provide is evidence that English love lyrics were not automatically excluded from decorative schemes.

(v) Added Lyrics in Decorated and Ornamented Manuscripts.

Information on these is provided more for completeness than for any other reason, as the lyrics themselves, jotted in at a later stage, are without exception undecorated and informally laid out. The following illuminated manuscripts (described in more detail in the Catalogue below) contain added courtly lyrics:

- (a) St. John's College, Cambridge, B.12; Gower, Confessio Amantis;
- (b) Trinity College, Cambridge, R.4.10: Mandeville's Travels and Lydgate's Siege of Thebes;
- (c) Cambridge University Library Gg.4.12: Capgrave's Chronicle;
- (d) National Library of Scotland 6128: the Brut (illuminated portions have been cut out);
- (e) Glasgow University, Hunterian 230: the Brut (illuminated portions cut out, again);
- (f) BL Royal 17.D.vi: Hoccleve, Regiment of Princes;
- (g) BL Royal 17.D.xviii: Hoccleve, Regiment of Princes;
- (h) BL Sloane 3501: The Master of Game (illuminated portions cut out);
- (i) Bodl.Laud misc.735: poems by Hoccleve;
- (j) Corpus Christi College, Oxford, D.61: Lydgate's poems on St. Edmund;

while plainer, ornamented manuscripts with courtly lyric additions are:

- (k) Trinity College, Cambridge R.3.17; Parthenay;
- (l) BL Addit. 38666: The Stanzaic Life of Christ;
- (m) BL Harley 1317: Statutes;
- (n) BL Harley 4011: anthology of English verse and prose;
- (o) Lambeth Palace 432: works of spiritual guidance;
- (p) Bodleian Ashmole 39: Lydgate, Life of Our Lady;
- (q) Bodley 120: Lydgate, Life of Our Lady.

Fuller information on all of these will be found in the individual manuscript descriptions.

The 'average' Medieval manuscript has been described by Otto Pächt and Jonathan Alexander as one 'in which illumination is confined to initials and borders'¹. The brief survey offered above has revealed that very few English courtly love lyrics are associated with manuscripts which are even humbly ornamented, let alone rich in such visual delights as illuminated borders and initials. Only a handful of the lyrics are decorated; rather more might be described as ornamented in some way, but still the number which have been carefully or attractively presented remains very small. A slight distortion in the evidence is brought about by those lyrics which have been copied as additions on already-illuminated volumes, but the average production including lyrics is plain and unelaborate, with no decoration, and little attention paid to the layout of the texts. The polysyllabic aureate lyric in BL MS Harley 541 (O desiderabull dyamunt), for example - not a later addition to the copy, but a planned part of the manuscript's contents - is scribbled out as prose in untidy, uneven lines, and peters out at the foot of the page. In the terms of Pächt and Alexander, then, it would seem that we are faced with a large assortment of 'sub-average' manuscripts when we start to look for English courtly love lyrics. Why should so little attention be paid to the visual impact of the poems? Is it a general feature of English manuscripts of the time, or is it more closely connected with the particular nature of the texts in question - short, secular, often gathered together in anthologies with somewhat randomly assorted material?

III. Manuscript Illumination in England.

Some clues to these points might lie in the general history and tradition of manuscript illumination in England. On the whole, while this did not necessarily lag behind continental fashions, it was always subject to enormous continental influence, most especially in the late fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries, when fashions varied with the political situation. The frequent trafficking between England and France during the Hundred Years War (and especially the residence in England of wealthy and book-loving French prisoners held for ransom - Jean le Bon in the fourteenth century, Charles d'Orléans and Jean d'Angoulême in the fifteenth) made for close cultural links.

1. Catalogue iii p.v.

Bedford's purchase, during his regency of France, of a large number of volumes from the royal library brought many French manuscripts to the notice of English readers, and his patronage of French scribes and artists merely strengthened the impact of fashionable foreign styles. Henry VI's choice of a French wife, Margaret of Anjou, set the royal seal of approval on this taste for French texts and French craftsmen. The so-called 'Fastolf Master', responsible for the illumination of several manuscripts which belonged to Sir John Fastolf¹, was a Frenchman who started his career in Paris and Rouen: most of the manuscripts with which he is associated contain only French texts. BL MS Harley 4605, a collection of works by Christine de Pisan, was copied in London in 1434 by a Frenchman named Pierre Delafitte who supplied information about himself in the colophon². By the later part of the century, the centre of influence had changed from France to Burgundy. Edward IV's allies were the Burgundian dukes, and his own period of exile in Bruges permitted closer acquaintance with the contents of Burgundian libraries, and with Flemish scribes and illuminators. The fashion for the Flemish style quickly spread, and both manuscripts and craftsmen came to England to supply the English market. Baron Hastings, a close associate of Edward, followed the royal lead and procured for himself a copy of Froissart's Chronicles with Flemish miniatures³. Bodleian MS Jones 43, an illuminated Book of Hours, is an example of one of the many Flemish productions, destined specifically for the English market⁴. One of the few identifiable artists working in England in the later fifteenth century - the so-called 'Owl Illuminator' discussed by Kathleen Scott - was probably himself Flemish⁵.

This massive foreign influence has tended to discourage interest in manuscript illumination in England during the period, and as recently

1. J.J. G. Alexander, 'A Lost Leaf from a Bodleian Book of Hours', BLR 8 (1971) pp.248-51, and William Abell.
2. Manly & Rickert, Canterbury Tales, i p.574.
3. BL MS Royal 18.E.i; see Warner & Gilson, Catalogue of Royal MSS ii p.314.
4. Pächt & Alexander, Catalogue i p.23.
5. Scott, JWCI 31.

as 1954, Margaret Rickert was able to describe the later decades of the fifteenth century as

barren years indeed, when the Franco-English style of illumination of the earlier part of the century dragged out a poor and on the whole undistinguished existence¹.

More detailed and productive research into the work of English artists and ateliers is now being carried out, however, and it is becoming evident that, while foreign influences of one sort or another were undoubtedly strong, plenty of readers commissioned copies of English texts from local craftsmen (whether native, or resident aliens). William Abell, or an artist associated with him, illuminated Stephen Scrope's English version of The Dicts and Sayings of the Philosophers (MS Bodley 943), and his translation of Christine de Pisan's Epitre d'Othée (St. John's College, Cambridge, MS H.5)², while the London draper Thomas Kippyng ordered for himself an English translation of the Somme le Roi - The Mirroure of the World - and commissioned illustrations for it from the Flemish 'Owl-Illuminator'³. Kippyng's commissioning throws interesting light on the social range of readers able to afford and order illuminated manuscripts, and combined with other information from contemporary records, suggests that such volumes were not only for the very rich. While, near the top of the social ladder, John Howard, Duke of Norfolk, paid £2. 10s. 2d. to 'Thomas, lymnour, of Bury', in 1467, for the decorating and binding of what seems to have been a book of hours⁴, a much more obscure gentleman from Somerset, one William Kayleway, leaving his 'new missal' to the parish church of Shirborne, gave instructions in his will 'that the said missel shall be well and suitably illuminated and bound'⁵.

1. M. Rickert, Painting in Britain: The Middle Ages (London 1954), p.181.
2. Alexander, William Abell.
3. K. Scott (intro.), The Mirroure of the Worlde; MS Bodley 283, Roxburghe Club (Oxford 1980).
4. T.H. Turner (ed.), Manners and Household Expenses of England in the Thirteenth and Fifteenth Centuries, Roxburghe Club. (London 1841), pp.419-20.
5. F.W. Weaver, Somerset Medieval Wills, Somerset Record Society 16 (1901), p.218.

All this is enough to suggest that the commissioning and production of decorated and aesthetically-pleasing manuscripts was relatively flourishing in England during the later fifteenth century, even if the quality of the work produced cannot rival continental counterparts. Foreign influences, French and then Flemish, were certainly strong, and no doubt the wealthiest and most fashionable book-owners preferred both foreign texts and foreign workmanship, but we cannot, in an attempt to explain away the paucity of decorated lyric manuscripts, put forward the argument that pleasing copies of English texts were never produced. The proportion of Canterbury Tales manuscripts which have been illuminated - about one third of the total number¹ - may seem surprisingly small for such a prestigious text, but it is still proof enough that some kind of tradition of decorating English poems was established. Far fewer than one third of the lyrics considered here are illuminated, or even crudely ornamented; even though this may be in part explained away by the distortion of evidence resulting from so high a proportion of 'flyleaf' copies, it is still a strangely provoking fact. What else might account for it?

A possible contributory factor might be the peculiarly English preoccupation with liturgical, rather than secular texts, as items suitable for inclusion in an illuminated manuscript. This would no doubt mean that any precedent for the decoration of secular lyrics would have to be a continental, rather than a native one. Until the later thirteenth century, the range of illustrated or decorated secular texts, in England and in Western Europe generally, was a limited one: Panofsky restricts it to medical, legal, and professional treatises - where the illustrations frequently served as necessary explanatory diagrams - and a few well-known epics - the stories of Lancelot, Tristan and Roland². Privately-owned illustrated books might include examples of some of these, but would be made up primarily of liturgical manuscripts: psalters, in the thirteenth century,

1. Manly & Rickert, Canterbury Tales i p.561.

2. Early Netherlandish Painting (Cambridge, Mass., 1953) p.28.

and by the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, breviaries and books of hours. Once a tradition of secular illumination began to establish itself (seemingly in Germany, first of all), a division between secular and liturgical books became more marked. Full-page miniatures, for example, became a particular feature of liturgical books, where 'associated illustrations', or even scenes quite unconnected with the text, were more permissible than in secular narratives, for which the conjunction of illustration and action was a more demanding one¹. England, it seems, produced very little in the way of secular illumination, especially in comparison with other European countries: it is not until the fifteenth century that cycles of illustration appear in connection with English texts - the Confessio Amantis, and The Canterbury Tales, first of all².

In view of this historical preference in England for illustrations and decoration associated with religious subject-matter, it is hardly surprising that manuscript copies of religious lyrics tended more frequently to be decorated in some way than secular ones. The practice was anyway sanctioned by illuminated collections of religious poems in Latin. The Prayers and Meditations collected together under the name of St. Anselm, dating from the twelfth century, were accompanied by illustrations which Anselm himself seems to have helped to execute³. The devotional and meditative purposes of the collection are made clear in a passage in the preface, which suggests that they be read (or recited) 'non...in tumultu, sed in quiete, nec cursim et velociter, sed paulatim cum intenta et morosa meditatione'⁴. The 'intent and mournful meditation' would no doubt

1. A. Stones, 'Secular Manuscript Illumination in France', C. Kleinhenz (ed.), Medieval Manuscripts and Textual Criticism (Chapel Hill 1976) pp.83-102, and D. Bland, The Illustration of Books (3rd edition, London 1962) p. 24.
2. E. Salter & D.A. Pearsall, 'Pictorial Illustration of Late Medieval Poetic Texts: the Role of the Frontispiece or Prefatory Picture', F.G. Andersen et al. (eds.), Medieval Iconography and Narrative (Odense 1980) pp.100-123.
3. PL 158, col.709ff. The illustrations are discussed by O. Pächt, 'The Illustrations of St. Anselm's Prayers and Meditations', JWCI 19 (1956) pp.68-83.
4. Quoted by S. Manning, Wisdom and Number (Lincoln, Nebraska 1962), p.85.

be positively and helpfully concentrated by the provision of some appropriate visual images on which to fix the mind's eye. While illustrated copies of devotional lyrics are by no means numerous in England¹, they are still plentiful enough to provide a significant contrast with short secular poems. Some examples of the collections which do survive are the 'Amherst Manuscript' described by R.H. Robbins², a tiny volume measuring only $4\frac{3}{4}$ by $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches, yet containing thirty-nine coloured pictures; Bodleian MS Douce 1, similar in format³; the well-known mid-fifteenth-century Carthusian anthology, BL MS Addit.37049, with its 'emblem verses'⁴; and Trinity College, Cambridge, MS R.3.21, a collection associated with some of the significantly unillustrated verse anthologies which contain courtly lyrics.⁵

IV. The Illustration and Decoration of Lyrics in French Manuscripts.

Right from the beginnings of secular illumination in the Middle Ages, lyrics in continental manuscripts had been illustrated. Some of the most outstanding of all early illuminated texts, secular or otherwise, are collections which include love-songs: from Germany, the Carmina Burana of about 1200 (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek c1m 4660/4660a), and the Manessische and Weingartner Liederhandschriften of the early 1300s (Heidelberg Univ.Bibl.cod.pal.germ.848, and Stuttgart Wurtembergischer Landesbibl.HB XII i); from France (or possibly the Netherlands) two chansonniers of the mid-thirteenth century, Arras, Bibl.Mun.657, and Montpellier, Bibl.de la Faculte de Medicine H.196 . The illustrative potential of short poems like these is perhaps best suggested by a description of one of these continental manuscripts, a rather later French collection, contemporary with the English lyrics on which I am concentrating. This is BL MS Stowe 955, a tiny manuscript which measures only $5\frac{1}{4}$ by $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches⁶. It is enclosed in a leather-

1. R. Woolf expresses surprise at their scarcity: Religious Lyric p.199.
2. 'The "Arma Christi" Rolls', MLR 34 (1939) pp.414-21.
3. D. Gray, 'The Five Wounds of Our Lord', NQ 208 (1963) pp.50-51, 82-89, 127-34, 163-68; and J.C. Hirsch, 'Two English Devotional Poems of the Fifteenth Century', NQ 213 (1968) pp.4-11.
4. T.W. Ross, 'Five-Fifteenth-Century "Emblem Verses" from Brit. Mus.Addit. MS 37049', Speculum 32 (1957) pp.274-82.
5. See above pp.20-21.
6. For a description, see Catalogue of Stowe Manuscripts in the British Museum (2 vols, London 1895-96) i pp.638-39.

covered wooden case, which is panelled, and decorated in green, gold, and maroon, with a floral design incorporating the initials 'M' and 'P'. Two rings on either side of the case seem to have been provided for a chain or thong by which the manuscript could be hung from the girdle¹. Traces of an original green velvet binding remain on the volume inside the case. The lyrics themselves are copied either in gold over a maroon colour-wash, or in red on a white background decorated with gold and green. The opening prose address nicely sets the tone:

A vous ma treschiere et tres honnore dame ma dame [...] /
celle que de mon enfance jey to/sioure voullu eymer seruir
pryser/ ethonorer de toute ma puissa/nce plus que mille
vivante pour/ les grans biens qui sont en vous/ comme la
plus apparent et la/ plus souffisante et celle qui a/ mon
avis a tousiours passe tou/tes aultres de sens donneur et/
de valleur... (f.1r).

At the end of the volume, in mirror-writing, is another plea from the donor:

Reguardez en pytye
vostre loyal amy
qui na jour ne demy
Rien pour vostre amytye. (f.16v).

A note written in a later hand next to the full-page portrait which concludes the manuscript reveals the identities of the lover and his mistress:

Cet de vray le Portret de Pierre Sala, Maistre Hotelle chez
le Roy, avec des enigmes quil avoit fet a sa metresse qui
estoit grand honete a Madame de Rassis, laquelle est sortie
de la mayson de Guillaen en Quercy (f.16v).

Pierre Sala, from Lyon, was equerry to Charles VIII of France from 1483-98, and an intimate friend of Jean Perréal, miniaturist and portraitist, who was court painter to the family of Bourbon.

1. The practice of hanging books from the girdle seems to have been a reasonably common one. A narrow parchment strip carrying moral precepts in Latin, now amongst the Throckmorton Muniments at Coughton Court, Alcester, was intended to be rolled up and carried about in a purse; the instructions on it begin 'deferatur in bursa semper'; W.A. Pantin, 'Instructions for a Devout and Literate Layman', J.J.G. Alexander & M.T. Gibson (eds.), Medieval Learning and Literature: Essays Presented to R.W. Hunt (Oxford 1976) pp.398-422. One George Medley's accounts for the year 1550 record a payment 'for a boke for my cosen Margaret covered with velvett to hange at hir gerdell, xxd'; HMC Report on the MSS of Lord Middleton (London 1911) p.402.

The friendship obviously supplies good grounds for the theory that Perréal was responsible for the miniatures in MS Stowe 995, although there have been doubts about this¹. Sala is of course the 'P' of the devices on the case of the manuscript; the 'M' must have been Marguerite Bulliond, who was to become his wife. The lyrics addressed to her are slight, to say the least, and a greater impact is made by their decorative surroundings than by their content.

The first one,

Mon cuer veult estre en ceste margueryte
Il y sera quoy quanuyeux dyront
Et mes pancees tousiours la seruiront
Pource quellest de toutes fleurs lelyte (f.5v),

accompanies a miniature which depicts the lover, dressed in black, dropping a red heart into the centre of a large daisy; small pansies (the 'pancees' of the text) surround the larger flower. The text here is written in gold on a purple background, above a large, gold initial 'M'; other lyrics are copied in red, sometimes on a scroll, sometimes on a sort of plaque-like white monument set within an ornate, 'curtained' frame which is embellished with bows, knots, and - again - the letters 'M' and 'P'. Surprisingly, not all the lyrics are love-poems. One or two take the form of vague moral warnings, like this one:

Le temps est tel notz ce mot
pour bien jouer son personnage
Le saige contrefait le sot
Et le fou contrefait le saige (f.9v).

The accompanying miniature here, offering as literal an interpretation of the text^{as} that set with the love-lyric above, has a bizarre, faintly surreal effect.

I have described this manuscript at length to show exactly the kind of decorative purposes which lyrics could serve when associated with sumptuous illustrations. In an age when manuscripts, like jewels

1. Information on Perréal and on Pierre Sala is provided by Grete Ring, A Century of French Painting (London 1949) pp.242-3, 246, and 'An Attempt to Reconstruct Jean Perreal', Burlington Magazine 92 (1950) pp.158-59; M. Hullet d'Istria, 'Au Sujet d'Articles Récents sur Jean Perréal, le Maître aux Pieds-Bots', Gazette des Beaux-Arts 40 (1952) pp.57-63. Miss Janet Backhouse, of the British Library's Department of Manuscripts, supported the attribution of at least some of the work to Perréal, in a recent unpublished lecture entitled 'A Contemporary of Jean Bourdichon, and MS Yates Thompson 5'.

and rich fabrics, were important objets de luxe, valued for their aesthetic appeal and for their status as evidence of the wealth of their owners¹, collections of courtly lyrics offered a convenient inspiration and accompaniment for rich, colourful scenes of aristocratic life, or for decorative allegorizing, in the fashion of Sala's poem on the marguerite. Sala and Perréal, presumably collaborating on the organization and design of this manuscript, had a well-established and broad French tradition of lyric illustration and decoration to draw on. Their manuscript, in its concern with the rich and precious (in both senses of the word), perhaps most resembles those chansonniers in which collections of love-songs were brought together for specifically decorative, rather than practical purposes. A manuscript made for Jean de Montchenu, Bishop of Agen and Viviers, now known as the Chansonnier Cordiforme (Paris, BN MS Rothschild 1973), is the supreme example of these; its songs are set out on leaves which are cut and bound in the shape of a double heart, with musical notation, writing and miniatures all contributing to one splendid assault on the senses².

With this fashion for unashamedly luxury manuscripts, though, there co-existed a more respectably literary tradition of illuminated copies of lyrics by major, recognized poets. Machaut and Deschamps, the most prolific French writers of love-lyrics in the fourteenth century, offered illuminated copies of their works to various noble patrons, and these presentation exemplars were to spawn further decorated copies. Fourteenth-century illuminated copies of Machaut's lyrics (sometimes collected with other works) include BN MSS fr.1584, 1587, 9221 and 22545-6, while MSS fr.881, 1586 and 2230 are all decorated copies made in the fifteenth century.³

Deschamps was perhaps less interested than many of his contemporaries in the potential aesthetic appeal of manuscripts⁴, but his lyrics were

1. Apparent in the way in which manuscripts are often listed in wills and inventories along with other articles of material value.
2. E.L. Kottick, 'The Chansonnier Cordiforme', JAMS 20 (1967) pp.10-27.
3. H. Omont, La Bibliothèque Nationale: Catalogue Générale des Manuscrits Français 9 vols. (Paris 1895-1902) provides brief descriptions. See also E.A. Keitel 'The Musical Manuscripts of Guillaume de Machaut', Early Music 5 (1977) pp.469-72.
4. D. Poirion, Le Poète et le Prince (Paris 1965) pp.205ff.

nonetheless illustrated: BN MS n.a.6235, consisting of six stray leaves from 'un tres beau manuscrit', survives as evidence of this¹. Amongst the works which Froissart presented to his patrons, too, were illustrated copies of his 'dittiers et traitiers amoureux', such as BN MSS fr.830-31, which were made for Wenceslas, Duke of Luxembourg, in 1393 and 1394². Froissart's own description of Richard II's acceptance of a volume of his works lays special emphasis on the king's appreciation of the artistic value of the gift:

et luy pleut tres grandement, et bien plaie luy devoit
car il estoit enlumine, escript et historie et couvert de
vermail velours a dix clous attaches d'argent dores et
richement ouvres au milieu de roses d'or.³

Information of a slightly different kind about the illumination of French lyrics at this time comes from the account books of Charles VII of France, which record a payment of 308 livres to Macé Escorrier for 148 vignettes added to two collections of 'chansons'⁴.

Some of the most interesting French lyric manuscripts are those containing the works of Christine de Pisan, for it seems almost certain that Christine herself supervised the execution of several of these collections (especially those destined for presentation), and was closely involved in the choice of any illumination⁵. During her lifetime she appears to have prepared at least three editions of her minor poems: between 1402-1405, an edition now represented by BN MSS fr.604 and 12779, and Chantilly, Musée Condé MSS 492-3; between 1405 and 1410, a second edition in one volume which is now split up into BN MSS fr.835, 606, 605 and 836; finally between 1410 and 1415,

1. H. Omont (ed.) Bibliothèque Nationale: Nouvelles Acquisitions Françaises (3 vols. 1899-1918), ii - iii p.422.
2. Omont, Catalogue Générale i p.92.
3. K. de Lettenhove (ed.), Jean Froissart: Chroniques 25 vols. (Brussels 1870-77) xv p.164.
4. Poirion, Poète et Prince p.171.
5. C.C. Willard, 'An Autograph Manuscript of Christine de Pisan?' Studi Francesi 9 (1965) pp.452-59; E. Hicks, 'The Second "Autograph" Edition of Christine de Pisan's Lesser Poetical Works', abstract of a paper given at the second St. Louis Conference on Manuscript Studies, Manuscripta 20 (1976) pp.14-15.

an edition which survives as BL MS Harley 4431. The second and third of these are especially outstanding for the quality of their execution; they were prepared respectively for Jean de Berry and Isabeau de Bavière, and have become known as 'le manuscrit du duc' and 'le manuscrit de la reine'. Both are large volumes, rich in illumination. The later one is slightly fuller, containing the Cent Balades d'Amant et de Dame and nine Aultres Balades which are not found in Jænde Berri's copy. Christine de Pisan's total output, apart from longer works and prose treatises, includes about three hundred balades, seventy rondeaux, and twenty virelais. These lyrics take the form of series (sometimes linked by a theme, like the Cent Balades d'Amant et de Dame, but not necessarily), or of 'insets' into longer narrative poems like Le Livre du Duc des Vrais Amans. MS Harley 4431, the last and most complete of the 'editions' to be supervised by the author, contains nine groups of lyrics:

- (i) Cent Balades, ff.4r-21r;
- (ii) Virelays, ff.21r-23v;
- (iii) Balades de Plusieurs Facons, ff.24r-28v;
- (iv) Rondelz, ff.28v-34r;
- (v) Jeux a Vendre, ff.34r-37v;
- (vi) Plusieurs Balades de Divers Propos, ff.37v-48r;
- (vii) Encore Aultres Balades, ff.49v-51r;
- (viii) Le Livre du Duc des Vrays Amans, ff.143r-173v;
- (ix) Cent Balades d'Amant et de Dame, ff.376r-396r.

All the lyrics in the manuscript (like the longer works) are given decorated initials, two lines high, and some of the linked series are prefaced by miniatures. The Cent Balades begin with a picture of Christine herself, sitting at a desk and writing in a bound volume, with a small dog at her feet. The Cent Balades d'Amant et de Dame are prefaced by a miniature depicting a lady and a lover inside a bower of roses within a walled garden, presumably exchanging some of the one hundred balades, in dialogue form, which make up the series. This general 'situational' illustration which paints in a background to the lyrics, an occasion or a set of circumstances to which they would be appropriate, seems to have been a favourite device; in the early sixteenth century, with the collections of printed lyrics in Le Jardin de Plaisance, the accompanying woodcuts follow a similar pattern, with one, set with a group of unconnected love poems entitled 'Comme les

amans qui sont audit iar/din de plaisance ... se esioyssent et esbatent a faire/ plusieurs balades & rondeaux ... Et dautres plusieurs choses ioyeuses¹, showing merely a representative couple in a representative garden¹. The miniatures included with Le Livre du Duc des Vravs Amans obviously have a ready-made narrative as their inspiration, and do not need to rely on this idea of providing a sort of backcloth. Significant and colourful events have been picked out from the story, and the miniatures rarely make reference to the included lyrics; one, for instance, shows the hunting interlude during which the lover declares himself to the lady, and another the jousting at which the lady admires the lover's prowess. Only the last miniature is set with lyrics, prefacing a group of woeful rondeaux and balades which are headed 'comment lamant se complaint a son compaignon' (f.15/v); it shows the lover stretched out on a bed, 'complaining' to his sympathetically listening friend.

There are more examples among later French manuscripts of miniatures accompanying narratives with embedded lyrics like these. More directly contemporary with the English poems considered here is the Livre du Cueur d'Amours Espris of René D'Anjou, a dream narrative which includes numerous lyrics and (in most of the copies) numerous full-page illustrations. Six manuscripts of the work survive², but the earliest and most carefully executed, now Vienna Staatsbibliothek Cod.Vind.2597, and probably René's own private copy, is the best known. The work was composed in (or by) 1457, and René's own manuscript probably dates from only a short time after this; in it are sixteen full-page miniatures, and spaces for twenty-nine more - the missing miniatures are completed only in later copies. The identity of the artist who worked on this earliest manuscript is still disputed, and with convenient ambiguity he is usually labelled as the 'Master of René d'Anjou', although there seems reasonable evidence to support

1. Droz & Plaget, Le Jardin de Plaisance i f.1v, verso.
2. The other five MSS (three in the Bibliothèque Nationale, one in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, and one in the Vatican Library) all date from the late fifteenth century. See Unterkircher, Le Livre du Cueur d'Amours Espris.

the theory that the Duke provided the illumination himself¹. At all events, writer and artist must have worked in close collaboration.

It is particularly interesting that these illustrations, like the miniatures accompanying Christine de Pisan's Livre du Duc des Vrays Amans, should 'punctuate' the text at significant moments, just as the lyrics themselves do. This highlights a certain ornamental potential of lyrics embedded within a longer narrative which seems never to have been adequately remarked. Like miniatures, which are often inserted in longer poems to provide a pleasant resting-place for the reader², these lyrics have a certain capacity to summarize 'the story so far', to encapsulate the quintessential mood of the text, to impose a sort of pause in the narrative for reflection or relaxation. Furthermore, their effect is partly, like that of miniatures, a visual one, for they are set apart from the continuous narrative and differentiated by their self-contained metrical and rhyming patterns. A.K. Moore, in his study of Chaucer's interpolated lyrics, writes of them in rhetorical terms as 'embroidery' and 'elaborate scrollwork', but he does not make explicit the similarity between metaphorical and literal, painted 'colours'³. 'Embedded' courtly poems are to be found in fifteenth-century English narratives as well as French ones, as English disciples of Chaucer followed his example in using the device: The Kingis Quair, The Temple of Glass and The Complaint of the Black Knight perhaps contain some of the most notable instances⁴. That English readers were familiar with

1. Ring, French Painting pp.207,246, and O. Pächt, 'René d'Anjou et les Van Eyck', Cahiers de l'Association Internationale des Etudes Françaises 8 (1956) pp.41-67.
2. Salter & Pearsall, Pictorial Illustration pp.103,106.
3. A.K. Moore, 'Chaucer's Use of Lyric as an Ornament of Style', Comp.Lit. 3 (1951) pp.32-46.
4. For example, The Kingis Quair lines 232-38, 358-64,435-41, 1317-1337; The Temple of Glass lines 321-69, 461-502, 567-693, 701-847, 970-1046, 1341-61; The Complaint of the Black Knight lines 218-574 (a lengthier instance).

'spotting' lyrics used like this is indicated by the marginal comments added in Bodleian MS Tanner 346, by a hand which appears nowhere else in the volume, pointing out 'cantus' or 'litera' at appropriate points in the text of The Legend of Good Women¹. In the same way, a later reader has written 'cantus' next to the 'ympnis consecrat/ Off lufis vse' sung by the birds in the copy of The Kingis Quair contained in MS Selden B.24².

Because so few English secular narratives were comprehensively illustrated, in comparison with French counterparts, though, we can find out little from them about any possible connection between punctuating lyrics and punctuating miniatures. Fittingly enough, given this situation, the only clues come from a manuscript where the intended illustrations were never completed - the copy of Troilus and Criseyde in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 61. Gaps for some ninety miniatures were left during the copying stages of this manuscript, but for some undiscovered reason only the famous and much-discussed frontispiece was ever completed. A close inspection reveals that several of the gaps coincide with points in the poem where the narrative, is, as it were, temporarily suspended by what might be best described as a 'lyric utterance' of some kind³. The first and most suggestive instance comes early in the first book: the whole of f.11v has been left blank, facing (on f.12r) the five stanzas between lines 386 and 420 which introduce and record Troilus's first song, headed here (as it is, with slight variations, in many other manuscripts), 'cantus Troili'. A miniature similar to that of the prostrated lover in Le Livre du Duc des Vrays Amans may well have been planned. Further on, a gap three stanzas deep has been left for illustration after Book II, line 826 (f.43v), coming just after the introduction of Antigone and just before the persuasive

1. Lines F249ff., F1355ff., F2496ff. - the balade Hyd Absolon thy gilte tresses clere, and the letters written by Dido and Phyllis.
2. Lines 232ff.
3. The locations of the projected illustrations are listed by J.H. Fisher, 'The Intended Illustrations in MS Corpus Christi 61 Of Chaucer's Troilus and Criseyde', J.B. Bessinger Jnr. & R.R. Raymo (eds.), Medieval Studies in Honor of Lillian Herlands Hornstein (New York 1976) pp.111-21. Fisher does not remark upon the coincidence of some of these with the embedded lyrics in the piece, however.

song she sings. Rather differently, on ff.47v and 53v gaps have been left for illustrations which precede significant moments when letters are written or read; the first comes just before Pandarus's advice to Troilus 'towchyng thi lettre' (Book II line 1023), and the second as Pandarus hands him Criseyde's reply (after Book II line 1316). What emerges from this, I think, is a hint that English readers and manuscript compilers felt no specific objection either to lyrics inserted in narratives, or to lyrics illustrated and decorated on the continental model. It now remains to summarize the reasons which explain their apparent lack of enthusiasm for them.

VI. Conclusions

All this evidence from French manuscripts makes it clear that lyrics were not thought in any way to be inherently 'unillustrable'. One might suppose that their lack of narrative content made for difficulties in finding suitable accompanying scenes, but it seems that this problem was easily by-passed by the provision of a kind of all-purpose, background picture: the lover uttering his complaint, either alone, or in the company of a lady or a friend. French and other continental lyrics, both in collections and within longer poems, were frequently illustrated or decorated. The dearth of comparable English examples seems to be connected partly with the general paucity of decorated secular texts of any kind in English, and partly with the fact that, traditionally, English secular lyrics did not circulate in large, formal collections. This two-fold lack of precedent no doubt affected more than just the de luxe market: humbler and poorer manuscript compilers (such as might have produced decorated, if not illustrated volumes) had no imposing models to ape. Quite simply, any demand for beautifully-produced copies of lyrics was no doubt amply satisfied by the foreign manuscripts which were so readily available to English readers. The beautifully-produced MS Harley 4431, for example, was in English hands for most of the later part of the fifteenth century¹; René d'Anjou's own daughter was a potent influence on cultural life at the English court for almost thirty years, and procured French

1. See below p.153.

manuscripts for her own library¹; Jean Perréal visited London in 1514 to supervise the wardrobe of Mary Tudor (a frivolously fashionable touch), and to provide the portrait of her which was designed (unsuccessfully) to persuade the Dauphin to marry her². With such obvious preferences dominating the more wealthy and influential part of the manuscript-owning public, it is hardly surprising that no powerful tradition of beautifully-produced lyrics established itself.

1. BL MS Egerton 1070, a book of hours illuminated by the same artist as the Vienna manuscript of Le Livre du Cœur d'Amours Espris - probably René himself - seems to have come to England with Margaret; Pächt, Cahiers 8. The dedicatory verses in the enormous romance collection presented to her by John Talbot, BL MS Royal 15.E.vi, exhort her explicitly not to forget French, and smack of an eager thirst after French culture on the part of the donor; for a description, see D.J. Coulon (ed.), Le Rommant de Guy de Warwik et de Herolt d'Ardenne (Chapel Hill, 1971), introduction.
2. Ring, French Painting p.246.

CHAPTER 3: AUTHORSHIP.

I. Introduction.

Along with the information they offer about the format in which courtly lyrics were copied and read, the manuscripts also contain almost all the available evidence about the authorship (and about the transmission and circulation) of these poems. Sources outside the written copies add little to our knowledge, for other references to lyrics are few, and are generally concerned with details of performance - chronicle descriptions of occasions on which unspecified 'ballades' were sung or read, perhaps¹. Within the manuscripts, the information presented can be either text-based (autobiographical references; linguistic features; stylistic affinities), or else connected with the processes involved in the compilation, copying, and subsequent history of the volume (particular groupings of works; scribal attributions and comments; information about the texts added by subsequent readers). Because the scholarship associated with these poems has so often based itself on modern editions, without recourse to the original manuscripts², the text-based information has tended to receive more attention. In an attempt to redress the balance, this chapter offers a survey which concentrates rather on the second category of information, although it certainly takes into account details embedded within the texts. This will reveal (amongst other things) the degree to which a record of authorship was felt to be necessary or appropriate for these poems, and the range of authors whose identities are recorded.

II. General Evidence of Authorship.

Noticeably few of the authors of these poems seem to have felt the need to publicize their identities in any way, and none of the poems treated here includes the kind of informative and incontestable statement about authorship which might introduce a more substantial narrative work; these poems are not lengthy enough to warrant the kind of autobiographical

1. Some examples are provided by Stevens, Music and Poetry, pp.233-328. cf. another occasion discussed below, p.112.
2. Some of the problems here are highlighted by C. Frey, 'Transcribing and Editing Western Wind', Manuscripta 23 (1979), p.108-11.

mises en scene supplied by Hoccleve's prologues to The Regiment of Princes and to the so-called Sequence of poems addressed to Duke Humphrey, or even by Chaucer's helpful dialogue with the eagle, in The House of Fame¹. Precisely because most of these love-lyrics take the form of a direct address of some kind - a 'complaint', or a 'bill', or perhaps a 'letter' - there is no room, and indeed no real call, for circumstantial detail. The only place where this might be fitting, is, of course, in a cycle of lyrics, organized so that some kind of underlying 'narrative thread' becomes apparent, if it is not explicitly supplied. We have already seen that no such cycle in English survives from the period under consideration; even when we move outside the limits of 'c.1450-1530', the only example to be preserved comes - predictably enough - from the rather earlier English version of the French lyrics of Charles d'Orléans, in which 'the god Cupide and venus the goddes' announce the adoption into their service of 'the duk that folkis calle/ Of Orlyounce'².

An introduction such as this is testimony to the fact that the poet has carefully organized and tidied his work, with an eye to its presentation before a reading (or perhaps listening) public. The available evidence - few collections of lyrics, few carefully executed copies - suggests that no English authors prepared and polished their lyrics in this way, even though plenty of them are known to have supervised and even acted as scribes for their longer and more weighty works³; Chaucer's comparative insouciance about the preservation of all his work was not necessarily characteristic of other writers of the period. Even 'hidden' autobiographical references are scarce in these lyrics, though; there is nothing, for instance, to compare with Higden's device of making the initial letters of the first fifteen chapters of

1. F.J. Furnivall (ed.), The Regiment of Princes, EETS e.s.72 (1897, repr.1973), pp.1-72; the Complaint and the Dialogue in M.C.Seymour (ed.), Selections from Hoccleve (Oxford 1981), pp.75-92; Chaucer House of Fame, Book II.
2. Steele & Day, EETS o.s.215/220, p.1, lines 5-6; a reworking of the section in the French Retenue d'Amours in which Venus and Cupid receive 'le duc d'Orleans/ Nomme Charles, a present jeune d'ans; Champion, Poésies i p.14, lines 401-402.
3. Gower, for example, and Hoccleve and Capgrave (see the works by Fisher, Seymour, and Lucas listed in the Bibliography, for documentation).

the Polychronicon spell out his own name¹. Some of the poems certainly contain tantalizing hints concealed in acrostics or riddles, but the references are usually to the subjects or the recipients of the lyric compliments ('Alison', 'Elin', 'Margaret'), rather than to the author-senders². In any case, because a device of 'covert communication'³ like this is designed to be recognized by a small and intimate circle, a solitary Christian name - uninformative to us - is usually thought to suffice, and can tell us little of the biographical situation underlying the composition. Only the English 'translator' of Charles d'Orléans (once more), and Humphrey Newton, supply us with more leading clues: one of the English lyrics in BN MS fr.25458, Alas mercy wher shal my hert yow fynd, contains an acrostic on the name of 'Anne Molins'; Humphrey Newton includes in his commonplace book one lyric, Her hert I wolde I had i wis, which includes a similarly-placed acrostic on his own name⁴.

If the authors of these poems seem to have been relatively uninterested in ostentatious personal display, however, the scribes have sometimes made up for their unusual modesty: scribal attributions account for most of the connections which can be made between particular lyrics and identifiable individuals. Because these attributions are in most cases contemporary, or nearly contemporary, with the composition of the pieces copied, one assumes that they have good claim to be authoritative. This is unfortunately not always the case, though, as is made clear by the history of so-called Chaucer 'apocrypha'. Several of the longer and relatively well-known works in Bodl. MS Arch. Selden B.24, for instance, have been erroneously attributed to Chaucer;

1. Churchill Babington (ed.), Ranulph Higden, Polychronicon, Rolls Series 41 (9 vols., 1865-86).
2. For the names mentioned, see Index numbers 2479, 735 and 737, and 2217 (all included in the Handlist here). BL MS Addit.38666 also contains a lyric with hidden name - I love good Alle that ys no fayle - but the name is all too carefully concealed to be recovered.
3. A phrase used by Stevens, Music and Poetry p.218.
4. A rather different problem is posed by mottoes accompanying lyrics. Now fresshe floure to me that ys so bryght, in TCC MS R.3.19, concludes 'lothe to offende', while O lord of love here my complaynt in BL MS Cotton Vesp.D.ix is headed 'Penses de moy', perhaps another motto. Numerous examples surround the lyrics in BL MS Sloane 1212.

the scribes of the later Bannatyne Manuscript (NLS Adv.1.1.6 - admittedly compiled over a century-and-a-half after Chaucer's death) put forward some even more preposterous attributions¹. Generally speaking, the mention of an author's name in a heading or a colophon is an attempt to introduce or 'place' the piece with which it is associated - a useful detail to supply 'background' or 'context'. Sometimes, though, and especially in connection with short, slight pieces, the prestigious name carries more significance than the poem; the writing comes to serve a secondary function as a detail of biography to be appended to the more impressive 'fact' of the life itself.

This tendency is particularly noticeable in the case of the lyrics copied by John Shirley, and by the later scribes who had access to his collections in the second half of the fifteenth century. Sometimes the interest of the rubrics to the lyrics in these Shirleian manuscripts rivals that of the poems themselves². One of Shirley's particular favourites among authors seems to have been William de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk, and one-time guardian of Charles d'Orléans³, who is credited with a large number of French balades and rondeaux copied by Shirley into TCC MS R.3.20; three of the rondeaux - Face vo cuer tout ce quis ly plerra, Puis qualer vers vous ne puise, and Je vous salue ma maystresse - reappear, together with one more unique one, in the later neo-Shirleian anthology BL MS Addit.34360. The Trinity manuscript introduces the lyrics with piquant suggestions about the circumstances of their composition:

Yit filoweþe here a noþer Roundell of my lordes/ making of
Suffolk whyles he was prisonier in ffraunce (p.33);

and, even more fashionably:

Ycy comence vn balade que fist monseignur le conte/ de
Suffolk quant il estoit prysonier en ffrance (p.35);

1. D. Fox & W. Ringler (intro), The Bannatyne Manuscript: National Library of Scotland, Advocates' Manuscript 1.1.6. (London 1980); nine poems in this are ascribed to Chaucer, but only one is now accepted into the canon. Seven of the attributions seem to have been derived from Thynne's Chaucer.
2. For example, the rubric to Lydgate's Gaude Virgo Mater Christi in MS TCC R.3.20: 'Beholdeþe now filowyng nexst here þe translacyoune of Gaude Virgo mater Christi made by daun Johan þe munke Lydgate by night as he lay in his bedde at Londoun', (p.53).
3. Biographical details are supplied in DNB xvi pp.50-56.

the London manuscript reproduces similar headings. Recent work on French lyric manuscripts has unearthed one fact - seemingly not yet assimilated into work on Shirley and English manuscripts - which throws some doubt on the validity of the Suffolk connection, and consequently, by implication, on the authority of Shirley's other rubrics. The unique French rondeau in the London manuscript, Lealement a tous iours mais, ascribed there to Suffolk, is actually a lyric composed by Alain Chartier, and is clearly attributed to him in several continental manuscripts¹. Whether Shirley actually believed the lyric to be the work of Suffolk (having received it from elsewhere as such), or whether he cooked up the attribution himself as a means of enhancing the prestigious literary-aristocratic connections of his anthology, we cannot know, but this is not really the vital issue; the important point is that the confidently familiar and knowledgeable rubrics should be exposed as open to question - and Shirley cannot have been the only scribe to bear false witness of one kind or another.

The increasing fashion in the fifteenth century for manuscripts of 'collected works', and Shirley's own contributions to this development, have already been touched on; it is interesting that the notion of 'lyric as biography', with scribal notes suggesting not only the identity of the author of the poem, but also the circumstances of its composition, should have been something of a parallel growth, and one which was influential upon the editors of early printed lyric anthologies. Tottel's miscellany of Songes and Sonettes, which first appeared in 1557², makes great play of the biographical associations of the poems which are included. For a start, the full title of the volume is not merely Songes and Sonettes, but Songes and Sonettes written by the right honorable Lorde Henry Howarde late Erle of Surrey, and other, with an emphasis on the fame and nobility of the best-known contributor. Tottel's own preface, while ostensibly highlighting his promotion of 'the honour of the English tongue', does not miss the opportunity of

1. J.C. Laidlaw, The Poetical Works of Alain Chartier (Cambridge 1974) p.385. The connection of the lyric in the English manuscript with Alain Chartier seems to have been first pointed out by Poinon, Poète et Prince p.286.

2. STC 13860.

repeating the name of 'the noble Earle of Surrey', or of dropping a reference to 'the depewitted Sir Thomas Wyatt'. Significantly, too, the poems in the collection are arranged in groups according to their authors: poems by Surrey, by Wyatt, by Nicholas Grimald, and by 'uncertain authors'. They also have long, descriptive titles which, in the case of the love lyrics, link the sentiments expressed with a 'lover', whose continued, albeit shadowy presence acts as a unifying factor, and makes the poems into something which approaches a cycle. So Wyatt's sonnet My galey charged is with forgetfulness is headed 'The lover compareth his state to a shippe in perilous storme tossed on the sea', while My lute awake is entitled 'The Lover complayneth of the unkindness of his love'¹. Tottel effectively combines two possible functions of the courtly lyrics: he both associates them with noble authors (presumably for the spicy cachet thereby gained), and links them up, with his titles, into a cycle which has a semi-narrative thread.

Tottel's attributions, like those of the scribes of the manuscripts considered here, have as reasonable a claim to truth as anything outside the texts of the lyrics themselves; in the circumstances, we can but accept at face value the offered information, contradicting it only when more certain evidence of some other kind turns up elsewhere. Several steps removed, on the scale of trustworthiness, from near-contemporary scribal or editorial attributions of this kind are those 'retrospective' comments, added by a later reader of a manuscript, filling in details felt to be of value or interest. Such is the information added by an unidentifiable hand to the copy of Why I can't be a nun (Index 313.6) in BL MS Cotton Vespasian D.ix: 'Bertram Walton author of this poeme invectives against the licentiousnes of the clerge especially nunnes' (f.177r); the attribution has absolutely no basis whatsoever in fact, as the writer has merely lifted the conveniently prominent name of a scribe which features in a nearby colophon to The Stations of Rome - 'Amen quod Bertran Watoun' (f.188r). Some of the most complicated instances of 'retrospective

1. Facsimile edition, Songes and Sonettes (Tottel's Miscellany) 1557 (Leeds 1966), q.Eiiiv & q.Hiiiv, and H.E. Rollins (ed.), Tottel's Miscellany (rev ed., Cambridge, Mass. 1965) pp.38, 62.

attribution' of this kind occur in TCC MS R.3.19. Several different hands, including that of Beaupré Bell, the seventeenth-century owner of the manuscript, have annotated many of the lyrics in it with the name of 'Chaucer'. This is more than mere wishful speculation, however: Stow used the manuscript in 1561 as a copy-text for his edition of the works of Chaucer, and included in this - undistinguished from the 'genuine', canonical pieces - many of the originally unascribed lyrics¹; the later reader-annotators of the manuscript were perhaps only copying back into it, from Stow, information which they took to be truthful. As none of the lyrics in question is ascribed to Chaucer anywhere outside Stow's edition and TCC MS R.3.19, though, it seems unlikely that they should be in any way connected with him. In view of lessons of this kind, I have treated retrospective attributions with caution, and generally excluded them from consideration.

In the absence of autobiographical information or of scribal or retrospective attributions, more speculative deductions still can be made on the basis of the contents with which a lyric is associated in any particular manuscript. Longleat MS 256 and BL MS Addit.10303 contain copies of one useful, if enigmatic, example. In both these manuscripts, the pseudo-Chaucerian Isle of Ladies is followed by four stanzas which the Index lists as omelyric, but which in fact comprise one six-line dedication to a lady (Fayrest of fayer and goodleste on lyue), and one ballade address, of three rhyme royal stanzas with refrain, to the lover's own heart (Go forthe my owne trwe harte innocent). In the Longleat manuscript, a later hand, unconnected with the main copy, has added a concluding couple: 'ye that this balade rede shall/ I pray you kepe you from the fall/ finis quod Chaucer (f.24r). The retrospective attribution is almost certainly apocryphal², but there is at least an indirect clue to the authorship of both the dedicatory stanza and the ballade in their inclusion together with The Isle of Ladies: the same anonymous author was presumably responsible for all three. This, of course, can only be a tentative suggestion, open to qualification if and when new evidence is uncovered. The history of the Wyatt canon

1. For further details, see below, p.214.

2. Hammond, Chaucer p.429, and later editors have allowed it no authority.

stands as a warning about the dangers of placing too much credence in speculation of this sort. Many of the lyrics in important manuscripts demonstrably connected with Wyatt in some way have been 'assumed' to be his merely because their subject-matter and style is not unlike those of poems specifically attributed to him, or copied in his hand. As these have been discarded, the large corpus of material associated with him in the edition of 1969 has been gradually whittled down in successive editions to a much slimmer oeuvre¹. I have tried to exercise caution about deductions like these; the section in this chapter on identifiable authors, and the figures given in the Conclusion, make use mainly of scribal attributions, quirky and unreliable as they may sometimes seem. Retrospective attributions, and speculations based on the general nature of the manuscripts, are mentioned, but not put forward as firm suggestions.

III. Lyrics Extracted from Other Works

Some rather special cases in which authorship can be deduced, even when it is not explicitly indicated in either the text or the manuscript, involve extracts from longer poems, which appear in full, with mention of an author, elsewhere. The lyrics which fall into this category are only gradually being identified - the 'medieval' borrowings in the Devonshire manuscript (extracts from Chaucer, Hoccleve and Roos) were spotted only as recently as 1956, and other correspondences are still turned up from time to time². Inevitably, this prompts speculation about the remaining body of lyrics: how many of them are still to be associated with longer, extant works? More imponderably, how many are merely excerpts from poems which do not survive in their entirety? Out of the 383 lyrics considered in this study, 17 can be certainly identified as extracts of this sort, associated with the works of otherwise well-known authors; a small number are also excerpted from

1. A concise summary of the history of the Wyatt canon is provided by J. Daalder (ed.) Sir Thomas Wyatt: Collected Poems (Oxford 1975) pp.xxi-xxvi; other editors are K. Muir & P. Thomson (eds.), The Collected Poems of Sir Thomas Wyatt (Liverpool 1969), and R. Rebholz Sir Thomas Wyatt: The Complete Poems (Harmondsworth 1978).
2. E. Seaton 'The Devonshire Manuscript and its Medieval Fragments' RES n.s.7 (1956) pp.55-56. Recent identification of extracts in other manuscripts is provided by R. Hanna, 'The Index of Middle English Verse and Huntington Library Collections: A Checklist of Addenda', PBSA 74 (1980) pp.235-58.

longer, anonymous poems¹. As might be expected, they pillage chiefly the works of Chaucer and Lydgate, although Hawes's Pastime of Pleasure seems to have been another fruitful source. There may well be some correlation between poems which appeared in early printed versions (and were correspondingly widely disseminated), and extracted lyrics: many of the Devonshire manuscript's borrowings have been connected with Thynne's printed Chaucer², while The Pastime of Pleasure, produced by de Worde in 1509, was one of the earliest potential sources of courtly lyrics to be printed.

Interestingly, the extracted lyrics studied here are not normally associated by means of scribal comment with their 'parent' works. To refer to the Devonshire manuscript borrowings once again, the extracts from Hoccleve's Letter of Cupid, Roos's La Belle Dame sans Merci, and from Troilus and Criseyde are not singled out from the other later compositions in any way, which probably explains why they were overlooked for so long. Unfortunately, it is impossible to reconstruct the degree of general familiarity with long, courtly poems which a manuscript-compiler of the fifteenth or early sixteenth century would be able to assume, but perhaps the extracts were instantly recognizable to a contemporary audience, and needed no special introduction. According to Anthony à Wood, Stephen Hawes 'could repeat by heart most of our English poets, especially Jo. Lydgate, a monk of Bury'³; recorded feats of memory like this certainly testify to a very different acquaintance with potential lyric-hunting-grounds from that of the average modern reader. In the case of Hawes's own poems, which supply a number of the lyrics in Bodl,MS Rawlinson c.813, it is difficult to judge whether readers of the collection were assumed to be au fait with the source of the poems or not. No acknowledgement of Hawes's authorship is made, but the fact that some of the extracts appear grouped together might suggest that the compiler or scribed realized and intended to make plain the common source⁴.

1. Chaucer extracts: Index nos.1418.6, 1422.1, 1926.5, 2577.5, 3670; Lydgate: 2161, 2529 (also possibly 1309); Hoccleve: 666, 4217.6; Roos: 1086; Hawes: 2318, 2532.5, 2532, 2496, 2757.3, 2822, 3917.8; extracts from anonymous works: 1409.3, 2510.

2. R.C. Harrier, 'A Printed Source for the Devonshire Manuscript', RES n.s.11 (1960) p.54.

3. Athenae Oxonienses (1691), quoted by Hammond, English Verse Chaucer-Surrey p.268.

4. This might merely reflect the arrangement of an exemplar, of course.

In view of the many embedded lyrics in longer fifteenth- and sixteenth-century narratives which seem positively designed to be used on their own, it is perhaps surprising that so few of the identifiable surviving extracts should reproduce them. Only the several isolated copies of the Canticus Troili, the several copies of Anelida's Complaint, and two of the six Hawes extracts in MS Rawlinson C.813¹ record a response to the invitation implicit in the longer works. In some cases the extracts would be better described as centos, putting together fragments from quite unconnected, and widely separated parts of a single poem, or even of different works by a single author. The extract from Troilus and Criseyde in MS Rawlinson C.813, Loo he that ys all holly yourz soo free, is a complicated patchwork of different parts of the poem, and one of the Hawes-based lyrics in the same collection, O my lady dere bothe regarde and see, actually combines sections from The Comfort of Lovers and The Pastime of Pleasure; detailed knowledge of the source, and a considerable facility for 'compiling', must have been required skills for this sort of composition. In general, the extracts, or centos, preserve the spirit of the originals, without suggesting any startling new context or meaning; in the Troilus extract just described, for example, Troilus's addresses to Criseyde are ransacked to give a composite, all-purpose 'address to a mistress'. The Canticus Troili is an interesting aberration, though, for it seems to have been put more frequently to hortatory moral use - twice inserted in the Disce Mori, and once, in CUL MS Gg.4.12, associated with anti-feminist material².

IV. Identifiable Authors

(i) Chaucer.

Amongst the most prolific of the identifiable authors of these courtly lyrics is, of course, Chaucer. The lyric with the most authoritative evidence for its authorship is The Complaint unto Pity, which appears in a total of nine manuscripts³. The earliest copy BL MS Harley 78 is in Shirley's hand; he heads the poem:

1. Please ytt your grace dere harte to gyffe audyence and Ryght gentyll harte of greane flouryng age.

2. See L.W. Patterson 'Ambiguity and Interpretation: a Fifteenth-Century Reading of Troilus and Criseyde', Speculum 54 (1979) pp.297-330, for the most comprehensive account of the role of this extract in the Disce Mori; its context in CUL Gg.4.12 is described below, pp.221-23.

3. CUL Ff.1.6; TCC R.3.19; BL Addit.34360, Harley 78, Harley 7578; Bodl.638, Fairfax 16, Tanner 346; Longleat 258.

And nowe here filowyng begynneþe a complainte of/ Pitee made
by . Geffrey Chaucier þe aureat poete/ þat euer was fonde
in oure vulgare to fore hees dayes (f.80r).

MS Addit.34360, compiled from Shirley's collections, repeats the rubric almost verbatim. TCC R.3.19 has a comment added in a later hand: 'How pyte is ded &c: Geof. Chaucer'. Some of the other manuscripts include a title of some kind ('The Deth of Pyte' or 'The Complaynte vnto Pyte'), but they do not quote a name, so the authority rests wholly with Shirley. The authorship of The Complaint to his Lady¹ again depends on Shirley's testimony, and on the same two important manuscripts: in Harley 78 the poem is run on to The Complaint unto Pity, and a common running title attributes both works to Chaucer; in Addit. 34360 a colophon - probably in a different hand from that of the main scribe - attributes the work to 'Dan Chaucere laurere'². Shirley's information is again vital for the attributions of The Complaint of Venus and Womanly Noblesse. The first appears in a total of seven manuscripts, in with The Complaint of Mars in five of them, and on its own in two³; the copy in Bodl. MS Ashmole 59, apparently made by Shirley at an advanced age, is headed:

Here begynneþe a balade made by þat worþy knight of Savoy in
frenshe calde sir Otes Graunson translated by Chauciers (f.43v),
while the copy in TCC MS R.3.20, as remarked above⁴, gives an elaborate biographical introduction to the poem, stating its 'commissioning' from Chaucer. Womanly Noblesse appears in only one manuscript, BL Addit. 34360, where it is headed (presumably following a lost Shirley exemplar) 'Balade that Chauncier made' (f.21v)⁵. The only one of these generally accepted attributions which does not somehow rely on Shirley concerns To Rosemounde, again extant in only one copy. Bodl. MS Rawlinson poet 163. In this, it is enclosed by the colophon 'Tregentil Chaucer', almost certainly copied in the hand of the main scribe of Troilus, which precedes it.

1. E. P. Hammond, Chaucer: a Bibliographical Manual (New York 1908), pp.411-12, includes this amongst 'Works Printed as by Chaucer', obviously doubtful about the authority of the attribution.
2. Read by the Chaucer Society editors as 'lauceire', which Skeat believed to be an error for 'lautour'; see Hammond, Chaucer p.411.
3. Venus appears alone in Bodl. Ashmole 59 and CUL F.f.1.6, and with Mars in TCC R.3.20; Magdalene Pepys 2006; Bodl. Arch. Selden B.24, Fairfax 16 and Tanner 346.
4. p.42.
5. Hammond includes this only in 'Works Printed as by Chaucer'; Chaucer p.463.

The remaining four of the more certain Chaucer attributions are all connected with extracts from longer works. The Complaint of Anelida, extracted on its own from the longer narrative of Anelida and Arcite, occurs in four manuscripts¹; in addition, a few lines from it (308-16) are found in the Devonshire manuscript, extracted from the extract, as it were. Shirley attributed the whole work to Chaucer in the copy he made in BL MS Addit.16165, and the Complaint alone in TCC MS R.3.20; none of the other extracted versions inserts an attribution. All of the other three extracts are taken from Troilus and Criseyde. The Canticus Troili, already mentioned, appears on its own in a total of five manuscripts, but none of the copies refers the extract back to Chaucer². Two centos, put together from various parts of the poem, in Bodl.MS Rawlinson C.813 and in the Devonshire manuscript, are again unacknowledged³. One other lyric, known to us only in the form of a title which seems to indicate its opening words, may well be another Troilus extract: amongst the songs and dances taught to George Cely in Calais in the 1470 s⁴ was a piece called O fresshes flour, which could perhaps have been a version of the Litera Troili (Book V, 1317ff) which begins 'Right fresshe flour..'; no other surviving lyric matches this opening.

Amongst the more doubtful attributions are two lyrics included only in BL MS Harley 7578: The Complaint to my Mortal Foe and The Complaint to my Lodestar. These have little or no claim to any connection with Chaucer beyond their association in the manuscript with The Complaint unto Pity, and their general courtliness of tone, but the two factors were enough to persuade Skeat to include them in his canon, even though the grounds for his conviction seem indeed very thin⁵. Merciles Beaute

1. The early Shirley copy TCC R.3.20, and MSS CUL Ff.1.6, Magdalene Pepys 2006, and Huntington Library HM 140.
2. MSS of the Disce Mori: Jesus College, Oxford, 39, and Bodl.Laud misc.99. Others: CUL Gg.4.12, NLS Adv.1.1.6 (s.xvi²), and Huntington EL 26.A.13.
3. The Devonshire MS extract puts together II 337-51, 778-84, 785-91, 855-61; the Rawlinson MS extract uses II 1121-27, 841-47, 869-82; IV 561-67; V 1072-78; II 778-84; I 708-12; IV 260-66, 267-73.
4. See below p.373.
5. Robinson does not include these two in his edition, even in the category of 'Poems of Doubtful Authorship'; Hammond, Chaucer, also excludes them.

and the Complaint d'Amours have similarly flimsy credentials¹, and are again connected with Chaucer largely on the basis of their inclusion in otherwise demonstrably 'Chaucerian' collections: in the case of the first one, MS Pepys 2006, and of the second, MSS Bodley 638, Fairfax 16, and BL Harley 7333. Only Newfangleness (Against Women Unconstant) has any stronger claim. Like Merciles Beaute and the Complaint d'Amours, this is included in other Chaucerian anthologies², but, more tellingly, it is headed in Stow's 1561 edition of Chaucer 'A balade which Chaucer made agaynst women vnconstant'³. One oddity remains - a fragment not usually included in discussions of Chaucerian lyrics: this is the single stanza beginning My lefe ys faren in londe which occurs in TCC MS R.3.19, acting as a sort of postscript to the lengthy rhyme royal envoy Go lytyl boke. The first line of course reproduces the song sung by Chaunteclere and Pertelote, 'in swete accord', in The Nun's Priest's Tale (CT VII, 2879). It is impossible to work out whether the song mentioned by Chaucer is exactly this one. The text may be the very song which Chaucer had in mind (popular enough to survive from the fourteenth into the fifteenth century), or it may be something very different. The Trinity copy has an unusual rhyme scheme (abababa), which could indicate that it is either unfinished, or the work of an incompetent amateur, perhaps someone who expanded the hint given by Chaucer into a whole song. The chances that it represents one of Chaucer's own compositions seem very slim, but they cannot be entirely ruled out; this is one of the puzzles which will probably never be solved⁴. Bearing it in mind, with George Cely's song, as something at least possibly connected' with Chaucer, we are left with nine authoritative attributions (five dependent on a scribe's note - usually Shirley's - and four on the fact that the lyric is extracted from an otherwise attested Chaucerian work); one 'probable' one (Newfangleness);

1. Robinson does include these as 'of doubtful authorship', because of their Chaucerian usages in metre and style.
2. BL MSS Cotton Cleopatra D.vii and Harley 7578; Bodl.MS Fairfax 16.
3. Hammond, Chaucer p.440.
4. See N. Blake, The English Language in Medieval Literature (London 1977), p.17, for further discussion.

and four which are purely speculative. The written attributions, significantly, all occur in anthologies of Chaucerian material, perhaps confirming that the authorship of lyrics was felt to be of interest only if it associated them with someone already well-known and admired.

(ii) Charles d'Orléans and the Duke of Suffolk.

Leaving aside the sequence of English versions of the poems of Charles d'Orléans in the earlier manuscript BL Harley 682, we are faced with a group of eleven English poems associated with his work; they appear in three later-fifteenth-century manuscripts. None of these is accompanied by an individual scribal attribution of any kind, and the evidence for authorship is complicated; so much depends on the authorship of the poems in MS Harley 682 - a subject which scholarship seems to have exhausted, but not clarified - that the uncovering of any further clinching evidence seems unlikely. The poems in MS Harley 682, arranged in exactly the same sequence as the 'fonds primitif' of Charles's own personal copy of the French poems¹, 'rework' rather than translate the French lyrics; in addition, the English manuscript includes almost three thousand more lines which have no parallel in the French corpus². In 1911, H.N. MacCracken suggested that the poems in the English manuscript were the work of the Duke of Suffolk, friend and confidant of the French duke during his long imprisonment in England³. E.P. Hammond gave limited support to MacCracken's hypothesis, accepting Suffolk's authorship as a possibility, and agreeing firmly that Charles himself almost certainly had nothing to do with the English versions⁴. The editors of the Early English Text Society's volume of the English poems, however, strongly supported the case for Charles's own involvement in the 'translations' (and the accompanying original English verse), citing three important factors in defence of their argument: firstly, contemporary testimony to Charles's fluency in English; next, the physical similarities between the French personal manuscript and the volume of English poems; and finally the inclusion in Harley 682 of a poem inspired by a lyric sent

1. As reconstructed by P. Champion, Le Manuscrit Autographe des Poésies de Charles d'Orléans (Paris 1907, repr. Geneva 1975).

2. Steele & Day, EETS o.s.215/220, p.xxi.

3. MacCracken, PMLA 26.

4. Hammond, English Verse Chaucer-Surrey pp.214-21.

secretly to Charles shortly before his release from captivity by the Duke of Burgundy¹. Their argument is by no means watertight - the manuscript of English poems may well have been prepared for Charles, in a similar format to his own collection of French poems, but this is not necessarily proof that he produced the translations - but no effective challenge has since been made, and the situation remains at something of an impasse.

The English poems in the later manuscripts concerned here, however, shed some rather different light. Nine of them are included in the personal manuscript of French poems, two of them copied in Charles's own hand². After Charles's return from France this manuscript was used as a kind of visitors' book by the French poets who stayed at his chateau in Blois; significantly, though, all the later lyrics which were copied in by (or for) these literary guests conclude with the authors' names - the only French poems unaccompanied by a statement of authorship are Charles's own lyrics. The nine English poems, like Charles's own French ones, are unascribed, which seems to suggest persuasively that he was responsible for composing them. BL MS Royal 16.F.ii, copied from an exemplar with a completely different selection and arrangement of Charles's French lyrics, also includes some English poems³; none of them appears in MS Harley 682, but one - Go forth myn hert with my lady - is amongst the nine English lyrics in the French personal manuscript. That at least one of the English poems should have circulated with French ones like this is significant, I think; certainly its position in a sequence of lyrics which are unquestionably Charles's (the Retenue d'Amours, with its autobiographical reference, introduces the selection in MS Royal 16 F.ii) makes his authorship seem very likely.

A second copy of one more of the nine English poems in the personal manuscript, O thou fortune which hast the gouernance, also appears in Bodl. MS Fairfax 16, as described in the first of these chapters⁴.

1. Steele & Day, EETS o.s.215/220, p.xxv.
2. Pr. Steele & Day, EETS os.s215/220, pp.220-24; Myn hert has send glad hope in his mesage and Whan shal thow com glad hope from your vyage are copied in Charles's hand.
3. Go forth myn hert with my lady, My hertly love is in your governans, and Ne were my trewe innocent hert; pr. Steele & Day, EETS o.s.215/220 pp.220, 225.
4. See p.11.

MacCracken used this duplication as support for his argument that an Englishman, intimately acquainted with the French duke, must have been responsible both for the 'translations' in MS Harley 682, and for the lyrics 'in the manner of Charles d'Orléans' in MS Fairfax 16. Given the lack of firm contradictory evidence, this is plausible enough - even though it does not explain why English poems should appear with Charles's French ones in MS Royal 16.F.ii, or why Charles himself should have copied some of the English poems into his personal manuscript; but MacCracken's assumption that this anonymous 'friend' must have been the Duke of Suffolk rests on much flimsier ground. Suffolk was known as a poet in both French and English, MacCracken asserted, citing as evidence for the first part of his statement Shirley's rubrics to the French poems in TCC MS R.3.20¹, and for the second a feeble English couplet which concludes a letter (collected up with the Paston documents) from Suffolk to his son². We have already seen, however, that at least one of Suffolk's so-called French lyrics can be attributed, on several authorities, to Alain Chartier; possibly some of the other French lyrics in the Trinity manuscript are also by other authors³. If Suffolk was known as an English poet, why had Shirley not heard of him in this connection, and why did he not include examples of his English lyrics⁴? It would be more judicious, I think, to take MacCracken's hypothesis only as far as the connection between the English lyrics in MS Fairfax 16 and in BN MS fr.25458. This leaves open the alternatives that the Fairfax 16 poems, homogeneous enough in style, and very probably the work of a single author, were the work of either Charles d'Orléans, or of some anonymous poet well acquainted with him. There remain, then, eleven poems (in MSS BN fr.25458, BL Royal 16 F.ii, and Bodl. Fairfax 16) which can be connected with Charles with a moderate degree of certainty, and nineteen more (the other anonymous poems in booklet V of MS Fairfax 16) which have some claim to association with him. MacCracken's two

1. See p. 72.

2. MacCracken, FMLA 26. .

3. Qui ses besognes vault bien faire and Ma douce amour et dame souveraine (unascribed in TCC R.3.20) appear in other French MSS, and in Droz & Piaget, Le Jardin de Plaisance.

4. Neither Shirley's autograph MSS nor the copies based on his collections include any English poems associated with Suffolk; only the French poems of Charles d'Orléans appear, in BL MS Harley 7333.

remaining additions to the 'Suffolk canon', the Reversible Balade in BL MS Arundel 26, and A mercy fortune haue pitee on me from CUL MS Ff.1.6, have only superficial similarities to the work of Charles d'Orléans, and no real claim to inclusion with them.

(iii) Lydgate.

Courtly lyrics connected with Lydgate are few, partly because his energies were consumingly directed elsewhere by patrons who were anxious for more substantial and morally weighty works. The fact of his monkishness need in no way have prevented the composition of courtly poems: Machaut and Deschamps were, after all, clerks, but their clerkishness was no bar to the production of numerous lyrics and longer poems on the subject of love. There is, too, reasonable evidence that Lydgate was quite able to put aside the anti-feminism which manifests itself in much of his work (and which occasioned exasperated comment from John Shirley, in annotations to selections from The Fall of Princes¹); The Temple of Glass was recordedly produced 'a la requeste d'un amoureux'².

No lyrics in the manuscripts catalogued here are attributed to Lydgate by their scribes, but one or two have other possible points of connection. A Gentlewoman's Lament, which appears in the neo-Shirleian Lydgate anthology BL MS Harley 2251, is so densely surrounded by other of Lydgate's works that a Lydgatian association of its own seems very likely. The earlier copy of the poem made by Shirley himself in TCC MS R.3.20 entitles it 'a balade sayde by a gentilwomman which loued a man of grete estate' (p.152); MS Harley 2251 gives it no introduction, but Stow's copy in his much later autograph collection, BL MS Addit. 29729, adds to Shirley's heading the words 'made by Lydgate' (f.16Or). Two more poems, not extant in manuscript at all, are associated with Lydgate by the editors of early prints. The Floure of Curtesy was included by Thynne in his edition of Chaucer's works, with no indication of authorship; but in Stow's edition of 1561 it is entitled 'The Floure of Curtesie made by Iohn Lidgate'³. The poem now known as To My Sovereign Lady, sixteen rhyme royal stanzas in praise of a mistress who could be

1. In BL MS Harley 2251; see A.S.G. Edwards, 'Medieval Anti-Feminism in Harley 2251', Annuaire Medievale (Duquesne) 13 (1972) pp.32-44.

2. Addit.16165, f.206v. cf. also A Balade of her that hath all the virtues (Index 869), TCC R.3.20, p.34, reportedly composed 'at the request of a squyer þat serued in loves courte'.

3. Hammond, Chaucer p.425.

either earthly or heavenly, was again printed by Thynne - but with a specific application, as part of the Ballade in Commendation of Our Lady; subsequent editors followed Thynne's example, and the poems were not divided until Skeat's edition of Chaucerian apocrypha¹. No manuscript of the lyric survives, and its status as a love poem is obviously questionable; its connection with Lydgate rests entirely on the attribution to him of the Ballade in Commendation of Our Lady in Bodl. MS Ashmole 59 (Shirley's shaky last production), where this is called 'a devoute balade by Lidegate of Bury made at the reverence of owre lady Qwene of mercy' (f.39v). If this seems tenuous, then the association with Lydgate supposed for A Complaint, for Lack of Mercy in CUL MS Ff.1.6 is even less probable; nothing in the manuscript connects the poem with Lydgate, and only MacCracken's instinctive sense that it displayed 'Lydgate's most characteristic style' assured it a place in the canon².

Last of all come two pieces which are 'Lydgatian' in a somewhat indefinable way: both contain extracts from The Temple of Glass, but they are complicated extracts, inserted into other material, and not as clearly attributable to Lydgate as some of the Troilus pieces mentioned above are to Chaucer. The earlier of the two poems, Mercy me graunt off pat I me complayne occurs in the fragmentary parchment leaves surrounding The Regiment of Princes in BL MS Sloane 1212. The first sixteen lines have an indefinably Lydgatian flavour, but are not substantially locatable in The Temple of Glass; the next twenty, however, are a complete extract (with minor variation) from the longer work³. As the fragmentary leaves of this part of the manuscript show that it at one stage actually included a copy of The Temple of Glass, the borrowing can hardly have been undertaken in a spirit of covert plagiarism; it is more of a tribute to Lydgate. The second extract is different again: in one of the many love epistles which appear in Bodl. MS Rawlinson C.813, O my dere harte the lanterne of lyght, the whole of the second stanza has been lifted from The Temple of Glass⁴. This is rather more cunning - and interesting, too, in a manuscript which uses extracts like this as the basis of many of its love lyrics. Are the

1. Skeat, Chaucer vii pp.xlvi-xlviiii.

2. MacCracken, EETS e.s.107, p.xiii.

3. Temple of Glass, lines 736-54, 762-63.

4. This portion also appears independently in NLS MS Adv.1.1.6.

readers meant to spot the borrowing, or to attribute the neatly-turned stanza to another author - perhaps someone known personally to them? The manuscript otherwise includes no longer works which indicate the larger context and the provenance of the borrowing, such as were included with the lyric in BL MS Sloane 1212. In the absence of other indicators like this, it seems distinctly possible that the Rawlinson poet may have been silently appropriating his Lydgatian material.

(iv) Sir Richard Roos.

The anonymity of the enormous majority of fifteenth-century courtly poems has constituted something of an open invitation to scholars anxious to resurrect the reputations of particular favourites. MacCracken's establishment of a Suffolk canon was an early attempt at this; Ethel Seaton's work on Sir Richard Roos took the process to a logical and fantastic conclusion, responding to the admittedly tantalizing, intimate tone of many of the lyrics by reading into them a complicated system of anagrams which linked them all with Sir Richard Roos and his circle of acquaintance¹. While Miss Seaton's research is still in many ways invaluable - for the genealogical work on the Roos family, for instance, and the very fact that numerous manuscripts were tracked down and studied - it nonetheless stands as an awful warning about the question of authorship; so much was built on so little evidence. The manuscripts themselves give almost nothing on Roos - no lyrics are attributed to him; only the longer narrative, La Belle Dame Sans Merci, is associated with him, in one of its five surviving copies². From this single piece of evidence, however, it is possible to associate just one of the lyrics in this study with his name: O marble herte and yet more harde perde is an extract from La Belle Dame, copied without any acknowledgment³. Two more poems may be remotely connected: O bewtie pereles and For he is true have been added by another hand to the copy of the French original of La Belle Dame (by Alain Chartier) in BL MS Royal 19.A.iii, a collection of otherwise wholly French texts; it is just possible (although unlikely, I think) that the English scribe knew these as alternative envoys to Roos's English version of the poem⁴.

1. E. Seaton, Sir Richard Roos, Lancastrian Poet (London 1961).

2. BL MS Harley 372; 'La belle dame sanz mercy translatid out of ffrenche by Sir Richard Ros' (f.61r).

3. Lines 717-24, 229-36.

4. This suggestion is made by the editors of the Supplement.

(v) Humphrey Newton.

One bizarre yet not unpleasing result of a comparative study of this kind is its arbitrary elevation of obscure poetasters into major figures, purely on the grounds that they have identified themselves in some way as 'authors', and have left behind them what might be politely described as a comprehensive oeuvre. The sheer accident of this means that some amateurs, otherwise (quite justly) condemned to blush unseen, rise to dizzy prominence among the largely anonymous number of courtly-lyric-writers. The highest total of such lyrics which can be associated with any single author in the period under consideration belongs to Humphrey Newton, gentleman, of Pownall in Cheshire. With seventeen lyrics to his credit, Newton surpasses Lydgate, Charles d'Orléans, even—surely gratifying, if he could know it—Chaucer.

The evidence for Newton's authorship of these poems is convincing enough. They are all collected together in one manuscript, gathered up in a few leaves of the second part of Newton's own commonplace book, Bodl. MS Lat. misc. c. 66. The hand which has copied them is readily identifiable as Newton's, for it matches that of a list of contents inserted at the beginning of this part of the manuscript, and signed 'humfridus neuton'. The lyrics are untidily copied; several of them make false starts, and a few appear twice, as if Newton sometimes felt that he needed a second attempt in order to perfect the composition. The best evidence for his authorship, I think, lies in some of the acrostics and covert devices which occur from time to time. Her hert I wolde I had i wis, for example, displays an acrostic on 'Humfrey'; Euer lastynge lof to me I haue tane and Euer souereyn swete swettist in siȝt contain acrostics on the name 'Elin' - probably Newton's own wife, Elena Fitton of Pownall. More mysteriously, perhaps, a 'Margaret' appears: Most souereyn lady comfort of care contains an acrostic on her name, while two other lyrics take the form of letters addressed to 'M': I pray you M to me be true, and Mi mornynge M greues me sore. Yet another of the poems, this one written in the persona of a lady, addresses itself to a 'Brian' (completely unidentifiable) whose name is revealed in an acrostic. Significantly, none of these lyrics appears in any other manuscript or printed copy; the only correspondence to poems outside the collection concerns the heading to the poem on 'Humfrey', which reads 'Hert be trowe & trulof kepe/ Mi trulof will I neuer forsake', and this - judging from its appearances (with slight variations) in MSS TCC O.2.53 and BL Sloane 3501 - might have been something of a common tag. Some of the

other pieces which Newton copied for himself are indeed widely known - Richard de Caistre's Hymn, the familiar Advice to Purchasers of Land, Chaucer's Prophecy, Lydgate's Saying of the Nightingale; this highlights even more the unique and almost certainly holograph nature of the courtly lyrics.

(vi) Skelton.

Two lyrics, not included in any manuscript copies, but printed in Pynson's Dyuers Balletys of c.1520 (STC 22604) can be plausibly attributed to Skelton, on the grounds that Pynson's small volume is a collection of Skelton's works, and is described as such in its full title¹. Some other lyrics have been tentatively connected with Skelton, but on what turn out to have been flimsy grounds. Masteres Anne/ I ame your man in TCC MS R.3.17 has nothing more than its 'Masteres Anne', a figure who appears in The Garland of Laurel (line 1241) to recommend it; early editors of Skelton printed it as his², but the efforts of more recent scholars have removed it from the canon³. Another poem, Petyously constrayned am I, copied in full with musical accompaniment in BL MS Royal Appendix 58, and added in manuscript to a printed copy of Boethius's De Disciplina Scholarum, was also for a time connected with Skelton; Dyce used the copy in the printed book, together with Wofully Arayde (which accompanies it there) for his edition, but the attribution has since been discounted. A further fragmentary copy of this lyric is to be found in NLS MS 6128⁴. Only the two poems printed by Pynson remain with any strong claim to Skelton's authorship.

(vii) Wyatt.

As far as the coverage of courtly lyrics by the Index and the Supplement goes, the work of Wyatt is something of an anomaly. Poems by Wyatt (or associated in some way with the Wyatt canon) are included when they occur in small numbers in early-sixteenth-century manuscripts, or when they are copied in as late additions to more authentically 'medieval' volumes, but the important and sometimes rather later manuscript anthologies connected with Wyatt and his circle - the Devonshire manuscript, the Egerton

1. See below p.450. The connection with Pynson is not a certain one.
2. A list of these is provided with the Index and Supplement entries.
3. R.S. Kinsman & T. Yonge, Skelton: Canon & Census (Darien, Connecticut, 1968) no.R68.
4. Not identified as such by the Supplement; see below p.228.

manuscript - are not indexed in full¹. Even discounting those merely 'associated' lyrics which later editors have excluded from the canon established by Kenneth Muir, the total number of courtly poems which can be attributed to Wyatt makes him by the far the most prolific author to be included in this study; as it is, though, because I have followed the usage of the Index and Supplement, and have considered only the Wyatt poems which are listed there, the apparent importance of Wyatt's role is much reduced. While this imposes a false and undesirable distinction between 'Medieval' and 'Renaissance' lyric, it has proved unavoidable, for a cut-off date of some sort has to be imposed.

Two scraps of flyleaf lyric, Alas poor man what chans hav y in MS Balliol 316B, and What shuld I say si the faith is ded in Bodl. MS Ashmole 39, are extracts from lyrics which have been connected with Wyatt. The first, described by the compiler of the catalogue of Balliol manuscripts, and included in the Supplement in apparent ignorance of its Wyatt associations, is almost identical with poem 21 in the Devonshire manuscript, Alas poore man what hap have I; as it is unascribed there, however, it has little claim to be Wyatt's own. The second, only a couplet, is a variation of the first stanza of poem 135 in the Devonshire manuscript, and once more this is unascribed there; the lyric can only be generally 'associated' with Wyatt. My yeris be yong even as ye se appears only in the Devonshire manuscript, where it is not signed with the 'W' which indicates Wyatt's authorship. The refrain of the poem,

Grudge on who liste, this ys my lott,
Nothing to want if it were not,

has been taken as a translation of a motto used by Anne Boleyn in 1530, 'Ainsi sera, groigne quie groigne', and so to associate the poem intimately with Anne and her circle²; she may even have written it, although there is no reason why someone else should not have produced it in the persona of Anne.

1. The date limits of both the Index (1500) and the Supplement (extended into the sixteenth century) are somewhat arbitrary. Lyrics from BL MS Royal Appendix 58 - from the mid-sixteenth century, and from even later collections such as Bodl. MS Ashmole 176, are included in full, while only selections from the Devonshire manuscript are given; the contents of Bodl. MS Rawlinson C.813, however, almost exactly contemporary with the Devonshire Manuscript, are all included.
2. Greene, Early English Carols p.500.

A Robyn gentyl Robyn appears in one version, with music provided by Cornish, in BL MS Addit. 31922; in another, expanded form in the Devonshire manuscript; and in Wyatt's later semi-autograph collection, BL MS 2711, the Egerton manuscript, where it is signed 'Wyatt'. His authorship of the lengthier version seems probable enough, but it is not clear whether the original song was an already-existing piece, which Wyatt reworked, or whether he was responsible for this, too. The Devonshire manuscript also features as supporting evidence for Wyatt's authorship of For as ye lyst my wyll ys bent; the copy does not end with any of the signs which have been taken to indicate Wyatt's authorship, but the inclusion of the poem with other of his works gives support of a limited kind; another copy of this appears, without any introduction or colophon, in BL MS Addit. 18752. Finally comes I muste go walke be woed so wyld: this appears as an addition to a copy of Littleton's Tenures in Huntington MS EL 1160; as a flyleaf lyric in the copy of Woodville's translation of the Dicts and Sayings of the Philosophers in BL MS Addit. 22718, and lastly in the 'Blage' manuscript, TCD D.2.7, which led Kenneth Muir to assume it to be Wyatt's own. Its first line also features in the list of songs and dances which has been scribbled into BL MS Sloane 3501. Only one of these six attributions can be regarded as in any way firm - A Robyn in the Egerton manuscript. The other five are at best tentative, open always to the qualification of being 'of Wyatt's circle' rather than particularly his own.

(viii) Other Authors.

A small number of the many remaining lyrics can be connected in various ways with single individuals, some obscure, others more widely known. Three 'noble' connections are made, in different manuscripts, tantalizing in their suggestion of the world of 'real' courtiers which is otherwise so conspicuously absent from the facts of the background to these lyrics. The earliest is a farewell to a mistress, Excelent soueraine semely to se, which begins the short collection of miscellaneous items in Bodl. MS Douce 95; it ends with the colophon 'Explicit (sic) amor per Ducem Eboracensem nuper factus'. This attributes the poem to a Duke of York, but it does not make clear which duke might be intended; the 'nuper' suggests an historical, rather than a living figure. The manuscript as a whole can be dated roughly as 'late fifteenth-century', for it includes an order of coronation for a king which makes reference to Edward IV, and

an added item (a legal declaration) which mentions a date of 1519/20. The Duke of York most likely to have been referred to, in the past tense, at a date late in the fifteenth century, would surely have been Richard Plantagenet (d.1460), father of Edward IV. Such an identification perhaps confirms the slight Yorkist bias to be observed in the inclusion of the order of coronation.

Coincidentally, one of the other noble associations occurs in a similar miscellaneous, although much more substantial, collection - Bodl. MS Rawlinson C.86. This, like Douce 95, has a London provenance, and Yorkist sympathies (it includes a Latin lament on the death of Edward IV). Its single courtly lyric is a song of joyful love, Myne hert is set upon a lusty pynne, which concludes with the colophon 'finis Quod Quene Elysabeth'. Again, a date towards the end of the fifteenth century (or possibly very early in the sixteenth) seems likely for the section of the manuscript which includes the lyric. The 'Quene Elysabeth', confusingly, could be either Edward IV's queen, Elizabeth Woodville, or her own daughter, Elizabeth of York, who became queen to Henry VII. The Yorkist bias of the manuscript does not help here, as sympathy for Elizabeth Woodville's Yorkist connections would no doubt extend to her daughter as well. The earliest editor of the lyric favoured the later queen, basing the argument for her almost entirely on Agnes Strickland's innocent remark that 'she spent much of her time in listening to minstrels and disars or reciters', but there is really no obvious reason for either choice¹.

The last of these three noble associations involves Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, who was executed in 1521². One short lyric in

1. R. Cords, 'Fünf me Gedichte aus den Hss. Rawlinson Poetry 36 und Rawlinson c.86', Archiv 135 (1916) pp.292-302, quoting A. Strickland, Lives of the Queens of England (12 vols., London 1840-48). The provenance of the manuscript which is set out below might in fact involve a much closer connection with Elizabeth Woodville: Thomas and William Warner, possible owners of the collection, seem to have been associated with Nicholas Gaynesford, who for a time was a member of Elizabeth Woodville's household; see below, p.138. The Supplement includes a further lyric, Everlasting welthe with owte disconfeture (735.5) which it links with Queen Elizabeth Woodville on the grounds of its acrostic: 'Elizabetha Timwaw'. A glance at the lyric, in the one printed edition cited (the manuscript is privately owned), reveals no apparent reason for this connection.

2. DNB, liii pp.446-47, and C. Rawcliffe, 'Henry VII and Edward Duke of Buckingham: the Repression of an Over-Mighty Subject', BIHR 53 (1980) pp.114ff.

Bodl.MS Ashmole 176, Alas to whom shuld I complayne, although not ascribed to Stafford there, can be connected with him on the grounds of its appearance within a longer poem in BL MS Harley 2252 which is entitled 'Edward Stafford's farewell'. Stafford's end seems to have made some considerable impression on his contemporaries, for it features again in Bodl.MS Rawlinson C.813¹. Most available information on him, however, concerns his political rather than his amorous involvements, and he has no more outstanding claim to reputation as a lover than Richard Duke of York had. In this particular case, too, it is difficult to assess the relationship between the love-lyric and the longer 'farewell' poems (seemingly familiar as a separate genre²); the love lyric may well have had an independent existence, unconnected with Stafford, and have merely been included, conveniently, in the longer piece, or, alternatively, it may have been extracted from it, for other purposes, in complete ignorance of the biographical significance of the source. The attributions to 'Quene Elysabeth' and to the Duke of York in the previous two lyrics may have been apocryphal (part of the folk-lore connected with prominent contemporary figures), but they at least must have meant something to the scribe-compilers of the manuscripts which include them; in this case, no such significance can be assumed.

In contrast to these somewhat enigmatic attributions, there is satisfyingly incontrovertible evidence about the authors of two lyrics. One, And yf ye commande me, is a valentine poem sent by Marjery Brews to her husband John Paston, included in a letter from her, and unmetrical and unpolished enough to seem an original composition, spontaneously designed for the occasion³. The other, an unpublished and partially illegible fragment on a lover's devotion to his cause, added to a copy of Porphyry in Aberdeen University MS 223, opens with a first line which includes the author's name: I patrik larrons of spittal feylde.

1. Item 36, The Lamentation of Edward Stafford.
2. cf. Earl Rivers' Virelai (Index 3193.5), and the poem supposedly composed by George Boleyn, Earl of Rochford, on the eve of his execution, pr. W. Tydeman (ed.), English Poetry 1400-1580 (London 1970) pp.122-23.
3. The other lyric from The Paston Letters included in this survey, My ryght good lord most knyghtly gentyll knyght, copied by John Paston III, seems more likely to me to be intended as an address from one man to another; see below, p.264.

Ironically, Larrons (or Lawrence) remains a mysterious figure, despite his unusually assertive self-identification. Last of all, in this list of 'other authors' - all either unlocatable, or unrecorded as poets in any other context¹ - is one 'Parker, monk of Stratford', to whom the words of the song O my lady dure in BL MS Royal Appendix 58 are ascribed. Unless some humour was intended, Parker can hardly have resided in Stratford-at-Bow, for the house of St. Leonard there included only Benedictine nuns; the Cistercian house of Stratford Langthorne in Essex seems a more likely proposition². This comes to seem a fitting and entirely typical clerical context with which to conclude a study of the authors of these poems.

V. Conclusion.

Putting together extracts from locatable works and lyrics connected in a plausible way with named individuals, we reach a total of about fifty poems - out of just under four hundred - which can be associated with authors: about one-tenth of all those studied. Anonymity is hardly unusual in the field of Medieval literature, but for a collection of poems from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, by which time 'authorship' was coming to be a recognized notion³, this strikes me as a low proportion. In telling contrast, Carleton Brown was able to organise one of his anthologies of religious lyrics (from the fourteenth century) on an author principle, devoting different sections to different figures⁴. The process by which unacknowledged extracts from poems achieved currency as lyrics seems to me to be instructive here; while the complete works were perhaps indeed regarded as 'literature', and viewed as significantly connected to their noble authors, the extracts seem to have received more casual, and often peculiarly practical

1. I have excluded from this list 'Nicholas Wikes' and 'Bourscher Richard Daniel' whom the Index includes as the authors of Mastres your maners are hard to know and My harte ys yours ye may be sure, in BL MSS Royal 17.D.xviii and Bodl.Ashmole 39; in both cases, there seems to me insufficient evidence that the hand of the lyric matches the hand of the signature.
2. D. Knowles & R.N. Hadcock, Medieval Religious Houses (London & New York rev.ed. 1971); St. Leonard's Priory in Stratford-at-Bow is discussed on p.266, and the house of Cistercian monks at Stratford Langthorne on p.126. There was a hospital for lepers and sick poor in Stratford-at-Bow (the hospital of St. Mary Martyr, described pp.334, 395), but this seems an unlikely home for Parker.
3. Woolf, English Religious Lyric p.379.
4. Religious Lyrics of the Fourteenth Century (rev.G.V. Smithers, Oxford 1952).

treatment, as a kind of common fund, serving various (often non-literary) purposes. John Paston's urgent need of his copy of The Temple of Glass during the period of his own courtship neatly epitomizes the situation¹. On one level, Lydgate was an 'author', with 'works' to be commissioned, collected, preserved; on another level he was a source of practical help, a fund of easily-extractable vers d'occasion. In the case of the surviving copies of courtly lyrics, the occasion, rather than the author, seems frequently to have been the important factor.

1. Davis, Paston Letters i p.447.

CHAPTER 4: THE CURRENCY AND TRANSMISSION OF COURTLY LYRICS.

I. Introduction.

As yet, little work has been carried out on the means by which secular lyrics circulated¹. Even the mere fact of circulation has not been properly established, except perhaps in the case of carols, more comprehensively studied in Greene's edition². Religious lyrics (including carols), especially instructive or devotional ones, fulfilled relatively specialized practical purposes, and were often used in connection with teaching or preaching material; in these instances the processes of dissemination and transmission have proved rather more tempting and easier to reconstruct, especially in the case of bodies of lyrics which became regularly associated with longer works - like the Speculum Christiani or the Fasciculus Morum³ - or perhaps with the name of a particular cult-figure like Richard Rolle. But the situation is not the same with secular lyrics; the evidence of the previous chapters here has made clear just how much the association of a famous name might, similarly, 'carry' a small proportion of surviving courtly lyrics, but the currency of the vast and anonymous remaining body of them has not yet been touched on. Once again, the manuscripts provide the best starting-point for this kind of investigation. At the most basic level, they reveal which lyrics survive in more than one copy, or which share significant correspondences and echoes. Then the physical appearance of the surviving texts - formally copied, heavily revised in the manner of autographs, roughly scribbled as if from memory - can perhaps help to establish the means by which their scribes had come across them. Finally, the internal evidence of the texts themselves - garbled, or sharing common errors - can provide information. Using the evidence on all these points offered by the manuscripts, this chapter will consider three main topics: firstly, the frequency of duplicated poems: are these lyrics mainly unique copies, or did they enjoy a wide circulation? Secondly, the evidence for circulation in written exemplars (rather than in oral form); and finally, the importance of music in the transmission of the poems.

1. Robbins's introduction to his collection of Secular Lyrics makes no attempt to confront the problem of how the lyrics circulated.
2. Greene, Early English Carols; see especially Chapter VI of the Introduction, 'The burdens of the Carols'.
3. See G. Holmstedt (ed.), Speculum Christiani: A Middle English Religious Treatise of the Fourteenth Century, EETS o.s.182 (1933), and S. Wenzel, Verses in Sermons: 'Fasciculus Morum' and its Middle English Poems (Cambridge, Mass.1978).

II. Frequency of Occurrence.

Some statistics here provide a provocative starting-point. Out of three hundred and eighty-three poems, a total of forty-five appear in more than one copy. From the forty-five, well over a half appear in only two manuscripts; most of the remainder are confined to at most three. Only freak 'hits' of some kind - Chaucer's Complaint unto Pity, The Complaint of Venus, and The Complaint of Anelida - occur in what might be called numerous copies; even the chart-topper among these, The Complaint unto Pity, included in nine manuscripts¹, can hardly be termed widely current when it is compared with works like The Prick of Conscience (one hundred and seventeen manuscripts) or even with Lydgate's Dietary (twenty-four)². Religious lyrics also provide a telling contrast: a prayer to the Virgin in the Speculum Christiani (Mary moder well thou be, Index 2119) survives in fifty-four manuscripts; Erthe upon erthe survives in forty-one, and two songs from Rolle's Form of Living (Index 2017.5 and 5046) survive in thirty-one and thirty manuscripts respectively.

The undoubted lure of a famous name must account for the prominence of the most frequently-copied lyrics, obviously; there is also the fact that a well-known author's lyrics would circulate with his other more substantial works, and be to some extent carried by them. Once again, the precedent of existing manuscripts becomes important. Amongst the duplicated lyrics, several have these famous-name connections: eight can be associated with Chaucer³, four with Wyatt circle⁴ (if not definably with Wyatt himself); two with Charles d'Orleans⁵, and one with Lydgate⁶.

1. The total number of manuscript appearances sometimes includes a copy outside the date limits of this study; Pity, for example, appears in BL MS Harley 78, a Shirley copy of the earlier fifteenth century, which is not described in the catalogue of manuscripts here.
2. Statistics are taken from the Supplement, Appendix D, 'Preservation of Texts'; some of the figures will have changed since 1965.
3. Merciles Beaute (2 copies); The Complaint to his Lady (2 copies); Newfangleness (3 copies); Pity (9 copies); The Complaint of Venus (7 copies); The Complaint of Anelida (5 copies); two extracts from Troilus, Index nos. 1409.3 and 1422.1 (2 copies each).
4. Index nos. 13.8, 1333 (3 copies each; 158.6 and 813.6 (2 copies each)).
5. Go forth myn hert wyth my lady and O thou fortune which has the governaunce (2 copies each).
6. Alas I woofull creature (3 copies).

Next in importance after the famous-name connection comes the musical factor, so often assumed to lie behind all the courtly love poems of the period, and to explain their existence. Of the forty-five poems to appear in multiple copies, thirteen are associated (in one or more manuscripts) with a musical setting of some kind. It may be that these qualify for something of the status of 'hit-songs', widely-known and quite possibly enjoying considerable oral currency outside their recorded manuscript appearances. Amongst the remaining duplicated lyrics, it is difficult to generalize about trends. Some poems, like As I stode in studyenge allone, were attached by virtue of their context to Chaucerian material, or to the corpus of poetry transmitted in the manuscripts of Shirley and his successors, and their re-appearance in several copies reflects the wider trends of manuscript descent rather than the specific currency of an individual lyric. Others, like the macaronic De Amico ad Amicam and its Responsio, appear in two manuscripts which do not seem in any way connected - even, in this particular case, in widely differing contexts: one volume is an impressive Chaucerian anthology, the other a scrappy student's notebook¹. The only generalization possible, I think, is the statement that courtly lyrics, on the whole, appear more usually in single than in multiple copies.

Inseparable from the question of multiple copies is that of correspondences between different lyrics - 'echoes' which suggest shared influences, borrowings, and a tradition of 'reworking' and 'incorporating' material, which reflects the lack of concern over authorship discussed in the previous chapter, and greatly widens the whole notion of the currency of these poems. At least eighteen instances of correspondence of some kind between poems can be cited, from the number covered here². Some of them involve lyrics with extant musical settings, and the history of My love she morns for me reveals the complicated chain of reworkings which is possible. The fullest version of this lyric appears in BL MS Addit. 31922: eleven six-line, tail-rhyme stanzas, with a canonic musical setting

1. A celuy que pluys ayme en mounde and A soun treschere et special, in MSS CUL Gg.4.27 and BL Harley 3362.

2. Full details of the correspondences are given in the Index and Supplement. See 120.7/2261.2/2261.4; 752/2421; 1120/2245.1; 1176.5/1176.8; 1329/1329.5; 1349.5/3165; 1414.5/1414.8; 1409.3/1944/3701.5; 1838/3761; 2016/2017; 2182/2247; 2244.6/2250.3; 2293.5/266.3/266.5/377.5; 2510/3761/3406; 2318/2532.5/2535.5; 2782/851/729.5; 3706.8/3706.9; 4201.3/4201.6.

attributed in the manuscript to William Cornish. Here, the first stanza reads:

My love sche morneth
For me for me
My love sche morneth for me
Alas pour hart
Sen we depart
Morne ye no more for me (f.30v)

Stevens, in his edition of the texts of the songs from MS Addit.31922, cites the different versions which echo or make use of it¹. A couplet based on it is one of the two lyric scraps jotted (without music) into the early sixteenth-century commonplace-book TCC MS O.2.53; another fragmentary version is found in PRO Exch.Misc.163/22/2/57. It is echoed in the refrain to the carol Apon a mornynge of May in MS BL Harley 1317, and is 'moralized' in at least three other surviving versions. Unremarked by Stevens (and by the Index), the beginning of the stanza is also repeated as a heading to the lyric Adew dere hart in CUL MS Kk.1.5, where it perhaps serves to indicate the melody to which the text could be sung. The core of the lyric (the first stanza in the musical version by Cornish, the refrain in several of the other instances) must have been widely-known in order for it to be adapted in so many different ways. Alone I leffe alone has a similar history². Quite possibly, too, the different versions of the tag Harte be true reflect the same kind of process: the three copies - in TCC O.2.53, again; in BL Sloane 3501; and (unnoticed by the Index) in Humphrey Newton's commonplace-book, Bodl.Lat. misc.c.66 - are perhaps all based on the refrain or the opening of a well-known piece, probably a song.

In the musical instances cited so far, the reworking or the borrowing has almost always involved a refrain or burden in some way, presumably because this was likely to be the most memorable part of any song (in the case of carols, of course, the burdens are the parts which recur most frequently). Some other transformations, though, are based on the reworking of the first line of a piece - only marginally less memorable. Luf wolle I withoute eny variaunce, in Bodl.MS Ashmole 1393 is answered by Luf wil I with variance, in MS Ashmole 191, while Iff I had wytt for to endyght

1. Stevens, Music and Poetry p.394.

2. See Stevens, Music and Poetry p.390.

in three manuscript copies¹ is echoed by Yf I had space now for to write in PRO SP 1/246. Some of these reworkings have a very definite literary, rather than musical flavour, despite the fact that the first two examples I gave involved songs. It is obviously dangerous to be categorical about this, in view of the fact that so much music must quite simply have perished, but there do seem to be suggestions that reworkings sometimes involved lyrics which circulated in manuscripts as poems to be read rather than always orally as songs to be sung. Excellent soueraine semely to see, the lyric in Bodl.MS Douce 95 which is attributed there to 'Ducem Eboracensem', seems to have inspired (or at least to have been connected in some way with) one of the love epistles in Bodl.MS Rawl. c.813. The opening lines of the Douce lyric,

Excellent soueraine semely to see
Preved prudente peerles of pris...(f.1r)

emerge in the Rawlinson poem as

O excellent suffereigne most semely to see
Bothe prudent & pure lyke a perle of prise...(f.50v).

In form, the poems differ completely. The Douce version is in quatrains, the Rawlinson one in unusual twelve-line stanzas which consist of a rhyme royal opening followed by a short 'bob' and a mono-rhymed 'wheel'. Apart from their opening lines, and a shared 'aureateness' of style and sentiment, the two lyrics are not closely similar; a musical connection, similar to the first-line reworkings just mentioned, might easily be assumed, were it not for the enormous length of both pieces (the Douce version concludes with a vast rhetorical dilation-fifty lines of repeated 'farewell' addresses), and for the unusually complicated stanza-form of the Rawlinson poem. These are surely versions for reading rather than for singing. A similar case might be argued for the transmission of the two versions (much closer, this time) of Myn hertys Ioy and all myn hole plesaunce. The earlier of the two copies, among the Charles d'Orléans-influenced poems in Bodl.MS Fairfax 16, consists of three rhyme royal stanzas, which form a 'bill' recommending the lover to his lady. The conventions of a written letter are carefully maintained, with an extended salutacio and conclusio, and a neatly pointed reversal of the usual inner formula which has been aptly summarized as the 'hoping this finds you well as it leaves me' figure². The epistolary form is in

1. MSS BL Addit.31922, Addit.18752, and Royal Appendix 58.
2. N. Davis, 'The Litera Troili and English Letters', RES n.s.16 (1965) pp.233-44.

itself no bar to a musical connection, but the reworking of the lyric in MS Lambeth 306 (which incidentally extends the stanzas from seven to eight lines) gives it a concluding envoy of four short lines, which would surely not have fitted easily with any strophic musical setting.

Patchworks or centos, like the extracts from Troilus mentioned in the previous chapter, surely must have involved familiarity with the source in a written form (even if, as was apparently the case with Hawes's Lydgate recitations, this written form was at some stage learnt by heart). O merciful and O merciabile in TCC MS R.3.19, which puts together extracts from both the anonymous Craft of Lovers and from the Court of Sapience, must have been constructed in this way¹. Straight borrowings which involve the insertion of one part of a poem into the body of another are rather harder to classify. On the face of it, this process would again seem to depend upon acquaintance with written copies, but the evidence of yet another of the poems in MS Rawlinson C.813 casts some doubt. I recommede me to yow with harte and mynde is another love epistle, of thirteen cross-rhymed quatrains. The third stanza is a complete extract of lines five to eight of the text of a song by Walter Frye, So ys emprentid in my remembrance, which appears in the Neapolitan Mellon Chansonnier, and which may well have been known, in musical form, to the 'compiler' (hardly the 'author') of the Rawlinson epistle. An instance like this stands as a caution against generalizing, and indicates with just how much fluidity orally-transmitted 'songs' and written copies of 'poems' could intermingle.

III. Evidence in the Manuscripts for Written Transmission.

Apart from the somewhat problematical correspondences, however, there is firm evidence that at least some lyrics circulated by means of written copies, rather than (or as well as) by purely oral transmission. First of all, there are certain families of manuscripts, associated with similar exemplars (if not all copied from the same one, or from each other). The manuscripts derived from Shirley's collections of course fall into this category, the contents and rubrics which they share all carefully reproduced. The courtly lyrics in MSS BL Addit.34360, Harley 2251,

1. The poem includes stanzas 1-4 of The Court of Sapience (Index 168, 3406), stanza 10 is stanza 19 of The Craft of Lovers (Index 3761).

Harley 7333, and in TCC R.3.19, all based to some extent on Shirley originals, must surely have circulated as written, rather than as remembered, texts. This accounts for not only the several Chaucerian lyrics which owe their preservation to Shirley's recording of them, but also - especially in the case of MS TCC R.3.19, with its booklets of short poems - for numerous of the more 'aureate' lyrics in the high, pseudo-Chaucerian style. The so-called 'Oxford group' of manuscripts, too - Bodl.Fairfax 16, Tanner 346, Bodley 638 - while less closely related to each other than has sometimes been supposed, must be based on similar written exemplars, and must reproduce written rather than orally current lyrics. These manuscripts transmit mainly Chaucerian poems again, of course, but as a large part of MS Fairfax 16 is also devoted to poems by, or in the style of, Charles d'Orléans, it seems reasonable to suppose that his works too must have had a written currency, albeit a limited one.

An interesting duplication of lyrics in MSS Tanner 346 and CUL Ff.1.6 suggests further connections with manuscripts outside the immediate circle of the 'Oxford group', and gives some more detailed and concrete evidence to support the theory of written transmission. One of the many contributory hands has copied into CUL MS Ff.1.6, early on in the collection, a group of three lyrics: first, Chaucer's Pity, and then two anonymous ballades, As oft as syghes ben in herte trewe and For lac of sighte gret cause I have to pleyne¹. The same three lyrics appear, in exactly the same order, at the end of the first of the four booklets making up MS Tanner 346². The textual variants in the two copies are noticeably slight - almost solely orthographical³ - and it seems very probable that both groups of texts were copied from the same exemplar⁴. The Tanner scribe, for instance, has had difficulty with one portion of the first ballade, reproducing it as

As ofte as wepinges niob for sorow
By infortune in the marble shad. . .(lines 64-65)

1. ff.15r-19v, the beginning of the second main section of the manuscript.
2. ff.71r-75v.
3. The ballades, with variants (sometimes inaccurate) are reproduced by H.N. MacCracken, 'Two Chaucerian Ballades', Archiv 127 (1911) pp.323-27.
4. If not the same exemplar, then two which were closely enough related to reproduce common errors.

In Tanner the lines emerge jumbled; in Findern the problem section is omitted entirely, as if the scribe realized that he could not make sense of it, and the lines emerge as

As ofte as niobe for sorow
By infortune in the marblē shad. . .

The Findern scribe has entirely omitted the last two lines of the stanza containing these difficulties: perhaps the problems at the beginning of the stanza disturbed him so much that he could make no sense of the end of it. The two versions share some common errors, as well; both miss out one line in the seventh stanza of the first ballade, and both preserve a faulty rhyme-scheme in the eighth stanza, which begins in Tanner:

As ofte as sondys be in the salte se
And goldy gravel in the stremys riche
Of pateole so passyng of beaute
And jade stones shynen with her lemys. . . (lines 56-59)

and similarly in Findern:

As ofte as sondys be in the salte se
And goldy gravel in the stremys riche
Of pateole so passyng of beaute
And jude stones shynen wyth her lemys. . .

These two copies of the one lyric are proof enough that at least some of the lyrics circulated in manuscripts designed presumably for private, reading, just like the lengthier items included with them.

IV. The Role of Music.

Although years of use have turned it into a convenient shorthand term, the word 'lyric', as applied to short Middle English poems, is both anachronistic and misleading¹. It was unknown to Middle English writers, and in modern use it tends to suggest qualities very different from the brevity which is the only real distinguishing feature of the Medieval lyric. One of the connotations of the modern term arouses expectations of 'lyrical' spontaneity and originality of feeling; another hints at 'mellifluous' qualities, and an association with music suggested in the very etymology of the word, which Puttenham was the first to seize upon².

1. The word does not appear in M.E.D. O.E.D. defines it as 'of or pertaining to the lyre...meant to be sung; pertaining to or characteristic of song', and cites its first appearance as Puttenham's Arte of English Poesie.

2. G.D. Willcock & A. Walker (ed.), The Arte of English Poesie by George Puttenham (Cambridge 1936), chapter xi, pp.25-27.

Much has been made of this supposed musical connection. 'Most, perhaps all, the lyric poetry of that age', C.S. Lewis wrote, 'is to be regarded as words for music'; the poems were 'nearly always written to be sung'¹. Lewis attempted to compensate for what seemed to him the thinness ('drabness') of these lyrics with the rather different attractions of music and female company, and while he left the details of the social background largely unexplored, the notion of courtly lyric in a courtly social context has proved a particularly fruitful one for later writers. John Stevens has provided a comprehensive evaluation of the precise relationship between words and music in the contents of early Tudor court songbooks, and has defined the vague 'courtly context' more suggestively as 'the game of love', a 'social fiction' of the leisured elite in which words, music, and circumstances of performance all played their part, and in which the piquant social settings were of more importance than the presence, or absence, of music². Stevens confines his survey mainly to poems which are both 'courtly' in tone (reflecting the values of a cultivated society) and, quite literally, 'of the court' (produced by courtiers, for courtiers), and which appear generally in manuscripts of an undoubted court provenance; the relationship of music (or indeed of any social background) to courtly poems produced and read outside this milieu remains to a large extent unexplored. This section will attempt a wider survey - the role of music in the transmission of all the lyrics included in this study, 'courtly' in tone, but of much more varied provenance.

(i) The Evidence of the Manuscripts.

The number of secular songs of any sort copied with music in English manuscripts of the second half of the fifteenth century is remarkably small. In fact, the third quarter of the century, in particular, is notorious among musical scholars for the paucity of English manuscript music of all sorts³. The situation improves a little in the early

1. C.S. Lewis, English Literature in the Sixteenth Century, Excluding Drama (Oxford 1954) p.222.
2. Stevens, Music and Poetry, and 'Carols and Court Songs of the Early Tudor Period', PRMA 77 (1951) pp.52-63.
3. G.R. Rastall, Secular Musicians in Late Medieval England, Ph.D. thesis, University of Manchester (1968) introduction; B. Trowell, Music under the Later Plantagenets, Ph.D. thesis, University of Cambridge (1960) introduction; M. Bent, 'The Transmission of English Music 1300-1500: Some Aspects of Repertory and Presentation', Studien zur Tradition in der Musik: Kurt von Fischer zum 60., ed. H.H. Eggebrecht & M. Lütolf (Munich 1973) pp.65-83.

sixteenth-century - the court songbooks described by Stevens swell the evidence considerably - but even so, the number of surviving English secular lyrics, with musical notation, is still minute in comparison with the surviving songs in French, Flemish and Italian sources. In some ways, of course, this lack of secular material merely reflects the general pattern of survival of early written music, an overwhelming amount of which comes from ecclesiastical sources, and has a consequent bias towards texts in Latin directed towards liturgical ends. It is also connected with the point made in previous chapters that English readers (and singers, in this case) would often go for continental material in preference to the native product, and might well have procured for themselves copies of continental songs and music rather than English ones.

About one quarter of the lyrics included in this survey (110 out of 383) are accompanied by a written musical setting. Most of the music, interestingly, clusters in a few manuscripts: most densely in the court songbooks (BL MSS Addit.5465 and 31922), the 'choir repertories' (BL MS Addit.5665 and - to a lesser extent - Bodl.eng.poet.e.1), and the personal 'singing-man' collections (BL MS Royal Appendix 58, and possibly PRO SP.1/246). Outside these six major collections, surviving music tends to be fragmentary, taking the form either of casual additions or jottings in commonplace-books or already-completed manuscripts (MSS CUL Kk.6.30, PRO 163/22/1, Bodl.Ashmole 191 and 1393, Corpus Christi College, Oxford B.4), or of fragments - odd leaves which have somehow been preserved, perhaps originally belonging to personal songbooks which perished through frequent use (Fitzwilliam MS 355, CUL MS Addit.2750, BL MS Loan 29/333, Bodl.MS Mus. d.103). In total, seventeen of the some hundred manuscripts of English provenance here include musical notation of some kind for their lyrics. Outside these come three continental sources - all thorough-going songbooks - which include a few more or less garbled English songs in their mostly French contents.

The predominance of liturgical or otherwise religious interests in surviving English musical manuscripts is no doubt closely connected with the fact that formal musical education was generally available only

in religious establishments¹. Those capable of learning the complicated art of mensural notation, and of recording it in manuscripts, would no doubt therefore have a strong religious bias, and - because we are so heavily dependent on written sources for all our information on early music - our own knowledge of course reflects this clerical leaning. Much that was improvised and played by ear (perhaps by the musically illiterate) must have been quickly lost; secular, 'social' music, reliant to a large extent on impromptu composing and playing, is consequently the hardest of all to reconstruct. It also seems likely, in relation to this, that the surviving pieces (both religious and secular) which have been committed to manuscripts, will tend to be 'art-music', relatively complex settings which could not be learnt by heart as simple melodies could be. The extant sources, then, are for various reasons perhaps likely to give us a somewhat unbalanced view. The manuscripts of lyrics which have been provided with written musical settings, for instance, almost all reflect either a professional-musical or a clerical connection of some kind. The Tudor court songbooks are repertories (or perhaps repositories), gathering together songs suitable for different ceremonial or social occasions at court; MSS Addit.5665 and

1. By the fifteenth century, cathedrals, the larger abbeys and monastic institutions, and educational foundations all possessed choirs of musicians trained to read, perform, and doubtless often compose polyphonic music. William Horwood, whose compositions appear in the Eton Choirbook from the last decade of the century, was appointed to Lincoln Cathedral in 1477 as 'informator choristarum' to supervise the choir in 'pryksong, farburdon, diskant and cownter'; M.F. Bukofzer, 'Popular and Secular Music in England (to c.1470)', Ars Nova and the Renaissance, ed. Dom Anselm Hughes & G. Abraham, NOHM iii (London 1960) pp.107-33. The larger educational establishments - Eton; King's College, Cambridge; Magdalen College, Oxford - likewise maintained an 'informator' to train their choristers. Monastic institutions sometimes founded 'Lady-chapel choirs' (different from their regular choirs of monks) who sang polyphonic music in the lady-chapel and the nave of the church for the benefit of the lay congregation; F.L. Harrison, 'English Polyphony (c.1470-1540)', Ars Nova and Renaissance, pp.303-48. The king, and some of the more prestigious nobles, kept their own private household chapels, usually with a dean, and chaplains and clerks, and boy choristers under their own 'master'. The Chapel Royal grew in numbers throughout the fifteenth century, but lesser institutions tended to collapse on the deaths of their patrons (like those of John, Duke of Bedford, and Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester), unless given permanency in the form of endowment as collegiate churches. Ralph Baron Cromwell, for example, founded the collegiate church of Tattershall in 1439, with six clerks and six choristers; Harrison, English Polyphony.

eng.poet.e.1 are 'choir songbooks', probably associated with the singing-men of some cathedral or large church; Royal Appendix 58 seems to have belonged to a professional musician, and PRO SP 1/246 is one of a set of part-books. In the case of the musical fragments, and the added, flyleaf songs, any provenances which can be traced are noticeably clerical.

This apparent clerical dominance may seem surprising, especially as it perhaps frustrates expectations of courtly lyrics fulfilling attractively apposite roles in the realm of secular social relationships. But there is nothing more unlikely about a fifteenth-century clerk (or choir of clerks) singing secular songs than there is about the monk Lydgate composing The Complaint of the Black Knight or the obscene Hood of Green. Courtly love lyrics, like carols, were merely one sort of convivial secular song, no doubt entirely suitable for various convivial occasions, and in this connection it is perhaps worth mentioning that all the surviving major carol manuscripts (both with musical notation and without it) share a similar religious provenance: Bodl.MS Arch.Selden B.26 seems to come from Worcester Cathedral, where it was at one stage in the hands of Bishop John Allcock, and BL MS Sloane 2593 has been connected with the Benedictine monastery of Bury St. Edmunds, Lydgate's own house¹. The more recently-discovered BL MS Egerton 3307, thought to come from Meaux Abbey, consists of two distinct parts which nicely demonstrate the dual nature of the choral repertory of such an institution; the first section contains a group of liturgical compositions for Holy Week, and the second a mixture of non-liturgical English carols and Latin cantilena². Even composers most renowned for their secular works had long-standing connections with ecclesiastical choirs. Antoine Busnois, composer of courtly chansons, was a chaplain in the private chapel of Charles the Bold of Burgundy³, while Walter Frye, almost the only known composer of

1. The provenances are investigated by Greene, Early English Carols pp.297-341.
2. R.L. Greene, 'Two Medieval Musical Manuscripts: Egerton 3307 and Some University of Chicago Fragments', JAMS 7 (1954) pp.1-34; also Early English Carols. A different specific provenance, but the same clerical milieu, is suggested by G.S. McPeck, The British Museum Manuscript Egerton 3307 (London 1963).
3. C. Brooks, 'Antoine Busnois, Chanson Composer', JAMS 6 (1953) pp.111-35.

musical settings for English secular texts in the mid-fifteenth century, was for a time cantor at Ely Cathedral¹. Men like Cornish and Newark who were members of the Chapel Royal in the reign of Henry VIII were responsible for many of the secular songs in the court songbooks, pieces to be performed by professional singing-men on festive or ceremonial occasions.

Complex, polyphonic 'art-settings' of courtly love-songs, then, seem usually to have been the concern of professionals whose background was invariably the training provided by some sort of religious body. Their songs would usually be copied into performers' editions, expressly designed for professional use, like BL MS Addit.5465, which sets out its part-songs so that a group of singers can read from the same copy, perhaps standing at a lectern, and can turn the pages at a point common to all their parts. There is no evidence that the songs in these settings were ever more widely disseminated, or that they achieved a 'popular' currency. The texts may have been generally known, even generally sung, but not with the intricate musical settings of the formal songbooks. Significantly, none of the surviving manuscripts with musical notation for courtly lyrics (or for any other songs, for that matter) seems to have been a commercial venture. They are all either choral repertoires, doubtless produced by experienced scribes, but commissioned for professional use, or else scrappy remains and fragments copied by individuals for their own use. A testimony to the evident lack of demand for cheap, commercially-produced books of written music is the apparent reluctance of early printers to provide anything of the kind. It was not until the 1520s and the 1530s, fifty years after the introduction of printing to England, that Rastell and de Worde began to put out songs with musical accompaniment. Even continental printers must have sensed that the market was small; the first printed collection of part-music did not appear until 1501, when the Venetian Petrucci produced the Harmonice Musices Odhecaton A².

1. S.W. Kenney, Walter Frye and the 'Contenance Angloise' (New Haven and London 1964), pp.19-26.
2. G. Reese, 'The First Printed Collection of Part-Music', MQ 20 (1934) pp.39-76.

The presence or absence of musical notation in manuscripts tells us something about the extent of musical literacy, but it is not the only means of gauging the currency of courtly lyrics as pieces for singing, however. The manuscripts do contain some particular evidence about the less formal musical connections of some of these songs which may take us out of the clerical, educated milieu - the headings, or 'timbres', which accompany some texts, and which must suggest possible melodies which they would fit. MS Caius 383, a student's commonplace-book, includes three of these. The convivial carol Wan ic wente byyonde the see (Index 3971) is headed 'alone I liue alone', indicating probably that the text would fit the tune of the amorous carol No wondre thow I murnyng make (Index 2293.5), which has this same refrain. Another carol, Y louede a child of this cuntre (Index 1330) is headed 'Bryd on brere y tell yt to none othur y ne dar', which probably refers not to the courtly song (with music) of this title (Index 521), but to another popular carol, now lost, with the same opening words¹. Finally comes another carol, a courtly one this time, Myne owne dere ladi fair and fre, with the enigmatic inscription 'le bon.le.don.', and one crudely-written stave of melody which does not correspond to any other surviving English song². Other courtly lyrics with timbres like this perhaps include Now good swet hart & my nane good mestrys, added to a copy of the prose Brut in Glasgow University MS Hunterian 230. Here, the inscription which precedes the lyric,

O penfull hart that lyes in travaill/ and in tene
luk vp merely for sone hit schall [....] (f.246v),

may well be somehow connected with the lost melody for O painefull hart in peiyns syght in Bod.MS Rawlinson C.813³. As mentioned above, the heading to Adew dere hart in CUL MS Kk.1.5 no doubt indicates 'some kind of suggested musical accompaniment.

References embedded within other works - poems, plays, chronicles and accounts - can also suggest a musical connection for texts to which no written copy of formal accompaniment survives. Among the list of songs

1. J. Saltmarsh, 'Two Medieval Love-Songs Set to Music', Antiquaries Journal 15 (1935) pp.1-21.
2. Robbins, Secular Lyrics p.13, reads the inscription as 'le bouldon'. For a suggestion about its meaning, see below, p.189.
3. P.J. Frakis, 'Some Late Middle English Lyrics in the Bodleian Library', Anglia 73 (1955) pp.299-304.

and dances which George Cely learnt in Calais, for instance, is the piece entitled O freshes flour; if, as I suggested in the previous chapter, this does in fact refer to the Litera Troili (or to a re-working of it), we have a new musical perspective on a lyric recorded in manuscript only in 'literary' form¹. Two of Cely's other pieces tie in with lyrics which do survive as songs in other sources: Myn hertes lust is most probably the song of the same incipit in the Mellon Chansonnier, while Go hert hurt wyth athewersyte seems to duplicate one of the lyrics in Bodl.Ashmole 191. A song called Princesse of youthe is also mentioned in non-lyric sources. In Skelton's Bouge of Court, Harvy Hafter asks Drede:

Princes of Youth can ye sing by rote?
Or Shall I sail with you a fellowship assay?... (lines 253-54),

and the title is repeated in two references in The Garland of Laurell, and in a marginal inscription in a manuscript of The Canterbury Tales². In this case, as with the second two of George Cely's songs, an extant musical setting of this text is available: the garbled English song Princhesse af youth and floree of god li hede in the Escorial Chansonnier, which is probably based on an extract from Lydgate's Temple of Glass³.

(ii) Courtly Songs in Performance.

The manuscripts have provided firstly evidence for the collection of formal lyric-settings in professional or clerical collections, and secondly hints that courtly lyrics also enjoyed a more casual currency as songs which fitted well-known melodies, and which would have been perhaps sung by amateurs, without training in the reading or notation of written music. A brief glance at the circumstances in which courtly lyrics were performed or sung, and at the kind of instrumental and vocal

1. See above pp. 80-81.
2. For The Bouge of Court, and for the references in The Garland of Laurell (lines 897-98, 904-905), see V.J. Scattergood (ed.), John Skelton: The Complete English Poems (Harmondsworth 1983) pp.46-61, 312-58. The references to music in Skelton's works are discussed by N. Cooke Carpenter, 'Skelton and Music: Roty Bully Joys', RES n.s.6 pp.279-84. The inscription appears in BL MS Harley 7335, and is described by Manly & Rickert, Canterbury Tales i p.236.
3. The source seems to have been first mentioned in the Index entry for the song. It is further discussed by D. Fallows, 'Words and Music in Two English Songs of the Mid-Fifteenth Century', Early Music 5 (1977) pp.38-43.

forces required by the style of the settings in vogue, may help to clarify the situation which seems to be emerging - a situation in which two traditions, one formal and public, the other intimate and less practised, seem to have happily co-existed.

The circumstances of performance obviously varied a great deal, and have to be reconstructed from fragments and snippets in contemporary descriptions. Organized bodies like the Chapel Royal or the choir of a provincial cathedral must have sung lyrics formally, in public performances, perhaps on festive occasions like banquets, or at receptions for distinguished visitors. Henry VIII's chapel took part in pageants and performed their own musical 'interludes', like that devised by Cornish for the Twelfth Night festivities at Eltham in 1515/16 when the company acted 'the story of Troylous and Pandor'; this surely would have been a prime opportunity for the singing of some songs of courtly love¹. The sort of individual command performances given by professional composers and singers are illustrated in a contemporary anecdote about the Duke of Suffolk, who diverted himself during a spell of illness in Paris by commissioning a love-song from the composer Binchois. A member of the Duke's household (giving evidence at the investigation of a suspected plot by Suffolk and Bedford for the assassination of Philip the Good) told the story:

A son retour a Paris, en sa maladie, estoit moult dolereux d'amours et se conplainoit moult fort, en me disant que ung homme que je cognoissoye lui avoit fait tort de sa dame, sans rien nommer, et que une fois il lui rendroit, et se plaignoit moult de la dame, et en le reconfortant lui liroie de Garencieres et d'autrediz amoureux, tant que pour alegier son deuil, je lui fey venir Binchoiz qui, par son command, fist ce rondel: ainsi que a la foiz my souvient, etc. et ot ledit Binchois, pour ce, ij^c aunes d'escarlante que je lui delivray.²

While the performances of organized groups and professional musicians like these are documented in both contemporary descriptions and in manuscript song collections, the circumstances of the provision of music by minstrels

1. H.E. Rollins, 'The Troilus-Cressida Story from Chaucer to Shakespeare', PMLA 32 (1971) pp.383-429; the performance is also mentioned by Stevens, Music and Poetry pp.251-52.
2. A. Desplanque, 'Projet d'Assassinat de Philippe le Bon par les Anglais (1424-26)', Mémoires Couronnés et Mémoires des Savants Etrangers Publiés par l'Académie Royale des Sciences, de Lettres, et des Beaux-Arts de Belgique 33 (Brussels 1867) p.70.

are harder to trace. Technically speaking, minstrels provided only instrumental music, and restricted themselves to playing rather than singing¹, so any involvement in the performance of courtly love-songs must have been in the role of accompanists. Their own existence is illustrated most frequently by terse entries in account-books, which tell us what they were paid but not what they did; presumably because they had no need of written music, none of this survives. Many lesser households outside the royal court maintained permanent minstrels of some kind, though, and others employed the itinerant variety, so it is quite possible that minstrels occasionally provided accompaniment for the singing of other members of the household. That 'domestic' singing of such a kind did take place is proved by a description of Sir Edward Stanley, who, during one of the pauses on Princess Margaret's progress to Scotland in 1503, with 'two of hys servaunts sange a ballade or two'². Before he became Duke of Norfolk, Sir John Howard employed a pair of trumpeters, a tabouret, and a harper³; Henry Percy, fifth Earl of Northumberland (patron of Skelton, and owner of the Lydgate manuscript BL Royal 18.D.ii) maintained a tabouret, a luter, and a rebec-player⁴; some of the higher clergy also employed household minstrels to provide entertainment⁵. 'Haut' minstrelsy, the loud and more piercing instruments like trumpets and pipes, must have been of only limited use in the performance of courtly songs. The more suitable instruments were

1. Greene, Early English Carols pp.cxxxv-cxxxvii. The division between accompanying minstrels and professional singing-men is nicely illustrated by the positioning of the musical forces at the banquet held by Philip the Good in Lille in 1454 to celebrate Le Voeu du Faisan: the clerks sang courtly songs from within the improvised representation of a church, while the minstrels played their accompaniment inside a large pie. I. Caseaux, French Music in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries (Oxford 1975) p.36.
2. Quoted by Stevens, Music and Poetry p.269, from Leland: De Rebus Britannicis Collectanea, ed. T. Hearne (second ed., 6 vols., London 1770) iv.p.284.
3. J. Payne Collier (ed.), Household Books of John Duke of Norfolk and Thames Earl of Surrey 1481-1490, Roxburghe Club (London 1840), pp. 74, 92, 108, 145, 154 etc.
4. Thomas Percy (ed.), The Regulations and Establishment of the Household of Henry Algernon Percy, the Fifth Earl of Northumberland, at his castles of Wressil and Lakinfield in Yorkshire, Begun a.d.1512 (London 1827) p.42.
5. See the details of the household of Archbishop Morton given by A. Nelson, The Plays of Henry Medwall (Cambridge 1980) pp.18-20, and R. Rastall, 'Minstrelsy, Church, and Clergy in Medieval England', PRMA 97 (1971) pp.83-98.

probably those of the 'bas' consort - viols, psalteries, citoles, lutes (generally speaking, stringed instruments), and the harp. The queen's own minstrels in the fifteenth century were usually of the 'bas' consort, providing sounds more suitable for intimate, 'chamber' music¹.

Amateur music is, of course, the hardest of all to document and to reconstruct. There is little proof even of its existence, for the sort of private, domestic performance it must have involved is hardly likely to be recorded in account-books or chronicles, and the performers themselves (somewhat less proficient than such a grandiose term suggests) have left few scraps of written music behind them. George Cely's music lessons in Calais seem to have been a laboursome undertaking, involving substantial expense (the 3s.4d. paid to learn the three parts of Off seche cvm playn would alone have paid for a week's board and lodging in the town), and painful practice; a repeat lesson was taken in the second year of his residence in Calais, 'ffor to amende all my davnsys a 3en'². The harp, which was Cely's particular forte, seems to have been the favourite amateur instrument, with a popularity stretching across the whole social spectrum and anticipating the widespread vogue for the lute in the sixteenth century: Charles d'Orléans, the Burgundian dukes, Henry VII and Prince Arthur were all harpists, while lower down the social scale, the notes about tuning and setting harps in the commonplace books of Humphrey Newton and the Ramston family suggest that they too owned and played the instrument³. Perhaps we can assume a degree of musicianship in amateur circles which permitted a certain amount of playing by ear on a limited

1. E.A. Bowles, 'Haut and Bas: the Grouping of Musical Instruments in Ages', Mus.Disc. 8 (1954) pp.115-40, and R. Rastall, 'Some English Consort-Groupings of the Late Middle Ages', ML 55 (1974) pp.179-202.
2. Hanham, RES n.s.8.
3. Charles d'Orléans maintained a harper in his household at Blois, but also played the instrument himself; see Champion, Le Manuscrit Autographe p.36. Philip the Good and Charles the Bold were also harpists; Jeanne Marix, Histoire de la Musique et des Musiciens de la Cour de Bourgogne sous la Règne de Phillipe le Bon (1420-1467) (Strasbourg 1939) p.19. The 'henchmen' in the household of Edward IV were taught "sondry langages and othyr lernynges vertuous, to herping, to pype, sing, daunce, and with other honest and temperate behaving..."; A.R. Myers, The Household of Edward IV (Manchester 1959) pp.126-27. For Newton and the Ramstons, see Bodl.MS Lat.misc.c.66 and TCC MS o.2.53, below.

number of instruments, some singing (in much the same way), and which involved some facility for improvisation. The sort of performance at which these talents were aimed might have been accompaniment for informal dances (George Cely learnt 40 dances and a hornpipe), or the social but private activity of singing and playing part-songs.

Instruments and expertise adequate for the performance of some kind of amateur music were evidently widely available. It remains to ask now whether courtly lyrics were current in the kinds of setting which suited these fairly limited resources. The standard form of accompanied courtly song throughout the fifteenth century - as performed by professionals, and recorded in musical manuscripts - was the chanson. Although strictly speaking the term designates specifically those songs which are through-composed, distinguishing them from the less fluid musical formes fixes of ballade, rondeau, and virelai¹, a less precise application seems to be in general use. Bukofzer defined the fifteenth-century chanson as 'a secular part-song set preferably to French words'², while a more recent musicologist describes them as 'polyphonic settings of elegant but highly formalized and stereotyped French poems', constituting 'the principal sort of secular music in western Europe during the fifteenth century'³. In this wider sense the term covers musical settings of both the literary formes fixes of ballade, rondeau and virelai and of other more unusual lyric forms. The earlier fifteenth century seems to have favoured the three-part form of accompanied solo-song which involved the ornate vocal line (the cantus or treble) supported by two less complex parts (the tenor and the contratenor) which could be performed either by voices, or more usually, by instruments. The chansons of Binchois and Dufay exemplify this sort of composition, which because of its long identification with the literary ballade became known as 'ballade style'. A less confusing term is perhaps 'treble-dominated' style⁴. By the second half of the century an imitative duet style was becoming more popular, in

1. W. Apel, The Harvard Dictionary of Music (second ed., Cambridge, Mass. 1969) pp.144-46.
2. M.F. Bukofzer, 'An Unknown Chansonnier of the Fifteenth Century', MQ 18 (1942) pp.14-49.
3. H.M. Brown, 'Instruments and Voices in the Fifteenth-Century Chanson', Current Thoughts in Musicology, ed. J.W. Grubbs (Austin, Texas 1976) pp.89-137.
4. Apel, Harvard Dictionary, p.72; cf. also 'Cantilena-style'.

which two voices (the tenor and the cantus, or descant) were accompanied by a melodic and usually instrumental contratenor which served either as a bass or as an inner part which completed the harmony.

The English chansons in the Mellon songbook (all associated with the name of Walter Frye)¹, are composed in the later tenor/discant style, as is the anonymous Princesse of Youthe in the Escorial chansonier. Go hert hurt with adversite, in its setting in Bodl. MS Ashmole 191, is written in the older 'treble-dominated' style, with the vocal line (and accompanying text) uppermost, and the two instrumental parts below². The other songs in MS Ashmole 191, however, are all two-part compositions, vocal duets similar to the discant/tenor parts of three-part chansons, and provided with no accompanying instrumental line. That two-part compositions were particularly favoured in England seems to be proved by the contents of the earlier-fifteenth-century manuscript Bodl. Douce 381³, which contains six two-part pieces, by Bodl. MS Ashmole 1393, with its one single two-part song, and by the two-part nature of many of the carol settings. Many of the courtly chansons of the later MSS BL Addit. 5465 and 5665 are in the more internationally-conventional three-part form.

It is not impossible that songs in this often relatively free and undemanding two-part form were learnt or improvised by amateurs. Bukofzer emphasised that the chanson is essentially (chamber music for a few people)⁴ and the flexibility of the form has often been stressed; a recent article on the performance of the chanson Faites de moy toute qu'il vous plaira, by Busnois, has suggested as many as nine possible performing combinations⁵; the instrumental forces

1. Kenney, Walter Frye, and Walter Frye: Collected Works, Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae 19 (American Inst. of Musicology, 1960).
2. Music edited by Sir John J.F.R. & C. Stainer, Early Bodleian Music (3 vols., London 1901) ii pp.68-70.
3. See E. Dobson & F.Ll. Harrison, Medieval English Songs (London 1979) pp. 21-27, 276-91.
4. M.F. Bukofzer, 'The first English Chanson on the Continent', ML 19 (1938) pp.119-31.
5. H.M. Brown, 'On the Performance of Fifteenth-Century Chansons', Early Music 1 (1973) pp.3-10.

required by some of them need not have been great. In both the older, 'treble-dominated' and the later 'typically Burgundian' tenor/discant styles of composition, there is one voice - the cantus in the first, and the tenor in the second - which proves a basic 'tune'; this may well have been the only part transmitted in the more widely-disseminated songs, and different improvisations may have been worked around it. The survival on the continent of some monophonic chansonniers containing only the melodies of songs certainly suggests that 'tunes' circulated on their own - as the basis of polyphonic variations, or merely as melodies for use by individuals¹; some of the fragmentary copies of single parts in English manuscripts (a scrap of Frye's famous Soyez Aprantiz appears in Bodl.Ashmole 191 in this way) may well have been learnt by heart and used as a starting-point for improvisation². When George Cely paid his teacher 'for to lerne me an song ys callyd go hertt hurt wyth athewersyte', did he learn all three parts of the extant setting, or just an instrumental accompaniment, or perhaps the 'tune', on its own? Cely took lessons on the harp and the lute; there are no precise indications of whether he was taught to play or to sing the seven songs he mentions (or both), but the fact that they were 'lernt' to him by a teacher, and that amongst his additional expenses - a paper of instructions for tuning the lute, papers setting out dancing steps, and so on - there is no mention of books or leaflets which may have recorded notation, seems fairly certain evidence that no written music was involved.

(iii) The Interchangeability of Words and Music.

Apart from genuinely popular music, like folk-songs and some of the carols, which must have been learnt in the Middle Ages (just as now) by ear, it seems probable that many of the remaining pieces sung or played by musically illiterate amateurs took the form of improvised versions of current 'hits' (like My love she mourns for me), or were the fruit of lessons from a teacher like Thomas Rede of Calais. Within such a flexible situation, largely independent of written copies, the potential for reworking an existing piece as a 'new' song, or of fitting different words to an existing melody, must have been very great. The interchangeability of tunes and different sets of words

1. Paris BN MSS f.fr.9346, 12744; see G. Reese & T. Karp, 'Monophony in a Group of Renaissance Chansonniers' JAMS 5 (1952) pp.4-15.
2. Kenney, Walter Frye p.156.

is corroborated by some of the timbres mentioned above, and a note from Bodl. MS eng. poet. e. 1 neatly confirms the lack of formal constraints: one of the settings is headed 'Thys is þe tewyn for þe song foloyng; yf so be þat 3e wyll haue a noþer tewyn, it may as at 3owr plesur, for I haue set all þe song'¹. Interchangeability of this kind in the realm of courtly lyric was made particularly easy because of the predominance of certain stanzaic and metrical forms.

Part of the 'baleful influence' which Chaucer exerted on the fifteenth century made itself felt in the whole-hearted adoption of the rhyme royal (ababbcc) and the ballade (ababbcbc) stanza forms for lyrics (and longer pieces) of all kinds. Lydgate, Hoccleve, and the most prominent of Chaucer's successors clung faithfully to these two favourite forms, and - not surprisingly - anonymous and amateur poets followed their lead; the rhyme royal and ballade stanzas became the courtly forms par excellence. The roundel (usually abb abR abbR, with R, the refrain, repeating one or more of the first three lines) never attained the popularity in England which the rondeau enjoyed in France and Burgundy. Chaucer, doubtless in imitation of Deschamps and Machaut, had attempted the form², but for once his example seems to have been ignored; outside the English versions of the French rondeaux of Charles d'Orléans, there are few native instances of its use³. Inevitably many of the extant English courtly songs are musical settings of poems written in rhyme royal or ballade stanza. The musical ballade form (one of the formes fixes) was composed essentially of two major musical sections (AA + B) with the break usually coinciding with the end of the fourth line of the text, the natural pause in the rhyming and metrical structure of the words. The endings of both sections were linked by musical rhyme, a feature which distinguishes the musical ballade from the other formes fixes of rondeau and virelai, which are similarly built up of two sections, but unlinked by the rhyming device. The three English songs

1. Quoted by Robbins, Secular Lyrics p.234.
2. At the end of The Parliament of Fowls, and in Merciles Beaute (actually a 'triple roundel').
3. On rondeaux in English, see Robbins, Secular Lyrics p.278, and D. Fallows, 'English Song Repertories of the Mid-Fifteenth Century', PRMA 103 (1976/77) pp.61-79.

by Walter Frye in the Mellon Chansonnier, together with some of the courtly pieces in BL MS Addit.5665, and one or two further fragmentary scraps, are all composed in this form¹. While the musical ballade form seems to have remained current in England long after its demise on the continent, there also co-existed with it plenty of 'free-form' settings of ballade and rhyme royal stanzas: many of the poems in these forms in BL MS Addit.5465 are given fluid two-part settings which maintain the device of musical rhyme which featured in the ballade but which otherwise dispense with its formal requirements².

The point I am making here is that a sort of common 'back' of settings (polyphonic, or merely simple melodies; musical ballades or freer forms) would have been available to fit a large number of different texts, the interchangeability permitted by the common stanza forms in which the words were arranged. It does not necessarily follow from this that every courtly poem written in ballade or rhyme royal stanza must have been conceived with musical accompaniment in mind, but a fluid situation in which music becomes an optional 'added extra' certainly seems a possibility. The recent efforts of performers of early music to vary their repertoire by means of fitting different texts to single settings is merely a reflection of the original, authentically medieval, flexible combination of words and music, sanctioned by many examples of borrowing and re-fitting. Some of the most informative instances of contrafacta - songs with substitute texts - of this kind are included in the works of Walter Frye. Myn hertis lust, in the Mellon Chansonnier, is reworked with a French text as Grant temps, and in another version as a Latin motet, Beata es; Alas alas alas, in the same collection, becomes the motet O sacrum convivium; the other English song, So ys emprentid, has a particularly interesting history - it is transmuted into two separate French versions, Soyez Aprantis (which preserves the sounds, if not the sense, of the English) and Pour une suis desconforte, as well a Latin motet, Santa Maria succurre³.

1. Fallows, PRMA 103.

2. For discussion of the music in BLMS Addit.5465, see J. Stevens, Early Tudor Songs and Carols, Mus.Brit. 36 (1975).

3. S.W. Kenney, 'Contrafacta in the Works of Walter Frye', JAMS 8 (1955) pp.182-202.

The substituted texts in some of these examples are obviously designed to cater for audiences of different nationalities, and in many cases it is impossible to work out which were the 'original' words. The international currency of French obviously contributed to the fact that more songs survive with French texts than with texts in any other language. Even many of the English composers working in the fifteenth century (and apparently much in demand on the continent)¹ have left behind them only French songs². Conversely, the comparative difficulty of the English language (evident in the painful attempts of foreign scribes to record English songs) must have given English texts a very limited international currency, and have contributed in no small way to the paucity of surviving manuscript sources. French songs were certainly in demand amongst English audiences; two fragmentary musical manuscripts from the earlier fifteenth century, Bodl.Douce 381 and CUL Addit.5943, both contain courtly songs with French words³, while the Tudor songbooks include several well-known French and Burgundian pieces⁴. It seems quite possible that many connections between continental and English songs remain to be spotted, with the texts identified as contrafacta of some sort; the so-called Complaint of a Prisoner against Fortune (Fortune alas alas what have I gylt) has recently been put forward as the English text of a song by Bedyngham which appears in continental manuscripts in both a French form (Fortune elas) and an Italian one (Gentil madonna)⁵.

1. Dunstable early in the fifteenth century, and Bedingham and Morton later on, were all English musicians who spent much of their working life abroad. Morton was for some time attached to the Burgundian court, and appears to have given lessons in counterpoint to Charles the Bold; see J. Marix, Les Musiciens de la Cour de Bourgogne au xv^e siècle (Paris 1937), intro. Foreign rulers like Alonso V of Portugal, the Emperor Frederick, and Galeazzo Maria Sforza of Milan all sent agents to England to collect English singers; see H. Raynor, A Social History of Music (London 1972) p. 50. Charles d'Orléans entertained English musicians at Blois after his release from captivity; in 1449 three 'haulx menestrels anglois' played before his wife Marie de Cleves; Champion, Poésies ii p.569.
2. None of the surviving secular pieces attributed to Bedingham has an English text; two of his songs, Le Serviteur and Mon Seul Plaisir were amongst the best-known of continental chansons. Morton similarly left behind no English chansons.
3. Dobson & Harrison, Medieval English Songs pp.21-27, 276-91.
4. BL MS Addit.31922, for example, includes Fortune Esperee by Busnois, and Allex Regretz by Hayne van Ghizeghem. Texts and settings are supplied by J. Stevens, Music at the Court of Henry VIII, Mus Brit.18 (1962).
5. Fallows, PRMA 103.

Contrafacta such as these, and other less precisely definable forms borrowing and reworking songs and texts, make it very clear that the relationship between words and music was usually a fluid one. There are exceptions, of course - Machaut and Deschamps, providing settings for their own lyrics, must have envisaged a close and comparatively meaningful association of text and music - but in general little sanctity was attached to the relationship. Any English parallels for the dual facility of these French poets are anyway hard to trace; there is no evidence at all that Chaucer, for instance, was capable of providing musical settings for his own songs. Men like Cornish may well have been able to provide the texts for musical interludes and songs performed by the Chapel Royal, but - unlike Machaut and Deschamps - they took no pains whatsoever to record their abilities, or to safeguard their work against plagiarism and adaptation. The important point seems to be that musicians in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries were quite free to adapt texts by poets unknown to them, perhaps in languages not their own, and even to rework the words (or the words and music) of songs which were already well-known. A particularly good example of what now seems a total lack of respect for song-texts and music is provided by that type of musical composition known as a quod-libet, which made up its text from the incipits (or other selected lines) of a number of other works, and which provided a musical setting which was the result of a similar sort of cannibalism. One such piece, in Le Jardin de Plaisance, entitled 'balade faicte de plusieurs chansons', consists of four eight-line stanzas made up from the opening lines of a total of thirty-two different lyrics - a tour de force of inspired opportunism¹.

V. Conclusions.

Nothing in this discussion demonstrates a formal or inevitable connection between courtly lyrics and musical settings: the small amount of recorded notation, the obviously casual relationship between texts and melodies,

1. Droz & Piaget, Jardin de Plaisance ii pp.112-19. The piece appears in musical form in at least three other continental manuscripts: Paris BN f.fr.1597 and 12744; Brussels, Bibl.Royale 11239; Tournai, Musee de la Ville. I have been unable to ascertain whether a fourth copy in Florence, Instituto Musicale Basevi 2439, contains music or not.

and the seemingly improvisatory nature of many of the 'performances' of such songs, combine to suggest that music was very much an optional extra dimension, something which could be added to a text at some stage well after its composition to turn it officially into a 'song', just as musical settings can turn already - existing poems retrospectively into 'hymns'. This contemporary insouciance towards music is nowhere better revealed than in some of the features associated with the poetry of Charles d'Orléans. The state of the so-called 'autograph manuscript' is perhaps most striking. Here, after the careful copying of a series of chansons with spaces left for the addition of music, the original design of the manuscript was completely abandoned, and the gaps were filled with other rondeaux. The plan to copy in music, even perhaps to commission its composition, can have been of little importance¹. One of the poems included in the manuscript, Ma seule plaisant douce joye has also recently been discussed as existing in 'two clearly defined versions, the "sung" version having a life entirely independent of what one may term the "spoken" or "written" version'².

One further illuminating example involves a copy of a poem attributed to Charles in the neo-Shirleian manuscript, BL Harley 7333. This contains sixteen lines of continuously-copied verse headed 'Balade made by pe duc of Orlience', which neatly fill the space remaining on f.36v at the end of Sellyng's Evidence to Beware (Index 4074), before the beginning of the next major item of f.37r, The Canterbury Tales. Champion printed the piece as two eight-line ballade stanzas (following the rubric of the manuscript), and remarked that the first of them also appears in the French manuscript known as the Chansonnier du Cardinal Rohan (Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett MS 78.B.17)³. MacCracken printed the sixteen lines as four four-line stanzas, suggesting that they were copied from a lost Shirley original and that Shirley had obtained the items from Alice Chaucer, wife of the Duke of Suffolk and friend of Charles d'Orléans⁴.

1. Champion, Le Manuscrit Autographe p.36.
2. Fallows, Early Music 5.
3. Champion, Poesies ii pp.572-73.
4. PMLA 26.

The first eight lines of the piece, however, are in fact a reworking of what appears to be a rondeau in the style of 'the duc of Orlience', set to music by Binchois (of the Burgundian court¹), and copied into four other continental musical sources besides the Rohan manuscript². It reappears in the sixteenth-century English songbook BL MS Royal Appendix 31-35³, and was printed in Le Jardin de Plaisance with the title Autre rondel⁴. The rhyme scheme and metrical structure of the full version of the poem (as it appears in the chansonniers and in the early print) exactly parallel those of the other rondeaux which can genuinely be connected with the French duke, but because the piece does not appear in the autograph manuscript the attribution is regarded as uncertain.

1. Marix, Musiciens de la cour de Bourgogne, intro.
2. Pavia, Bibl.Univ.362; Rome, Vat.Urb.Lat.1411; Stockholm LIII; Munich, Mus.MS 3192.
3. Warner & Gilson, Cat.Royal MSS. ii p.393.
4. Droz & Piaget, Le Jardin de Plaisance ii pp.155-56. The versions compare as follows:

Harley 7333: Mon cuer chante joyeuxsement
 Quant il luy sovient de la belle
 Tout son pleasre se renouvelle
 De Dieu en mieulx certainement
 En esperant que bien breuvement
 jares quelque bonne nouvelle
 Dount je merci Amours et elle
 Par chescun jour de foiz plus de cent (f.36v).

Le Jardin de Plaisance:

Mon cuer chante ioyesement
 Quant il luy souvient de la belle
 Tout mon plaisir se renouvelle
 De bien en mieulx certainement
 En esperant que bien briefment
 Auray quelque bonne nouvelle
 Mon cuer &c.
 Son gracieux doulx corps et gent
 La mis hors de danger et delle
 Dont ieu merci amours et elle
 Chascun iour des foys plus de cent
 Mon cuer &c.

The second 'ballade stanza' in MS Harley 7333 is more problematical, but once more it seems to have a French rondeau (unnoticed by Champion or MacCracken) as its source. The Harley scribe gives this:

Emy las las dolant ami
Que frege des or en avant
Quant jai perdue sanz nul recouvrement
Mon bien mamour ma joye et mon ami
James n'aurey ne bon jour ne demi
Fors que sussy payne et tourment
Pour menz que soit desoubz le firmement
Joux a la mort je naymerois que lui (f.36v).

The ryme scheme- abbabaab, as in the first fragment - suggests a rondeau-type original, and indeed a fragmentary rondeau-like parallel for it appears in one of the Trent codices (no.87)¹:

Ay mi lasse lasse et molt dolent
Ay mi que frai jou dormais en avant
Quand jai perdu sans estre recouvrant
Mon bien mamour ma joie et mon ami
Jamais aray ne bon jour ne demi
Forsque fusse bien men deuil percevant (f.92v)².

In transmission, this song has become almost as garbled as some of the English pieces mangled by foreign scribes in continental chansonniers; how much the Harley scribe garbled himself, and how much he received in ready-garbled form in his exemplar is impossible to distinguish. The variants are suggestive of both written and oral transmission, with the change of 'ay mi' to 'ami' in the opening line smacking of something which has been heard and misunderstood, but the alteration of 'fusse' to 'sussy' (and the subsequent transformation of the rest of the line to accord with this mistake) seeming surely more a case of written error. However. the two pieces were transmitted, though, they epitomize the utter lack of respect for musical or literary precedent, in the realm of courtly lyric. The Harley scribe's aim in copying the piece seems to have been purely practical-filling the requisite amount of space - with the added chance, never to be missed, of invoking a prestigious name.

1. Described below p.445.

2. G. Adler & O. Koller, 'Sechs Trienter Codices geistliche und weltliche kompositionen des XV Jhs., II', Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich 22 (1904, repr.1959) p.96.

while his motives can hardly be described as 'literary' in any way, it seems just as unlikely that they were at all connected with music, for the surviving settings of the stanzas require that they should form two separate rondeaux. This example can only reinforce David Fallow's suggestion that lyrics could enjoy both a 'sung' and a 'written' form.

Deschamps' familiar distinction between 'musique artificiele... chansons embellies par la melodie et les teneurs, trebles et contreteneurs' and 'musique naturele...une musique de bouche en proferant paroules metrifiees'¹ serves to conclude this discussion. Most of the shorter verse-forms used for the purposes of courtly lyric tended to be muso-poetical - ballades, rondeaux, virelais and lais (and their English equivalents) can be made up of both words and music, or of words alone; any poem in such a form, with music or not, can have certain qualities of 'song'. This comes not from an inherent singeableness, or from the lilt and 'melody' of the words, but from the formal, declamatory style which gives the 'song' an air of public celebration or complaint². The roundel at the end of The Parliament of Fowls³ exemplifies this neatly: the birds 'sing' it; we are given details of its 'tune' ('The note, I trowe, imaked was in Fraunce'); its form - especially written out in a different hand from the main text, as it is in the only full version, in CUL MS Gg.4.27 - sets it apart from the rhyme royal stanzas of the rest of the work. The fact that no music can be supplied in a private reading, indeed that no-one now knows the 'note', seems of little importance; its qualities as song have been perfectly well established without any need for sound. If some of the more obviously amateur lyrics included here seem too slight or too clumsy to bear the weight of such an interpretation, then there are still other reasons (beyond status as real songs) to account for their composition, transmission and preservation. However feeble

1. L'Art de Dictier, in Deschamps. Oeuvres vii pp.266-92.

2. 'Public' may seem a paradoxical term for lyrics like these of Troilus, composed and 'sung' in secret, but one of the essential qualities of these lyrics is that they are utterances rather than thoughts.

3. Lines 680-92. A possible setting is suggested by N. Wilkins, Chaucer Songs (Cambridge 1980) p.29.

the impact of their words may now seem they were once exercises in a fashionable and admired literary form - not necessarily attempts at providing words for music; the heady sense that one's compositions or one's reading matter smacked of up-to-the-moment aristocratic taste must in many cases have supplied 'richness' and 'deliciousness' enough.¹

1. The qualities which C.S. Lewis found so notably lacking in courtly lyric, Eng.Lit.in the XVIc. p.230.

CHAPTER 5: READERS AND OWNERS OF LYRIC MANUSCRIPTS.

I. Introduction

It remains, now, to consider the wider 'social' context of courtly love lyrics, the nature of their audience and the manner in which they circulated within it. Leaving aside, for the most part, evidence from 'fictional' sources - hints embedded in poems, for instance, about the circumstances of the composition and reading of love lyrics¹ - I shall be concentrating in this chapter on the documentary evidence which supplies us with information about the taste for courtly love lyrics recorded in written form. Who, exactly, read and owned copies of these poems? - courtiers and lovers, specifically, or a different kind of audience? In what kind of libraries were written copies of lyrics likely to be found, and did they make up the sort of volume which an owner would have counted among his valuable possessions? Two rather different sources of information will be useful in considering these kinds of question. First of all there are the manuscripts themselves, complete with inscriptions, scribal signatures, and marks of ownership, which can reveal who composed, copied, and read the contents. Then there are references in contemporary documents of other sorts - letters, inventories, and wills - which indicate ownership of certain books, and suggest particular preferences.

I have treated 'fictional' evidence with caution, mainly because of its one-sided concentration on idealized courtly circumstances, but it must also be admitted at this point that even the most apparently factual of documentary evidence is not infallible. A manuscript which was dedicated to a patron and presented to him as a gift, for example, can hardly be taken as an incontrovertible illustration of his literary taste, for he may well have been an unwilling or an uninterested recipient, and need never have looked at the contents. Similarly there is no guarantee that a legatee in a will ever read, or was even capable of reading, the books left to him. Evidence of this sort can suggest, but not prove. We might

1. For example, Chaucer's descriptions of the 'songs' composed by the Man in Black in The Book of the Duchess (1155-59), by Aurelius in The Franklin's Tale (CT V 943-49), and by Troilus (Troilus and Criseyde, passim).

deduce from Petrarch's will, which records the title of only one volume, that his library was insignificant, but we should be greatly misled, for he is known to have owned over three hundred books¹. Difficulties of another sort arise because of the vagueness of much of the evidence. What are we to make of something described as 'ye boke with ye knotts'², or 'unum librum...qui fuit patris mei'³, or 'my Booke of golde sett with perle'⁴, where features quite apart from the contents seem to have been the important ones? Or, rather differently, of inscriptions which tell us that a certain book was the property of some uninformatively-named 'Thomas Smyth'⁵ or 'Johannes B.'⁶? The nature of most of the manuscripts which include courtly lyrics makes this question of provenance a particularly difficult one: large, prestigious, illuminated volumes may reveal obvious marks of ownership - inscriptions, heraldic devices, mottoes - which identify prestigious owners, but manuscripts produced on a speculative basis, or copied by amateurs, as most of these are, only seldom contain indications of provenance, and any names which can be deciphered are often impossible to locate.

To set against these problems, not as a solution, but as a positive consideration, is the fact that the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries are comparatively rich in information about books and book-owners. The number of 'cultivated' readers - those who read for recreation rather than for reasons of business and scholarship⁷ - had been steadily increasing, and book collecting was no longer something confined to the rich nobility. The growth of interest in the activity can be explained partly by the increase in literacy and partly by the cheaper manuscripts which became available (each of these factors affected the other, anyway). The increased use of paper, and the gradual lowering of its price, naturally brought the cost of books within the reach of a larger proportion of the population than had been able to afford parchment manuscripts,

1. An example quoted by Parkes, Literacy of the Laity p.568.
2. From the will of Dame Matilda Bowes, Wills and Inventories (Northern Counties) i Surtees Society 2 (1835) pp.63-65.
3. From the will of John Dautre, Testamenta Eboracensia ii, Surtees Society 30 (1855) pp.230-34.
4. From the will of Elizabeth de Vere; H.W. Lewer, 'The Testament and Last Will of Elizabeth, Widow of John de Veer, Thirteenth Earl of Oxford', Trans. Essex Archaeol. Soc. 20 (1930-31) pp.7-16.
5. BL MS Addit.38666, see below pp.262-64.
6. BL MS Royal App.58, see below pp.343-46.
7. For a useful discussion of this term, see Parkes, Literacy and the Laity pp.555-57.

while quite apart from this, the general adoption of cursive book-hands (as opposed to formal and more slowly- and carefully-written text-hands) also had the effect of lowering prices¹. Plain, undecorated volumes could be produced quickly and cheaply, and cheaper books permitted an increase in speculative production, as unsold paper manuscripts did not represent too great a financial risk. An even cheaper alternative for the reader was the purchase of blank quires, or a blank bound volume, to fill as time and money allowed. Information on the prices of manuscripts and early printed books suggests that, while de luxe parchment editions were still extraordinarily costly, plain paper copies were probably within the reach of most of those literate enough to read them². Who, exactly, then, from this comparatively avid and well-supplied reading public, chose to own courtly lyrics, and in what form?

II. Evidence from the Manuscripts

The primary evidence, from the manuscripts themselves, can be at once fascinating yet baffling. Some connections are obvious: in BL MS Royal 16.F.ii, for example, the devices and mottoes which appear in the decorative borders (ostrich feathers, 'ich dien') make it quite clear that this collection was designed for a Prince of Wales; the dating of the manuscript, from the evidence of its decoration and the scripts used, supplies further information which allows us to identify the prince intended as one of Henry VII's sons, most probably Arthur. But in the numerous cases where courtly love lyrics appear as additions to already completed volumes the question of ownership or provenance is a much more complicated one. Casually jotted lyrics like these are usually copied in informal hands which cannot profitably be compared with any signatures or inscriptions of ownership which may occur, and their provenance is usually entirely unidentifiable; firm conclusions are impossible. On the credit side, though, 'added' lyrics like these are exactly the ones which

1. Parkes, Literacy and the Laity, p.264.

2. For information about book-prices see W. Schramm, 'The Cost of Books in Chaucer's Time', MLN 48 (1933) pp.139-45; N.J.M. Kerling, 'Caxton and the Trade in Printed Books', Book Collector 4 (1955) pp.190-99.

do not feature in descriptions of manuscript contents in inventories and wills¹, so the manuscripts can often supply a corrective to the more general information available in other records. They give, too, a clearer guide to the particular kinds of lyric which were copied, and, by making it easier to gauge the care and expense lavished on the copying of the poems, permit some relative assessment (albeit a tentative one) of the importance and value of the lyrics to the owner.

Out of the hundred or so manuscripts catalogued here, around thirty provenances, or connections of some kind, can be traced, giving some idea of the social range in which lyrics like these were current. Interestingly enough, royal and noble (literally 'courtly') associations are very few, and seem mostly dependent upon the practical uses which lyrics must have had in court ceremonies or entertainments. Prince Arthur's Charles d'Orléans collection, already mentioned, barely counts, as its three English lyrics are included among the French contents more by accident than by design. Two of the songbooks connected with the Tudor court, however, BL MSS Addit.5465 and 31922, are more thoroughly 'English' (despite the fact that there are some foreign songs among their contents). The first of these has long been known as the 'Fayrfax manuscript' because of its connection with the composer Dr. Robert Fayrfax, organist of St. Albans, and Gentleman of the Chapel Royal under both Henry VII and Henry VIII. Fayrfax's arms appear on f.1r of the manuscript, together with a list of the songs ascribed to him, and as the manuscript remained in the hands of the Fairfax family until well into the seventeenth century, it seems that there is good enough proof of the identity of the original owner². This may be seen as a repertory, though, a necessary tool of the trade for Fayrfax's work as a professional court musician, rather than a 'library' volume; Fayrfax's lyrics are hardly designed to provide diverting reading. The lyrics in MS Addit.31922, despite their

1. The only reference I have found in such records to a lyric included with other material occurs in connection with a volume owned by Sir John Paston, which included 'La Belle Dame sans Mercy', 'The Parlement of Byrdys', 'Horse, Goose and Sheep' etc. with a 'balade'; see Davis, Paston Letters i pp.517-18. Inventories usually make reference only to complete collections - 'my book of ballades' etc.
2. See Stevens, Mus.Brit. 36 p.xv, and Music and Poetry p.3; also Dom Anselm Hughes, 'An Introduction to Fayrfax', Mus.Disc. 6 (1952) pp.83-104.

rather more splendid appearance, are also undoubtedly meant to serve as songs for performance rather than as poems. While this, it has been suggested, is more of a presentation or library copy than a performer's edition¹, its main interest surely still lies in its music rather than its words. Scribbles on the flyleaves at the end of the manuscript - 'Sir John Leed in the Parish of Benyngden', and 'Sir John Berde in the parishe of Benenden' - have connected it with Benenden in Kent, and, by association, with Sir Henry Guildford, Comptroller of the King's Household, who resided there². Guildford's role as a kind of master of the king's revels at court no doubt involved him in the selection and performance of suitable accompanying courtly songs: MS Addit.31922 provides a library collection of possible choices.

Connected with the court, and circulating among a group of its associates, BL MS Addit.17492 - the Devonshire Manuscript, described earlier in this discussion³ - served rather less practical purposes than the songbooks. A communal sort of ownership seems likely for this collection, although perhaps as it 'homed' at intervals to Mary Shelton it ought to be described as originally hers. William Thynne's professional association with Henry VIII's court also gives the manuscripts probably owned by him some right to inclusion with these court provenances. Thynne's official capacity at court - in 1526 he was in sole control of royal banquets, and by 1536 is recorded as Clerk Comptroller of the Royal Household⁴ - recall the status of Sir Henry Guildford, and the probable use of lyrics in court entertainments, but the two manuscripts connected with Thynne, Longleat 256 and 258⁵, have not the practical potential of BL MS Addit.31922. There is, rather, a peculiarly antiquarian flavour about Thynne's manuscript collecting, as if he was anxious to record and preserve the literature of a courtly culture long since faded. MS Longleat 258 must have been copied in the later fifteenth century and come into Thynne's hands as a document smacking agreeably of 'history'; MS 256, while copied

1. Stevens, Mus.Brit. 18 p.xxiii.

2. Stevens, Music and Poetry p.386, and Mus.Brit. 18 p.xxiii.

3. See above pp.9-10.

4. DNB lvi pp.373-74.

5. A note in MS Longleat 258 suggests its connection with Thynne and with Thomas Godfrey, printer of his edition of Chaucer's poems; see below p.441.

in a hand of the sixteenth century, contains material which is much more reminiscent of the great age of Chaucerian emulation - almost a century before Thynne's time.

The taste for courtly lyrics among the nobility - serving practical purposes or not - is generally documented only by parts of manuscripts (like Thynne's volumes), not by homogeneous collections. Bodl. MS Arch. Selden B.24, for example, with its overwhelming concentration on Chaucer, and a gathering together of certain lyrics distilling a Chaucerian 'essence' among its longer pieces, can be connected with Henry Lord Sinclair (d.1513). The Sinclair family arms appear on f.118v, and an inscription on f.230v reads 'Liber Henrici domini Sinclar', so the provenance seems fairly certain. A precedent for Sinclair's courtly and anglicized tastes had been set by his great-uncle James I, in The Kingis Quair, which is included in this manuscript. Henry Sinclair, too, was the commissioner of Gavin Douglas's translation of the Aeneid¹. A more definite connection with the English court distinguishes John Stanley, the presumed owner of Bodl. MS Fairfax 16, discussed in part earlier on². The provenance of this manuscript depends largely on the correct interpretation of the coat of arms and crest which appear on f.14v. For many years these were generally taken to be the arms of the first Lord Stanley (c.1405-1459), but recent work has made it clear that the arms, quartering Stanley and Hooton, must refer to one of the Stanley's of Hooton, first cousins of Lord Stanley³. The most plausible candidate

1. Lines 79-104, in D.F.C. Coldwell (ed.), Virgil's Aeneid translated into Scottish Verse i STS 3rd series 25 (1957).
2. pp. 10-12, 41-43.
3. Hammond, Chaucer p.333; Pächt & Alexander, Catalogue iii p.84, and Seaton, Richard Roos p.83, all support the identification of the arms as those of Lord Stanley. Doyle & Pace, SB 28 pp.41-61, suggested Sir William de Stanley. Norton-Smith, Fairfax 16, and E. Wilson, 'Sir Gawain and the Green Knight and the Stanley Family of Stanley, Storeton, and Hooton', RES n.s.30 (1979) pp.308-316, point out the reasons for preferring John Stanley. Details of Stanley's biography can be found in their work, and in Wedgwood, History of Parliament 797-79. I am grateful to Dr. Michael Bennett of the University of Tasmania, at present engaged on a history of the Stanley family in the fifteenth century, for information on this.

from this line is John Stanley (d. by 1469), a favourite of Henry VI who was Sergeant of the Armoury in the Tower from 1431 to 1460, Usher of the Chamber from 1440-1455, and at various times a Member of Parliament and a Justice of the Peace for Surrey.

A particularly puzzling question of provenance, and one which depends on the playful courtly 'dropping' of noble names and mottoes, crops up in connection with BL MS Sloane 1212. Amongst the decorative signatures which surround the two Lydgatian courtly love poems on the first parchment flyleaf (a fragmentary singleton which seems to have belonged to another manuscript) are the names 'lucas', 'Scales', 'Morley', 'ffelbrigg' and 'Normanville', together with a series of French mottoes. These all seem to hint at some tantalizing personal significance, whether to do with the owner(s) of the original manuscript (of which this singleton, and a few other disparate parchment leaves, are fragments), or with the supposed subjects of the poems¹. 'Lucas' is identifiable as the scribe, for the paper copy of the Regiment of Princes, which the parchment fragments enclose, is also in his hand, and concludes 'Cest tout/ lucas endi[t]ur' (f.100r). The significance of the other names is more mysterious. MacCracken, responding especially to the mottoes, identified the names with prominent East Anglian noblemen of the early fifteenth century, and suggested that their connection with the lyrics reflected their personal connection with the composition of The Temple of Glass (from which fragments are extracted in the poems), which he believed to have been written in celebration of a Paston family marriage of 1420². This last part of MacCracken's theory seems unlikely on several counts - The Temple of Glass is hardly a celebratory poem, and anyway seems to date from an earlier period in Lydgate's career³ - but it is certainly not impossible that the scribe, Lucas, writing later in the fifteenth century, should

1. Green, Poets and Princepleasers pp.116-17, believes that the lyrics may 'represent the product of some kind of literary game'.
2. MacCracken's candidates are Thomas Lord Scales (d.1460), Thomas 5th Lord Morley (d.1435), Sir Simon Felbrigg (d.1431), Henry Normanville (fl.1415-not, in this case, connected with East Anglia). See 'Additional Light on The Temple of Glass', FMLA 23 (1908) pp.128-40.
3. Shirley's note in BL MS Addit.16165 f.206v, that it was written 'a la request dun amoureux' hardly suggests this. More information is provided by J. Wilson, 'Poet and Patron in Early Fifteenth Century England: John Lydgate's Temple of Glass', Parergon 11 (1975) pp.25-32.

retrospectively fill in some of the biographical details which he supposed to lie behind the lyrics that he was copying. On the other hand, the coincidence of the names with a group of East Anglians from later in the century permits the possibility that they refer to the patrons or destined readers of the manuscript, acquaintances of the scribe. This leads to a group which might include Jasper Tudor's sister-in-law Elisabeth Scales, some of her Felbrigg family relations, and Henry 8th Baron Morley (d.1489)¹.

The dismembered manuscript of which these fragments in MS Sloane 1212 once formed a part can hardly have been a collection of lyrics, of course; the remaining material (two lyrics, parts of The Temple of Glass and the Supplicacio Amantis, fragments from The Defence of Holy Church and A Ballade in Commendation of Our Lady) suggests that it was once an anthology of Lydgate's poetry, and that the lyrics played the usual minor role in such a situation. Ascertaining the provenance of a collection like this tells us merely that readers of a certain kind were familiar with courtly lyrics, not that they were avid collectors of them. Similar information is provided by certain manuscripts in which courtly lyrics figure as additions to the main copy, 'autographs' added by the hand of a reader or owner to a completed volume. BL MS Royal 17 D.vi is a good example of such a volume - an anthology of Hoccleve's work (The Regiment of Princes, The Emperor Gerelaus, Jonathas and Learn to Die), with a variety of additions by later hands, one of them a stanza to a lady, supposedly accompanying the gift of a ring. The original commissioner or owner of the manuscript is unknown, but the addition of some arms on ff.4r and 40r indicate that it must later have come into the possession of William Fitzalan Earl of Arundel (1438-87) and his wife Joan Nevill Countess of Salisbury (d.1462)². Other signatures in the manuscript add

1. For details, see below pp. 350-52.
2. The arms are identified by Warner & Gilson, Cat. Royal MSS ii pp. 251-52. Their identification of 'Alyanor Roos' is, I think, incorrect: this is not the Eleanor Roos who married Sir Richard Haute, but Eleanor Roos of Hunmanby, who married Humfrey Sutton, brother of John Sutton 1st Lord Dudley, whose signature and motto, 'Alas porquey Duddleley' also appear on f.1r. See Seaton, Richard Roos p.562, s.v. 'Humfrey Sutton', and p.561, s.v. 'Eleanor Roos'.

the names of some of Arundel's relatives and acquaintances, many of them known in their own right as book collectors, and the lyric may well have been added at the same time as some of these notes. Arundel himself, apart from this collection, owned MSS Royal 19.B.xvii, the Legenda Aurea, and 20.D.v, St. Gregory the Great's Homilies on the Gospels¹. Joan Nevill's connections with book-owners are numerous, too². 'Jane Fytzlowys', whose signature appears on f.1r, may well be the Jane Fitzlewis who signed her name in a copy of Lydgate's Life of our Lady³, and whose 'little English book like a primer' is mentioned in a will of 1479⁴.

Another manuscript which includes an added lyric, and indications of early ownership which may well be connected with the added item, is Bodl. MS Ashmole 39, a paper copy of Lydgate's Life of Our Lady, still in its contemporary binding, with some scribbled lyrics added in later on the end pastedown. The courtly lyric here is no more than a fragment (a promise of eternal devotion), interestingly set together with two other pieces on women's faithlessness. The signatures on the front

1. Warner & Gilson, Cat. Royal MSS ii pp.330, 378-79.
2. One of Joan Nevill's sisters, Cicely, owned BL MS Addit.50001, a Book of Hours. An aunt, Ann Nevill (1410-1480) owned New York Public Library MS Spencer 3, a Psalter (now part of a composite manuscript); Glasgow University MS Hunterian 3.7, Chaucer's Romaunt of the Rose; and another Psalter which is now separated into BL MS Royal 2.A.xviii and Bibl. Mun. Rennes MS 22 - as well as being associated with the Corpus 61 MS of Troilus and Criseyde (Parkes & Salter, Troilus Facsimile p.23). A brother Thomas owned BL MS Sloane 1685, a copy of The Canterbury Tales (Manly & Rickert Canterbury Tales i p.507). A cousin, George Nevill (d.1492) owned Bodl. MS Laud 733, an English treatise on heraldry (Pächt & Alexander, Catalogue iii p.79). Joan Nevill's brothers-in-law included John Tiptoft (m. Cicely Nevill), William Lord Hastings (m. Catherine Nevill) and John de Vere (m. Margaret Nevill) - all of them prominent collectors.
3. Durham University MS Cosin V.ii.16; see J. Lauritis, R.A. Klinefelter & V.F. Gallagher (eds.), A Critical Edition of John Lydgate's 'Life of Our Lady' Duquesne Studies, Philological Series 2 (Pittsburgh 1961) p.23.
4. H. Littlehales, The Prymer or Lay-Folks' Prayer-Book, EETS o.s.105, 109 (1895-7, repr.1973) p.xxxix. The 'Mary Fitzlewis' whose inscription features in an unnamed illuminated Psalter was perhaps the niece of Jane Fitzlewis and the second wife of Anthony Woodville Lord Rivers; see J.O. Halliwell, 'Early English Monastic Libraries', Archaeologia 28 (1840) p.458. Jane Fitzlewis's sister, Elisabeth, married Sir John Wingfield of Letheringham in Suffolk, father of the more famous Sir Richard Wingfield (1469-1525); for a discussion of the books associated with the Wingfield family, see E. Salter, 'The Timelessness of Wynnere and Wastoure', MAe 47 (1978) pp.40-65 n.115.

pastedown indicate that the manuscript was at some time in the possession of the Bouchier family - not the property of Archbishop Bouchier, as has been supposed, but of the family of Sir Thomas Bouchier (or Bourgchier) the Elder, who died in 1492¹. Once again this is a family with a well-documented tradition of book-owing and with broader literary connections. Sir Thomas's mother Lady Isabel (wife of Henry Bouchier first Earl of Essex) was the dedicatee of Bokenham's Life of St. Mary Magdalen²; one of his brothers, Sir John Bouchier, left in his will (proved in 1495) an unfortunately unspecified 'Grete Inglishe booke'³, and the signature of 'T Bourgchier' - perhaps this Thomas, or else a cousin, Sir Thomas Bouchier the Younger - appears in a copy of the Brut⁴. Like MS Royal 17.D.vi, Ashmole 39 is an example of a collection in which the lyrics play a very minor part, functioning rather as bookplates, and having little literary significance. Recorded in an inventory or will, the volumes would probably appear as 'My book of Hoccleve' or 'The Life of Our Lady', with no reference at all to the added material. The provenances are of interest mainly because they help to define the kind of milieu in which lyrics used for these purposes were current - literate circles where the works of established and admired English poets were read, yet where collections of their short poems do not seem to have been in vogue.

Moving away from readers with positions at court, or with easy and frequent access to London and to court society, come owners of manuscripts including lyrics from amongst the provincial landed gentry. Best-known of these are no doubt the Findern family of Derbyshire and the Newtons of Cheshire, owners of manuscripts (CUL Ff.1.6 and Bodl. Lat.Misc.c.66) whose provenances have been widely enough publicized to need no further consideration⁵. It is tempting to speculate on the unusually large numbers of English courtly lyrics in these provincial collections, and to wonder whether the owners of the manuscripts were

1. Seaton, Richard Roos pp.486-87, suggests the connection with Archbishop Bouchier. For a discussion of the question, see below p.377.
2. S. Moore, 'Patrons of Letters in Norfolk and Suffolk c.1450', PMLA 27 (1912) pp.188-207, and 28 (1913) pp.79-105.
3. H.W. King, 'Ancient Wills 9', Trans. Essex Archaeol. Soc. n.s.1 (1878) pp.142-52.
4. Princeton University Library MS Garrett 150; see De Ricci, Census i p.895.
5. For details, see below pp.219-21, 397-402.

in some way parading their fashionable courtly tastes, laboriously composing, collecting, writing down, and reading the kind of social ephemera that the real court society felt no need to record in permanent written form - but the attractions of theorizing like this must be resisted; the explanation is probably the much more prosaic one that provincial families, long resident in one place, were much more likely to preserve jottings of this nature, which would perish in a more mobile and changing metropolitan context. The numbers of lyrics in the Findern manuscript and in Humphrey Newton's collection cannot serve to indicate general trends. At any rate, provincial families seem to have been as happy as any others to use courtly lyrics as casual autographs. Glasgow University MS Hunterian 230, a copy of the Brut which seems to have been in the possession of the Willoughby and Zouch families of Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire, includes an added petition to a mistress. Two lots of family papers, the Throckmorton Muniments at Coughton Court, Alcester, and the Ramsden family documents from West Yorkshire¹, both include love lyrics which have been scribbled onto business records. BL MS Sloane 3501, a copy of The Master of Game which seems to have belonged to one Edmund Pakenham, of Pakenham in Suffolk, during the reign of Edward IV, includes several additions in early sixteenth-century hands: two of them are English love lyrics, the third a French one, and the fourth a list of songs and dances (perhaps suggesting a musical connection for the other added items). BL MS Harley 1317 and Trinity College, Cambridge, MS R.3.17 (a copy of the Statutes, and a collection including Partenay, respectively) are yet two more volumes with probable associations with provincial families, into which added lyrics have been scribbled. Trinity College MS O.2.53 is rather different, as its fragments of lyric material have been copied in, with other information, by the original compilers; here the connection seems to be (in part, at least) with an Essex family named Ramston.

One particularly interesting group of owners associated with surviving manuscripts is made up of Londoners, often merchants², with contacts among scribes, printers and booksellers, and with business connections

1. Now held by the Kirklees Metropolitan Council Record Office; see below. p. 232.
2. The Mercers' Guild, in particular, seems to have been associated with books and bookselling. See Greene, Early English Carols, p. 321.

(often founded on their own particular trade) at court. This was a much more literate and educated section of society than has often been supposed. Notions of separate classes of 'bourgeois' merchants and 'courtly' gentry and nobility are no longer tenable, as it becomes more obvious that any assumed barrier dividing one from the other was fragile and easily penetrated¹. The more successful of these businessmen, working their way up through positions of responsibility within a guild, and then at a civic level, could quickly better themselves. Armorial bearings and knighthoods could be acquired in this way (aldermen were entitled to the former, and it became customary for the Lord Mayor to receive a knighthood); land and a residence somewhere outside London could be bought, to provide a convenient refuge when the city was threatened with heat and disease, and to establish a potentially profitable foothold; children could be married into substantial inheritances of wealth and land. A large and up-to-date library was perhaps one means of displaying prosperity, and considerable numbers of surviving manuscripts - often illustrated, and showing an unusual concentration on English material - bear inscriptions which associate them with merchant families².

Manuscripts which contain lyrics and which share this kind of milieu tend to be of the 'collected works' or the 'holdall' varieties, anthologies of material which include lyrics because of the connections of their supposed authors, or because they provide useful padding between the longer items. Magdalene College, Cambridge, MS Pepys 2006, for example, a predominantly Chaucerian collection which includes several lyrics, courtly and moral, bears the inscription 'Iste liber constat Willelmo ffetypace mercerii london' (p.391), probably the mercer William Fetplace, who came of age in 1475³. The large anthology of material which is now Bodl. MS Rawlinson c.86 carries the signature of 'Wylliam Warner the son of tomas warner' (f.87v), perhaps William Warner, merchant taylor, who

1. The best guide to the status of merchant families at this period is still S.L. Thrupp, The Merchant Class of Medieval London (Ann Arbor 1948, repr.1962). See especially chapter III on 'Wealth and Standards of Living', and chapter IV, 'The Conduct of Life'.
2. A useful, if arbitrary, list is provided by Scott, MS Bodley 283, p.9,n.2.
3. Manly & Rickert, Canterbury Tales i p.409.

died some time before 1521¹. The fifteenth-century section of the composite BL MS Harley 541, a small anthology with a particular London connection made evident in its inclusion of some sketchy Annals, seems to have been somehow associated with the Frowyk family, especially with the mercer Sir Thomas Frowyk, who died in 1485 'of the swetyng

1. I disagree with the provenance of MS Rawl.c.86 which is suggested by Manly & Rickert, Canterbury Tales i p.475. For details of William Warner, merchant Taylor, see below p.413. The connections of this Warner family with other London book-owners are instructive. Amongst their acquaintance was Sir Bartholomew Rede (the relationship is discussed fully below), who, in a will proved in 1491/2, was left one volume entitled 'Theologia Naturalis' and another described as 'Bochas de casu principum in nostrum vulgarem translatum' - presumably The Fall of Princes - by Richard Lincoln, rector of Rayleigh in Essex; see H.W. King, 'Ancient Wills 8', Trans. Essex Arch.Soc. 5 (1894) pp.281-93. William Warner and his father Thomas also had some connection with the Surrey Gaynesford family (suggested by an inquisition in which both families were involved, CTpM. Henry VII i p.427 no.996, and by the fact that both Nicholas Gaynesford and Thomas Warner held offices connected with Odiham Castle; Wedgwood, History of Parliament pp.368-69 and 922-23). Gaynesford signatures appear in BL MS Royal 18. B.ii, a copy of the Brut (ff.127v, 181r, 188v, 243v, 264v and 265v); in the family cartulary BL MS Harley 392, see G.R.C. Davies, Medieval Cartularies of Great Britain (London 1958) no.1246; and in Huntington MS EL.26.A.13, a Chaucer and Lydgate collection which also bears the name of John Shirley (described below pp.447-487). Nicholas Gaynesford must also have known Sir Thomas Bouchier the Younger (mentioned on p.135; they were associated together in an inquisition, IpM London i p.6), and the musician and composer Sir William Haute

(Haute, Gaynesford and William Warner were all involved in the inquisition mentioned above, CTpM. Henry VII i p.427 no.996). Nicholas's nephew John Gaynesford was associated with the draper Thomas Kippyng, who commissioned the translation of The Mirroure of the Worlde contained in MS Bodley 283; Cal.Letter-Books L.p.106. Another nephew, William, inherited Hardyng's Chronicle and a copy of Le Recueil des Histoires de Troie from Sir Edmund Rede of Boarstall; for Rede's will, see H.M. Salter (ed.), The Boarstall Cartulary, OHS 88 (1930) pp.286-95. For genealogies of the Gaynesford family, see VCH Surrey iv p.275; Wedgwood, History of Parliament i pp.366-69; G.R. French, 'A Brief Account of Crowhurst Church, Surrey, and its Monuments', Surrey Arch.Coll. 3 (1865) pp.39-62; a note on Nicholas Gaynesford is provided by A.R. Myers, 'The Household of Queen Elizabeth Woodville, 1466-67', BJRL 50 (1967-68) pp.207-35.

syknes', as a note in the manuscript informs us¹. It seems probable, too, although unverifiable, that Trinity College, Cambridge, MS R.3.19, may share a similar kind of background: its sister-manuscript, R.3.21, foliated in the same hand, and including work by a common scribe, belonged to Roger Thorney, a London mercer (d.1515), from whose collection of manuscripts Wynkyn de Worde was able to select copy-texts for his printed editions². De Worde also made similar use of the copy of Ipomydon contained in John Colyns's commonplace book, BL MS Harley 2252, a collection which includes two courtly love lyrics among its varied contents³; Colyns, like Thorney, was a member of the Mercers' Company. Bodl.MS e Mus.88, a copy of The Prick of Conscience with some additions which include a love lyric, contains information about Aaron and John Wyne, apparently merchants of London, but so far unidentified. A last

1. Frowyk's own literary connections are also numerous, For a description of the books and manuscripts associated with his son Thomas and his daughter-in-law Elizabeth Jakes, see below, p.281. Sir Thomas the Younger was involved in the inquisition held after the death of Thomas Kebeel, a sergeant-at-law whose effects included a volume called La Abuse in Court, some French Chronicles, and a printed edition of Ludovicus de Vita Christi; see Gentleman's Magazine 38 (1768) pp.257-59. A daughter of the South Mimms branch of the Frowyk family married John Goodyere of Hadley, surely related to (if not the same as) the John Goodyere of ^{Monken}Hadley whose will, proved in 1504, makes provision for a 'best prymer', a 'boke of regimen principum', a 'boke of dives et pauper in print', a 'boke of the knyght of the tower in print', 'the caunterbury tales in parchment', 'an olde boke of the cronycles of yngeland', 'an olde boke of bonauentur', and a 'queyr of phisik of the secrets of women'; F.C. Cass, 'Books in Wills and Inventories', NQ 7th series, 9 (1890) p.271. For genealogies of the Frowyk family, see F.C. Cass, South Mimms (London 1877) pp.66-104; Middlesex Pedigrees, Harl.Soc. 65 p.88-90; VCH Middlesex iv p.209, v p.283, vii p.19; and for the Goodyeres, F.C. Cass, 'Notes on ^{the} Church and Parish of Monken Hadley', Trans.London & Middx.Arch.Soc. 4 (1875) pp.252-86.
2. Thorney's connection with de Worde is described by G. Bone, 'Extant MSS Printed from by W.de Worde, with Notes on the Owner, Roger Thorney', Library 4th series, 12 (1931-2) pp.284-306.
3. C. Meale, 'Wynkyn de Worde's Setting-Copy for Ipomydon', SB 35 (1982) pp.156-71.

instance of these London provenances, from the realm of civil servants rather than merchants, is Bodl.MS Rawlinson c.813, an unusually dense collection of lyrics and political prophecies from the early sixteenth century. A signature in this may well indicate some connection with one John Morris, Chamberlain of the Exchequer under Henry VIII, and later surveyor and receiver for Syon Abbey.

Finally come the clerkly provenances, tying in neatly with the evidence from wills and inventories which will be discussed to corroborate the suggestion that clerks of one sort or another formed the biggest 'audience' for courtly lyrics at this time (just as they were for centuries the biggest 'audience' for written material of any kind). In several cases, among the manuscripts under consideration here, clerkly provenances can be suspected, but not specified: schoolbooks like BL MS Harley 3362, and 'learned' collections which include songs with musical notation, like Bodl.MSS Ashmole 191 and 1393, all fit into this category, but contain no particular details of their early owners. Others however, supply us in different ways with clues about provenance. BL MSS Harley 7333 and Addit.5665, for example, are two collections which may be associated with whole religious houses, rather than with individuals. Harley 7333 can be traced, by means of the names which appear in it, to the Abbey of St. Mary de Pratis, Leicester, a house of Augustinian canons¹. Addit. 5665, the so-called 'Ritson's manuscript', a musical repertory rather than a verse anthology, comes from the West country - one of the principal composers whose work appears in it is Richard Smert, rector of Plymtree near Exeter - and has been plausibly associated with a large, skilled choir such as would have been based at Exeter Cathedral². BL MS Addit. 60577, a scholarly, 'pedagogical' anthology, can be traced to St. Swithun's Priory, Winchester, where the scribe-owner may well have been a monk with some teaching responsibilities.³ Caius College, Cambridge MS 383/603, similar in content, has been connected with Magdalen College, Oxford, where the 'Wymundus london' who signs his name in it was for a time based.

1. Manly & Rickert, Canterbury Tales i pp.207-208.
2. Stevens, Music and Poetry p.5.
3. Wilson & Fenlon, Winchester Anthology pp.9-13.

The scribe of the BL MS Sloane 1584, John Gysborn, was at some stage a canon of the premonstratensian House at Coverham in Yorkshire; it seems as if the collection must have passed into the hands of acquaintances in a similar vocation, for some material which has been added to the manuscript preserves exactly the tone distilled by Gysborn's own copy. The records of Coverham are sketchy, and no Gysborn can be traced there in the early sixteenth century, but a suitable candidate is recorded at the house of Calder in 1536, however - seeking release from an accusation of sodomy; perhaps the Coverham Gysborn had for some reason moved on. Finally, come two secular priests associated with lyric manuscripts: 'John Frynge', rector of 'Wysenton', who copied part of CUL MS Kk.6.30, a mainly scientific collection, and William Shaw 'clericus/ et curatus de Baddesly/ Clinton Ecclesia' who has signed the first section of BL MS Harley 3810.

III. Evidence from Wills, Inventories and Booklists.

The vagueness of fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century terminology for short poems causes certain difficulties in interpreting evidence of this sort. What we now call a 'lyric' might have been described as a 'song', or as a 'ballade' or 'rondeau' or 'virelai', or in purely practical terms as a 'letter' or 'bill'. It is particularly hard now to recapture the original significance of these applications - a 'song', for example, seems in many cases to have been no more than a formal, public declamation (as Troilus's songs)¹, with no necessary connection with music or innately mellifluous qualities. Similarly, a 'ballade' or a 'bill' might describe a short poem on any subject - we have no way of knowing, without the text, whether religious or secular significance is implied. An example of the possible confusion which could arise is supplied in an inventory of the Burgundian library of Philippe le Bon: amongst the books listed are several collections of 'Motez, virelaiz & Balades' - collections of courtly lyrics and songs, we might think, until we read further and realize that these were among books kept in the chapel,

1. The 'canticus Troili', I 400-420, for example, or the Boethian praise of love, III 1744-71, which 'he wolde synge in this manere'. For a list of such inserted songs, see Robbins, Lyrics, and A.K. Moore, 'Chaucer's Lost Songs', JEGP 48 (1949) pp.196-208.

obviously destined for use in services, and no doubt containing exclusively religious songs¹. In compiling this selection of documentary evidence, I have had to keep these difficulties of terminology constantly in mind; any conclusions about the nature of the books owned, as with the material on provenances, can remain only tentative.

Most striking, in fact, is the paucity of reference to anything at all which might have been a collection of English lyrics or songs among the books and libraries bequeathed and catalogued in England at this time. I have looked at as many wills and booklists as possible, but only a handful of relevant titles has emerged². Starting at the top, with the English royal library, there is little suggestion that collections of lyrics were considered as desirable volumes. Amongst the few details which survive to indicate the literary tastes of English monarchs in the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries there are no references at all to such collections³, and so no evidence of an established tradition. Moving forward, Edward IV's library, as far as it can be reconstructed from surviving manuscripts and hints in accounts, included nothing of this sort - in fact, very little English writing at all; perhaps modelling his collection on the great Burgundian libraries to which he had access during his exile from England, Edward favoured, almost exclusively, French texts⁴. The tastes of Richard III

1. G. Doutrepont, Inventaire de la Librairie de Philippe le Bon (Brussels 1906, repr. Geneva 1977), see numbers 63 and 64.
2. For sources of wills and inventories with reference to books, see M. Deanesley, The Lollard Bible (Cambridge 1920) pp.390-98; E.B. Graves, A Bibliography of English History to 1485 (Oxford 1975) pp.647-54; R.H. Bartle, A Study of Private Book Collections in England between c.1200 and the Early Years of the XVIc., B.Litt.thesis, Oxford 1956; S. Cavanaugh, A Study of Books Privately Owned in England 1300-1450, Ph.D.thesis, Univ. of Pennsylvania (1980); Sears Jayne, Library Catalogues of the English Renaissance (Berkeley 1956).
3. See Green, Poets and Princepleasers pp.91-99 for documentation of the books of English monarchs at this time.
4. M. Kekewich, 'Edward IV, William Caxton, and Literary Patronage in Yorkist England', MLR 66 (1971) pp.481-87. For Burgundian Libraries which Edward must have known, see J. van Praet, Recherches sur Louis de Bruges (Paris 1831); J. Barrois, Bibliothèque Prototypographique, ou Librairies des Fils du Roi Jean (Paris 1830); A. Boinet, 'Un Bibliophile du XV^e Siècle: le Grand Bâtard de Bourgogne', Bibl.de l'Ecole des Chartes 67 (1906) pp.255-69.

were evidently slightly less Burgundian¹, but we are left with still fewer clues as to the nature of his library; certainly there is no evident connection with lyric manuscripts. Rather more information, however, has survived from the reign of Henry VII, who is the first English monarch known to have appointed an official librarian for his books; while the remaining details add up to nothing like the massive inventories compiled for the French kings and Burgundian dukes of the period, they at least permit the reconstruction of some more detailed impression of Henry's library.

Particularly useful here are the Privy Purse expenses which survive from the middle years of Henry's reign, providing a good deal of information on his book-buying activities². Regrettably few titles are named (only 'The Gardyn of Helthe', presumably the French Hortus Sanitatis, translate en francois, for which the king paid £6 in 1502), but there is plenty of evidence that Henry bought English works as well as French ones, and that his interests extended from manuscripts to printed books. Payments made include one of £1 in 1492 'To one Smert for an Englisshe Boke'; another of £1 3s. 4d. in 1498 'To my lord of London scribe', and another of £1 in 1503 'To Richard Pynson the printer, in rewarde'. These detailed accounts supply a corrective to the picture of Henry's library which can be built up from his surviving manuscripts³: there are no English works here, only French texts (and one Latin one) on the sorts of topics which so fascinated his royal predecessors - L'Imaginacion de Vraye Noblesse (MS Royal 19.C.viii), for example, and Le Livre et la Vray Histoire du Bon Roy Alixandre (MS Royal 20.B.xx). Certain payments in the Privy Purse accounts also indicate the presence of poets and 'rhymers' at Henry's court who were rewarded by the king. 'Master Bernerd the blynde poet', who is paid on several occasions, must have been Prince Arthur's tutor Bernard André, a Frenchman whose output seems to have been moral and devotional rather than courtly⁴, but others,

1. Apart from two manuscripts now in the Royal collection - 18.A.xii, Vegetius's De Re Militari, and 20.C.vii, the Chroniques de France - Richard owned MS Longleat 257, a Chaucer and Lydgate collection; see Manly & Rickert, Canterbury Tales i pp.339-42.
2. H.R. Plomer, 'Bibliographical Notes from the Privy Purse Expenses of King Henry VII', The Library 3rd series 4 (1913) pp.290-305, and S. Anglo 'The Court Festivals of Henry VII: a Study Based upon the Account Books of John Heron, Treasurer of the Chamber', BJRL 43 (1960) pp.12-45.
3. Manuscripts associated with Henry VII are listed by Warner & Gilson, Cat.Royal MSS iii Index s.v. 'Henry VII'.
4. For information on André, see G.Kipling, The Triumph of Honour (Leiden 1977) pp.16-20, and W. Nelson, John Skelton, Laureate (New York 1939) passim.

like 'Hamptoun of Wourcestre' who was paid £1 on November 27th 1495 'for making of balades', and a 'Walsheman' who was given 10s. on February 20th of the same year 'for making of a rhyme', may have been producing pieces of a lighter nature. There is even a payment recorded 'To Newark' - surely William Newark the composer (who figures in the Fayrfax manuscript) - 'for making of a song'. It is evident from these accounts, too, that both the Prince of Wales and Lady Margaret Beaufort maintained household poets of some kind. On December 3rd 1497 'My lady the kinges moder poete' received £3 6s. 8d., and on February 4th in the new year the same amount was given to 'my lorde prince poete in rewarde'. Stephen Hawes, Groom of the Chamber to Henry VII, must have turned his hand to the occasional lyric, for he was paid 10s. in 1506 'for a ballett that he gave to the kinges grace'¹. All the evidence here suggests that although English love lyrics were almost certainly composed and read (or 'performed?') at court, they had little appeal in written form.

The reign of Henry VIII saw the first formal inventories of the by then established Royal Collection, and some rather more specific indications of the role of written copies of lyrics are contained in these documents. The first inventory dates from 1534/5, when an anonymous French or Flemish visitor compiled a list of the manuscripts he was shown at the king's palace in Richmond². The volumes which Henry kept at Westminster, both manuscripts and printed books, are not mentioned until a household inventory of 1542, which has still not been published³. The earlier of these two inventories deals with one hundred and forty-three volumes - Bibles, romances (in French), histories, devotional material, and some secular 'classics' ('Le Romant de la Roze', for example). Hardly any of the texts are English, and there is nothing which could qualify as a collection of English lyrics, of any kind. The books included in the later household inventory are more numerous than those recorded at Richmond, and the large number of duplicate copies and practically

1. Green, Poets and Princepleasers, p.127. Hawes' position in Henry's court is stated in the preface to de Worde's 1509 edition of The Pastime of Pleasure (STC 12948). His familiarity with lyrics is suggested by some of the interpolated 'songs' in this poem: lines 1625ff., 2267ff., 2496ff., 2542ff., 3764ff., 3804ff., 3951ff.
2. Paris, BN Moreau 849, ff.166-67; edited by H. Omont, 'Les Manuscrits Français de Rois d'Angleterre au Chateau de Richmond', Etudes Romanes Dediées à Gaston Paris (Paris 1891) pp.1-12.
3. PRO Augmentation Office Miscellaneous Books 160; a nineteenth-century copy is contained in BL Addit.4729; the inventory includes 'money iuells plate utensiles apparell guardembé stuff and other our goods cattalls and things'; see Warner & Gilson, Cat.Royal MSS i p.xiv.

useful volumes (like 'lutyng Bookes') suggest that this was the library which was more frequently used. Among them are 'A Booke of balades written' and a collection of 'Verses and Ditties made at the Coronation of Quene Anne'¹, both of which might well have included some courtly poems in English. It seems significant, though, that at least one of these contains what is essentially a record of the pageantry associated with a grand court ceremony, rather than a collection of poems for private reading; the 'balades written' too, may well have had similar associations.

Outside these details and inventories of royal libraries, evidence for the owning and reading of lyrics dwindles. None of the impressive fifteenth-century bibliophiles whose libraries can be reconstructed - Humphrey of Gloucester, John Tiptoft, and lesser men like John Carpenter - has left any record of this kind of volume. The only references I have been able to find crop up in the bequests of more humble parish priests and domestic chaplains, and in these cases a musical connection is frequently either stated or implied. From the earlier fifteenth century comes the will of James Bagule, Rector of the church of All Saints, North Street, in York, who bequeathed a 'Liber de Canticis cum claspys argenti', a 'librum rubium de Balads', and a 'liber de motets'². The learned and clerkly nature of Bagule's other books (a 'Medulla gramaticae', a 'Processionale', and a mysteriously anonymous 'liber'), together with his profession, make it very probable that his ballades and songs were also for church use - the emphasis on the decoration of the books, too, supports the idea that they were for ceremonial and public occasions. The combination of ballads, songs and motets almost exactly duplicates the chapel volumes described amongst the possessions of Philippe le Bon, and referred to at the beginning of this chapter. From near to York, in 1438, comes the will of one John Preston, chaplain, of Bubwith, including

1. The pageantry at Queen Anne's coronation is described in Sir H. Ellis (ed.), Edward Halle; The Union of the Two Noble and Illustre families of Lancastre and York (London 1809) p.802: 'And on the ledes of saint Martyns churche stode a goodly quere of singyng meⁿ and children which sang newe balades made in praise of her...'
2. Test.Ebor. ii pp.79-80.

the directions 'Item lego Johanni Robynson omnes libros meos de Pryknote Item lego Ricardo Raby tres libros videlicet vnum portiforium in ij voluminibus & tercium librum vocatum sangboke'¹; here the musical connection is made explicit. John Tidman, another York chaplain, bequeathed to Robert Haxby in 1458 (rather nearer to the period with which I am dealing) 'vnam togam coloris le meld (?) vnum par de clavecordes et vnum librum vocatum vn Balettboke'² - Haxby's assumed proficiency on the 'par de clavecordes' perhaps suggests that the 'baletts' were going to be put to musical use, too.

Outside York, where a helpful index to the probate registers, and an early interest in publishing the wills, has facilitated research into book-owning, references are few and scattered. Earlier in the century, again, comes Thomas Markaut, a fellow of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, whose will makes provision for 'Liber canticorum musicalium et aliorum 2^o fol. Tenor so fayr pen.fo. and as I wente' (with a value of 'iijs')³ - a collection which sounds as if its 'songs' - musical and otherwise - must have included some love lyrics. The 'prowd, pevyshe, and euyll dysposyd prest' James Gloys, attached to the Paston family, owned at least six books, listed at some time before his death in 1473⁴. Five of them are the sort of text to be expected in a priest's library: a psalter, a primer, a 'boke of statutis', a 'boke of Vitas Patrum', and a volume which bound together 'j boke of xij chapetyrs of Lynccoln' with 'a boke of safistre'. The sixth is a 'song boke', whose comparatively low value (twenty pence, as opposed to sums ranging between two and twenty shillings for the other volumes) perhaps suggests

1. Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, Probate Register 3, f.546r; also listed by A. Johnston & M. Rogerson (eds.), Records of Early English Drama: York, 2 vols. (Manchester 1979) i p.58.
2. Borthwick Probate Register 2, ff.371v-372r, and REEDS:York i p.89.
3. M.R. James, 'The Sources of Archbishop Parker's Collection of Manuscripts at Corpus Christi College with a Reprint of the Catalogue of Thomas Markaut's Library'; Camb.Antiq.Soc. octavo series (London 1899) pp.76-82; I am grateful to Dr. Susan Cavanaugh for this reference..
4. See Davis, Paston Letters i p.576, and ii p.360.

a small and flimsy booklet. As so often, it is impossible to tell whether the manuscript contained musical notation or just words. Still in East Anglia, but rather later in the century, Richard Dodyngton, a priest of Foxearth in Suffolk, bequeathed a 'balett book' to Sir William Clopton of Long Melford, along with his copy of The Canterbury Tales and 'oon prynted prymer'¹ - but once again, like Gloys's 'song boke', the nature of the contents is not described; this could have been a collection of either secular or religious pieces, songs (in our terms), or poems.

It seems obvious from this evidence, scanty though it is, that volumes of English courtly lyrics on their own were not common in private libraries unless they served practical purposes - usually as song books. A partial explanation for this is not hard to find: many lyrics would be needed in order to compile a substantial and lasting volume, and a precedent for such collections - in English, at least - did not exist; not even Chaucer's shorter poems had been rescued from oblivion and organized into a coherent whole. It is tempting to say, too, that the very nature of lyrics - short, ephemeral - might have guaranteed their disappearance; they may well have been copied in thin, unbound booklets which quickly disintegrated, and have formed a perishable, non-bequeathable part of any library. But the survival of collections of lyrics in French, and of short poems in English on other topics, renders this explanation only partly satisfactory; the truth more probably lies with the question of available models, and with the dictates of fashionable taste.

IV. Distribution and Ownership of Manuscripts with French Lyrics.

Because so few of the manuscripts considered in this study include lyrics as a significant part of their contents, we can make only limited use of this evidence of manuscript provenance: its main significance is the proof it offers that the courtly lyric was a generally current form, familiar to

1. Manly & Rickert, Canterbury Tales i p.618 (Dodyngton's will is FCC 25 Vox). More biographical details are supplied by Emden, Cambridge p.196.

most classes of cultivated reader (especially the clerkly ones), and liable to be used for the purposes of casual jotting. The broader documentary evidence connected with the recorded ownership of books during the period reinforces the facts which emerge from the manuscripts themselves: few English readers owned (or bothered to record) collections of lyrics in the vernacular, and those who did seemed to value them for what we might call 'non-literary' purposes - musical ones, in fact, usually. How does this compare with the situation in France during the same period? Did French readers own manuscripts made up entirely of French courtly lyrics, and - more pertinently - did English readers follow their lead?

The question of precedent is the vital one here, as it is in the general history of manuscript commissioning and acquisition. A reader would be much more likely to order a volume (or to purchase it, or compile it) if he had seen and admired an existing copy which could serve as an inspiration or as a model. For English readers in the fifteenth century and the first half of the sixteenth there were few substantial bodies of courtly lyrics in the vernacular which could serve these purposes. Chaucer's lyrics have never been officially 'prepared' for publication at all; they survive in a body, usually, it is true, but one so small that it could hardly form a significant collection on its own. Lydgate and Hoccleve, like the other writers of courtly verse, once again did not leave large enough collected numbers of lyric poetry to warrant full 'editions'. Even in the case of Charles d'Orléans, where there is some evidence that the collected English poems were prepared for 'publication' of a kind¹, the precedent established by large continental anthologies of the French poems was more influential on English readers². The sequence of cause and effect here is elusive. It is impossible to decide whether the

1. The incorporation of corrections in the text of the poems in MS Harley 682, and the existence of two fragmentary leaves from a lost copy of the poems, may suggest this; Steele & Day, EETS o.s.215/220 pp.xviii-xix.
2. MS Royal 16.F.ii is thought to have been based on a Burgundian exemplar; see above p. 46.

apparent reluctance of English readers to commission or compile manuscripts of lyrics was a result of the paucity of lyrics in the vernacular, or whether poets felt little enthusiasm for writing in the genre and organizing collected editions because they knew that their efforts (in view of the French competition) would be wasted; perhaps the likeliest solution is that the two factors wreaked a combined influence. So much depends on established precedent and the availability of models, however, that it is worth considering at this point the nature of the French manuscripts including courtly lyrics which were current in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, and their distribution.

Here, there are numerous surviving examples of collections of lyrics and songs, right back to volumes of Trouvère poetry. Most important, in comparison with English lyrics, is the situation in the late fourteenth century, when it is possible to distinguish several different kinds of manuscript in which love lyrics played a prominent part: songbooks (not necessarily for practical performing purposes); collections of lyrics by a group of contributors (like the Cent Ballades put together by Louis d'Orléans, Jean de Berry and others)¹, and organized 'editions' of lyrics by major poets (Froissart, Machaut, Deschamps, Christine de Pisan). This last category is particularly interesting: partly because the compilers were putting together presentation copies for noble patrons (something which, as far as we know, Chaucer never did), they gathered together their lyrics into homogeneous groups, either in individual volumes, or as large sections in 'collected works' manuscripts. Most of Froissart's independent lyrics, for example (not those 'embedded' in framing narratives), appear in two major collections, BN MSS fr.830 and 831, produced under his own direction in 1393 and 1394; the contents of both the volumes (which largely duplicate each other) are further sub-divided according to form into sections entitled 'chansons royaus amoureuses', 'Balades amoureuses', and so on². Similarly, the most important Machaut manuscripts include

1. G. Raynaud (ed.), Les Cent Ballades, SATF (Paris, 1905).
2. Rae S. Baudouin (ed.), Jean Froissart: Ballades et Rondeaux (Paris & Geneva 1978) pp.ix-x.

sections of lyrics: BN fr.9221, a presentation copy made for Jean de Berry, is organized into parts with headings like 'balades et chansons royauz' and 'complaintes et rondiaux non mises en chant'¹.

The deliberate efforts at publication made by these poets ensured that their works were quickly and widely disseminated. Numerous copies are recorded in the royal and noble libraries of France and Burgundy, and many of the surviving manuscripts bear inscriptions relating to their original owners. Jean de Berry, apart from his collection of Machaut, owned the impressive 'collected works' of Christine de Pisan, with sections of lyrics, which is now separated up into BN MSS fr.835, 606, 836, 605². Philip the Bold of Burgundy had in his library a 'Livre de Balades et de Virelays'³, a volume entitled 'Livre d'Amours' which contained Froissart's Tresor Amoureux (a large collection of lyrics tied together in a sequence)⁴, a 'Livre de Machaut' which may have been the Voir-Dit (another lyric sequence)⁵, and two volumes called 'Cent Ballades', either the communal collection mentioned above, or else Christine de Pisan's series of Les Cent Ballades⁶. Some of these important fourteenth-century libraries included songbooks, too, which may well have numbered courtly poems among their 'chansons'. The French royal library maintained in the Louvre by Charles V and Charles VI included as many as thirteen

1. Omont, Catalogue, anc.suppl.fr. i p.326.
2. K. Varty, Christine de Pisan: Ballades, Rondeaux and Virelais (Leicester 1965) p.xxxvii.
3. Inventoried in 1405; see M.J. Hughes, 'The Library of Philip the Bold and Margaret of Flanders, First Valois Duke and Duchess of Burgundy', Jnl.Med.History 4 (1978) pp.145-88.
4. Doutrepont, Inventaire no.206; the volume remained in the Burgundian ducal library throughout the fifteenth century and is now Brussels, Bibliotheque Royale MS 11140; see Hughes, Jnl.Med.History 4.
5. Doutrepont, Inventaire no.243.
6. Doutrepont, Inventaire nos.172 and 192.

songbooks¹, while Louis d'Orléans is recorded as owning at least one 'livre de chant' (acquired from Raoul le Gay in 1390)². The same combination of interests - lyrics as songs, and lyrics in established collections, or by prominent authors - is reflected in the inventories of some later fifteenth-century continental libraries. Charles the Bold, presumably inheriting the lyric collections in the Burgundian library from his predecessors, included amongst his personal effects (listed at his death in 1477) 'ung livre de chansons notees' and 'ung livre de chansons et choses faictes' (i.e. 'res facta', music written out in counterpoint)³. Charles d'Orléans, too, inherited some of his books of courtly lyrics from his parents - a copy of the ballades of Deschamps from his mother, Valentine de Milan, and a copy of the Cent Ballades presumably from his father, who had contributed to it⁴ - but several other collections are also included in Champion's list of his library; copies of his own poems, brought back from England; three volumes of unidentified ballades offered as gifts by friends; a mysterious 'Livre du Jardin d'Amours' (bound in 1393, so perhaps another of the inherited volumes), and a collection of 'Questions d'Amour' (perhaps similar to the Questions d'Amour which appear in MS Royal 16.F.ii and in Addit. 60577)⁵.

French readers, therefore, while sharing the 'practical' taste for courtly lyrics as entertaining songs which was so influential on their inclusion in English manuscripts, also had access to a much more firmly established tradition of lyrics as poems, arranged in collections of various sorts. The tradition was an old one, but it received new impetus in the late fourteenth century, with poets whose collected lyrics provided ample precedent for imitation in later years. Verard, in printing the assortment of lyrics put together in Le Jardin de Plaisance by the

1. Green, Poets and Princepleasers p.128.
2. P. Champion, La Librairie de Charles d'Orléans (Paris 1910) p.x.
3. Caseaux, French Music p. 39.
4. Champion, Librairie pp.40, 30.
5. Champion, Librairie pp.12-13, 61, 93-94.

anonymous 'Infortuné', must have been able to count on an audience familiar with and eager for this kind of collection, and the evidence of records of Parisian libraries in the early sixteenth century proves that his confidence was justified, for many copies are mentioned¹. It is interesting to see just how much English readers were affected by the example of French taste in the sphere of lyrics: where no equivalent English collections existed, they did not commission or compile their own, but instead went for the same French collections themselves. French still had a unique courtly cachet, and may well have been seen as peculiarly suitable for the expression of slight, amorous sentiments, endowing them with a flavour at once heady and exotic².

The preference for French over English is well documented. Henry VII included in his royal library a collection of Provençal lyrics by the troubadour Ermengau, now BL Royal MS 19.C.i³; he must also have been associated with, if not singly responsible for, the commissioning of MS Royal 16.F.ii, the volume of French poems by Charles d'Orléans destined for Prince Arthur. Henry VIII inherited this collection, and it is listed in the inventory of his Richmond books⁴. The unpublished list of books at Westminster also includes several copies of the works of Machaut and Alain Chartier which may well have contained lyrics, and a volume entitled 'La Guerdien de Pleasauce', surely Verard's collection⁵.

1. See A.H. Schutz, 'Gleanings from Parisian Libraries of the Early Renaissance', Rom. Phil. 5 (1951-52) pp.25-34, and Vernacular Books in Parisian Private Libraries of the Sixteenth Century, According to the Notarial Inventories. University of Carolina Studies in the Romance Languages and Literatures 25 (Chapel Hill, 1955).
2. The use of French in mottoes perhaps suggests this, as in The Temple of Glass, or The Assembly of Ladies; Hawes's lovers in The Pastime of Pleasure, 'Grand Amour' and 'La Belle Pucell', may be evidence of the same preference.
3. See Warner & Gilson, Cat. Royal MSS ii pp.331-32.
4. Omont, Manuscrits Français no.84.
5. PRO Augmentation Office Miscellaneous Books 160 and BL MS Addit.4729.

This could perhaps have come to Henry from his father, like MS Royal 16.F.ii: Vérard presented parchment éditions de luxe to his more illustrious patrons, with miniatures painted by renowned Parisian artists replacing the woodcuts of the standard editions, and Henry VII was the recipient of some of these¹; the copies remain, in their original velvet bindings, in the British Library. In one instance, Henry's name has been substituted for that of the French King Charles VIII². No surviving copy of Le Jardin de Plaisance can be associated with Henry VII, but as parchment presentation editions of it were certainly made, it seems quite likely that he should have received one³. Interestingly, some of the most sumptuous of the French 'presentation manuscripts' of lyric sequences or collections came in the fifteenth century into English hands, where they must have provided library copies of such a kind as to render pale English imitations unnecessary. The Christine de Pisan collection which had been prepared for Isabeau de Bavière ('Le Manuscrit de la Reine'), now BL MS Harley 4431, seems to have been amongst John of Bedford's massive acquisition of volumes from the French library in the Louvre, and it passed successively to his wife Jacquetta of Luxembourg and to her stepson Anthony Woodville⁴; Jean de Berry gave his Machaut collection, BN MS fr.9221, to Thomas Duke of Clarence as a gift in 1412⁵;

1. S. Hindman & J. Farquhar, Pen to Press (Maryland 1977) pp.102, 135-37, and J. Macfarlane, Antoine Vérard, Bibl.Soc.Illustrated Monographs 7 (London 1900) pp.xi-xv.
2. This is in the 1494 edition of Le Grant Boece de Consolacion, BL Printed Book c.22.c.3; see MacFarlane, Vérard pp.8-9. I am grateful to Mrs. Mirjam Foot, of the Department of Printed Books in the British Library, for her help with the identification of Henry VII's printed books.
3. A parchment presentation copy survives in the Royal Library of Copenhagen; see J.C. Brunet, Manuel du Libraire et d'Amateur de Livres (Berlin 1922) p.506.
4. Varty, Christine de Pisan p.xxxvii; the signatures of Jacquetta of Luxembourg and of Anthony Woodville appear on f.1r, together - interestingly - with that of Louis de Bruges, Sire de la Gruthyse, friend and protector of Edward IV.
5. Omont, Catalogue p.326, and J. Porscher, Les Manuscrits a Peinture en France du XIIIe au XVIe Siècle (Paris 1955) p.72.

Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, somehow came into possession of the Froissart volume BN MS fr.831¹. With French volumes such as these in their libraries - fashionable, exotic, more beautifully produced than native manuscripts - English readers were hardly likely to look any further for their lyrics.

One late inventory, that of Gerald Fitzgerald, ninth Earl of Kildare (1487-1534), nicely epitomizes the governing French influence on readers of 'polite' or courtly literature, and reminds us just how long into the sixteenth century it lasted². Despite his Irish background, Fitzgerald was a prominent figure at the English court: he spent his youth in the household of Henry VII, as a pledge of his father's loyalty to the English king, and married, successively, two English wives - the first a daughter of Sir John Zouch of Codnor in Derbyshire, and the second Lady Elizabeth Grey, fourth daughter of Thomas Marquis of Dorset, and a grand-daughter of Edward IV³. His books - printed ones, in the main, rather than manuscripts - reflect the familiar lack of emphasis on English texts: there are thirty-six French ones, thirty-four Latin, and nineteen English, together with some Irish works. The Latin books are mainly theological commentaries and established favourites like 'boecius de consolacione Phylosophye'. The French works include some Biblical history - 'Josaphus (sic) de la batsille Judik', for example - and much chivalric and

1. See above, p. 62, r R.R. McGregor (ed.) The Lyric Poems of Jehan Froissart (Chapel Hill 1975) p.18.
2. HMC 9th Report, Appendix, pp.288-89.
3. This is the Zouch family connected with Glasgow Univ. MS Hunterian 230, a copy of the Brut; see above, p.136 and below pp.230-32. Fitzgerald was also associated with the Butlers of Ormonde. His grandfather, Thomas Fitzgerald, seventh Earl of Kildare (d.1477), was cousin to the brothers James, John and Thomas Butler, respectively fifth, sixth and seventh Earls of Ormonde. James Butler owned BL MS Royal 15.C.xvi, an Ovid Moralisé, originally belonging to the Hospital of St. Thomas of Acon, and restored by Butler to its rightful owners; see Warner & Gilson, Cat. Royal MSS ii p.170. Thomas Butler owned BL MS Harley 2887, a Kalendar and Hours; see Scott, JWCI 31.

historical material. The 'light' (or polite) reading here consists of romances - 'Ogier le Danois' and 'Launcelott du lake', a 'liber de farcis' (perhaps French fifteenth-century farces?), the Roman de la Rose, and the standard collection of French courtly lyrics - 'Le Geardyn de Plesance', again, inevitably. Fitzgerald's library, summarizing as it does the trends in literary taste which partly dictated the eclipse of the English courtly lyric, seems a suitable point to end this survey.

V. Conclusions

Several general points emerge from this consideration of manuscript provenances and of documentary evidence for the ownership of books including lyrics. Firstly, it becomes clear that English courtly lyrics were not confined to the literally 'courtly' sector of society, but were rather more widely current among all classes of cultivated reader. Those most likely to own collections of English lyrics seem to have been individuals who could put them to some practical purpose - functionaries responsible for organizing court entertainments where sung or spoken lyrics would not be out of place, or clerks of some kind, often living communally, who were recording the poems (often with accompanying music) for similarly convivial uses. Readers (as opposed to 'users') of lyrics more generally encountered them in small numbers, interspersing other items in a manuscript. Documentary evidence confirms the suggestion, implicit in the scope of surviving manuscripts, that collections of English lyrics were not common; it also reinforces the impression that English readers sensed a powerful preference - either spontaneously, or as a reaction to 'market' availability - for French specimens of the form. Interest in English imitations of French cycles and collections does not seem to have been intense enough to overcome either established tradition, or notions of fashionable taste.

Part II

Index of Lyrics and Catalogue of Manuscript Descriptions.

The Index of lyrics provides an alphabetical list of first lines of the lyrics under consideration, with a note of the manuscript or manuscripts in which each occurs. Orthography is given according to the entry in the Index or the Supplement, if such exists. Items not entered in the Index or Supplement are listed within the alphabetical sequence, with a note 'not in Index'; in these cases, orthography is as the first manuscript listed. Square brackets enclosing a manuscript reference indicate that it falls outside the period c.1450-1530, and is not included in the catalogue.

Manuscript descriptions are arranged alphabetically, according to town within the United Kingdom; manuscripts held in foreign libraries are listed separately at the end, arranged alphabetically according to country.

A. The heading gives town, institution, collection, and number of manuscript, together with any other well-known titles; an asterisk next to it means that I have not seen the original manuscript myself. A date is supplied in arabic numerals if precise information is provided within the manuscript, but is otherwise given in roman figures, according to the system used by Ker, MSS in British Libraries i p.vii. A brief description of the manuscript, its type and content, is provided at this point; the place of origin is England, unless stated otherwise.

B. The contents of each manuscript are listed numerically in the order in which they now occur; additions to the original copy are indicated by means of square brackets which enclose their number in list. Booklets and sections are indicated, where the present structure of the manuscript permits, by large roman figures. Only the relevant sections of composite manuscripts are described. An asterisk by a number in the list of contents signals an item which is thought to be unique to the manuscript under consideration. (although this information is not exhaustive); a cross indicates an item duplicated in the manuscript.

Titles given are those in current use, or - in the case of lists and items of information or practical use - are broadly descriptive. In the case of items which are not courtly love lyrics, first lines are given generally only for pieces which have not been located elsewhere. In the case of items which do not appear in the standard indexes listed in the bibliography, abbreviated references to printed editions are cited wherever possible; expansions of all abbreviations used will be found in the bibliography. Items of English verse not recorded by the Index or Supplement, or not printed, are signalled, and if they are short, the texts are provided in Appendix II. Courtly love lyrics have their number in the list of contents underlined, and, for these, titles, incipits, explicits, colophons etc. are given in full, as in the manuscript. Square brackets enclosing a heading indicate that it has been supplied by a hand other than that of the lyric. Square brackets at the beginning of an incipit indicate that a projected illuminated or ornamented initial letter was never completed. Square brackets within a line of text indicate damage to the manuscript; where possible, suggested readings are provided within the brackets, but otherwise [...] indicate that the matter is illegible, [] signify scribal additions, < > scribal deletions, and () editorial remarks. The subject-matter, form, and correspondences of courtly lyrics are given by the Index and the Supplement; I have supplied information only in cases where these printed details are wrong or omitted. Editions of lyrics which have been published are also given in the Index and Supplement; I note only major editions published since the appearance of the Supplement in 1965. In the case of unpublished lyrics, and those not listed by the Index or Supplement, transcripts are provided in Appendix I.

C. The Technical description provides brief notes on (a) material, average dimensions; (b) number of leaves, with flyleaves (medieval and post-medieval) in roman figures; present foliation, with details of earlier systems, and of any idiosyncracies; (c) collation; catch-words and leaf signatures; (d) layout; (e) number of scribes, types of script used; (f) decoration; (g) binding, if contemporary.

D. Notes on the history and provenance of the manuscript, with especial attention to the role of the courtly love lyrics within it.

E. A list of descriptions of the manuscript in printed sources.

Notes are provided at the end of each description.

Index of Lyrics.

1. A a my herte I knowe yow well 0.2
BL Addit.5465, ff.3v-4r.
2. A dere god haue I deservyd this 4
Aberystwyth, NLW, Porkington 10, ff.130v-132r.
3. A Lady bryzt fayre and gay Not in Index
BL Addit.60577, f.115v.
4. A most fayre and true/ Ye cause me rue 13.3
Bodl. Ashmole 176, f.99r.
5. Ah my hart/ Ah this ys my songe 13.5
Bodl. Ashmole, 176, f.99r.
6. A Robyn gentyl Robyn 13.8
BL Addit.31922, ff.53v-54r.
BL Addit.17492, ff.22v, 24r.
[BL Egerton 2711, s.xvi med., ff.ir, 37r; transcript in BL Addit.
28636, f.34.]
7. A the syghes bat cum from my hart 14.5
BL Royal App.58, f.3r..
BL Addit.31922, ff.32v-33r.
8. A celuy que pluys eyne en mounde 16
BL Harley 3362, f.90v.
CUL Gg.4.27, part 1a, s.xv¹, f.10v.
9. A soun treschere et special 19
BL Harley 3362, f.91r.
[CUL Gg.4.27, part 19, s.xv¹, f.11r.]
10. A thorne hath percyd my hart ryght sore 98.5
BL Addit.31922, ff.108v-110r.
11. Absens of you causeth me to sygh and complayne 113.5
BL Addit.5665, ff.67v-68r.
12. Adeu adeu my hartis lust 120.5
Bodl.Ashmole 176, f.100r.
BL Addit.31922, ff.23v-24r.
13. Adeu corage adeu 120.6
BL Addit.31922, f.42v.

14. Adeu dere hart/be man depart 120.7
CUL Kk.1.5, part VIII, f.180r (not part VII, f.179v, as stated by Supplement).
15. Ayens the comyng of may 134
BN f.fr.25458, p.310 (+MSS derived from it).
16. Agwillare habeth standiff yn lanten 135.3
Trent Cathedral Library MS 88, ff.209v-210r.
17. Alac alac what shall I do 135.5
BL Addit. 31922, f.35v.
18. Allac pat euer scho bewte bar Not in Index
Aberdeen University, 196, f.161r.
19. Alas a thousand sith alas 137
Bodl.Lat.misc.c.66, f.94v.
20. Alas alas alas is my chief song 138
Yale University, Beinecke Library MS 91, ff.77v-79r.
21. Alas alas and alas why 139
CUL Ff.1.6, ff.137v-138r.
22. Alas dere hart what ayleth the 143.5
Bodl.Laud 735, f.135r, (S.C.1504, not 1502, as stated by Supplement).
23. Alas departynge is ground of wo 146
Bodl.Ashmole 191, ff.194r-195v.
24. Alas for lak of her presens 146.5
BL Addit.5465, ff.30v-31r.
25. Alas howe schale my hert be lyght 152
NLW Peniarth 26, p.108.
26. Allas I woofull creature 154
BL Harley 2251, ff.250v-251v.
[BL Addit.29729, s.xvi², f.160r.]
[TCC R.3.20, s.xv¹, pp.152-54.]
27. Alas it is I that wote nott what to say 155.5
BL Addit.5465, ff.17v-19r.

28. Alas mercy wher shal myn hert yow fynd 158
BN f.fr.25458, p.311 (+ MSS derived from it).
29. Alas myne eye whye doest pou bringe 158.2
Bodl.Ashmole 176, f.99r.
30. Alas poor man what chans hav y 158.6
Balliol College, Oxford 316B, f.114r.
Unremarked by Supplement, BL Addit.17492, ff.15v-16r.
31. Alas to whom shuld I complayne 158.8
Bodl.Ashmole 176, f.100r.
32. Alas what planet was y born undur 159
CUL Ff.1.6, f.138v.
33. Alas what shall I do for love 159.5
BL Addit.31922, ff.20v-21r.
- Alas what shuld yt be to yow prejudyce see 1036
34. Alas what thing can be more grevous payne 159.8
Bodl.Rawl.c.813, ff.13v-14r.
35. All lust and lykyng I begyn to leue 190.5
TCC R.3.19, ff.3v-4r.
36. Al hooly youres withouten others part 231
BL Harley 7578, f.15r-v.
37. Alone alone alone alone alone alone 263.3
BL Royal App.58, f.8r.
38. Alone alone/ Here y am mysylf alone 263.5
BL Addit.5665, f.140v.
39. Alone alone/ Mornyng alone 263.8
BL Addit.5665, ff.133v-135r.
40. Alone I lyve alone 266.3
Gonville and Caius College Cambridge 383/603, p.41.
41. Alone I leffe alone/ And sore I sygh for one 266.5
BL Addit.31922, f.22r.
42. Alone walkyng/ In thought pleynyng 267
TCC R.3.19, f.160r.

43. All bof I kan no farer make in her presence 270
BL Loan 29/333, fragment.
44. And as for yow that most ar in my mynde 296
Bodl.Fairfax 16, f.318r-v.
45. And yf ye commande me to kepe me true wherever I go 303
BL Addit.43490, f.23r.
46. ...And zouthe that zeldes newe joyes *317.5
BL Loan 29/333, fragment.
47. As I came by a bowre soo fayre 340.5
Bodl.Rawl.813, ff.1v-2r.
48. As I myselfe lay thys enderz nyght 366
Bodl.Rawl.c.813, ff.54r-55r.
49. As I stode in studyenge allone 370
Bodley 638, f.209v.
Bodl.Fairfax 16, f.195v.
BL Harley 7333, f.135r.
50. As in my remembrauns non but ye alone 380
CUL Ff.1.6, f.154v.
51. As in yow resstyth my joy and comfort 383
CUL Ff.1.6, f.28v.
52. As ofte as syghes ben in herte trewe 402
Bodl.Tanner 346, f.73r. f.73r.
CUL Ff.1.6, ff.17r-18v.
53. As the holy growth grene 409.5
BL Addit.31922, ff.37v-38r.
54. Be trewe and hold þat ze haue hyzte 479
NLW Porkington 10, f.130r-v.
55. Beaute of you burne in my body abydis 481
Bodl.Lat.misc.c.66, f.93v.
56. Befor my deth this lay of sorow I sing 482
Bodl.Arch.Selden B.24, ff.217r-219r.
57. Benedicite what dremyd I this nyght 506.5
BL Addit.5465, ff.13v-15r.

58. Besechyth mekly in ryght lowly wyse 509
Bodl.Fairfax 16, f.323r-v.
59. But now I see even then/ My mystrys dos me love Not in Index
Huntington Library, HM 136, f.73r.
60. Bot on thyng mastres greues me ful sore 556
Bodl.Lat.misc.c.66, f.94r.
61. But why am I so abusyd 557.5
BL Addit.5465, ff.20v-22r.
62. Be cause that teres waymenting and playnte 564
Bodl.Arch.Selden B.24, ff.219r-221v.
63. By god of loue set I nothyng 572
Bodl.Lat.misc.c.66, f.93r-v.
64. Certes fer extendeth my reason 590
Bodl.Fairfax 16, f.184r,
TCC R.3.19, ff.109r-110r.
- [Compleyn I may/ and right well say . Supplement: 648.5
'MS not established'.]
65. Compleyn I may wher soo euer I goo 649
Bodl.Rawl.c.813, ff.46v-47r.
66. Complayne I may wherevyr I go 649.5
BL Addit. 5465, ff.46v-48r.
67. Continuaunce/ of remembraunce 657
CUL Ff.1.6, ff.138v-139r.
68. How frendly was Medea to Jason from 666
BL Addit.17492, f.91r.
69. Demyd wrongfully/ In absent 675.8
BL Addit.5465, f.9v.
70. Departure is my chef payne 676.5
BL Addit.31922, f.60v.
71. Dysdayne me not without desert 681.5
BL Addit.18752, f.163.
72. Downbery down/ Now am I exild my lady fro 688.8
BL Royal App.58, f.2r.
BL Addit.31922, f.25r.

73. En Jesu roy soveraign/ You lady fare and fre 724
Bodl.Douce 95, f.6r.
74. Entierly belovyd & most yn my mynde 729
Bodl.Rawl.c.813, f.52r-v.
75. Evyn as mery as I make myght 733.1
Bodl.Rawl.c.813, f.58v.
76. Euer yn one with my dew attendaunce 734
CUL Ff.1.6, f.153v.
77. Everlastynge lof to me I have tane 735
Bodl.Lat.misc.c.66, ff.92v and 94v.
78. Euer souereyn swete swettist in siȝt 737
Bodl.Lat.misc.c.66, f.93v.
79. Exemple sendynge to yow rowte of gentylnes 751
BL Cotton Vesp.D.ix, f.188r-v.
80. Excellent soueraine semely to see 752
Bodl.Douce 95, ff.1r-3r.
81. Fayre and discrete fresche wommanly figure 753.8
BL Addit.5665, ff.72v-73r.
82. Fair fresshest erthly creature 754
Bodl.Douce 95, f.3v.
83. Fayrest of fayer and goodleste on lyue see 923
84. Fareth wele wirchepe and goodnesse 763
TCD E.2.33, f.1v.
85. Fare well fare well/ All fresh all chere 763.5
Coughton Court, Alcester, fragment.
86. Farewell my joy and my swete hart 765.5
BL Addit.31922, ff.66v-68r.
87. Fayrewele my joye my comfort and solace 766
Bodley 120, f.95r.
88. Farewell now my lady gaye 767
Bodl.Rawl.c.813, f.52v.
[NLS Adv.1.1.6, s.xvi² f.255r.]

89. Farewell pat was my lef so dere 768
Bodl.Lat.misc.c.66, f.93v.
90. Folke discomforted bere hevy countenance 811.5
Pynson's Book of Fame (STC 5088).
91. For as ye lyst my wyll ys bent 813.6
BL Addit.17492, f.20r.
BL Addit.18752, ff.89v-90r.
92. For he is true/ and will pursue 823
BL Royal 19.A.iii, f.16v.
93. For lac of sight grete cause I haue to pleyne 828
Bodl.Tanner 346, ff.74v-75v.
CUL Ff.1.6, f.19r-v.
94. For my pastyme vpon a day 835.5
BL Royal App.58, ff.4r and 14v.
95. For the reward of half a yere 844
BN f.fr.35458, p.311 (+ MSS derived from it).
- For though I had you tomorrow a gayne see 3670
96. For to prevente/ And after repente 853
CUL Ff.1.6, ff.143v-144r.
97. Fortune vnfrendly pou art vnto me Not in Index
BL Addit.60577, f.116v.
98. For you my lady I am nez slayn 855
Bodl.Lat.misc.c.66, f.94v.
99. Allas fortune allas what haue I gilt 860
BL Addit.34360, f.19r.
Harley 2251, f.271r.
Harley 7333, f.30v.
100. Free lusti fresch most goodly 865.5
CUL Kk.6.30, f.130r.
101. Frische flour of womanly nature 868
Lambeth 306, f.138r.
102. Frende of that ere I knew 871.5
TCD E.6.1, f.1r.

103. Go forth mynhert wyth my lady 922
 BL Royal 16.F.ii, f.69r.
 BN f.fr.25458, p.310 (+ MSS derived from it).
104. Go forth mine owne true heart innocent 923
 [BL Addit.10303, f.9r]
 Longleat 256, f.24v.
105. Go hert hurt with adversite 925
 Bodl.Ashmole 191, f.192r.
 PRO c.47/37/11, f.3v, title only.
106. Go litull bill and command me hertely 926
 Bodl.Lat.misc.c.66, f.94r.
107. Go lytyl boke for dredefull ys thy message 928.5
 TCC R.3.19, ff.7r-8v, 154r.
108. Goo lytell ryng to that ylke swete 932
 BL Royal 17.D.vi, f.3r.
109. Go piterus hart rasyd with dedly wo 932.5
 Pynson, Divers Ballettys (STC 22604).
110. Gracius and gay on hyr lyytt all my thozgh 1010
 Kilkenny Castle, Ormonde, fragment.
111. Grettere mater of dol an[d] heynesse 1017
 CUL Ff.1.6, ff.152v-153r.
112. Grene flowryng age of your manly countenance 1017.5
 Bodl.Rawl.c.813, f.53v.
113. Grevus ys my sorowe/ Both evyne and moro 1018
 BL Sloane 1584, f.85r.
114. O marble herte and yet more harde perde)
 115. Alas what shuld yt be to yow prejudyce) from 1086
 BL Addit.17492, f.90r.
116. Have all my hert and be in peys 1120
 NLW Porkington 10, ff.154v-155v;
 ['Canterbury Cathedral fragment', not traced]
117. Have I not cause to mome alas Not in Index
 Bodl.Mus.d.103, f.3r.

118. Harte be tru & don not amys 1176.5
TCC O.2.53, f.59r.
119. Hartte be trwe and true love kepe 1176.8
BL Sloane 3501, f.53r;
unremarked by Supplement. Bodl.Lat.misc.c.66, f.95r (1 couplet).
120. Hevy thoughtes & Longe depe sykyng 1180
Bodl.Rawl.c.813, ff.44v-45r.
121. Her hert I wold I had iwis 1187
Bodl.Lat.misc.c.66, ff.92v and 95r.
122. Hey now now/ Gracious and gay 1214.5
BL Addit.31922, f.25r.
123. Hey troly loly loly/ My love is lusty plesant
and demure 1214.7
BL Addit.31922, f.80.
124. Honour and beaute vertue and gentillesse 1237
BL Arundel 26, f.32v.
125. Honour and Joy helthe and prosperyte 1238
TCC R.3.19, f.159v.
126. Honowre with all manere of heyll 1241
NLW Porkington 10, f.154r-v.
- How frendly was Medea to Jason see 666
127. I am he that hath you dayly servyd 1273.3
BL Addit.5465, f.19v.
- I fly/ constraynyd am I 1295.8
In fact [petyou]sly/constraynyd am I; see 2755.5, and delete this
entry from Supplement.
128. I have grete marvell off a bryd 1305
Lincoln Cathedral 133, f.122v.
129. I have non English convenient and digne 1309
Thynne, Chaucer (STC 5068).
130. I loue and ffynde cause 1328.2
Bodl.Tanner 346, f.131r.

131. I love good alle/ that. is no fayle Not in Index
BL Addit.38666, f.173v.
132. I love loved and loved wolde I be 1328.5
BL Addit.5465, ff.28v-30r.
133. I loue so sore I wolde fayne descerne 1328.7
Bodl.Rawl.c.813, f.61r-v.
134. I love trewly without feynyng 1328.8
BL Addit.31922, ff.44v-45r.
135. I loue vnloued I wotte nott what loue may be 1329
Bodl.Rawl.c.813, ff.45r-46r.
136. I loue vnloued suche is myn aventure 1329.5
BL Addit.31922, ff.122v-124r.
137. I may woll sygh for grevous ys my payne 1331
CUL Ff.1.6, f.20r.
138. I muste go walke be woed so wyld 1333
Huntington EL 1160, f.11v;
BL Addit.22718, ff.14v and 54r;
[TCD D.2.7. f.107r]
139. I ne haue Joy plesauns nor comfortt 1334
Bodl.Rawl.f.36, f.5r.
140. I patrik larrons of spittale feyld 1338.5
Aberdeen University 223, f.172r.
141. I pray you M to me be tru 1344
Bodl.Lat.misc.c.66, f.93v.
142. I recomende me to yow with harte and mynde 1349.5
Bodl.Rawl.c.813, ff.2r-3r.
143. I serue where I no truyst can ffynde 1356.8
BL Addit.18752, f.138v.
144. I which that am the sorwefulleste man 1388
Bodley 638, f.212r;
Bodl.Fairfax 16, f.197r;
BL Harley 7333, f.135v.

145. Yf all the erthe were parchment scrybable 1409.3
 BL Addit.17492, f.90r;
 [NLS Adv.1.1.6, s.xvi² f.258v.]
146. Yf I had space now for to write 1414.5
 PRO SP.1/246, f.28r.
147. Iff I had wytt for to endyght 1414.8
 BL Addit.18752, f.58v;
 BL Addit.31922, ff.34v-35r;
 BL Royal App.58, f.5v.
148. Yf it be so that ye so cruel be 1418.5
 BL Addit.17492, f.91r.
149. If love now reynyd as it hath bene 1420.5
 BL Addit.31922, ff.48v-49r.
150. Gif no luve is o God quhat feill I so 1422.1
 CUL G.g.4.12, f.106v;
 not recorded in Supplement, Huntington EL.26.A.13, f.iii;
 [NLS Adv.1.1.6, s.xvi² f.230r.]
151. Yf on the rockes of scilla and caribdis I doe chaunce 1422.3
 St. John's College Cambridge B.12, second cover;
152. Yf onely sight suffyse/ my hart to lose or bynde 1422.5
 Bodl.Ashmole 1113, f.129r.
153. In a garden vnderneath a tree 1449.5
 Bodl.Ashmole 176, f.100r.
154. In a goodly nyght as yn my bedde I laye 1450.5
 Bodl.Rawl.c.813, ff.47r-48r.
155. In Fayth ye be to blame, XX Songes 1530 (STC 22924) 1485.5
156. In Feverier whan the frosty moone 1487
 Thynne, Chaucer (STC 5068).
157. In hond and herte true loue kepe 1489.5
 Pierpont Morgan Library, P.B.698, q.2r.
158. In my hertt is ther nothyng off remembrauns 1510
 Bodl.Rawl.f.36, f.5v.
159. In the season of Feuierere when it wase full colde 1562
 TCC R.3.19, f.160r.

160. Is it not sure a deadly pain 1620.5
PRO SP.1/246, f.27r.
161. It is to me a ryght gret joy 1637.2
BL Addit.31922, f.61r.
162. Iwyss iwyss I remember me 1652
Bodl.Rawl.f.36, f.5r.
163. Jesue that ys most of myght 1768
Bodl.Rawl.c.813, ff.3r-4r.
164. Juellis pricious cane y non fynde to sell 1789
Lambeth 306, f.136v.
165. Knelyng allon ryght thus I may make my wylle 1826
Bodl.Fairfax 16, ff.319v-320r.
166. Knolege acquayntance resort favour with grace 1829.8
Pynson, Dyuers Balettys (STC 22604).
167. Lady of pite for by sorowes pat pu haddest 1838
TCC R.3.19, f.160v.
168. Late on a nyght as I lay slepyng 1841.5
Bodl.Rawl.c.813, f.48r.
169. Lett lowe to lowe go kyndly and sowfte 1864.5
Bodl.Rawl.d.913, f.6r-v;
BL Addit.18752, ff.85r, 84v.
170. Let not us that yong men be 1866.5
BL Addit.31922, ff.87v-88r.
171. Loo he that ys all holly your3 soo free 1926.5
Bodl.Rawl.c.813, ff.48v-49v.
172. ...[1] okyng for her trwe love/ long or that yt was day *1944.5
N.York Public Library, Drexel fragments 4185.
173. Love fayne wold I/ Yff I coude spye 1999.5
BL Addit.5465, f.11v,
174. Love pat is powre it is with pyne 2013
Pierpont Morgan Library, P.B.775, flyleaf;
[MLS Adv.1.1.6, s.xvi² f.265r).]

175. Love wyll I and leve so may befalle 2015
 Bodl.e.Mus.88, f.93v;
XX Songes, 1530 (STC 22924).
176. Luf wil I with variance 2016
 Bodl.Ashmole 191, ff.195v-196r.
177. Love wolle I withoute eny variaunce 2017
 Bodl.Ashmole 1393, f.68v.
178. Madame damours/ All tymes ar ours 2028.5
 BL Addit.31922, ff.73v-74r.
179. Madame defrayne/ Ye me retayne 2028.8
 BL Addit.5465, ff.35v-38r.
180. Madame for your newe fangelnesse 2029
 Bodl.Fairfax 16, f.194v;
 BL Cotton Cleopatra D.vii, f.190r;
 BL Harley 7578, f.17v.
181. Madame ye ben of al beaute shryne 2031
 Bodl.Rawl.poet.163, f.114r.
182. Mercy me graunt off bat I me compleyne 2161
 BL Sloane 1212, f.1r.
183. Myn hert hath send glad hope in his message 2176
 BN f.fr.25458, p.346 (+ MSS derived from it).
184. Myn hert ys set and all myn hole entent 2178
 Bodl.Fairfax 16, f.325v.
185. Myne hert is set uppon a lusty pynne 2179
 Bodl.Rawl.c.86, f.155v.
186. Myn hertes joy and all myn hole plesaunce 2182
 Bodl.Fairfax 16, ff.323v-324r.
187. Myn hartys luste 2182.3
 PRO C.47/37/11, f.3v, *title only*.
188. Min hartys lust & alle my plesure 2182.6
XX Songes, 1530 (STC 22924).
189. Myn hertis lust sterre of my confort 2183
 Yale University, Beinecke Library 91, ff.65v-67r.

190. Myn owne dere lady fair and fre 2185
Gonville & Caius College, Cambridge, 383/603, p.210.
191. Myn worldly joy vpon me rewe 2188
BL Sloane 1212, f.1v.
192. Masteres Anne/ I ame your man 2195
TCC R.3.17, flyleaf.
193. Mastres your maners are hard to know 2195.3
BL Royal 17.D.xviii, f.1v.
- Moaning my hart doth sore oppresse 2195.5
Supplement duplicate; see 2224.5, and delete this entry.
194. Most clere of colour and rote of stedfastnesse 2200.3
BL Addit.5465, ff.26v-28r.
195. Most soueren lady comfort of care 2217
Bodl.Lat.misc.c.66, f.93v.
196. Modur of norture best beloved of al 2223
Thynne, Chaucer (STC 5068).
197. Mournyng mournyng/ Thus may I sing 2224
BL Harley 2252, f.140r.
198. Morning my hart doth sore oppresse 2224.5
BL Addit.18752, f.89r-v;
Kirklees Record Office, Ramsden Rental.
199. My best belouyd lady and maistresse 2230
Bodl. Fairfax 16, ff.324v-325r.
200. My dely wo 2236.5
HRO C.47/37/11, f.4r, title only.
201. My herte ys yn grete mournyng 2244.6
BL Addit.5665, ff.135v-136r.
202. My hert ys so plungit yn greffe 2245
TCD D.4.15, f.92r.
203. My harte ys sore but yett noo forse 2245.1
Bodl.Rawl.c.813, ff.57v-58v.
204. My hart ys yours now kyp het fast 2245.1
BL Addit.18752, f.59r.

205. My harte ys yours ye may be sure 2245.4
Bodl.Ashmole 39, end cover.
206. My hart my mynde & my hole poure 2245.6
BL Addit.18752, f.72r-v.
207. My hertly loue is in your gouernans 2246
BL Royal 16.f.ii, f.118r.
208. My hertes joie all myn hole plesaunce 2247
Lambeth 306, f.137r.
209. My joye it is from her to here 2249
BL Harley 3362, f.90r;
BL Addit.18752, f.139r.
210. My ladye hath forsaken me 2250.3
Bodl.Ashmole 176, f.98r.
211. My lady hath me in that grace 2250.5
BL Addit. 31922, ff.107v-108r.
212. My lefe ys faren in lond 2254
TCC R.3.19, f.154r.
213. My lytell prety one my prety bony one 2255.6
BL Addit.18752, f.76v.
[BL Addit.4900, s.xvi², f.62v.]
214. My loue she morns ffor me 2261.2
TCC O.2.53, f.45.
215. My love sche morneth/ for me for me 2261.4
BL Addit.31922, ff.30v-31r.
216. My love so swyte/ Jesu kype 2261.6
BL Sloane 3501, f.52v.
217. Mi mornynge M greues me sore 2263
Bodl.Lat.misc.c.66, f.94v.
218. My owne dere hart I grete yow well Not in Index
BL Harley 4011, f.163v.
219. My ryght good lord most knyghtly gentyll knyght 2267.5
BL Addit.43491, f.27r-v.

220. My souerayne lorde for my poure sake 2271.2
BL Addit.31922, ff.54v-55r.
221. My swetharte & my lyllye floure 2271.6
Bodl.Rawl.c.813, f.4r-v.
222. My thought oppressed my mynd in trouble 2272.5
BL Addit.31922, ff.116v-120r.
223. My wofull hart in paynfull weryness 2277
BL Addit.5465, ff.7v-9r.
224. My wofull hert of all gladnesse bareyne 2277.5
BL Addit. 5665, ff.65v-66r.
225. My whofull herte plunged yn heuynesse 227.8
CUL Ff.1.6, f.153r-v.
226. My woofull hert this clad in payn 2279
CUL Ff.1.6, f.69v.
227. My worshipful and reverent lady dere 2281
Bodl.Lat.misc.c.66, f.92v.
228. My yeris be yong even as ye se 2281.5
BL Addit.17492, f.78v.
229. ...nature y sette in 3owr ymage *2284.3
TCD E.5.11, p.174.
230. Ne were my trewe innocent hert 2289
BL Royal 16.F.ii, f.131r.
231. No wondre thow I murnyng make 2293.5
PRO Exchequer Misc. E.163/22/1 (not 22/1/1 as given by Supplement).
232. Not far fro marche in the end of feueryere 2295
Bodl.Fairfax 16, f.325r-v.
233. Not long agoo purposyd I and thought 2297
Durham University, Cosin V.ii.13, ff.112v-113r.
234. Now do I know you chaungyd thought 2307.5
BL Addit.18752, ff.77v and 139v.
235. Now fayreste of stature formyd by nature 2308.8
BL Cotton Vesp.D.ix, f.188v.

236. Now fresshe floure to me that ys so bryght 2311
TCC R.3.17, f.157r-v.
237. Now good swet hart and my nane good mestrys 2318
Glasgow University Hunterian 230, f.246v.
238. Now lyst fortune thus for me to purueye 2349
Bodl.Fairfax 16, f.319r-v.
239. Now must I nede part out of your presence 2350
Bodl.Fairfax 16, f.322r.
240. Now wold I fayne sum myrthis make 2381
Bodl.Ashmole 191, f.191r.
CUL Ff.1.6, f.137v.
241. O beauteous braunche floure of formosyte 2384.8
TCC R.3.19, f.2r-v.
242. O bewtie pereles and right so womanhod 2386
BL Royal 19.A.iii, f.16v.
243. O cruell daunger all my aduersarye 2407
Bodl.Fairfax 16, f.321v.
244. O cruell ffortune to me most contrarye Not in Index
BL Cotton Nero E.iii, end flyleaf.
245. O cupid I graunt thy might is much Not in Index
Huntington Lib. HM 28175, f.40v.
246. O desiderabull dyamvnt distinit with diversification 2412.5
BL Harley 541, f.208r.
247. O excellent suffereigne most semely to se 2421
Bodl.Rawl. c.813, ff.50v-51r.
248. O ffreshes flour 2437.5
PRO C.47/37/11, f.3r. title only.
249. O gentyll & most gentyll Jesu yow save 2439.5
Bodl.Rawl. c.813, f.71r.
250. O gentyll fortune I thonke yow i wys 2440
TCC R.4.20, f.170r.
251. O kindly creature of beute perlez 2475
Bodl.Ashmole 191, f.191v.

252. O Lady I shall me dres with besy cure 2478
Bodl.Arch.Selden B.24, ff.231r, 230r.
253. O Lady myne to whom thys boke I sende 2478.5
TCC R.3.19, ff.4r-6v.
254. O lewde book with thy foole rudenesse 2479
Bodl.Fairfax 16, ff.147v-148r;
Bodl.Tanner 346, f.101v;
Thynne, Chaucer (STC 5068).
255. O lord god what yt is gret plesaunce 2488
Bodl.Fairfax 16, ff.318v-319r.
256. O lord of loue here my complaynt 2491
BL Cotton Vesp.D.ix, f.189r-v.
257. O loue most dere o loue most nere my harte 2496
Bodl.Rawlinson c.813, ff.24v-27v.
258. O lustye lyllye be lantorne of all gentylnes 2498
Bodl.Rawlinson c.813, f.52r.
- O marble herte and yet more harde perde see 1086
259. O merciful and o merciabile 2510
TCC R.3.19, f.161r-v.
260. O mestres whye/ owtecaste am I 2518
BL Harley 2252, f.84v.
261. O my dere harte the lanterne of lyght 2529
Bodl.Rawlinson c.813, f.46r-v.
262. O my desyre/ what eylyth the 2530.5
BL Addit.5465, f.10r-v.
263. O my hart and O my hart 2531.5
BL Addit.31922, ff.22v-23r.
264. O my lady dere bothe regarde & se 2532
Bodl.Rawl.c.813, ff.14v-18r.
265. O my lady dure/ I am your prisoner 2532.3
BL Royal App. 58, f.16v.
266. O my swete lady & excelente goddas 2532.5
Bodl.Rawl. c.813, ff.18r-21v.

267. O painefull hart in peiyns syght 2535.5
Bodl.Rawl. D.913, f.6r.
268. O penfull harte That lyes in travaill prefaces 2318
269. O resplendent floure prynte bis yn your mynde 2547
Bodl.Rawl. c.813, ff.53v-54r.
270. O rote of trouth o princess to my pay 2547.5
BL Addit.5465, ff.38v-40r.
Not listed in Index, BL Addit. 60577, f.116v.
271. O splendent spectakyll most comlyeste of hewe Not in Index
BL Addit.60577, f.108r.
272. O swete harte dere & most best belouyd 2560.5
Bodl.Rawl.c.813, ff.55r-56r.
273. O that my tovng covld but expres Not in Index
Huntington Lib.HM 28175, f.22v.
274. O thou Fortune which hast the governaunce 2567
Bodl.Fairfax 16, f.321
BN f.fr.25458, p.313 (+ MSS derived from it).
275. O very lord o loue o god alas 2577.5
BL Addit.17492, f.29v.
276. O verre rote Not in Index
BL Loan 29/333, fragment.
277. O what a treasure ys love certeyne 2579.3
Bodl.Ashmole 176, f.100r.
278. O wofull hert prisound in grete duresse 2583
Bodl.Fairfax 16, ff.320v-321r.
279. O ye all that ben or haue by in dyssease 2588.5
TCC R.3.19, f.3v.
280. O ye lovers that pletyn for youre ryght 2594
Corpus Christi College Oxford 61, ff.66v-67r.
281. O ye louers which in gret hevynes 2595
Bodl.Fairfax 16, ff.327r-329r.
282. O ye my emperice I youre servant bis to you say 2597
Bodl.Lat.misc.c.66, f.94r.

283. O ye prynces bat prechyd hase my hert 2599
Lambeth Palace 432, f.94r.
284. Ofbewtie yet she passith all 2619.5
BL Addit.18752, f.33r-v.
285. Ofgretter cause may no wight him compleyne 2626
BL Harley 7578, f.15v.
286. Ofone accorde owre harttes by knytt Not in Index
Bodl.Mus.d.103, f.2r.
287. Off seche cvmplayne 2657.5
PRO C.47/37/11, f.3v, title only.
288. Pardon alas why saye I so 2736.8
BL Addit.18752, f.149r.
289. Persyd wyth payne wounded full nygh the hart 2753.5
BL Addit.18752, f.90v.
290. Petyously/ Constrayned am I 2755.5
BL Royal Appendix 58, f.19r;
Boethius, De Disciplina Scholarum, formerly Rosenbach
678, f.iii;
Not listed in Index; NLS 6128, f.17v, see 1295.8.
291. Pitee that I haue sogthe so yere ago 2756
Bodley 638, f.46r;
Bodl.Fairfax 16, f.187r;
Bodl.Tanner 346, f.71r;
CUL Ff.1.6, f.15r;
TCC R.3.19, ff.151r-152v;
BL Harley 7578, f.13v;
BL Addit.34360, f.49r;
Longleat 258, f.55r;
Thynne, Chaucer (STC 5068);
[BL Harley 78 s.xv¹, f.80r.]
292. Please ytt your grace dere harte to gyffe audyence 2757.3
Bodl.Rawl.c.813, f.1r.
293. Princesse of youth and floree of god li hede 2782
Madrid, Escorial IV.a.24, ff.114v-116r.

294. Rasyd is my mynde 2794.4
BL Royal Appendix 58, f.17r.
295. Right best beloved & most in assurance 2821
Bodl.Rawl. c.813, ff.71r-72r.
296. Ryght gentyll harte of greane flouryng age 2822
Bodl.Rawl. c.813, ff.21v-24r.
297. Ryght goodly flour to whom I owe seruyse 2823
Bodl.Fairfax 16, f.320r-v.
298. Sauns remedye endure must I 3074.6
Bodl.Ashmole 176, f.99v.
299. She is gentyll & also wysse 3097.6
BL Harley 7578, ff.85r-86v.
300. Sith fortune hathe me set thus in this wyse 3125
CUL Ff.1.6, f.137r.
301. Sin it is lo/ that I must goo 3131.5
BL Royal 19.B.iv, f.98r.
302. Syne the tyme I knew yow fyrst 3144.5
BL Royal Appendix 58, f.6r.
303. So fayre so fresche so goodely on to se 3162
BN f.fr.25458, p.312, (+MSS derived from it).
304. So fer I trow from remedy 3162.5
BL Addit.5465, ff.6v-7r.
305. So gret vnkyndnes wythoute diseruyng 3163.5
XX Songes, 1530 (STC 22924).
306. So hath myn herte caught in remembraunce 3164
BL Addit.34360, f.21v.
307. So ys emprentid in my remembrance 3165
Yale University, Beinecke Library MS 91, ff.61v-63r.
308. So put yn fere I dare not speke 3168.4
BL Addit.5665, ff.137v-140r;
not listed in Index: BL Addit.60577, f.116v.
309. Some tyme Y loued as ye may se 3179
CUL Ff.1.6, ff.136v-137r.

310. Somtyme Y lound so do Y yut 3180
CUL Ff.1.6, f.139v.
311. Swet harte I love yow more feruent than my fader 3228.5
Bodl.Rawl. c.813, f.63r.
312. That hart my hart hath in suche grace 3271
Canterbury Cathedral, Christchurch Letters ii p.174.
313. That pasaunte goodnes the rote of alle vertve 3291
Lambeth Palace 306, ff.137v-138r.
314. That was my joy is now my woo and payne 3297.3
BL Addit.5465, ff.31v-33r.
315. That was my woo is nowe my most gladnesse 3297.5
BL Addit.5465, ff.12v-13r;
Not listed in Index; BL Addit.60577, f.116v.
316. The hve desire that Y haue for to se 3376.5
BL Addit.5665, ff.68v-69r.
317. The lytyll prety ny3tyngale/ among the leuys grene 3413.3
BL Royal Appendix 58, ff.7v, 6v.
318. The longe nyghtes whan euery creature 3414
BL Addit.34360, f.51r;
[BL Harley 78 s.xv¹, f.82r.]
319. The sigh...ysse (in fact, The suyt...causeth pleasaunce) 3461.5
CUL Addit.2750, recto.
320. The sight which ferst my hart dyd strayne 3461.8
Corpus Christi College Oxford B.4, f.1v.
321. The thoughts within my brest 3486.5
BL Addit.31922, ff.29v-30r.
322. The tyme so long the payn ay more and more 3488
Bodl.Fairfax 16, f.324r.
323. The whele off fortune who can hold 3498.5
BL Royal Appendix 58, ff.50r-51v.
324. Thayr ys no myrth under the sky 3534
Bodl.Arch.Selden supra 52, ff.168v-169v.

325. There nysso high comfort to my pleasaunce 3542
 Bold.Arch.Selden B.24, f.136r;
 Bodl.Fairfax 16, f.19r;
 Bodl.Tanner 346, f.69v;
 CUL Ff.1.6, f.68r;
 Magdalene College Cambridge, Pepys 2006, pp.122, 381;
 Notary, Mars and Venus (STC 5089);
 Thynne, Chaucer, (STC 5068);
 [TCC R.3.20 s.xv¹ p.139].
 [Bodl.Ashmole 59, f.43v.]
326. This ys no lyf alas pat y do lede 3613
 CUL Ff.1.6, f.153r.
327. So thirlyd .^t be poynt of remembraunce (Anelida's 3670
Complaint alone, extracted from Anelida and Arcite)
 CUL Ff.1.6, f.61r;
 Magdalene College Cambridge Pepys 2006, p.382;
 Huntington HM 140 ff.84r-86r;
 BL Addit 17492, f.91r;
 [TCC R.3.20 s.xv¹ p.106.]
328. Thofe I doo syng my hert dothe wepe 3703.5
 BL Royal Appendix 58, ff.18v-19v.
329. Thow that men do call it dotage 3706.7
 BL Addit.31922, ff.55v-56r.
330. Though that she cannot redresse 3706.8
 BL Royal.Appendix 58, f.3v.
331. Tho that ye cannot redresse 3706.9
 PRO Exchequer Misc. E.163/22/2, f.57.
332. Though ye my love were nere a ladye fayre 3707.3
 Bodl.Ashmole 176, f.99r.
333. Thoythis fre pat lykis me 3707.8
 TCD D.4.11, ff.87v-88r.
334. ...thus hath mayd my payne *3721.5
 New York Public Library, Drexel fragment 4181.
335. Thus y compleyne my grevous hevynesse 3722
 Bodl.Ashmole 191, ff.193v-194r.

336. Thus musyng in my mynd gretly mervelyng 3724.5
 BL Addit.5465, ff.24v-26r;
 Fitzwilliam Museum Cambridge 355, fragment;
 New York Public Library, Drexel fragment 4183.
337. To complayne me alas why shulde I so 3751.3
 BL Addit.5465, ff.15v-17r.
338. To fle the sect of alle mysgouernaunce 3752
 Bodl.Fairfax 16, f.318r.
339. To leve alone comfort ys none 3758.5
 BL Royal Appendix 58, f.10r.
340. To 3ou hie worship and magnificence 3758
 BL Harley 3810, f.16r-v.
341. Trew loue to me yn harte soo dere 3804
 Bodl.Rawl c.813, f.33r.
342. Trust in my luf hy schall be trw 3808.5
 Princeton Univ. Scheide Library 66, f.x^r.
343. Apon a mornyng of may 3836.5
 BL Harley 1317, f.94v.
344. Upon temse from london myles iij 3844.5
 Leyden Univ. Vossius 9, f.112r.
345. Veryly/ And truly/ I schall nat fayne 3849
 CUL Ff.1.6, f.154r.
346. Walkyng allon of wyt full desolat 3860
 Bodl.Fairfax 16, ff.322v-323r.
347. Welcome be 3e my souereine 3878
 CUL Ff.1.6, ff.135r-136v.
348. Welcum ffortune wellcum agayne 3880.6
 BL Addit.18752, f.88r-v;
 [Ely Cathedral fragment, location unknown.]
349. Westron wynde when wylle thou blow 3899.3
 BL Royal Appendix 58, f.5r.
350. What causyth me wofull thoughtis to thynk 3903.8
 BL Addit.5465, ff.4v-6r.

351. What shall I say to whom shall I complayn 3913
Bodl.Fairfax 16, f.324r.
352. What shuld I say sithe faith is ded 3914.5
Bodl.Ashmole 39, end flyleaf.
353. What shuld me cause or ony wyse to thynk 3915
Bodl.Fairfax 16, f.322r-v.
354. What so men seyn/ Love is no peyn 3917
CUL Ff.1.6, f.56r.
355. Whatt tyme as Paris son of kyng Priame 3917.8
Bodl.Rawl c.813, ff.64r-71r.
356. Whan every woo hathe easse 3941.5
Durham University Cosin V.ii.13, ff.2r(twice) and 115r.
357. When fortune had me avaunsyd 3947.6
BL Royal Appendix 58, f.21v.
358. Whan I wold fayne begynne to pleyne Not in Index
BL Addit.60577, f.115v.
359. Whan shal thow come glad hope from your vyage 4014
BN f.fr.25458, p.346 (+ MSS derived from it).
360. When the sone the laumpe of heuen ful lyght 4043
Bodl.Fairfax 16, ff.306r-312v.
361. When the wyntar wynddys are vanished away 4044.6
Bodl.Ashmole 48, ff.88r-90v.
362. When Zepheres eeke with his fresshe tarage 4057
Bodl.Lat.misc.c.66, f.93r.
363. Wher be ye/ My love my love 4058.3
BL Addit.31922, ff.110v-112r.
364. Where y haue chosyn stedefast woll y be 4059
CUL Ff.1.6, f.20v.
365. Wheretoshuld I expresse/ my inwarde heuynesse 4070.5
BL Addit.31922, ff.51v-52r.
366. Whylome I present was with my soffreyne 4075
Bodl.Eng.poet.e.1, ff.14r-15v.
367. Whoso that wyll all feattes optayne 4143.3
BL Addit.31922, ff.38v-39r.

368. Whoso that wyll for grace sew 4143.5
BL Addit.31922, ff.84v-85r.
369. Why dare I not compleyn to my lady Not in Index
BL Addit.60577, f.116v.
370. Wyth al myn hool herte entere 4186.
Bodl.Fairfax 16, ff.314r-317v.
371. With greate humylyte I submytt me to your gentylnes 4190
Bodl.Rawlinson c.813, f.63r-v.
372. With sorowfull syghes and grevos payne 4201.3
BL Addit.31922, ff.33v-34r.
373. Wyth sorowful syghes and wondes smert 4201.6
BL Addit.17942, f.26r.
374. With woofull hert & gret mornyng 4209
BL Harley 541, f.208v.
375. With woofull harte plungede yn dystresse 4210
Bodl.Rawl. c.813, ff.43v-44v.
376. Withowt dyscord/ And bothe accorde 4213.5
BL Addit.31922, ff.68v-69r.
377. Womans herte vnto no crewelte 4217.6
BL Addit.17942, f.89v.
378. Ye ar to blame to sette yowre hert so sore 4241.5
CUL Ff.1.6, f.20v.
379. Ye shal be payd after your whylfulnes 4256
BN f.fr.25458, p.312 (+ MSS derived from it).
380. Yit wulde I not the causer faryd amysse 4272.5
CUL Ff.1.6, ff.153v-154r.
381. Yowre counturfetyng/ With doubyll delyng 4281.5
BL Addit.5465, ff.22v-24r.
382. Your yen two wol slee me sodenly 4282
Magdalene College Cambridge, Pepys 2006, p.390;
[BL Addit.38179 pt.II, f.51r (s.xvii).]
383. Your light greuans shall not me constrayne 4283.5
BL Addit.5665, ff.38v-39r.

Catalogue of Manuscripts.

1. ABERDEEN, University Library, MS 196.

c.1433. Commentaria in jus civile. Paper, $11\frac{1}{4}$ x $8\frac{1}{2}$ ins (295 x 215 mm), ff.228; partly copied by William Elphynston (fl.1440). For descriptions, see Ker, MSS in British Libraries i p.13, and MacFarlane, Aberdeen Univ. Review, 37. On f.161r, upside-down, another hand has added a lyric:

* Allac pat euer scho bewte bar (not in Index), fragmentary.

2. ABERDEEN, University Library, MS 223.

s.xv^{med}. An incomplete copy of Porphyry, Super Organon. Paper, 12 x $8\frac{1}{4}$ ins (300 x 210 mm), ff.203. For a description, see James, Aberdeen MSS, pp.66-67. On f.172r a sixteenth-century hand has scribbled the following lyric:

* The Lover's Devotion to his Cause (Index 1338.5),

I patrik larrons of spittall feylde. . .

not printed; see Appendix I p.452.

*3. ABERYSTWYTH, National Library of Wales, MS Peniarth 26.

c.1456. A collection of prophecies, poems, and information on astronomy in Latin, Welsh and English. Paper and parchment, 8 x $5\frac{3}{4}$ ins (205 x 145 mm), ff.132. For a description, see HMC Report, MSS in the Welsh Language i(2) pp.351-54. The manuscript includes one English love-lyric:

* The Lover's Complaint to his Mistress on the Enforced Secrecy of their Love (Index 152), f.107v,

Alas howe schale my hert be lyght. . .

- * 4. ABERYSTWYTH, National Library of Wales (deposit),
MS Porkington 10; (Lord Harlech's collection).

s.xv². A collection of miscellaneous material, mostly in English, copied by a number of different scribes; perhaps originally two manuscripts. Similar in content to other commonplace books of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. A full description of the manuscript and editions of its love-lyrics are provided by Kurvinen, NM 54. The following lyrics are included:

- * 1. A Lover's Plea (Index 4), ff. 130v-132r,
A dere god haue I deseruyd this. . .
- * 2. A Love Letter to his Mistress (Index 1241), f.154r-v,
Honowre wit all manere of heyll. . .
3. An Offer of Love (Index 1120), ff.154v-155v,
Have all my hert and be in peys. . .
4. To his Mistress, from Afar (Index 479), f.130r-v,
Be trwe and hold þat 3e haue hyg3te. . .

- * 5. ALCESTER, Warwickshire, Coughton Court, Throckmorton Muniments:
Court Roll.

The Throckmorton muniments at Coughton Court include a court roll onto which a courtly love-poem has been copied ¹. The poem accompanies a legal document which dates from 1421, but it appears to have been copied in a hand of the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century.

- * The Abandoned Lover Awaits Death (Index 763.5);
Fare well fare well/All frisk all chere. . .

Notes

1. For information about the Throckmorton family in the fifteenth century, see Pantin, Instructions, and Wilson NQ 223. . . There are interesting connections with the Beauchamp family.

*6. CAMBRIDGE, Fitzwilliam Museum MS 355.

An unnumbered fragment in this manuscript consists of part of a single leaf, written on both sides, and containing parts of two songs. See Stevens, Music and Poetry pp.359 and 362.

1. Earl Rivers' Virelai (Index 3193.5), recto.
2. Thus musyng in my mynd gretly mervelyng (Index 3724.5), verso,
The last two staves of the part for voice 3.

7. CAMBRIDGE, Gonville and Caius College, MS 383/603.

A. s.xv^{med}. Grammatical collections, notes, carols and songs, in English, Latin and French.

B. Contents

Like BL MS Harley 3362, this collection seems to have been put together for teaching or for reference purposes, and its composition is so haphazard that a complete catalogue of the contents is impracticable. I list the major items, briefly, giving full details only of the scraps of English verse.

1. Model letters and deeds, in French, with some English translations, pp.1-5¹.
2. Latin notes in verse and prose, mainly on grammar, but interspersed with proverbs, letters etc. in Latin and French, with some English glosses, pp.6-40, 42-67, 70, 71-100, 161-189.
- *3. The Serving Maid's Holiday (Index 225), p.41, partly damaged.
- *4. Jack and the Dancing Maid (Index 1849), p.41.
5. Fare Far and Have Little (Index 3971), p.41,
headed 'Alone Y Lyue Alone' ².
6. To the Virgin (Index 236), p.68.
7. Of St. Thomas of Canterbury (Index 1892), p.68, cont. on p.69.
- *8. Satirical Carol on a Lover's Sad Plight (Index 1280), p.68.
9. Treatise on the Liturgy (Latin prose), pp.101-119,
beg. 'In medio duum animalium. . .'
10. Copy of a Statute (Latin prose), p.127,
'Qvia emptores terrarum. . .'

11. Instructions for writing deeds and charters (Latin prose), pp.128-61.
- *12. English verse riddle: In Praise of Brunettes(Index 3174),p.190.
13. Collection of model letters, in French, with some English translations, pp.191-207.
- *14. A Forsaken Maiden's Lament (Index 1330), p. 210, headed 'Bryd on Brere y Telle yt to None Opur y ne Dar'³.
- *15. A Lover's Plea (Index 2185), p.210,
LE BON L.DON⁴ (+ a stave of melody) & SIC DEINCEPS
pei y synge & murthus make it is not y wolde
Myn owne dere ladi fair and fre. . .
also pr. Greene, Early English Carols p.269; Stemmler, Love-Lyrics p.85. For burden only, with music, Stevens, Mus. Brit. 4 p.111.
16. To Mary (macaronic French and Latin verse), p.210,
Aue virgo regina dei plena gratia. . .
Pr. Greene, Early English Carols pp.xxv-xxxvi.
- *17. On the Feasts following Christmas (Index 2109), p.210.
18. Specimen accounts, and instructions for keeping them, in French and Latin, pp. 211-16.

C. Technical Description

- a. Paper; 8 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 5 $\frac{7}{8}$ ins (225 x 145 mm).
- b.1 i + 108 + i, some leaves damaged; modern pagination.
- c. Collation is impracticable; no systems of catchwords or leaf signatures.
- d. The layout is extremely varied, and generalization is impossible. The writing is tiny, and individual items are almost always squashed into the smallest possible space (even if this means writing upside-down or sideways).
- e. One main scribe, A, writing a small, practised anglicana, copied most of the material on pp.1-70 and 101-216 (this includes all the English songs), although there are annotations and additions in several other hands. Pp. 70-100 were copied by another scribe, B, and seem to form an entirely separate section, even though the nature of the contents is similar.
- f. Some capitals are flourished in red, but the organisation of this decoration is random.

D. History and Provenance

Several names appear in the collection, including: 'Wymundus london' (pp.3, 7, 68, 149, 190, 209); ? 'Penkeryg' (pp.50, 55); 'Wakfeld' (p.57); 'Wyllyam Essex' and 'William mylenhalle' (p.73); 'Wareyne' (p.191). R.L. Greene, who lists these names in full, identifies 'Wymundus london' as scribe A, and suggests that this is the 'W london' who is recorded as a chorister of Magdalen College, Oxford, in 1484-85. While it seems quite probable that this London owned the manuscript at some time, and possibly added notes to it, I am not convinced that his signature matches the hand of scribe A. Furthermore, a note at the end of item 9, copied by A, records 'Nomen scriptoris Johannes plenus amoris'. The general context suggested by Greene for this collection seems entirely suitable, however, with the humorous or fashionable songs noted down, presumably by a student, among other items useful to remember.

E. Bibliography

James, Gonville and Caius College MSS ii pp.435-37;
Greene, Early English Carols pp.324-25.

Notes

1. I have used existing pagination of the MS.
2. The heading appears to refer to the tune to which this carol can be sung. cf. Index 2665, a round in BL MS Addit.31922, to the words 'Alone I leffe alone/And sore I sygh for one' (Pr. Mus. Brit. 18 p.17); Index 377.5, a Planctus Marie song, printed c.1550, with the burden 'Alone alone alone alone/Sore I sygh and all for one'; Index 2293.5, a courtly carol of c.1530 with the burden 'Alone I lyue alone/And sore I syghe for one' (Pr. Greene, Early English Carols, pp.274-75).
3. The heading again appears to be an indication of the tune, perhaps a burden from another song (not from Index 521, 'Bryd one brere', however, as this is not a carol).
4. Once again the heading, this time with a stave of accompanying melody, indicates the tune. 'Le bon l.don' is so far unidentified. My own (very tentative) suggestion is that it might be a heavily abbreviated form of a French song, Pour le bon loz que l'on vous donne, attributed to Blosseville, and copied into BN MS f. fr.9223 (a collection associated with Charles d'Orléans and his circle). No music appears with it here, but it was possibly current as a song. See Raynaud, Rondeaux no.83.

8. CAMBRIDGE, Magdalene College, Pepys Library MS 2006.

A. s.xv²; anthology of verse and prose, in English and Latin.

B. Contents

- I. 1. Lydgate, The Complaint of the Black Knight (Index 1507), pp.1-17¹.
2. Lydgate, The Temple of Glass (Index 851), pp.17-52.
3. Chaucer, Prologue to the Legend of Good Women (version F, lacking lines 706-76, and ending at 1377), with the stories of Cleopatra, Thisbe, Dido, Hypsipyle and Medea (Index 100), pp.53-88.
4. Chaucer, An ABC to the Virgin, lines 1-60 (Index 239), pp.88-90.
5. Chaucer, The House of Fame, lines 1-1843, with some gaps (Index 991), pp.91-114.
6. Chaucer, The Complaint of Mars (Index 913), with The Complaint of Venus (Index 3542), pp.115-124,
[G]ladeth ye foules of this morowen gray. . . EXPLICIT.
7. Chaucer, Fortune (Index 3661), pp.124-126.
8. Chaucer, The Parliament of Fowls lines 1-667 (Index 3412), pp.127-142.
9. The Legend of the Three Kings of Cologne (English prose translation of John of Hildesheim's Latin version), pp.143-183.
[S]yth of these thre worschypfull kynges all þe world from þe rysyng of the sonne. . .
As Horstmann, EETS o.s. 85.
10. Letter of Prester John (English Prose), pp.183-189,
[P]rester jhon that is lorde of Inde and alle the kyngdomes and kynges. . .
11. Lydgate, Serpent of Division (English prose), pp.191-209,
[W]hilom as olde bokes maken mencion whenn the noble famouse cite of Rome. . .
with Envoy, in verse (Index 3625).
Pr. MacCracken, Serpent of Division.

12. Benedict Burgh, Parvus Cato (Index 3955), pp.211-212.
13. Benedict Burgh, Cato Major (Index 854), pp.213-224.
- II. 14. Chaucer, The Tale of Melibeus (English prose), pp.225-75, coll. Manly and Rickert, Canterbury Tales vii pp.200-461.
15. Chaucer, The Parson's Prologue (Index 4019) and Tale, with the Retractions, pp.276-377; coll. Manly and Rickert, Canterbury Tales viii pp.175-549.
- III. ⁺16.² Chaucer, The Complaint of Mars, lines 1-85 (Index 913), and The Complaint of Venus, lacking lines 1-44 (Index 3542), pp.378-82, Gladeth ye foules at the morowen gray. . . The missing portions belong between p.380 and p.381.
17. Chaucer, The Complaint of Anelida, lines 1-311 (Index 3670), pp.382-84.
- THE COMPLEINT OF ANELIDA QUENE/OF HERMENYE VPONE
FALSE ARCITE/OF THEBES
- So thirleth wyth the point of Remembrance. . .
- ⁺18. Fragment (last two lines) of Chaucer, Fortune (Index 3661), p.385.
19. Chaucer, Envoy to Scogan (Index 3747), pp.385-86.
- ⁺20. Chaucer, An ABC to the Virgin, lines 1-60 (Index 239), pp.386-88.
21. Chaucer, Complaint to his Purse (Index 3787), pp.388-389.
22. Chaucer, Truth, (Index 809), pp.389-90.
- *23. Chaucer(?), Merciles Beaute (Index 4282), pp.390-91.
- Yowre two yene wolle sle me sodenly. . .
EXPLICIT.

C. Technical Description

- a. Paper; 10½ x 6¾ ins (270 x 175 mm).
- b. ii + 196 + iii. Pencil pagination (s.xvii/xviii); 391 numbered pages with one (f.196v) unnumbered.
- c. Collation is impossible as the manuscript has been tightly resown and rebound. Some leaves must be missing:
- i. between pp. 70 and 71 (a gap in the text of Thisbe originally spanning lines 706-845; lines 777-845 have been supplied on an inserted leaf, copied in a different hand);

- ii. between pp.379/80 (bound up back to front, so that 380 is now the recto and 379 the verso) and 381 (lines 85-298 of The Complaint of Mars and lines 1-44 of The Complaint of Venus). Here the missing 257 lines probably occupied four leaves;
- iii. between pp.384 and 385 (lines 312-350 of The Complaint of Anelida, and lines 1-77 of Fortune). The missing 115 lines probably occupied two leaves - although there could well have been further items, occupying further leaves, between the two remaining texts.

The manuscript falls into at least two distinct sections, probably three. Some items are duplicated in the different parts. I = pp.1-224; II = pp.225-377, Melibeus, The Parson's Prologue and Tale, Chaucer's Retractions. This probably once formed part of a larger booklet; the colophon to Melibeus reads 'Here endeth Chaucers owne tale of Thopas and of Melibee and Prudence his wife', suggesting that at least one more tale - Sir Thopas - was included before the two which now remain. ?III = pp.378-91 (this may be merely a continuation of booklet II; see section e, information on scribes).

- d. The texts are copied in single and double columns (although the Canterbury Tales fragment is copied only in single columns) of about 30 lines. Frames and lines have been ruled in red ink, and the written space measures approx. 7½ x 5 ins (190 x 125 mm).
- e. There is some dispute over the number of hands in the manuscript. I distinguish four main ones:
A, pp.1-44; B¹, pp.44-224, with B² supplying the inserted material on pp.71-2; C pp.225-346; D, pp.346-391. E.P. Hammond (see below) argues for six hands (not including the inserted portion): A, pp.1-44; B, pp.44-142; C, pp.143-224; D, pp.225-346; E, pp.346-377; F, pp.378-391. Manly and Rickert note 'five or six in the whole MS'; Furnivall suggests five; Brusendorff comments on only the first booklet, and distinguishes in this two main hands, together with that of the insertion.

f. Decoration is modest. Some of the capitals are flourished, as are occasional ascenders in the top lines. The decoration of many of the capitals was never completed - in these cases only a guide letter remains.

D. History and Provenance

This manuscript is clearly made up of at least two, probably three, distinct sections, but it is not clear whether these parts were connected together from the start. Brusendorff argued that the textual agreements between items duplicated in the different sections (6/16, 7/18, 4/20) indicated that they shared the same exemplars³, but his view has not been unchallenged⁴. While it is certainly true that the ABC to the Virgin (4/20), for example, breaks off unfinished at exactly the same point in both copies, this need not necessarily indicate one single exemplar: it seems quite likely that Chaucer's minor poems circulated in a number of independent booklets which, although not identical, shared certain features. This could explain the apparent similarities in the duplicated texts of the different parts of this manuscript⁵.

There are one or two clues to the possible ownership of the manuscript (or parts of it) in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. p.378 (the verso of a leaf) and p.379 (the recto of the next one) have been stuck together, and the signature 'Johannes Kiriell' is just visible through 377/8 on the top of p.379. E. Seaton and Manly and Rickert (see below) supply information on two possible owners: Seaton suggests John Kiriell, younger brother of Sir Thomas Kiriell, King's Knight, lieutenant of Calais (1440-41, so so probably associated with Charles d'Orléans), who was executed in 1461. Manly and Rickert refer to another John Kiriell who died in 1490, a member of the Kentish family of Kiriells who were related by marriage to the Stourtons, the Cobhams, and the Chicheleys, all 'interested in MSS'. Inscriptions on p.391 read 'Iste liber constat Willelmo Fetypace mercerii london', and 'Iste liber constat Thome W'. Manly and Rickert identify the first of these signatories as William Fetplace, son of John Fetplace, draper, of London (d.1464), who came of age in 1475.

Samuel Pepys's bookplate is also stuck onto p.391, with his motto: 'Mens cujusque is es quisque'. The date and means of his acquisition of the manuscript are not known.

E. Bibliography

James, Bibliotheca Pepysiana iii pp.60-63;
Hammond, MLN 19;
Brusendorff, Chaucer pp.193-95;
Manly and Rickert, Canterbury Tales i pp.406-409;
Seaton, Richard Roos, pp.106-108.

Notes

1. I have used the existing pagination of the MS.
2. Items marked '+' are second copies of texts which have already appeared in the MS.
3. Brusendorff, Chaucer p.195.
4. Pace, MLN 63.
5. And the similarities between various copies of different minor poems in other 'families' of manuscripts; see, for example, Bodl. MSS Fairfax 16, Tanner 346 and Bodley 638, described below.

9. CAMBRIDGE, St. John's College, MS B.12 (34).

A. s.xv¹. Gower, Confessio Amantis, with some additions.

B. Contents

- [1.] Medical Recipe (English prose), front pastedown.
2. Gower, Confessio Amantis (Index 2662), first recension, ff.1r-214r.

*[3.] Undying Devotion (Index 1422.3), end pastedown,
Yf on the Rockes of Scilla and Caribdis I doe chauce. . .

C. Technical Description

- a. Parchment; 12 x 9½ ins (305 x 220 mm).
- b. ff.214. Pencil foliation.

c. 1⁸ - 11⁸, 12⁸(7 wanting), 13⁸, 14⁸(1 wanting), 15⁸ - 27⁸.
Catchwords and leaf signatures.

d. The Confessio is carefully copied in double columns of 39 lines. Framework ruling has been supplied, and the total written space measures 9 x 7 ins (230 x 180 mm). The recipe and lyric are untidy later additions.

e. The Confessio is copied in a neat anglicana hand of the first half of the fifteenth century. The recipe and the lyric are added in different hands of the sixteenth century.

f. The Confessio is decorated: the beginning is surrounded by a full border (f.lr), in gold, red and blue, although the bottom of this leaf has been cut off. Major capitals in the rest of the text are in red or blue, and the initial letter of each line has been flourished with yellow. Neither of the added items is decorated.

D. History and Provenance

Nothing is known of the early history of the manuscript. Several sixteenth-century hands have added notes or signatures, but none is identifiable with the hand of the added lyric which, judging both from its style and the hand, seems to be a very late addition, and not at all 'medieval'. The names which appear include 'Thomas browne', 'egidius hyllyng' and 'nicolas helyfex' (all on f.214v); on f.lr is 'John nycholas oweth this bocke', and on f.214v, 'John nycholas owethe this booke 1576'. The bookplate of the library of St. John's College, on the inside pastedown, records that the manuscript was presented to the college by the Earl of Southampton in 1635.

E. Bibliography

Macaulay, EETS e.s. 81, pp.cxxxix-cxl;
James, Cat. St. John's MSS pp.46-47.

10. CAMBRIDGE, Trinity College, MS O.2.53 (1157).

A. s.xvi¹ - s.xvi^{med}. A commonplace book compiled by different hands over a number of years, containing miscellaneous items of prose and verse in English and Latin.

B. Contents¹

1. On Wine (Latin verse; Walther 1901), f.1r.
2. Latin proverb, on worldly transience (Walther, Sprichwörter, 22258), f.1r.
3. Latin proverb, on judgment, (Walther, Sprichwörter 19095), f.1r.
4. Names of Guardian Saints (Latin verse, not listed by Walther), f.1r, Nomina sanctorum sunt hec tibi vigiliarum. . .
5. Three medical recipes (English prose), f.1v.
6. Latin couplet: on peacock and angel feathers, (Walther, Sprichwörter 21028), f.1v.
7. An Alphabet of Latin Proverbs (not listed by Walther), ff.2r-20r, Ars est arbor amarissima cuius fructus est dulcissimus. . .
8. Medical recipe (English prose), f.2v.
9. Note on the Commandments (English prose), f.3r, happye his he that saverse/god well in every commandment. . .
10. Two medical recipes (English prose), f.20v.
11. Note on the Creation of Fair Mead Park, 1542 (English prose), f.20v.
12. St. Odo's Praise of God (Latin prose), ff.21r-23r, unfinished, Quoniam vt dicit Gregorius plus est verbi dei parabolis. . .
13. God's Words to a Poor Man (English prose, Jolliffe I.12(e)), f.23v.
14. Points for Purchasers of Land (Index 4148), f.24r.
15. On Justice (Latin verse, Walther 9900), f.24v.
- *16. Prayer for the Safety of Henry VIII (Index 960.3), f.24v, and for that of 'Rowland' and 'Marie'.
17. Latin verses, supposedly from the London Charterhouse (Walther 2178), ff.25r-26v.
18. Accounts (crossed through), f.26v.
19. Verses Against Gallants (Index 4255), f.27r.
20. The Gallant's Answer to the Priests' Accusations (Index 4254.5), f.27r.
21. A Decree of St. Edmund, Archbishop of Canterbury (Latin prose) f.27v, beg. Legitur de Sancto Edmundo Cantuarensis Archiepiscopo. . .

22. Objections of English Clerics to Henry Standish, a Friar
(Latin prose), f.28r, imperfect, beg. Articuli versus Henrici Standissh fratrem minorem ac sacre theologie doctorem. . .
23. Fragments of Latin verse (not listed by Walther), f.28v,
(i) Dic stratilates fortes validosque quirites. . .
(ii) Fures stratilates iuxta stratem latitantes. . .
24. Indenture, concerning Robert Geyton and John Stern (English prose), f.29r.
25. Note on the Birth of Edward V (English prose), f.29v.
26. Devout and Virtuous Words (Index 3538), f.29v.
27. Medical Recipe (English prose), f.29v.
28. Indenture, concerning John Gare and Walter Ryse (English prose), f.30r.
29. Legal declaration (Latin prose), f.30v, beg. Obligacio. Nominunt vniuersi per presentes me WM de Bromley. . .
30. Legal declaration (a relaxation of enfeoffment, Latin prose), f.31r, beg. Omnibus christi fidelibus ad quos presens scriptum perueniet. . .
31. Charter (Latin prose), f.31r, beg. Sciunt presentes & futuri quod ego Robertus Sybbyng. . .
32. Legal declaration (general acquittance, Latin prose), f.31v, beg. Nominunt vniuersi per presentes me Johannem abell. . .
33. Medical recipe (English prose), f.32v.
34. Charter, with letters of attorney (Latin prose), f.32r, beg. Carta cum littera attornatoria. . .
35. List of diseases (English prose), f.32v.
36. Synopsis of chronicle material concerning English law in Scotland (English and Latin prose), ff.33r-36v,
De Jure Regis Anglie in Scocia, vt repertum est in cronicis. . .
37. Note on the births of members of the Ramston family (English prose), f.36v.
38. Accounts, crossed through, f.36v.
39. On the wreck of the bridge at Gloucester, 1192 (Latin prose), ff.37r-38v, beg. Qualiter pons Gloucestrie sumpserit. . .
40. On the homage of Scottish kings to English ones (Latin prose) ff.38v-39v.
41. Letter from the Sultan of Syria to Henry VI (English prose), ff.39v-40r,
Wrytyng to all christen men that I am kyng of all kynges. . .

42. Henry VI's reply (English prose), f.40r-v.
43. Note on plundering (Latin prose), ff.40v-41r.
44. Political prophecy according to the throw of the dice (Index 734.8), f.41r.
45. A dispensation from Wolsey concerning Lent (English prose), f.41v, crossed through.
46. Computus (Latin prose), f.42r.
47. Three Medical recipes (English prose), f.42v.
48. On the barons' war (Latin prose), ff.43r-44v,
Tempore Edwardi Regis de Carnavan anno domini m ccc xj. . .
49. Two medical recipes (English prose), f.44v.
50. Latin verses on Richard II's tomb at Westminster (Walther 14871), f.45r.
51. Latin verses on the tomb of Simon Langham, abbot of Westminster (not recorded by Walther), f.45r,
Simon de Langham sub petris hiis tumulatus. . .
52. Letter from a schoolboy to his parents (English prose), f.45v,
Ryght trusti and well be loud Father and mother. . .
- *53. Fragment of a love-song (Index 2261.2, cf.120.7), f.45v,
My loue she morns ffor me ffor me my loue she mornes for me. . .
54. Latin verses on tithes (not recorded by Walther), f.45v,
Dande sunt decime vini frugum pecudique. . .
55. Note on the births of members of the Ramston family (English prose), f.46r.
56. Medical recipe (English prose), f.46v.
57. Remedies for the plague (English and Latin prose), f.47r.
58. Three medical recipes (English prose), f.47v.
59. Useful advice (Latin and English prose), f.48r,
 (i) *Petrus alphonsus: ne aggrediaris viam cum aliquo nisi eum primus cognandis. . .*
 (ii) *Fle the counsell of thyne enemy reconsyled
 Though he speke fayre and go full lowe. . .
 (verse? unfinished).*
60. The menu at a marriage feast (English prose), f.48r.
61. Note on the English capture of French ships (English prose), f.48v.
62. Account of the christening of Prince Arthur (English prose), ff.49r-52v,
By the prouision of god our lady and the gloriuse marter. . .

63. A prayer made by Queen Elizabeth of York at Woodstock in 1500
(English prose), ff.53r-54r,
This devoute prayer made the quenes grace. . .
64. On the vanity of earthly wishes (Latin verse, Walther 11414),
f.54r.
65. Two recipes for rat poison (English prose), f.54r.
66. Medical recipe (English prose), f.54v.
67. Come over the borne Bessye (Index 3318.4), ff.54v. 55r-56r.
68. Accounts, crossed through, f.56v.
- *69. Carol: when all ys don and all ys sayd (Index 1485), ff.57r-58r.
70. Accounts, crossed through, f.58v.
71. Three medical recipes (English prose), ff.58v-59r.
- *72. Dedication to a Sweetheart (Index 1176.5), f.59r,
Harte be tru & don not a mys. . .
pr. Robbins, Anglia 83.
73. Three medical recipes (English prose), f.59v.
74. Latin verses on wise humility (Walther, Sprichwörter 29629),
f.60r.
75. On wisdom (Index 726), an extract from Burgh's Cato Major, f.60r.
76. On the title adopted by Wolsey (Latin prose), f.60r.
77. Extract: St. Bernard to Eugenius (Latin prose), f.60v.
78. Extract: from a homily (Latin prose), f.60v,
Omnis anima racionalis etate congrua. . .
79. Latin verses on temptation (Walther 18040), f.61r.
80. Fragmentary accounts, f.61v.
81. Fragments of four medical recipes (English prose), ff.62v-64r.
82. Note of a payment (English prose), f.64r.
83. Latin verses (not recorded by Walther), f.64v,
Vos ego versiculos feci tulit alter honores. . .
84. Recipe for a rat-poison (English prose), f.64v.
85. Latin verses on the English (inc. Walther 3287), ff.65r-65v.
86. Prayer to St. Katherine (Latin verse), f.66r,
Ad loca stellata duc nos katerina beata. . .
- *87. Against blasphemy (Index 1255), f.66r.
88. Latin prayer, f.66r,
Veni creator spiritus mentes tuorum visita. . .
89. On the seven ages of man (Latin verse, Walther 9303), f.66v.

90. On famous bald men (Latin verse, not recorded by Walther),
f.66v,
Hij ^{or}iiiij magni fuerant in vertice calvi. . .
91. A farewell to the world (Index 769), f.67r.
92. On St. Katherine (Latin prose), f.67v,
Disputando vicit virgo quinquaginta retores. . .
93. Latin hymn, f.67v,
Eterne rex altissime. . .
94. Prayer (English prose), ff.68r-69r, beginning imperfectly.
95. Christ's appeal from the cross (Index 2507), f.69r.
96. The ABC of Aristotle (Index 3793), f.69v.
97. Against women (fragments of Latin verse, not recorded by Walther),
f.70r,
O maliciosum & acutissimum telum diaboli. . .
- *98. On the passion (Index 3672), f.70r.
99. Latin prayer, f.70v,
Saluator mundi saluum me fac. . .
100. On the crucifixion (Latin verse), f.70v,
O nuda humanitas o magnum martirium. . .
101. Note of an indulgence (Latin prose), f.70v.
102. Instructions for setting a harp (English prose), f.71r.
103. Notes of records, Oxford and London (Latin prose), f.71v.
104. Latin verses (not recorded by Walther), f.71v,
Sit testus Christe quod non iacet hic lapis iste. . .
105. On women (Walther, Sprichwörter 685), f.72r.
106. Latin couplets (not recorded by Walther), f.72r,
(i) Hiis diebus iam peractis nulla fides est in pactis. . .
(ii) Dum dolor est pragma. . .
107. Signs of death (Index 4035), f.72r.
108. Latin couplet: to Christ (Walther, Sprichwörter 2718), f.72r.
109. Notes on the calendar (Latin prose), f.72v.
110. Note on the records of the reign of Edward I (Latin prose),
f.72v.
111. Three mournful things (Latin verse, Walther 18886), f.73r.
112. On worldly mutability (Latin verse, Walther 12072), f.73r.
113. 'Manus fit iudex' (Walther 11487), f.73r.
- *114. A prayer (Index 1730), f.73r.
115. On worldly vanity (Index 3905), f.73v.

116. On worldly goods (Latin verse, Walther 18017), f.73v.
 117. On friendship (Latin verse, Walther 16353), f.73v.
 118. On wealth (Latin verse, Walther 4901), f.73v.
 119. On women's love (Latin verses, not recorded by Walther), f.73v,
 Dum coculus durat omnis te femina curat. . .
 120. Latin prognostication: 'Clara dies Pauli' (Walther 2825), f.74r,
 121. On the decline of law (Latin verse, not recorded by Walther),
 f.74r,
 Lex iuris moritur fraus regnat. . .
 122. A remembrance of mortality (Index 4129), f.74r.
 *123. Fragmentary verses on fortune (Index 4212), f.74r.

C. Technical description

- a. Paper; $8\frac{1}{4}$ x $5\frac{3}{4}$ ins (207 x 144 mm).
- b. iii + 74; modern pencil foliation. Several leaves have been cut out, or torn, or sliced in two (see collation), and the foliation omits the most fragmentary of these.
- c. 1²² (ff.1-22); 2¹⁸ (6 fragmentary) (ff.23-41); 3⁶(ff.42-47);
 4^{seven} (ff.48-54; diagonal stitching still remains - perhaps this section was not bound with the others at the beginning?);
 5⁴ (ff.55-58); 6²⁰ (1, 2 sliced; 3, 4, 6 fragmentary; 5, 7, 8, 20 missing) (ff.59-74).
- d. The layout of the texts varies with the different scribes - generally haphazard, apart from the sections copied by A/B (see below) which are of a more uniform appearance.
- e. Several 'layers' of copying seem to be evident in this manuscript. Probably the earliest was completed by A/B - either two hands, or one hand using two different scripts, one an angular secretary, the other a secretary of a more fluid, cursive aspect. A/B was responsible for most of the Latin material in the manuscript, and his hand is especially prominent in gatherings 1, 2 and 6. Several other hands have made substantial contributions. One, C, added much of the historical material in gatherings 2 and 3 (21? 39-44, 48), and may also have been responsible for Come over the borne Bessye

(item 67). Many of the recipes and the deleted accounts throughout the volume have been inserted by two sixteenth-century hands, D and E. These two seem to have been closely connected: D signs himself as 'Rowland Ramston' (f.56v, in item 68; f.24v, in item 16, and f.59v), and E inserts (amongst other things) the details of the births of members of the Ramston family - very possibly Rowland's children (items 37, 55; see below). Both of the lyric scraps have been copied by these hands: E inserted the fragmentary item 53 at the end of his copy of a schoolboy's letter to his parents. D (probably, or a hand very much like his), copied the Dedication to a Sweetheart, item 71. Still more hands (as many as five or six) have added other items in the manuscript.

- f. There is some rudimentary flourishing of capitals on ff.1r-8r, (items 1-5, 7 all copied by A/B), and in item 36 (copied by C), suggesting perhaps that these were copied into the volume at an early stage, when some decoration (later forgotten) was planned.

D. History and provenance

The several layers of copying remarked in the section on scribes suggest that the manuscript was compiled over a long period, and perhaps even in the possession of different owners during this time. The earliest layer seems to date from the reign of Henry VII. Amongst the items copied by A/B is an account of the christening of Prince Arthur (62), an event which perhaps would have been considered most worthy of record while Arthur was still alive and heir to the throne (i.e. before 1502). Another hand has copied a prayer attributed to Henry VII's queen, Elizabeth of York, in 1500 (63). Yet another adds a note on the birth of Edward V (25), again most relevant during the reign of Henry VII while pretenders to the throne could still claim the identity of the dead Edward. However, A/B also copied one of the items referring to Wolsey (76), so it seems that he at least must have had access to the manuscript (or to parts of it) until well into the reign of Henry VIII. All the items containing references to people and places in Kent (28-32

34, as noticed by Greene, see below) were copied by A/B, so it seems probable that he either lived in Kent or had close Kentish connections. A later layer of copying, however, locates the manuscript firmly in Essex, with the Ramston family. Rowland Ramston, who has been identified as scribe D, seems to have been a son of John Ramston of Moche Braxsted, and the resident of Chingford Hall, and lived until at least 1549². The manuscript therefore seems to have been some kind of composite commonplace book, available to a number of scribes with Kent or Essex connections during the first half of the sixteenth century. The lyric scraps are among the completely miscellaneous jottings - accounts, proverbs, family records, items of practical information - which these various contributors saw fit to copy down.

E. Bibliography

James, Cat. Trinity MSS iii pp.169-74;

Ivy, Thesis pp.312-318;

Greene, Early English Carols p.326.

Notes

1. The stages of compilation in this MS are so complicated that it is impossible to record whether individual items are 'later additions' or not, so I have merely numbered them in the sequence in which they now occur.
2. For information on the Ramston family, I am grateful to Mrs. Carol Meale, of the University of York. For a brief synopsis of the history of the family, see her paper 'The Compiler at Work: John Colyns and BL MS Harley 2252' (forthcoming), note 12.

11. CAMBRIDGE, Trinity College, MS R.3.17 (597).

A. s.xv/xvi. The English romance of Partenay, with some additions.

B. Contents

*[1.] A Warning to Mistress Anne (Index 2195), front flyleaf,
masteres anne/I ame your man. . .

*2. Partenay (Index 819.5), ff.2r-124v.

[3.] A Bookplate (Index 4138), f.124v.

C. Technical description

- a. Paper; $10\frac{7}{8}$ x $7\frac{7}{8}$ ins (275 x 195 mm).
- b. iii + 123; the modern foliation starts at '2', and a pencilled note adds that the first leaf of the manuscript, containing the beginning of Partenay, is missing.
- c. 1^{12} (1 wanting), 2^{14} , 3^{12} - 7^{12} , 8^{12} (2 wanting), 9^{12} , 10^{14} ; catchwords.
- d. Partenay is copied in single columns, and framework ruling has been supplied. The other two items are copied haphazardly.
- e. Partenay is copied throughout in one hand, a mixed hand of the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century. The other two items have been added in different sixteenth-century hands.
- f. The copy of Partenay is ornamented, with the initial letter of each stanza executed in red, but neither of the added items is ornamented or decorated in any way.

D. History and provenance

Skeat and the Manual locate the dialect of Partenay in the N.E. Midlands. This ties in with some of the names and places mentioned in a fragment of legal deed stuck onto the back inside cover of the manuscript, apparently written at Sutton-on-Derwent in Yorkshire in 1486 and concerning residents and property in the parish of Elvington, near York. The name of the late John Lancaster is decipherable - perhaps John Lancaster, merchant of York, who was the father of Nicholas Lancaster (1440-1501), lawyer, alderman of York, and town clerk from 1476-80¹. The signature of 'Thomas Stapilton' on f.124v may also have some Yorkshire

connection: a Thomas Stapilton is recorded as one of the tenants of John Suthill, who owned land around York, in 1495, and appears again amongst a group of men receiving the seisin of the manor of Liversedge, near Pontefract, from John Neville, in 1503². The Stapletons of Carlton in Yorkshire were a prominent family, and it is possible that Thomas Stapilton was in some way related to them³. Another signature appears on f.124v, that of 'John boss well kort' (or 'kors'), apparently in the hand of the bookplate (item 3), but I am unable to suggest any identity for this figure. Later inscriptions in the manuscript record its possession by Richard St. George, Norroy (and later Clarenceux) King-at-Arms (d.1635), and by Beaupr e Bell (1704-1745), who presented it to the library of Trinity College⁴.

The love-lyric, copied in an unidentifiable hand, must have been added by some owner or reader of the manuscript. It was thought for many years to have been written by Skelton, on the grounds that the 'mastres Anne' to whom it is addressed recalls the 'fayre maistres Anne' of The Garland of Laurel, line 1241, and was associated with a hypothetical cycle of 'mastres Anne' poems⁵. The evidence for ascribing it to Skelton seems to me very flimsy, however. This is the unique copy, and the many corrections and false starts in it suggest that it is probably a holograph, more on the lines of Humfrey Newton's amateur autograph love-poems⁶. The hand which copies it is certainly not that of Skelton, as it appears in the known autographs⁷.

E. Bibliography

- James, Cat. Trinity MSS ii pp.66-67;
Ivy, Thesis p.257;
Skeat, EETS o.s.22 pp.v-viii;
Manual i pp.165, 323-24.

Notes

1. Wedgwood, History of Parliament p.524.
2. CIPM i Henry VII no.1145, ii Henry VII no.672.
3. Wedgwood, History of Parliament p.804.
4. DNB i pp.126-27; iv p.153.
5. See Brie, Eng.Studien 37, and Lloyd, RES 5.
6. See below pp. 397-402.
7. For Skelton's autograph, see Petti, English Bookhands p.65.

12. CAMBRIDGE, Trinity College, MS R.3.19 (599).

A. s.xv ex.; anthology of English verse and prose.

B. Contents (arranged according to the present foliation of the MS; original foliation of the separate booklets is supplied in parentheses. See Tech. Descr. C.).

*1. A Christmas pageant (Index 3807), f.1r-v.

*2. To his mistress (Index 2384.8), f.2r-v,

O beauteous braunche floure of formosyte. . .

AMEN

*3. On women's chastity (Index 1592), ff.2v-3r,

Made up of extracts from Lydgate's Fall of Princes, iv 2374-87, iii 1373-1421, iii 78-84. See Edwards, The Library, 5th series 26.

*4. A plea to lovers for sympathy (Index 2588.5), f.3v,

[O] ye all that ben or haue byn in dyssease. . .

*5. A lover's plea (Index 190.5), ff.3v-4r,

[A]ll lust and lykyng I begyn to lede. . .

*6. A dedicatory epistle to his mistress (Index 2478.5),

beg. ff.4r-6v,

[O] lady myne to whom thys boke I sende. . .

EXPLICIT.

- *7. A lover's envoy to his sovereign lady (Index 928.5), ff.7r-9r (154r), leading into My lefe ys faren in lond (Index 2254),
 [G]o lytyl boke for dredefull ys thy message. . .
 EXPLICIT
 pr. Fletcher, Thesis.
8. Lydgate, The churl and the bird (Index 2784), ff.9r-11v, (32r-34v).
9. Lydgate, Aesop's Fables, lines 1-546; see Stow's continuation, after item 44; (Index 4178), ff.12r-16r (35r-39r).
10. Chaucer, The Parliament of Fowls (Index 3412), ff.17r-25r, (1r-9r).
11. Balade in praise of Chaucer (Index 2128), f.25r (f.9r).
12. The tale of Guiscardo and Ghismonda (Index 3258), ff.26r-40v, (1r-15v).
13. George Ashby, Prisoner's lament (Index 437), ff.41r-45v, (16r-20v).
14. On the seasons, lines 1296-1491 from Lydgate and Burgh's Secrees of old philisoffres (Index 935), ff.49r-52r (1r-4r).
15. The four complexions (Index 2624), ff.52v-53r (4v-5r)
16. The assembly of ladies (Index 1528), ff.55r-65v (1r-11v).
17. The assembly of gods (Index 4005), ff.67v-97v (1v-31v).
18. Alain Chartier, tr. Sir Richard Roos, La belle dame sans Merci (Index 1086), ff.98r-108v (1r-11v).
19. The ten commandments of love (Index 590), ff.109r-110r (12r-13r),
 [C]ertes fer extendeth yet my Reason. . .
 EXPLICIT THE X COMMAUNDMENTES/OF LOVE.
- *20. The nine ladies worthy (Index 2767), ff.110v-111r (12v-14r).
21. Chaucer, The legends of good women (Index 100), ff.114r-150v (1r-37v).
22. Chaucer, The complaint unto pity (Index 2756), ff.151r-152v, (38r-39v),
 [HOW PYTE IS DEDE &c. GEOFF:CHAUCER]
 [P]yte that I haue sought so yore ago. . .
 HERE ENDETH THE EXCLAMACIONE/OF THE DEPTH OF PYTE.
23. The craft of lovers (Index 3761), ff.154v-156r (9v-11r).
- *24. Balade against hypocritical women (Index 2661), f.156v (f.11v).
- *25. A heartless mistress (Index 2311), ff.157r-v (12r-v),
 [N]ow fresshe floure to me that ys so bryght. . .
 LOTHETO OFFENDE.

26. Lydgate, Bicorn and Chichevache (Index 2541), ff.157v-159r
(12v - 14r).
- *27. A letter to his heart's sovereign (Index 1238), f.159v (f.14v),
[H]onour and joy helth and prosperyte. . .
EXPLICIT &c.
- *28. Virelai: the lover's lament (Index 267), f.160r (f.*14r),
[CHAUCER]
[A]lone walkyng. . .
EXPLICIT &c.
also pr. Davies, Medieval English Lyrics pp.255-56;
Silverstein, Medieval English Lyrics pp.149-50.
- *29. Ballade in praise of Margaret the daisy (Index 1562),
f.160r (f.*14r),
[CHAUCER]
[I]n the season of ffeuere when hit was full colde. . .
EXPLICIT
- *30. An epistle to his mistress (Index 1838), f.160v (f.*14v),
[CHAUCER]
[L]ady of pite for py sorowes þat þu haddest. . .
EXPLICIT
- *31. O merciful and O merciabile (Index 2510), f.161r-v (15r-v),
[CHAUCER]
[O] merciful and o mercyable. . .
EXPLICIT
32. The judgment of Paris (Index 3197), f.161v (f.15v).
33. Lydgate, Testament, parts II-IV (Lines 241-753) (Index 2464),
ff.162r-169r (16r-23r).
34. Extracts from Lydgate's Fall of Princes (Index 4231, 3983),
ff.170v-202r (1v-33r), and Chaucer's Monk's Tale, see Edwards,
Library, 5th ser.26.
35. The describing of a fair lady (Index 1300), f.205r-v (1r-v).
- *36. O mossie quince (Index 2524), ff.205v-206r (1v-2r).
37. Lydgate, Horns Away (Index 2625), ff.206r-207r (2r-3r).
38. Balade: beware of deceitful women (Index 1944), f.207r-v (3r-v).
- *39. Pilgrim's song (Index 2148), f.208r-v (4r-v).
- *40. Advice against extravagant living (Index 1172.5), f.208v (4v).

41. Lydgate, They that no while endure (Index 55), f.209r-v (5r-v).
42. The wise man's advice to his son (Index 3502), ff.209v-211r (5v-7r).
43. How the good wife taught her daughter (Index 671), ff.211r-213r (7r-9r).
- *44. The court of love (Index 4205), ff.218r-235r (2r-18r).
- [9b.] Continuation of Aesop's Fables (see item 10), ff.236r-239v (19r-22v).
45. Piers of Fulham (Index 71), ff.240r-244v (1r-5v).
46. The pedigree of England (English prose), ff.247r-251r (2r-6r),
 [T]HIS SHORT TRETISE YS COMPILED FOR TO BRYNG THE/PEOPLE
 OUT OF DOUBTE. . .
 [I]n the first it is to be considered. . .
 pr. Fletcher, Thesis pp.231-48; cf. Harley 2252, item 30.

C. Technical Description.

- a. Paper; 10½ x 8 ins (265 x 200mm).
- b. ff. ii + 255 + i. Modern ink foliation; at present, the leaves are misbound: ff.154-69 belong after f.8; ff.67-97 should follow f.169 and precede f.9*. An early hand, contemporary with the copying of the manuscript, has also foliated individually each separate booklet in the manuscript, inserting arabic numerals in the bottom left-hand corners of the rectos¹.
- c. The collation, with the system of catchwords and details of the original foliation, is best expressed in the form of a chart, as follows. There are no surviving leaf signatures.

<u>Booklet</u>	<u>Modern foliation</u>	<u>Old foliation</u>	<u>Gathering</u>	<u>Catchwords</u>
I	1-8	1-8	1 ⁸	-
	154-161	9-15 (14 twice)	2 ⁸	-
	162-169	16-23	3 ⁸	-

<u>Booklet</u>	<u>Modern foliation</u>	<u>Old foliation</u>	<u>Gathering</u>	<u>Catchwords</u>
II	67-73	1-7	4 ⁸ (6 canc.)	c/w 73v
	74-81	8-15	5 ⁸	c/w 81v
	82-89	16-23	6 ⁸	c/w 89v
	90-97	24-31	7 ⁸	-
	9-16	32-39	8 ⁸	-
III	17-25	1-9	9 ¹⁰ (1 canc.)	c/w 25v
IV	26-33	1-8	10 ⁸	c/w 33v
	34-41	9-16	11 ⁸	c/w 41v
	42-48	17-23	12 ⁸ (6 canc.)	-
V	49-54	1-6	13 ⁶	-
VI	55-66	1-12	14 ¹²	-
VII	98-105	1-8	15 ⁸	c/w 105v
	106-113	9-16	16 ⁸	-
VIII	114-121	1-8	17 ⁸	c/w 121v
	122-129	9-16	18 ⁸	c/w 129v
	130-137	17-24	19 ⁸	c/w 137v
	138-145	25-32	20 ⁸	c/w 145v
	146-153	33-40	21 ⁸	-
IX	170-179	1-10	22 ¹⁰	c/w 178v, 179v
	180-188	11-19	23 ¹⁰ (1 canc.)	c/w 187v, 188v
	189-196	20-27	24 ⁸	c/w 196v
	197-204	28-35	25 ⁸	-
X	205-212	1-8	26 ⁸	c/w 212v
	213, 214, 216, 217	9, 10 13, 14	27 ⁶ (3, 4 wanting)	-
XI	218-225	1-8	28 ⁸	-
	226-233	9-16	29 ⁸	-
	234-240	17-23	30 ⁸ (1 canc.)	-
XII	241-247	1-6	31 ⁸ (7 canc.)	-
XIII	248-255	2-9	32 ¹⁰ (1 wanting; 10 canc.)	-

d. The texts are copied in both single and double columns of anything between 2⁸ and 4⁸ lines. Margins have been supplied, but the size of the written space varies considerably according to the number of columns used and the nature of the text being copied.

- e. One main scribe, A, writing a neat secretary script and using a fere-textura for headings, has copied most of the items in the manuscript. Three other contemporary hands, B, C, and D, have been responsible for some items. The hand of John Stow, S, has concluded the copying of item 9, Aesop's Fables. The distribution of hands throughout the booklets is as follows: booklets I-IV, A; booklet V, B; booklets VI-X, A; booklet XI, C from ff.218r-235r and S from ff.236r-237r; booklet XII, D; booklet XIII, C.

Scribe A also copied Trinity College MS R.3.21 (601), working with one scribe associated with the so-called 'Hammond Group' of manuscripts, and with one other. It has been suggested that all three of these scribes were in some way connected with John Shirley's 'workshop' after his death. The early foliation in MS R.3.19 has been supplied by one hand throughout, according to B.Y. Fletcher the same hand that foliated most of MS R.3.21. It appears that scribe C was also responsible for copying St. John's College, Oxford MS 256, Lydgate's Siege of Thebes².

- f. Some decoration was planned, but never completed; only guide-letters remain for the projected capitals.
- g. The manuscript is enclosed within an early seventeenth-century brown-calf binding, stamped with the arms of George Wilmer of West Ham, Essex (matriculated at Trinity in 1598, d.1626), who gave it, along with other manuscripts including R.3.20 (600) and R.3.21, to the college library.

D. History and Provenance

The manuscript is particularly interesting as an example of 'booklet' construction³. The contents are divided up as follows:

- I A Christmas pageant (Item 1)
To his mistress (2)
On women's chastity (3)
A plea to lovers for sympathy (4)
A lover's plea (5)

- An epistle to his mistress (6)
A lover's envoy to his sovereign lady (7)
The craft of lovers (23)
Balade against hypocritical women (24)
A heartless mistress (25)
Bicorne and Chichevache (26)
A letter to his heart's sovereign (27)
Virelai: the lover's lament (28)
Ballade in praise of Margaret the daisy (29)
An epistle to his mistress (30)
O merciful and O merciabile (31)
The judgment of Paris (32)
Lygate's Testament (33)
- II The assembly of gods (17)
The churl and the bird (8)
Aesop's Fables (9a)
- III The parliament of fowls (10)
Balade in praise of Chaucer (11)
- IV Guiscardo and Ghismonda (12)
Ashby's prisoner's lament (13)
- V Secrees of old philisoffres (14)
On the four complexions (15)
- VI The assembly of ladies (16)
- VII La belle dame sans merci (18)
The ten commandments of love (19)
The nine ladies worthy (20)
- VIII The legend of good women (21)
The complaint unto pity (22)
- IX Extracts from The Fall of Princes (34)
- X The describing of a fair lady (35)
O mossy quince (36)
Horns away (37)
Balade: beware of deceitful women (38)
Pilgrims' song (39)

Advice against extravagant living (40)
They that no while endure (41)
The wise man's advice to his son (42)
How the goodwife taught her daughter (43)

XI The court of love (44)
[Continuation of Aesop (9b)]

XII Piers of Fulham (45)

XIII The pedigree of England (46)

The courtly love lyrics (and their antidotes) cluster in booklets I and X, both copied by the main scribe A. These two booklets are among the densest of such collections to survive from the later fifteenth century, and the manuscript as a whole is of particular relevance to a discussion of the context of such poems. Also unusual is what B.Y. Fletcher describes as the pronounced 'secular bias' of the whole collection - it is very different from its sister-manuscript R.3.21, for example, whose contents are wholly moral and religious.

Opinions as to the date of the collection differ widely. The Manual suggests 1500-1525⁴, B.Y. Fletcher prefers an earlier date of between c.1478 and 1483. The evidence for this earlier date is, I think, fairly strong. The extract from Chaucer's Monk's Tale included in item 34 seems to have been copied from Caxton's print of c.1478⁵, and so cannot precede this date; on the other hand, the Pedigree, item 46, is concerned with justifying Edward IV's claim to the English crown, and would presumably have been of most topical interest during his reign, so the copy was probably made some time before his death in 1483. One of the most significant results of B.Y. Fletcher's work on the manuscript has been his establishment of an earlier date than is usually given for The Court of Love, item 44. Booklet XI, which originally contained only this poem, was copied by scribe C; C was also responsible for the copying of Lydgate's Siege of Thebes in St. John's College, Oxford, MS 256, so the date of the copying of The Court of Love is brought into line with this - late fifteenth century. W.W. Greg

had speculated on a similarly early date for the poem in an article published in 1913⁶, but most scholars in this century have been unaware of, or have chosen to ignore, his argument.

There is no clear evidence within the manuscript to indicate its provenance. The possible connection with a workshop having access to John Shirley's manuscripts has been remarked, but there is no more specific information about possible early owners. Manly and Rickert read a dry-point scribble on f.240v as 'thom rych', and drew a connection with a wealthy London citizen of this name who died in 1474, but this date seems rather early (especially in view of the Caxton source for the Monk's Tale extract), and even Manly and Rickert themselves felt 'rather doubtful' about the identification. Perhaps the idea of a London provenance is not so far off the mark, though. The apparent association with Shirley's manuscripts (and other Shirley-based collections) would support it, as would the inclusion of a poem like Piers of Fulham (item 45), with its localized references. Further support for a London connection comes from the fact that the manuscript passed into the hands of John Stow, whose use of it in compiling the additions to his 1561 edition of Chaucer's works has become notorious. Many of the extant manuscripts which belonged to Stow seem to share a similar London background⁷. Stow used the manuscript (or lent it to the printer) as copy-text for 14 items which appeared in the 1561 Chaucer;

Balade in praise of Chaucer (11)

The craft of lovers (23)

The ten commandments of love (19)

Balade: against hypocritical women (24)

The nine ladies worthy (20)

Virelai: the lover's lament (28)

Balade in praise of Margaret the daisy (29)

O merciful and O merciabile (31)

The judgment of Paris (32)

The describing of a fair lady (35)

O mossie quince (36)

Balade: beware of deceitful women (38)

On women's chastity (3)

The court of love (44).

All of the items were included in subsequent editions of Chaucer, and only very gradually removed from the canon⁸.

From Stow, the manuscript passed by unknown channels into the possession of George Willmer (d. 1626). He gave it to the library of his old college along with a number of other volumes.

E. Bibliography

Manly & Rickert, Canterbury Tales i pp.532-34;

James, Cat. Trinity MSS ii pp.69-74;

Ivy, Thesis pp.258-66.

Fletcher, Thesis.

Notes

1. Much valuable information on the ordering of the leaves and the collation of the manuscript is included in Fletcher, Thesis, to which I am indebted in this description.
2. For information on scribes, see Fletcher, Thesis.
3. Booklet construction in manuscripts is described in Robinson, Codicologica 3, and Anglo-Saxon England 7.
4. Manual iv p.1287.
5. Manly & Rickert, Canterbury Tales i p.533.
6. Greg, MLR 8; 'These last sections are foliated (separately) in the same hand as the rest of the volume. . . this hand is pretty certainly fifteenth century. . . the sections were demonstrably not bound in blank. It follows that the contents were written before 1500. . . The Court of Love cannot belong to the circle of poets represented by Tottel's Miscellany, as Skeat suggested'.

7. Kingsford, Stow's Survey i p.xciii; see also below description of BL MS Addit.34360.
8. See Edwards and Hedley, SB 28; Fletcher, SB 31; Robbins, Manual.

13. CAMBRIDGE, Trinity College Library MS R.4.20 (652).

A. s. xv; Mandeville's Travels, in English, and Lydgate's Siege of Thebes (both s.xv¹), with some additions of s.xv².

B. Contents

1. Mandeville's Travels (English prose; subgroup 'C' of the 'defective' text¹), ff.1r-87r,
 Forasmych as the londe ouer the see/that is to sey the
 hooli londe. . .
 As Bramont, Mandeville.
- [2.] A Love Letter (English prose), ff.87v-88r,
 Alas swet hart I am yowre pore/servant. . .
 Pr. James, Cat. Trinity MSS. ii pp.248-9.
3. Lydgate, The Siege of Thebes (Index 3928), ff.89r-169r.
- [*4.] Of Christ and His Mother (Index 3297), f.169v.
- [*5.] A Lover's Good Fortune (Index 2440), f.170r,
 O gentyll fortune I thanke yowe i wys. . .
- [6.] God's Supreme Power (not recorded by Index), f.170r,
 God is onely good and full of the same. . .
- [*7.] A Song of the Blessed Virgin (Index 1310), f.170v.
- [8.] Counsels from a Father and Mother (Index 3196), f.171r.
- [*9.] On the Death of Archbishop Scrope (Index 3308), f.171r.
- [10.] The Tongue stanzas, from Chaucer's Troilus and Criseyde,
 bk. III, lines 302-33 (Index 3327), f.171v; cf. Index 3535, in
 CUL MS ff.1.6, which includes these same stanzas with three from
 Lydgate's Fall of Princes i, 4621-41.
11. Ave Regina Celorum, stanza 1 (Index 1032), f.172r.

C. Technical Description

- a. Parchment; 10 x 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ ins (255 x 185 mm). f.172 is partly torn away.
- b. iii + 172 + iii; modern pencil foliation.
- c. 1⁸ - 12⁸, 13⁸(wants 4,5), 14⁸(wants 4,5), 15⁸ - 21⁸, 22⁸(8 damaged). There are catchwords at the ends of all the gatherings except for 11 and 22 (the last one); leaf signatures, starting with the first gathering as 'a', are visible.
- d. The main texts are set out in single columns of 28 lines. Some pricking remains, and frames and lines have been ruled, except on those leaves which contain added items. The written space of the main texts measure 7 x 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ ins (180 x 120mm).
- e. One scribe, A, writing an anglicana formata script, copied items 1 and 3, on ff.1r-87r and 89r-169r. A second scribe, B, writing a cursive anglicana script, seemingly at a later date, copied items 4-11, presumably filling up the blank leaves which remained at the end of the manuscript. A sixteenth-century informal hand added item 2, the Love Letter, in the space remaining at the end of the last gathering of Mandeville's Travels.
- f. Items 1 and 3 are decorated. ff.1r, 89r and 92r (containing the openings of Mandeville's Travels, the prologue to the Siege of Thebes, and The Siege of Thebes itself) have decorated borders. The border of f.1r includes an unidentified and partially erased coat of arms. Major initials in these texts are historiated. None of the added items is decorated in any way.

D. History and Provenance

The manuscript is copied in two distinct parts, ff.1-88 and ff.89-172, but the leaf signatures are continuous throughout both

sections, so the two may have been designed from the outset to form a whole. The earliest owner, possibly the commissioner of the manuscript, whose arms appear on f.1r, has not been identified. Many names, of the late fifteenth century and onwards, are written in the volume:

ff.41r, 56v, 'Edmonde pyke of london. . . 1569';
f.80r, 'Thoms Gybbyns (or Gyllyns?) of london. . . 1570';
f.87r, 'This boke is John Hyde is boke' (s.xvi);
f.96r, 'Robert Wilford', f.170r, 'Parnell Wilford' (s.xvi);
f.119v, 'Francis Curtes' (also notes on the Curtys family on f.152v);
f.141r, 'Richard Crumpe grocer in newgate market at the syne/of the griffin in the viijth of marche a^o 1571';
f.169r, 'Sire Thomas Potter preste ys the honore of me' (s.xv/s.xvi?).
f.172r, 'Rowland Kenston', 'Jhon Kenston' (s.xvi).

Some of these indicate that the manuscript must have been in London at least in the mid-sixteenth century. It was presented to Trinity in 1663 by a fellow, Dr. Crane.

E. Bibliography

James, Cat. Trinity MSS. ii pp.147-49;
Erdmann & Ekwall, The Siege of Thebes, EETS e.s.125 pp.57-8;
Greene, Early English Carols pp.344-45;
Ivy, Thesis, pp.191-205.
Seymour, TEBS 4.

Notes

1. This text is no.52 in the classification made by Seymour, EETS o.s.269 pp193-97.

*14. CAMBRIDGE, University Library, MS Addit.2750.

A fragment, dated '? late XVc.' (Stevens, Music and Poetry p.463), containing some snatches of a song, beginning 'The suyt. . . causeth pleasaunce. . .' (recorded in Supplement entry 3461.5 as 'The sigh. . .ysse').

15. CAMBRIDGE, University Library, MS Ff1.6 ('The Findern MS').

A commonplace book, put together in the second half of the fifteenth century and the first half of the sixteenth, by around 31 hands. The manuscript is fully described, and the contents listed, in the recent facsimile edition, (Beadle & Owen, Findern MS¹). Names and signatures copied into the collection suggest its association with the Findern family of Derbyshire. R.H. Robbins maintains that the contents were copied in by a mixture of itinerant scribes and female members of the Findern family²; Beadle and Owen discuss this possibility, but do not commit themselves to it. There is certainly some variation in the nature of the copy - Sir Degrevaunt, for instance, is written in double columns, with running titles, onto leaves which have been pricked and ruled, while most of the shorter pieces (and especially the lyrics) are scribbled in haphazardly - but no single explanation for this seems entirely satisfactory.

The following lyrics appear:

1. Chaucer, The Complaint unto Pity (Index 2756), ff.15r-17r;
Pitee that I have soght so yere ago. . .
2. A Lover's Plaint (Index 402), ff.17r-18v; As oft as syghes
ben in herte trewe. . .
3. To His Mistress (Index 828), ff.19r-19v; for lac of sight
gret cause I have to pleyne. . .
- *4. A Lover's Plaint (Index 1331), f.20r; I may well sygh for
grevous ys my payne. . .
- *5. To His Mistress (Index 4059), f.20v,
Where y have chosyn stedefast woll y be. . .
- *6. To His Mistress, possibly an envoy to 5 (Index 4241.5), f.20v.
Ye are to blame to sette yowre hert so sore. . .
- *7. To His Mistress (Index 383), f.28v,
As in yow restyth my joy and comfort. . .
- *8. Feigned Love (Index 3917), f.56r,
What so men seyn. . .
also pr. Davies, Medieval Lyrics pp.237-38; Silverstein,
Medieval Lyrics p.154.

9. Chaucer, The Complaint of Anelida (Index 3670), ff.61r-63v,
So thirlyd with the poynt of remembraunce. . .
10. Chaucer, The Complaint of Venus (Index 3542), ff.68r-69v,
There nys so high comfort to my pleasaunce. . .
- *11. A Love Song (Index 2279), f.69v,
My wooful hert this clad in payn. . .
- *12. A Love Cycle (Index 3878), ff.135r-136v,
Welcome be ye my soverayne. . .
- *13. A Lover's Complaint (Index 3179), ff.136v-137r,
Some tyme y loved as ye may see. . .
also pr. Greene, Early English Carols pp.269-70.
- *14. Desire to Serve his Mistress (Index 3125), f.137r,
Sith fortune hath me set thus in this wyse. . .
15. A Pledge of Loyalty to his Mistress (Index 2381), f.137v,
Now wold I fayne sum myrthis make. . .
- *16. The Distressed Lover (Index 139), ff.137v-138r,
Alas alas and alas why. . .
- *17. The Vicissitudes of Love (Index 159), f.138v,
Alas alas what planet was y born undir. . .
also pr. Stemmler, Love Lyrics p.102.
- *18. A Lover's Plaint (Index 657), ff.138v-139r,
Continuance/Of remembrance. . .
- *19. The Delivered Lover (Index 3180), f.139v,
Som tyme y lovid so do y yut . . .
also pr. Greene, Early English Carols p.288.
- *20. A Love Song (Index 853), ff.143v-144r,
For to prevent. . .
- *21. A Complaint for Lack of Mercy (Index 1017), ff.152v-153r,
Grettere mater of dol and hevynesse. . .
- *22. On the Cruelties of His Mistress (Index 3613), f.153r,
This is no lyf alas that y do lede. . .
- *23. A Complaint against His Mistress (Index 2277.8), f.153r-153v,
My whofull herte plunged yn hevynesse. . .
- *24. The Faithfull Lover (Index 734), f.153v,
Ever yn one with my dew attendaunce. . .
- *25. A Petition to His Mistress (Index 4272.5), ff.153v-154r,
yit wulde I nat the causer faryd a-mysse. . .

- *26. A Ballade, Protesting Devotion (Index 3849), f.154r,
 Veryly/And truly. . .
- *27. To his Mistress (Index 380), f.154v,
 As in my remembrauns non but ye alone. . .

Notes

1. See also Keiser, TCBS 7.
2. Robbins, PMLA 69.

16. CAMBRIDGE, University Library, MS Gg.4.12.

A. 1461-64; John Capgrave's Chronicle of England, with some later additions.

B. Contents

1. Capgrave, The Chronicle of England (English prose), with a dedicatory prologue to Edward IV, ff.1v-104v; pr. Hingeston, Capgrave's Chronicle.
- [2.] Verses on the Popes (Latin, Walther, 19420), f.105r
- [3.] Notes on the History of the World (Latin prose), f.105v.
- [4.] Medical recipe (English prose), f.106r.
- [5.] French proverbs, f.106r, 'Nulle pleasure saunce payne. . .'
- [6.] Latin couplet, with English translation (not listed by Walther), f.106r. Michill habes in bursa mea numquam aurum. . .
- [7.] Extract from Chaucer, Troilus and Criseyde i, 400-406, the 'canticus Troili' (Index 1422.1), f.106v,
 Propter pulchritudinem mulieris/multi perierunt
 If Love be not o lorde what fele I so. . .
- [#8.] When Women Will Reform (Index 3946), f.106v.
- [#9.] Praise of Contentment with Little (Index 1218), f.106v.
- [#10.] On Desire (Index 4133), f.106v.

C. Technical description

- a. Parchment; $12\frac{1}{4} \times 8\frac{1}{2}$ ins (310 x 215mm).
- b. i + 106 + i. Modern pencil foliation, and an old ink pagination system which begins on present f.3r.
- c. $1^2, 2^8 - 14^8$; some catchwords (e.g. ff.10v, 26v). No leaf signatures visible.
- d. The main text has been copied in double columns of 42 lines, and margins and ruling have been supplied. The written space measures $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$ ins (225 x 145mm). The lyrics and other scraps at the end have been added haphazardly.
- e. The Chronicle has been copied throughout by one scribe, writing an uneven but clear anglicana formata. It seems probable that the scribe was Capgrave himself, although this view has been challenged¹. A sixteenth-century hand has added many notes to the main text; this seems to be the hand which has copied in the additions (items 2-10) at the end.
- f. The Chronicle is decorated, with a large initial and border on f.1v, and rubrication and flourishing throughout. The additions are not decorated in any way.

D. History and provenance

Capgrave died in 1464; his dedicatory prologue to Edward IV must have been added to the Chronicle after Edward's accession in 1461, so if Capgrave was the scribe, the manuscript was copied between these two dates. As the dedication is copied on a separate bifolium, it may have been something of an afterthought, appended after the completion of the rest of the material. The lack of a presentation miniature has suggested to some scholars that this was not destined to be a presentation copy for Edward -

there are certainly no marks of his ownership in it - and nothing is known of its later fifteenth-century history. A signature at the end, on f.106v, 'John Campynell', may be that of the sixteenth-century annotator and scribe of the lyrics and other scraps. The Troilus extract here is interestingly sandwiched between much anti-feminist material, recalling its status as a 'warning lyric' in the Disce Mori rather than its role in the literature of courtly love². Nothing more is known of the manuscript until its appearance in Bishop Moore's library; on his death it passed to Cambridge.

E. Bibliography

Hingeston, Capgrave's Chronicle pp.xxv-xxix.

CUL Cat. MSS iii p.152.

Notes

1. See Lucas, TCBS 5, who supports the argument for Capgrave as scribe; Colledge, TCBS 6 refutes it.
2. Apart from its presence in CUL MS Gg.4.12, the extract appears in the Bannatyne MS (NLS Adv. MS 1.1.6) and in Huntingdon MS EL. 26.A.13 (De Ricci, Census i pp. 131-32; see Hanna, PBSA 74); it also appears, embedded in the Disce Mori (a treatise for women religious) in Jesus College, Oxford, MS 39 (s.xv^{med}), and in Bodl. MS Laud misc. 99 (c.1500). For the history of the extract, and of its connection with Petrarch's Sonnet, see Wilkins, ELH 16, and Thomson, Comp.Lit.11. For the context in the Disce Mori, see Wager, MLR 34, and Patterson, Speculum 54.

17. CAMBRIDGE, University Library, MS Kk.1.5.

s.xv/a.xvi. A composite manuscript, in eight different parts (I - IV, and VIII bound up together; V, VI and VII bound individually); for descriptions, see CUL Cat. MSS .iii pp.558-63, and Lumby, EETS o.s.43, pp.i-viii¹. Section VIII is part of a paper manuscript containing extracts from Scottish law². The leaves are currently disordered, but there are 36 of them, measuring 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 8 ins.

(270 x 205mm); some are torn and stained. The extracts are copied in two fifteenth-century hands. On f.180r, the recto of a blank leaf at the beginning of the section, a sixteenth-century hand has copied the following lyric, fragmentary because the edge of the leaf has been trimmed:

* Lovers' Parting (Index 120.7),

Adeu der hart be man depart. . . (with heading: 'My luf mornis for me for me my luf mornis for me', cf.2261.4 and 2261.2).

pr. Stevenson, Lancelot of Laik p.xix.

Notes

1. For a description of parts VI and VII (interesting because of the possible connection of their scribe with Bodl.MS Arch. Selden B.24), see Guddat-Figge, Catalogue pp.103-105.
2. The lyric is found in section VIII, f.180r, not section VII f.179v, as stated in the Index.

18. CAMBRIDGE, University Library, MS Kk.6.30.

A collection of alchemical and medical notes (listed in full in Singer & Anderson, Alchemical MSS), in English and Latin, copied in several hands during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Part of the manuscript was copied by or for 'John Frynge' (f.33v), rector of 'Wysenton'. At the end of the collection, on f.129r, is jotted the first line of a courtly song, Free lusti fresch most goodly (Index 865.5) with one stave of music (see Stevens, Music and Poetry p.438). The other items of English verse in the manuscript are a fragment from George Ripley's Compound of Alchemy (Index 595) and a stanza On Women's Faithlessness (Index 1356; not printed, see Appendix I p.452). The manuscript is described in CUL Cat. MSS iii pp.726-27.

19. CANTERBURY, Cathedral Library, Christchurch Letters, vol.ii,no.174.

The Christchurch Letters are modern volumes into which scraps and fragments from older manuscripts have been pasted. The fragment in volume ii which is now numbered 174 was originally classified as MS S.B.b.185 (see the description in HMC 5th Report, appendix, p.458), and Greene, Early English Carols pp.328-29). It is a single paper leaf, measuring $8\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$ ins (215 x 155mm), slightly torn at the top, and dated in a modern hand 'c.1500'; the following carol is copied onto it:

- * Of Two Loving Hearts (Index 3271),
for [wele or w]oo¹ I wyll not fle
to love þat hart þat lovyth me
That hart my hart hath in suche grace. . .
pr. HMC 5th Report, appendix p.458; Greene, Early English Carols, p.271.

Notes

1. Greene's emendation.

20. DURHAM, University Library, MS Cosin V.II.13.

- A. s.xv². English poems by Chaucer, Hoccleve etc., with some added items.

B. Contents

- [*1.] On the impossibility of relief in love (Index 3941.5), twice on f.2r (slightly different versions), and once on f.115r,
Whan euery woo hathe easse. . .
not published; see Appendix I p.457.
[*2.] A nonsense poem (Index 3306.3), ff.3r and 2v, only partly legible.

3. Chaucer, Troilus and Criseyde (Index 3327), ff.4r-105v, with a gap in Bk.I,231-384.
4. Hoccleve, The Letter of Cupid (Index 666), ff.106r-112v.
- *5. To his mistress, on the impossibility of ceasing to love (Index 2297), ff.112v-113r,
 Not long a goo purposyd I and thought. . .
 EXPLICIT
 not published; see Appendix I pp.452-53.

C. Technical description

- a. Parchment; $10\frac{3}{4}$ x $6\frac{3}{4}$ ins (275 x 170mm).
- b. iii + 114 + ii; modern pencil foliation, 1-115, includes the two end flyleaves and omits to number the twenty-first leaf, which is now f.20^x.
- c. 1^8 (4,5 wanting), $2^8 - 12^8$, 13^9 (8 + 1 singleton), 14^8 .
 Catchwords and leaf signatures ('a' to 'o').
- d. Items 3 to 5 are copied in single columns of around 35-39 lines, in a written space which measures $7\frac{1}{2}$ x $3\frac{3}{4}$ ins (190 x 95mm). One-line spaces are left between the stanzas in items 4 and 5, but not in item 3, where new stanzas are indicated by paraph marks. The leaves have been ruled.
- e. Items 3, 4 and 5 have been copied throughout by the same hand, a neat and angular secretary, with headings, incipits and explicits in a more formal script. R.K. Root detects another hand on f.83v, but to me the change of aspect seems only slight, and the hand still seems to be that of the main scribe. The three copies of item 1 were added by a sixteenth-century hand. Item 2 is the work of another sixteenth-century hand, very much more clumsy and untidy, and sometimes illegible.

f. Items 3 to 5 are decorated. Troilus (item 3) begins with a 3-line initial in red and blue, with decoration extending into the left-hand margin. The Letter of Cupid and the lyric begin with similarly decorated initials. New stanzas in all three poems are indicated with alternately red and blue paraph marks. The ascenders of letters in the top lines of each page are extended into decorative flourishes.

D. History and provenance

This manuscript includes one courtly love lyric which was part of the original plan and another which was a later addition. The older one, copied at the end of Hoccleve's Letter of Cupid, after Troilus, must have been used as something of a filler, but its subject-matter and tone are nonetheless complementary to the two preceding items, and give it more of the function of a postscript or an 'encore' (cf. Bodl. Rawlinson poet.163, in which another copy of Troilus is followed by To Rosemunde). The later addition is somewhat gnomic, an 'impossibility' lyric (cf. Index 3999, 'When nettuls in wynter bryng forth rosys red' etc.) which was perhaps seen as a suitable 'autograph' item.

Nothing is known of the early history of the manuscript. Some sixteenth-century inscriptions suggest that by this time it was in the possession of a London family called King (f.1r, 'R Kinge his booke'; f.113v, 'By me robert/kinge'; f.114v, 'Pawle keyne of london. . ').

E. Printed descriptions

Surtees Soc. 7 (i) pp.154-55;

Root, Troilus p.11.

21. EDINBURGH, National Library of Scotland, MS 6128.

A. s.xv^{med.} The prose Brut, with an added lyric.

B. Contents

1. The Brut, up to 1377 (English prose) beg. imperfectly f.1r,
. . . but heo and hire sustres yfere þo sayde þis Albyne
my faire/sustres ful well we knoweþ þat þe kyng oure
fader vs hath/reprouede. . .

ends f.142r.

The original first leaf is lost and has been replaced by a parchment bifolium onto which a later hand (s.xvi?) has copied the missing portion:

HERE BEGYNNETH þE CRONNYKS OF THIS LANDE ENGELONDE þAT
FIRST/WAS CALLEDE ALBYON þORUG WHOM HIT HADDE THE NAME
In þe noble Lande of Syrrie þer was a noble king and
mighty. . .

As Brie, EETS o.s.131, 136.

- [2.] Sorrow at Parting (listed in Index as 1295.8, but in fact the same as 2755.5; erroneously attributed to Skelton); f.142v,

[Petyou] sly constreynynd am I wiþ wepying eyes to morne
& pleyne. . .

Pr., with errors, Robbins, Anglia 83; as Flügel, Anglia 12.

C. Technical description

a. Parchment; 11¼ x 7½ ins (285 x 190mm).

b. ii + 142 + iii; modern pencil foliation.

c. 1⁸(1 wanting, replaced by later bifolium), 2⁸, 3⁸, 4^{two}, 5⁴,
6⁸(1 wanting), 7⁸-11⁸, 12⁸(2,3 wanting), 13⁸-19⁸, 20⁴(4 damaged,
lower part cut away). Catchwords on all gatherings except 4, 5
20. Some leaf signatures, especially on the earlier gatherings.

- d. In the Brut section, the text is set out in single columns, the written space measuring $7\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{3}{4}$ ins (190 x 125mm). Ink margins are still faintly visible, ruled in red on the first and last pages of the main text. The lyric is scribbled onto the verso of the last leaf of the Brut; because the edge and bottom of this leaf are missing it is only fragmentary.
- e. One hand has copied the whole of the main text, writing an anglicana script of the mid-fifteenth century, with a pronounced slope to the right. The lyric has been added in an informal, mixed hand, of the very late fifteenth or early sixteenth century.
- f. Rubrics and marginal decorations in red have been added to the main text, together with paragraph-marks and flourishing of the marginal decoration in blue. Initial letters of each chapter are usually in blue, two lines high, and flourished in red. The lyric is undecorated.
- g. The manuscript remains in its original binding, now preserved in a modern case.

D. History and provenance

The manuscript was bought by the National Library of Scotland in 1961. Its fifteenth-century history is obscure, and the names written in it seem to be later than its date of production. These are as follows: 'William Ambrose md' (f.44r, s.xv/xvi, possibly the hand of the lyric?); 'Edward kyng' (f.49r); 'Edward Markroye' or 'Marbroye' (f.63r); 'John Maye' (f.76v); 'John Maye Thoma.' (f.110v); 'Margary hardman' (f.131v); 'Thomas Maye' (f.136v). A note on the inside paste-down records 'A present from Mr Borthwick Jnr. of Crockston To the Honble. Faculty of Advocates', and, added, 'But never sent. JB'.

E. Bibliography

NLS Cat. of MSS, vol.iv (typescript held in library).

22. GLASGOW, University Library, MS Hunterian 230 (U.3.3.).

A. s.xv¹. The Brut, with some later additions.

B. Contents

1. The Brut, up to the reign of Henry V (English prose), ff.1r-246r; begins imperfectly,
. . .his letteris patent vnto these xxxij^{ti} kingis. . .
As Brie, EETS o.s.131, 136. The missing portion at the beginning has been copied in, onto an original parchment flyleaf, by a much later hand.
- [*2.] To his Mistress, for Pity (Index 2318), f.246v,
Now good swet hart & my nane good mestrys. . .
(from Hawes, The Pastime of Pleasure, lines 2542-48).
Preceded by a couplet, perhaps indicating a tune
(cf. Index 2535.5, in Bodl. MS Rawlinson d.913): 'O penfull
harte that lyes in travaill/And in tene luk vp merely for
sone hit schall[. . .]
- [3.] Prayer for Protection (Latin prose), f.246v,
Signum sancte crucis deffendat me a malis. . .
- [4.] Rhyming Proverbs (Index 1628.8, 106.5, 1162.9, 2056, 77 etc.),
ff.247r-248r.

C. Technical description

- a. Parchment; 11 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ ins (290 x 195mm).
- b. iv + 246 + v. Modern pencil foliation, which numbers the two original parchment flyleaves at the end as ff.247 and 248 - I maintain this foliation, to avoid confusion.
- c. 1⁸(1 wanting), 2⁸ - 30⁸ (8 cancelled). There are catchwords at the end of every gathering. Some leaf signatures remain (gathering 1= '+', 2=24=a-z, 25='+' etc.).

- d. The Brut has been copied in single columns of 33 lines, with the written space measuring around $7\frac{1}{4} \times 4\frac{3}{4}$ ins (185 x 120mm). Some pricking is visible; margins have been supplied, and lines ruled, in ink.
- e. The Brut has been copied throughout by one scribe, writing a clear and angular anglicana formata. The additions at the end of the main text are in a number of different hands, mainly belonging to the early sixteenth century¹. One of these has copied both the love lyric (item 2) and the Latin prayer (item 3); another, who signs himself 'Rychard Wyllughby', has copied the proverbs (item 4).
- f. The Brut has been rubricated and flourished in red, with blue capitals and paraph marks. The initial capital was perhaps more highly decorated, and was for this reason cut out at some stage in the history of the manuscript.

D. History and provenance

Various names have been copied into the margins: 'W Winchester' (f.109v, s.xvi/svii); 'Hugo Clark' (ff.110r, 245v, s.xvi/xvii); 'Thomas Lyth' (f.113v, s.xvi¹); 'Edward Clark' (f.113v, s.xvi/xvii); 'William Mildmay' (f.116v, s.xvi/svii); 'I am true in dyede deus messerere mey/ quod Zowche' (possibly the hand of the love-lyric and prayer, f.245v, s.xvi¹). 'Jhesu mercy quod Zowche', 'Be meke and jentyll/And have all at thy wyll quod Zowche'. (f.246r). Both the Zouch and the Willoughby families were prominent in the early sixteenth century, the latter especially known as book and manuscript owners. Margaret, the sister of Sir John Willoughby of Wollaton (1481-1548), married Sir John Zouch. One of her uncles was a Richard Willoughby (d.1528), who may well have been the scribe of the proverbs in this manuscript. The exact identity of the Zouch who wrote in the volume is not clear, but it was presumably an acquaintance, or a relation, of the Willoughby scribe, and the manuscript was probably in the possession of one or other family². The earlier history of the manuscript is unknown.

The 'Thoms Lyth' who wrote in it was perhaps Thomas Lyte the genealogist (1568?-1638), a friend of William Camden and of James I, whose historical interests may have led him to this copy of the chronicles of England³.

E. Bibliography

Young & Aitken, Hunterian MSS pp.174-75.

Notes

1. A note in the University Library's own copy of the Hunterian Catalogue records Dr. A.I. Doyle's opinion (expressed in correspondence) that the two main hands in the additions date from the 'early sixteenth century'.
2. For information on the Zouch and Willoughby families I am grateful to Miss Kate Harris, of New Hall, Cambridge.
3. DNB xxxiv, pp.366-67.

*23. KIRKLEES METROPOLITAN COUNCIL RECORD OFFICE, Ramsden Estate and Family Papers, series 5, no.30.

This is a rental and commonplace book belonging to the Ramsden estate, and contains a copy, made in the second half of the sixteenth century, of the following lyric:

Morning my hart doithe sore opres (Index 2195.5/2224.5) with music for 3 parts, as Reed, Anglia 33.

*24. LINCOLN, Cathedral Library, MS 133.

s.xv. A collection of sermons and treatises in English and Latin; for a description, see Woolley, Lincoln MSS pp.94-96. On a flyleaf at the end is the following lyric, added in a late fifteenth-century hand:

* The Lover's Lament (Index 1305), f.122v,
I have grete marvell off a bryd. . .

25. LONDON, British Library, MS Addit.5465: 'The Fayrfax Manuscript'.

c. 1500; a collection of English carols and songs, religious and secular, all with music. Owned by Dr. Robert Fa[~]yrfax (d.1529), organist and Gentleman of the Chapel Royal .

The complete manuscript, including music, is edited by Stevens, Mus.Brit. 36; textsalone are given by the same author in Music and Poetry, pp.351-85. See also Fallows, Mus.Times 117. The following courtly love songs are included:

- *1. A amy herte I knowe yow welle (Index 0.2), ff.3v-4r.
- *2. What causyth me wofull thoughtis to thynk (Index 3908.8), ff.4v-6r.
- *3. So fer I trow from remedy (Index 3162.5), ff.6v-7r.
- *4. My wofull hart in paynfull weryness (Index 2277), ff.7v-9r.
- *5. Demyd wrongfully/In absent (Index 657.8), f.9v.
- *6. O my desyre what eylyth the (Index 2530.5), f.10r-10v.
- *7. Love fayne wolde I (Index 1999.5), f.11v.
- 8. That was my woo is nowe my most gladnesse (Index 3297.5), ff.12v-13r.
- *9. Benedicite whate dremyd I this nyght (Index 506.5), ff.13-15r.
- *10. To complayne me alas why shulde I so (Index 3751.3), ff.15v-17r.
- *11. Alas it is I that wote nott what to say (Index 155.5), ff.17v-19r.
- *12. I am he that hath you dayly servyd (Index 1273.3), f.19v.
- *13. But why am I so abusyd (Index 557.5), ff.20v-22r.
- *14. Yowre counturfetyng/With doubyll delyng (Index 4281.5), ff.22v-24r.
- 15. Thus musyng in my mynd gretly mervelyng (Index 3724.5), ff.24v-26r.
- *16. Most clere of colour & rote of stedfastness (Index 2200.3), ff.26v-28r.
- *17. I love loved and loved wolde I be (Index 1328.5), ff.28v-30r.

- *18. Alas for lak of her presens (Index 146.5), ff.30v-31r .
- *19. That was my joy is now my woo and payne (Index 3297.3),
ff.31v-33r.
- 20. Sumwhat musyng/And more morenyng (Index 3193.5), ff.33v-35r.
- *21. Madame defrayne/Ye me retayne (Index 2028.8), ff.35v-38r.
- 22. O rote of trouth o princess to my pay (Index 2547.5),
ff. 38v-40r.
- *23. Complayne I may wherevyr I go (Index 649.5), ff.46v-48r.

26. LONDON, British Library, MS Addit.5665: 'Ritson's Manuscript'.

c.1470-1520; a collection of Latin and English sacred music, and English and French secular songs, perhaps compiled for use by the singing-men of Exeter Cathedral.

The English songs are edited, with music, and the manuscript fully described, by Stevens, Mus.Brit. 36. The texts of the English songs are also printed in the same author's Music and Poetry pp.338-50. The following courtly love-songs occur:

- *1. My wofull hert of all gladnesse bareyne (Index 2277.5),
ff.65v-66r.
- *2. Absens of you causeth me to sygh and complayne (Index 113.5),
ff.67v-68r.
- *3. The hyedesire that I haue for to se (Index 3376.5),
- *4. Fayre and discrete fresche wommanly figure (Index 753.8),
ff.72v-73r.
- *5. Alone alone/mornynge alone (Index 263.8), ff.133v, 135r.
- *6. My herte ys yn grete mournynge (Index 2244.6), ff.135v-136r.
- 7. So put yn fere I dare not speke (Index 3168.4),
ff.137v-140r.
- *8. Alone alone/Here Y am myself alone (Index 263.5), f.140v.
- [*9.] Your light grevans shall not me constrayne (Index 4283.5),

27. LONDON, British Library, MS Additional 17492,
the 'Devonshire Manuscript'.

A. s.xvi¹; miscellany of English verse by Wyatt and writers
associated with him, including some extracts from earlier poems.

B. Contents¹

1. Take hede by tyme leste ye be spyede, f.2r,
Muir & Thomson p.189.
2. O cruell causer of vnderuede chaynge, f.2v,
Muir & Thomson pp.3-4.
3. My harte I gave the not to do it paine, f.3r,
Muir & Thomson p.13.
4. My pen take payn a lytyll space, f.3v,
Muir & Thomson pp.190-91.
5. At last with drawe your cruelte, f.4r-v,
Muir & Thomson pp.129-30.
6. To wette your Iye with outen teare, f.5r,
Muir & Thomson p.181.
7. I lowe lovyd and so doith she, f.6r,
Muir & Thomson p.191.
8. Suffryng in sorow in hope to attayn, ff.6v-7r,
Muir & Thomson pp.176-77.
9. My ferefull hope from me ys fled, f.7v,
Muir, PLPLS 6.
10. Yowre ferefull hope cannot prevayle, f.8r,
Muir, PLPLS 6.
11. Bownd am I now & shall be styll, ff.8v-9r,
Muir, PLPLS 6.
12. Farewell all my wellfare, f.9v,
Muir & Thomson pp.192-93.
13. May not thys hate from ye estarte, f.10v,
Muir, PLPLS 6.
14. Yff I had sufferd thys to yow vnware, f.11r,
Muir & Thomson p.56.

15. The hart & servys to yow profferd, f.11v,
Muir & Thomson p.193.
16. At most myscheffe/I suffer greffe, f.12r,
Muir & Thomson pp.36-37.
17. What menythe thys when I lye alone, ff.12v-13r,
Muir & Thomson pp.193-94.
18. Pacyence tho I have not/the thyng bat I desyryd, f.13v,
Muir & Thomson p.29.
19. Ys yt possyble/bat so hye debate, f.14r,
Muir & Thomson pp.194-95.
20. My lute awake performe be last labor, ff.14v-15r,
Muir & Thomson pp.48-50.
21. Alas poore man what hap have I, ff.15v-16r,
Muir & Thomson pp.195-96, (cf. Index 158.6).
22. Marvell nomore altho/the songes I syng do mone, f.16v,
Muir & Thomson pp.38-39.
23. And wylt thow leve me thus, f.17r,
Muir & Thomson pp.196-97.
24. That tyme that myrthe dyd stere my shypp, f.17v,
Muir & Thomson pp.184-85.
25. The restfull place revyver of my smarte, f.18r,
Muir & Thomson pp.197-98.
- +26. All women have vertues noble & excelent (Index 232),f.18v,
Muir, PLPLS 6.
27. What no perde ye may be sure, f.19r,
Muir & Thomson p.34.
28. Was neuer yet fyle half so welle fyllyd, f.19v,
Muir & Thomson p.14.
- +29. Wyatt, For as ye lyst my wyll ys bent (Index 813.6), f.20r,
also pr. Greene, Early English Carols p.285; Bender, Five
Courtier Poets p.89.
30. Sum tyme I syghe sumtyme I syng, f.20v,
Muir & Thomson pp.199-200.
31. Pacyence of all my smert, f.21r,
Muir & Thomson pp.200-201.
32. Who wold haue euer thought, f.21r,
Muir & Thomson p.201.
33. In faythe methynkes yt ys no ryght, ff.21v-22r.
Muir, Wyatt p.119; PLPLS 6.

34. The knot which fyrst my hart dyd strayn, f.22v,
Muir & Thomson pp.183-84. Also ff.23r-v, 33r-v.
- +35. He Robyn gentyll robyn, (Index 13.8), f.22v and f.24r-v,
Muir & Thomson pp.41-42.
36. Wel I have at other lost, f.22v, unpublished.
37. It was my choyse It was my chaunce, ff.24v-25r and 30v.
Muir & Thomson pp.201-202.
38. Now may I morne as one off late, f.26r,
Muir, PLPLS 6.
- +39. Margaret Howard (?), Wyth soroful syghes and wondes smart,
(Index 4201.6), f.26v, Muir, PLPLS 6.
40. What thyng shold cawse me to be sad, f.27r,
Muir, PLPLS 6.
41. Alas that men be so vngent, f.27v,
Muir, PLPLS 6.
42. Who hathmore cawse for to complayne, f.28r,
Muir, PLPLS 6.
43. I may well say with joyfull harte, f.28v,
Muir, PLPLS 6.
44. To your gentyll letters an answeare to resyte, f.29r,
Muir, PLPLS 6.
- +45. And now my pen alas wyth wyche I wryte (Index 2577.5), ff.29v-30r,
Muir, PLPLS 6; from Chaucer, Troilus and Criseyde iv, 13-14,
288-308, 323-29.
46. Suche vayne thought as wonted to myslede me, f.31r,
Muir & Thomson p.42.
47. So vnwarely was never no man caught, f.32r,
Muir & Thomson pp.202-203.
48. Yff fansy wuld favour, f.34v,
Muir & Thomson pp.32-33.
49. The wandryng gadlyng in the somer tyde, f.35v,
Muir & Thomson p.34.
50. The lyvely sparkes that yssue frome those fires, f.36v,
Muir & Thomson p.35.
51. Tho I can not owr cruelte constrayne, f.37v,
Muir & Thomson pp.42-43.
52. Somtyme I fled the fyre that me brent, f.38v,
Muir & Thomson p.44.

53. What deth ys worse then thys, f.39v,
Muir & Thomson pp.46-47.
54. Thy promese was to loue me best, f.40r,
Muir & Thomson pp.203-204.
55. I se the change ffrom that that was, ff.40v-41r,
Muir & Thomson pp.204-205.
56. Ther ys no cure ffor care off mynd, f.41r,
Muir, PLPLS 6.
57. As ffor my part y know no thvng, f.41r-v,
Muir, PLPLS 6.
58. To my meshap alas y ffynd, f.42r-v,
Muir & Thomson pp.181-83.
59. How shold y/be so plesent, f.43r and f.77r-v,
Muir & Thomson pp. 205-207.
60. What nedythe lyff when y requyer, ff.43v-44r,
Muir PLPLS 6.
61. And thys be thys ve may, f.44r,
Muir, PLPLS 6.
62. To jove in payne my will, f.44v,
Muir, PLPLS 6.
63. Yff reason govern fantasye, ff.45r-46r,
Muir, PLPLS 6.
64. What helpythe hope of happy hape, ff.46v-47r,
Muir PLPLS 6.
65. This rotyd greff will not but growe, f.47v,
Muir, PLPLS 6.
66. Hartte aprest with desperett thoughtes, ff.47v-48r,
Muir & Thomson p.237.
67. So feble is the therd, ff.49r-50v,
Muir & Thomson pp.79-82.
68. Full well yt maye be sene, f.51r,
Muir & Thomson pp.207-8.
69. Synes loue ys suche that as ye wott, ff.51v-52r,
Muir & Thomson pp.208-9.
70. Lo how I seke & sew to haue, f.52v,
Muir & Thomson pp.209-10.
71. My love ys lyke vnto theternall fyre, f.53r,
Muir & Thomson p.210.

72. Synes so ye please to here me playn, f.53r,
Muir & Thomson p.210.
73. Yf in the worlde there be more woo, f.53v,
Muir & Thomson p.70.
74. Now must I lerne to lyue at rest, f.54r,
Muir & Thomson p.211.
75. Forget not yet the tryde entent, f.54v,
Muir & Thomson pp.211-12.
76. O happy dames that may embraves, f.55r-v,
Padelford, Surrey (1920) i p.219, (1928) v p.259.
77. My hope is yow for to obtaine, f.57r,
Muir, PLPLS 6.
78. When v bethynk my wonted ways, ff.58r and f.67r (59r),
Muir, PLPLS 6.
79. O myserable sorow with owten cure, f.58v,
Muir & Thomson p.212.
80. Sum say I love sum say I moke, f.58v,
Muir, PLPLS 6.
81. Wyly no dought ye be a wry, f.59v,
Muir, PLPLS 6.
82. To dere is bought the doblenes, f.59v,
Muir, PLPLS 6.
- +83. For thylke grownde bat bearyth the wedes wycke (Index 848.5),
f.59v, Muir, PLPLS 6; Southall, RES 15. From Chaucer,
Troilus and Criseyde i, 946-52.
84. To men that knows be not, f.60r,
Muir, PLPLS 6.
85. Myn vnhappy chaunce to home shall I playne, f.60v,
Muir, PLPLS 6.
86. Go burnvnge sithe vnto the frosen hert, f.61v,
Muir & Thomson pp.16-17.
87. Faney framed my hart ffurst, ff.61v-62r,
Muir, PLPLS 6.
88. In places wher that I company, f.62v,
Muir, PLPLS 6.
89. If pat I cowde in versis close, f.63v,
Muir, PLPLS 6.

90. Blame not my lute for he must sownd, f.64r-v,
Muir & Thomson pp.212-13.
91. My hart vs set nat to remowe, f.65r,
Muir, PLPLS 6.
92. I ame not she be proweff off syt, f.65r,
Muir, PLPLS 6.
93. Myght v as well with in my song be lay, f.65v and f.66r,
Muir, PLPLS 6.
94. To cowntar ffete a mery mode, f.65v,
Muir, PLPLS 6.
95. The plesaunt beavt of swet delyte dothe blynd, f.66r,
Muir, PLPLS 6.
96. The sueden chance ded mak me mues, f.67v, unpublished.
97. My vwthefful days ar past, ff.68r, unpublished
98. To cause accorde or to agree, f.69r,
Muir & Thomson p.58.
99. Beholde love thye powre how she despisith, f.69v,
Muir & Thomson p.1.
100. Thou haste no faith of him that eke hath none, f.69v,
Muir & Thomson p.16.
101. Theye fle fro me that some tyme ded me seke, ff.69v-70r,
Muir & Thomson p.27.
102. Ceaser whan the traytour of egipte, f.70r,
Muir & Thomson p.2.
103. Yf chaunce assigned, f.70v,
Muir & Thomson pp.50-51.
104. Perdve I saide yt not, ff.70v-71r,
Muir & Thomson pp.170-1.
105. Patiens for my devise, f.71r,
Muir & Thomson pp.29-30.
106. I have sought long with stedfastnesse, f.71v,
Muir & Thomson pp.51-52.
107. Nature that gave the bee so fete a grace, f.71v,
Muir & Thomson p.51.
108. To wishe and wante and not obtaine, f.71v,
Muir & Thomson pp.43-44.

109. Ons me thought fortune me kist, f.71v and ff.73v-74r,
Muir & Thomson pp.47-48.
110. Resounde my voyse ye woodes that herith me plaine, f.72r,
Muir & Thomson p.18.
111. The fruit of all the seruise that I serue, f.72r,
Muir & Thomson p.214.
112. Sins ye delight to kno, f.72v,
Muir & Thomson pp.54-55.
113. Venous thornis bat are so sharp and kene, f.72v,
Muir & Thomson pp.57-58.
114. In eternum I was ons determind, f.72v,
Muir & Thomson pp.53-4.
115. Lyk as the swanne towardis her dethe, f.73r,
Muir & Thomson pp.52-3.
116. Yf with complaint the paine might be exprest, f.73r,
Muir & Thomson p.214.
117. Cruell desire my master and my fo, f.73r,
Muir & Thomson p.57.
118. She sat and sowid bat hathe done me be wronge, f.73r,
Muir & Thomson p.40.
119. Who hath harde of siche tyranny before, f.73r,
Muir & Thomson p.32.
120. Ye know my herte my ladye dere, f.73v,
Muir & Thomson pp.30-31.
121. Sins you will nedes bat I shall sing, f.73v,
Muir & Thomson p.215.
122. Comforte thy silf my wofull herte, f.74r,
Muir & Thomson pp.56-57.
123. What deth is worsse then this, f.74r,
Muir & Thomson pp.46-7.
124. I am not ded altho I had a falle, f.74r,
Muir & Thomson p.45.
125. My hope alas hath me abusid, f.74v,
Muir & Thomson pp.45-6.
126. Me list no more to sing, f.74v,
Muir & Thomson pp.215-16.
127. Nowe fare well love and thye lawes for ever, f.75r,
Muir & Thomson pp.12-13.

128. For to love her for her lokes lovelye, f.75r,
Muir & Thomson pp.14.
129. To rayle or geste ye kno I vse yt not, f.74r-v,
Muir & Thomson p.217.
130. My herte I gave the not to do yt paine, f.75v,
Muir & Thomson p.13.
131. The jove so short alas the paine so nere, f.75v,
Muir & Thomson p.11.
132. Eche man telles me I change of my devise, f.75v,
Muir & Thomson p.11.
133. Payne of all payne be most grevous paine, ff.75v-76r,
Muir & Thomson pp.218-19.
134. Lament my losse my labour and my payne, f.76v,
Muir & Thomson pp.219-20.
135. What shulde I saye/sins faithe is dede, f.77r,
Muir & Thomson pp.220-21.
136. Gyve place all ye bat doth rejoise, f.77v,
Muir & Thomson pp.221-22.
137. Dyvers dothe vse as I have hard & kno, f.77v,
Muir & Thomson pp.222-23.
138. The losse is smalle to lese such on, f.77v,
Muir & Thomson p.223.
139. Spight hathe no powre to make me sadde, f.78r,
Muir & Thomson pp.223-24.
- +#140. Anne Boleyn (?), My yeris be yong even as ye see (Index 2281.5),
f.78v; also pr. Greene, RES n.s. 25, Early English Carols,
pp.284-85.
141. Fortune doth frowne/what remedye, f.78v,
Muir & Thomson p.225.
142. A my herte a what eilith the, f.78v,
Muir & Thomson p.129.
143. Hate who ye list for I kare not, f.78v,
Muir & Thomson p.145.
144. Gretyng to you bothe yn hertys wyse, f.79r-v,
Muir & Thomson pp.225-26.
145. Mye love toke skorne mye servise to retaine, f.79v,
Muir & Thomson p.227.

146. Tanglid I was yn loves snare, ff.79v-80r,
Muir & Thomson pp.227-28.
147. Lengre to muse/on this refuse, f.80r,
Muir & Thomson pp.228-9.
148. Love doth againe/put me to payne, f.80v,
Muir & Thomson pp.161-62.
149. Wyth seruing still/this have I wone, f.81r,
Muir & Thomson pp.185-86.
150. Now all of chaunge/must be my songe, f.81r-v,
Muir & Thomson pp.230-31.
151. Dryven bye desire I dede this dede, f.81v,
Muir & Thomson pp.139-40.
152. I abide and abide and better abide, f.81v,
Muir & Thomson p.231.
153. Absens absenting causithe me to complaine, ff.81v-82r,
Muir & Thomson pp.231-32.
154. I finde no peace and all my warre is done, f.82r-v,
Muir & Thomson pp.20-21.
155. Patiens for I haue wrong, f.82v,
Muir & Thomson p.232.
156. Whan that I call vnto my mynde, ff.82v-83r,
Muir & Thomson pp.232-33.
157. To make an ende of all this strif, f.83r-v,
Muir & Thomson pp.233-34.
158. Wyll ve se what wonderous love hathe wrought, f.84r,
Muir & Thomson pp.234-35.
159. Deme as ve list vppon goode cause, f.84v,
Muir & Thomson, pp.235-36.
- +160. Wyatt (?), I am as I am and so wil I be (Index 1270.2), f.85r;
also pr. Bender, Five Courtier Poets p.128; Greene, RES 15,
Early English Carols pp.286-87; MacQueen, Ballatis of Love p.65;
Daalder, Wyatt p.179.
161. My nowne John poyntz sins ve delight to know, ff. 85v-87r,
Muir & Thomson pp.88-91.
162. My mothers maides when they dyd sow or spin, f.87v,
Muir & Thomson pp.91-95.
163. Hou that ye be assembled heer, f.88r,
Muir, PLPLS 6.

- +164. Womans harte vnto no crewelte (Index 4217.6), f.89v,
Muir, PLPLS 6. From Hoccleve, The Letter of Cupid, 344-50.
- +165. Ys thys afayre avaunte/vs thys honor (Index 1609.5), f.89v,
Muir, PLPLS 6. Hoccleve, The Letter of Cupid 64-77.
- +166. Yff all the erthe were parchment scrybable (Index 1409.3), f.90r,
Muir, PLPLS 6. From The Remedy of Love (Index 3084), lines
239-45, adapted to the praise of women.
- +167. O marble herte and yet more harde perde (from Index 1086),
f.90r, Muir, PLPLS 6. From Richard Roos's translation of
La Belle Dame sans Merci, lines 717-24.
- +168. Alas what shuld vt be to vow prejudyce (from Index 1086), f.90r,
Muir, PLPLS 6. La Belle Dame sans Merci 229-36.
- +169. How frendly was medea to Jason (from Index 666), f.91r,
Muir, PLPLS 6. From Hoccleve's Letter of Cupid, lines 302-8.
- +170. For though I had vow to morow agayne (from Index 3670), f.91r,
Muir, PLPLS 6. From Chaucer, Anelida and Arcite, lines 308-16.
- +171. Yff vt be so that ve so creuel be (Index 1418.5), f.91r;
Muir, PLPLS 6. From Chaucer, Troilus and Criseyde ii, 337-51,
778-84, 785-91, 855-61.

C. Technical description

- a. Paper; 9 x 6¼ ins (230 x 160 mm).
- b. iv + 113 + vi. The existing foliation system (1-96) begins on the third flyleaf at the beginning and finishes on the third flyleaf at the end; it does not number leaves which are blank on both recto and verso. For convenience, I have used this system. The present flyleaves are all modern, but pasted onto some of them are fragments from older manuscripts. The third at the beginning, and three of those at the end (ff.1, 93, 94 and 96, in the existing foliation) contain what seem to be fragments of the original flyleaf or flyleaves of the manuscript. Another flyleaf at the end (f.95), contains a fragment from a fifteenth-century(?) Latin manuscript.

- c. Collation is impracticable. There are no catchwords or leaf signatures - hardly surprising in this kind of collection. Different hands recur throughout the volume, and it seems unlikely that the various compilers worked on separate gatherings or booklets. The binding is early sixteenth-century, and it is quite possible that the leaves were bound together blank, so that the volume could circulate as a kind of 'album'.
- d. The layout varies with the different scribes. Most of the material is copied in single columns although occasionally it goes into two. A few of the leaves have been ruled (e.g. ff.26-30), but most are unruled, so the copy tends to be untidy. The size of the written space varies enormously.
- e. At least 23 hands collaborated in compiling the manuscript, and identification of individual ones is obviously difficult. The principal hands have been identified by Raymond Southall (in what seems to be the most exhaustive and convincing study of the collection)² as those of Mary Shelton (a member of the household of Anne Boleyn in the 1530s), Mary Fitzroy (daughter of Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, and husband of Henry VIII's son Henry Fitzroy), and Margaret Douglas (niece of the king and for a time mistress of the Duke of Norfolk's younger brother). All of the 'medieval' extracts were entered by Mary Shelton, who seems to have been the principal collector and scribe.
- f. There is no decoration.
- g. The original binding remains, described by Southall as 'a Renaissance panelled London one with a capstan design blind-stamped on leather, examples of which have been recorded between 1525 and 1559'.

D. History and provenance

This manuscript offers perfect evidence of the impossibility of separating 'medieval' and sixteenth-century poetry into different categories. The fragments of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century

poetry which are included in it have been put to exactly the same purposes as the lyrics by Wyatt, Surrey and other later authors: they are almost all poems on the subject of love, copied in by a group of acquaintances who compiled the collection as a sort of autograph album, and used in a manner in which the conventionally-turned sentiments may have had an extra personal relevance³. The manuscript provides obvious support for the 'game of love' theory of lyric-writing, with the poems providing a means of communication for 'real' lovers⁴, but it is nonetheless the only example of this to survive, and can hardly be taken as the norm. Its supposed court connections, and the suggested identities of its main scribes, are supported by notes and signatures which accompany the poems. The name of 'Mary Shelton' is copied onto one of the fragmentary original flyleaves (f.1 in the existing foliation), and again on ff.6v and 22v. Margaret Howard's (i.e. the later Margaret Douglas) name is also copied onto the flyleaf. A note on f.68r reads 'Ma dame margaret/et madame de Richemont (i.e. Mary Fitzroy)/ Je vodroy bien quil fult'. Even more tantalizingly, a riddle on f.67v hints at the name of Anne Boleyn - its last line reads 'I ama yowrs an'. Southall's reconstruction of the history of the manuscript sets it clearly in the 1530s and 1540s, first of all in the household of Anne Boleyn, and later in the hands of her one-time retainers; interest in the poetry of Wyatt and his circle is natural enough in this milieu, and there is no need to suppose that the manuscript was ever Wyatt's own. The collection probably reached the library of the dukes of Devonshire via Margaret Howard/Douglas; one of her sons, Charles Stuart, lived at Chatsworth after his marriage in 1574, and it seems likely that he took the manuscript there after acquiring it from his mother. It was sold to the British Museum in 1848.

E. Bibliography

- BM Cat, Additions to MSS 1848-1853, p.23,
 Foxwell, Wyatt's Poems pp.8-9, 125-35;
 Muir, FLPLS 6; Wyatt p.256;
Muir & Thomson, pp.xiii-xv;

Editing Wyatt, pp. 13-21;
Southall, Thesis, RES n.s. 15;
The Courtly Maker, pp.15-25;
Seaton, RES n.s. 7;
Beal, Literary MSS i (2), p.589;

Notes

1. Because no adequate published description of the contents of the Devonshire Manuscript exists outside Southall, Thesis, I have provided a complete list. Muir and Thomson include most of the poems from the manuscript in their edition of Wyatt's poems, so I have provided references to this whenever possible (and to other published editions when not), even though the ascription of many of the poems to Wyatt is questionable. I have made no attempt to provide other details or to suggest authors for the poems - even when the manuscript provides information - in an effort to avoid confusion. Items which are listed in the Index are marked with the symbol '+' against their number in the margin, and information about them is provided according to the conventions observed in the other manuscript descriptions - full details if the item is a 'love lyric', fewer details if not.
2. See Southall, Thesis; RES 15.
3. It seems likely that the compilers of the manuscript had access to a copy of Thynne's 1532 edition of the works of Chaucer. See Harrier, RES n.s.11.
4. For examples, see Stevens, Music and Poetry pp.118-19, 205.

28. LONDON, British Library, MS Addit.18752.

A. s.xiv-xvi; a collection of parts from different manuscripts, with many later additions.¹

B. Contents

- I. 1. 'Secretum Philosophorum' (Latin prose), ff.1r-27v, ends unfinished,
Gramatica et de eius coloribus. . .

- II. 2. 'Problemata', scholastic definitions (Latin prose), ff.28r-29v.
 [3.] Prophecies of Events 1570-80 (English prose), f.30r,
 1570 the country of feraria shale trymbel. . .
- [4.] Political Dream Poem (English verse, not in Index), ff.30v-33r,
 When that aurora illumynath lyzght. . .
 Pr. Reed, Anglia 33.
- [#5.] The Distressed Lover (Index 2619.5), f.33r-v,
 Off beuty yet she passith all. . .
- III. 6. Notes on Astrology, with Tables for Fortune-Telling (Latin prose),
 ff.34r-49v.
- IV. 7. Notes on Nativities (Latin prose), ff.50r-58r.
 [8.] On the Constancy of his Mistress (Index 1414.8), f.58v,
 yf y had wyt for to endyte. . .
- [#9.] To his Mistress, Offering his Heart (Index 2245.3), f.59r,
 my hart is yowrs now kyp het fast. . .
10. On the Houses of the Moon (Latin prose, ff.60r-71v.
 [11.] A Promise of Faithful Service (Index 2245.6), f.72r-v,
 My hart my myrde & my hole poure. . .
- [12.] Medical Recipe (English prose) and Charm to Procure Women's Love
 (Latin prose), f.72v.
13. Astrological Notes (Latin prose), ff.73r-75v.
 [14.] The Devoted Lover (English verse, not in Index), f.76r,
 To loughe to smyll to sporte to play. . .
 Pr. Reed, Anglia 33.
- [15.] A Description of his Mistress, and a Farewell (Index 2255.6),
 f.76v,
 My lytell prety one my prety bony one. . .
- [#16.] Moralizing Stanzas on the Approach of Death (Index 2736.6) f.77r.
 [#17.] On a Newfangled Mistress (Index 2307.5), f.77v (also on f.139v),
 Nbw I do know your chaungyd thought. . .
18. Astrological Notes (Latin prose), ff.78r-83v.
 [19.] Resolution and Independance (English verse, not in Index), f.84r,
 That I can I can/& dow I wyll. . .
 Pr. Reed, Anglia 33.
- [20.] The Nature of Love (i), (stanza 3 of Index 1864.5), f.84v,
 Loue ys a lady of the ffemynyne kynde. . .
- [21.] The Nature of Love (ii) (Index 1864.5, stanzas 1-2, 4-5, 7-8),
 f.85r,
 Let loue to loue go kyndly vnsozght. . .

- [22.] Advice on Fortune (English verse, not in Index), f.85v,
 Sum tyme I haue you seyn/yn hygh estate ffull strange. . .
 Pr. Reed, Anglia 33.
- [23.] On her Sweet Face (English verse, not in Index) ff.86r-87r,
 O that fface pat ffragraunt fface. . .
 Pr. Reed, Anglia 33.
- [24.] The Despairing Lover (English verse, not in Index), f.87v,
 Shall she neuer out of mynde. . .
 Pr. Reed, Anglia 33.
- [25.] Joy in Love (Index 3880.6), f.88r-v,
 Welcum ffortune wellcum agayne. . .
- [26.] On the Folly of Mankind (English verse, not in Index), ff.88v,
 Musyng gretly yn my mynde. . .
 Pr. Reed, Anglia 33.
- [27.] The Comfortless Lover (Index duplicate: 2195.5 and 2224.5),
 f.89r-v,
 Moenyng my hart doth sore oppresse. . .
- [28.] Wyatt(?), Even as Ye List (Index 813.6), ff.89v-90r,
 evyn as you lyst my wyll ys bent. . .
 also pr. Greene, Early English Carols pp.285-86.
- [29.] The Mournfull Lover to his Mistress (English verse, not in Index),
 f.90r-v,
 The blynd y thynk my lady dere. . .
 Pr. Reed, Anglia 33.
- [*30.] The Lover's Complaint against Fortune (Index 2753.5), f.90v,
 Persyd wyth payne wounded ffull nygh the hart. . .
- [31.] The Lover's Plea to Venus (English verse, not in Index), f.91r-v,
 O Lady Venus what aylyth the. . .
- [32.] On Chance (English verse, not in Index), f.92r-v,
 Paraenture hit may hapen/yet yt is but hasarde. . .
 Pr. Reed, Anglia 33.
- [33.] Medical Recipe (English prose), f.92v.
- V. 34. Alphabetical Herbal (Latin prose), ff.93r-117r.
35. Medicinal Properties of Herbs (Latin verse), ff.117v-119r,
 Res aloe lignum preciosa. . .
36. Equivalents of Medicinal Herbs (Latin prose), ff.119v-122r.
37. Instructions for Selecting and Preparing Herbal Remedies
 (Latin prose), ff.122v-123v.

38. A Diet to Preserve Health (Latin prose), ff.124r-128r.
39. A Diet from Salerno (Latin prose), ff.128v-137v.
- VI. [40.] Note on Conception (Latin prose), f.138r.
- [*41.] The Disillusioned Lover (Index 1356.8), f.138v,
 I serue where I no truyth can ffynde. . .
- [42.] Song of Requited Love (Index 2249), f.139r,
 My joye it is ffrome here to here. . .
- (17a. Now I perceue your chaungyd thought. . ., f.139v; see 17).
- VII. 43. Fragment of a Commentary (Latin prose), ff.140r-148v,
 begins and ends imperfectly.
- VIII. [*44.] A Lover's Farewell (Index 1736.8), f.149r,
 Pardon alas why saye I so. . .
- [45.] Medical Recipe (Latin? prose), f.149v.
46. Proverbs (Latin prose), ff.150r-154v.
47. On the Powers of Medicinal Herbs (Latin verse), f.152v.
48. Fragment from a Treatise on Herbs, Trees, Animals (Latin prose),
 ff.155r-157v.
49. Two Letters (Latin prose), f.158r, the second addressed to
 Robert of Oxtone, archdeacon of Coventry (appointed 1408).
50. Medical Recipes (Latin and English prose), f.159r-v.
51. Fragments of the 10 Commandments, the 7 Works of Mercy etc.
 (Latin prose), f.161r-v.
52. Order of Guests at the Coronation Banquet of Catherine of
 Valois, 1421 (English prose), ff.162r-163r. Pr. Furnivall,
EETS e.s.8 pp.89-92.
53. Menu of a Banquet Given for the King by Sir John Cornwell
 (Latin prose), f.162v. Pr. Furnivall, EETS e.s.8 pp.89-92.
- [*54.] A Lover's Plea (Index 681.5), f.163v,
 Dysdayne me not wythout desert. . .
 A PROPER NEWE BALLETE WHERE IN THE LOWYER DOTH REQUEST HER
 FRYND TO CONTYNE IN HIS TREWTH UNTYLL SHE DESEREVE THE
 CONTRARY.
- IX.55. Treatise on Viticulture and Wine-making (Latin prose),
 ff.164r-174v.
- X.56. Printed Fragment: 'Questiones Naturales' (Latin prose),
 ff.174r-183v.
57. Printed Fragment: Aeneas Silvius, De Duobus Amantibus Eurialo
 et Lucretia (Latin prose, Paris 1494), ff.184-212.

- XI. 58. Treatise on Falconry (Latin prose), ff.212r-216r.
59. Medical Recipes (Latin? prose), f.216r-v.

C. Technical description

- a. Mixed paper and parchment: paper, ff.28-92, 94-99, 102-107, 110-115, 117-122, 138, 139, 149-54, 158-216; Parchment, ff.1-27, 93, 100, 101, 108, 109, 116, 123, .24-37, 140-148, 155-157. 8 x 5½ ins (205 x 140mm).
- b. 216 leaves. Information on flyleaves and foliation not recorded.
- c. I, 1¹⁰, 2¹⁰(9 canc.), 3⁶, 4²; II, 5¹⁴(1-3 wanting, 10 canc.); III, 6¹⁶; IV, 7¹²(11, 12 canc.), 8¹², 9⁶, 10⁶, 11⁶(6 canc.), 12⁸(1-4 canc.); V, 13¹⁶, 14¹⁶(9 canc.), 15²⁰(15-20 wanting); VI, 16²; VII, 17⁴(2-4 wanting), 18⁸; VIII, 19⁸(7-9 wanting); IX, 20¹⁰; X, a⁸, b², c²⁸(?); IX, 21⁶(1 wanting).
- d. Layout is varied, according to the scribes.
- e. Numerous scribes have been involved in the many sections of this composite manuscript. Some sections are entirely independent, copied throughout by one scribe; others reveal different 'layers' of copying, as later scribes have added items in the blank spaces left by their predecessors. The oldest section of the manuscript appears to be VII, in which one scribe, L, copied item 43 in a hand which looks to be of the fourteenth century. Next in chronological sequence came the fifteenth-century sections I, V, IX, X and XI: I, containing Secretum Philosophorum (item 1) was copied by one scribe, A; V and XI, including information on herbs, medicines and diet (items 34-39, 58, 59), were copied by one scribe, K; IX, a treatise on viticulture (item 55), was the work of a single scribe, O; X contains printed fragments which date from the very late fifteenth century; III, with its notes on astrology (item 6),

may also be a fifteenth-century production. This leaves sections II, IV, VI and VIII which contain miscellaneous assorted material copied by a number of scribes seemingly working at different times. II includes scholastic definitions (item 2) and prophecies (item 3), copied by two scribes, B and C; a third, D, has added some lyrics (items 4 and 5). IV contains much astrological material, copied by one scribe, F (items 7, 10, 13, 18), and lyrics inserted by other hands: D again (11, 12, 14, 15, 20, 21-27, 31); G (8, 9, 19, 28, 29); H (16, 17); I (30), and J (32, 33). VI contains more pieces by these 'adding' scribes, D (items 41, 42), F (40), and J (17a). VIII has a core of material copied by two scribes, M (items 46, 49-53) and N (47, 48), and again additions made by D (44, 45, 54). D seems to be the main scribe of the lyrics in the manuscript.

f. No record of decoration.

D. History and provenance

This collection has grown interestingly from a core of disparate material (fragments of different manuscripts) into something approaching a whole, unified by the additions which have been made to it once the different parts were brought together. The lyrics (love-lyrics and otherwise), are all 'additions' to the other material, but in this case are so numerous as to form an important part of the collection as it now exists. At least four sections of the manuscript must have been in the hands of scribe D in the sixteenth century - he is responsible for additions to parts II, IV, VI and VIII. Scribes G, H, I and J, responsible between them for the other lyrics, had access to parts IV and VI (VI, only 2 leaves, may well once have been a part of IV). The lyrics appear with astrological and prophetic material which is strongly reminiscent of Bodleian MS Rawlinson c.813 (see below, pp.417-22). There seems now no way of telling at what stage the different sections were bound together, but the shared interests (medicine, informative material etc.) perhaps suggest that they early formed

part of one collection. Interestingly enough, very few of the lyrics here are unique copies; many seem to have had a popular currency as songs, with music extant elsewhere.

Some names are visible: on f.77r (in the section including most of the lyrics) is a note by 'John Gryntter of hawkchurch'.

On f.93r (the beginning of section V, with its herbal material) is the name 'Johannis frostell' - Frostell seems to have copied this section, as a note at the end of item 37 on f.123v reads 'amen quod Frostelle'. At the end of the whole collection on f.216v are the names of 'John Gryntter', again, and of 'Thomas Strowde'.

E. Bibliography

BL Cat. of Additions to MSS 1848-1853 pp.145-46.

Reed, Anglia 33;

Greene, Early English Carols, p.309.

Notes

1. I have seen this manuscript once and made brief notes on it, but have been unable to go back to it and check my findings - it has been at the bindery from 1980, and is still there at the time of writing (1982). The description of the manuscript (especially section C) is therefore open to revision, and I have had to omit remarks on some of its features.

29. LONDON, British Library, MS Additional 22718

1467; a copy of Woodville's translation, The Dicts and Sayings of the Philosophers, made by Thomas Cokke, and described in BL Cat. Addit. MSS 1854-60, pp.721-22. The many later additions on the flyleaves include a fragment of I muste goo walke the wood so wyde (sic, Index 1333).

30. LONDON, British Library, MS Additional 31922 ('Henry VIII's manuscript').

c.1510-1520. A collection of songs and instrumental pieces associated with the court of Henry VIII.

The manuscript has been fully described, and its contents edited, by Stevens, Mus.Brit. 18, and Music and Poetry pp.384-425. It contains the following courtly love-songs:

- *1. Alas what shall I do for love (Index 159.5), ff.20v-21r, with music for 4 voices attributed to Henry VIII.
- *2. Alone I leffe alone (Index 266.5), f.22r, a round, with music for 3 voices attributed to Dr. Cooper.
- *3. O my hart and O my hart (Index 2531.5), ff.22v-23r, with music for 3 voices attributed to Henry VIII.
4. Adew adew my hartis lust (Index 120.5), ff.23v-24r, with music for 3 voices attributed to Cornish.
5. Dounbery down (Index 688.8), f.25r, with music for 3 voices attributed to Daggere.
6. Hey now now (Index 1214.6), f.25v, with music for 3 voices attributed to Farthing.
- *7. The thoughts within my brest (Index 3486.5), ff.29v-30r, with music for 3 voices by Farthing.
8. My love sche morneth/For me for me (Index 2261.4 also 2261.2), ff.30v-31r, with music for 3 voices attributed to Cornish.
9. A the syghes pat cum from my hart (Index 14.5), ff.32v-33r, with music for 3 voices attributed to Cornish.
- *10. With sorowfull syghes and grevos payne (Index 4201.3), ff.33v-34r, with music for 3 voices attributed to Farthing.
11. Iff I had wytt for to endyght (Index 1414.8), ff.34v-35r, with music for 3 voices (anon).
- *12. Alac alac what shall I do (Index 135.5), f.35v, with music for 3 voices attributed to Henry VIII.
- *13. Grene growith the holy (Index 409.5), ff.37v-38r, with music for 3 voices attributed to Henry VIII.
- *14. Whoso that wyll all feattes optayne (Index 4143.5), ff.38v-39r, with music for 3 voices attributed to Henry VIII.

Page

Numbering

As

Original

- *15. Adew corage adew (Index 120.6), f.42v, with music for 3 voices attributed to Cornish.
- *16. I love trewly without feynyng (Index 1328.8), ff.44v-45r, with music for 3 voices attributed to Farthing.
- *17. If love now reynynd as it hath bene (Index 1420.5), ff.48v-49r, with music for 3 voices attributed to Henry VIII.
- *18. Wherto shuld I expresse/my inwarde hevynesse (Index 4070.5), ff.51v-52r, with music for 3 voices attributed to Henry VIII.
19. A Robyn gentyll Robyn (Index 13.8), ff.53v-54r, with music for 3 voices attributed to Cornish.
- *20. Whilles lyve or breth is in my brest (Index 2271.2), ff.54v-56r, with music for 3 voices (burden only) by Cornish.
- *21. Thow that men do call it dotage (Index 3706.7), ff.55v-56r, with music for 3 voices attributed to Henry VIII.
- *22. Departure is my chef payne (Index 676.5), f.60v, a round, with music for 4 voices attributed to Henry VIII.
23. It is to me a ryght gret joy (Index 1637.2), f.61r, one line only, music for 3 parts attributed to Henry VIII.
- *24. Farewell my joy and my swete hart (Index 765.5), ff.66v-68r, with music for 3 voices attributed to Dr. Cooper.
- *25. Without dyscord/And bothe acorde (Index 4213.5), ff.68v-69r, with music for 3 voices attributed to Henry VIII.
- *26. Madame damours/All tymes or ours (Index 2028.5), ff.73v-74r, with music for 4 voices (anon.).
- *27. Hey troly loly loly/My love is lusty plesant and demure (Index 1214.7), f.80r, a round, with music for 3 voices (anon.).
- *28. Whoso that wyll for grace sew (Index 4143.5), ff.84v-85r, with music for 3 voices attributed to Henry VIII.
- *29. Let not us that yong men be (Index 1866.5), ff.87v-88r, with music for 4 voices (anon.).
- *30. Why shall not I (Index 2250.5), ff.107v-108r, with music for 3 voices (anon.).
- *31. What remedy what remedy (Index 98.5), ff.108v-110r, with music for 3 voices (anon.).
- *32. Wher be ye/My love my love (Index 4058.3), ff.110v-112r, with music for 3 voices (anon.).

- *33. My thought oppressed my mynd in trouble (Index 2272.5), ff.116v-120r, with music for 3 voices (anon.).
- 34. Sunwhat musyng/And more mornyng (Earl Rivers' Virelai, Index 3193.5), ff.120v-122r, with music for 3 voices (attributed to Fayrfax in BL MS Addit.5465).
- *35. I love unloved suche is myn aventure (Index 1329.5), ff.122v-124r, with music for 3 voices (anon.).

31. LONDON, British Library, Additional MS 34360.

A. s.xv² (before 1483); anthology of poetry, mainly in English.

B. Contents

- 1. Lydgate, Fabula Duorum Mercatorum (Index 1481), ff.4r-18v.
- 2. Chaucer, Complaint to his Empty Purse (Index 3787), f.19r.
- 3. Complaint of a Prisoner against Fortune (Index 860), ff.19r-21v,
 Allas fortune allas what haue I gilt. . .
 AMEN
- *4. Chaucer, Womanly Noblesse (Index 3164), ff.21v-22r,
 BALADE THAT CHAUNCIER MADE
 So hath myn hert caught in remembraunce. . .
- 5. Halsham's Balade (Index 3504), f.22r.
- 6. Alain Chartier, Rondel (French verse), f.22v,
 Lealement a tous iours mais. . .
 As Laidlaw, Alain Chartier, p.385.
- 7. Rondel (French verse), ff.22v-23r,
 Face vo cuer tout ce qis ly plerra. . .
 (the next item follows on immediately).
- 8. Rondel (French verse), f.23r
 Puis qualer verse vous nepuise. . .

9. Rondel (French verse), f.23r-v,
 Je vous salue ma maystresse. . .
10. Lydgate, The Order of Fools (Index 3444), ff.24r-26v.
11. Lydgate, Horse, Goose and Sheep (Index 658), ff.27r-37r.
12. The Assembly of Ladies (Index 1528), ff.37r-49r.
13. Chaucer, The Complaint unto Pity (Index 2756), ff.49r-51r
 (merging indistinguishably with the next item),
 AND NOW HERE FOLWITH A COMPLAYNT OF PITE/MADE BI GEFFRAY
 CHAUNCIER THE AUREAT/POETE THAT EUER WAS FOUNDE IN OURE
 VULGARE/TO FORE HIS DAYES
 [P]ite which that I haue sought so yoer. . .
14. Chaucer, A Complaint to his Lady (or The Balade of Pity,
Index 3414), ff.51r-53r,
 The longe nyghtis whan euery creature. . .
 EXPLICIT PYTE
 [DAN CHAUCER LAURERE]
15. Part (lines 1-113) of Lydgate's translation of Psalm 102,
Benedic Anima Mea Domino (Index 2572), ff.53v-55r.
- 15a. Benedic Anima Mea Domino, continued (lines 114-152), ff.56v-57r,
 unfinished.
16. Part (lines 1-40) of Lydgate's Gloriosa Dicta Sunt de Te
 (Index 2688), ff.57r-v (after a false start on ff.55v and 56r,
 where lines 1-57 have been copied, but then crossed through).
17. On Precious Stones (Index 904), ff.58r-59r.
18. A Prayer to Jesus (Index 1682), ff.59r-v; not printed, see
Appendix II pp.458-59.
19. A Prayer to the Blessed Virgin (Index 183), ff.60r-v.
20. Lydgate, Verses on the Kings of England, up to Edward IV
 (Index 3632), ff.60v-62v.
21. Lydgate, Dietary (Index 824), ff.63r-64r.
22. Lydgate, Letter to Gloucester (Index 2825), ff.64v-65v.
23. Lydgate, Epitaph on the Duke of Gloucester (Index 3206),
 ff.65v-67v.
24. Lydgate (?), On Kissing at Verbum Caro Factum Est (Index 4245),
 f.68r-v.
25. Lydgate, Stella Celi Extirpavit (Index 3673), ff.68v-69r.
26. Lydgate, A Prayer for King, Queen and People (Index 2218),
 ff.69r-70v.

27. Lydgate, Consulo Quisquis Eris (Index 1294), ff.70v-72v.
28. Lydgate, Horns Away (Index 2625), f.73r-v.
29. The Craft of Lovers (Index 3761), ff.73v-77r.
30. Lydgate, On the Uncertainty of Worldly Honour (Index 4228), f.77r.
31. On Removing Spots made by Wine, Water and Milk (Index 2668), f.77v.
32. Devout and Virtuous Words (Index 3538), f.77v.
33. Lydgate and Burgh, Secreta Secretorum (Index 935), ff.78r-116r.

C. Technical description

- a. Paper; $10\frac{3}{4}$ x 8 ins (270 x 200mm).
- b. ff.iv + 114 + iii; modern pencil foliation (1-116) begins on the second flyleaf and ignores any blank leaves in the volume (between present ff.57 and 58, for example). In listing the contents I have kept to the existing foliation. The central 114 leaves have also been continuously paginated, in pencil.
- c. The collation, and the corresponding folio numbers in the present foliation, are as follows:

1 ²⁰	ff.4-23	
2 ²⁰	ff.24-43	
3 ²⁰ (16-20 canc.)		ff.44-57* (i.e. blank unfoliated leaf after f.57).
4 ²⁰	ff.58-77	
5 ²⁰	ff.78-97	
6 ²⁰ (20 wanting)	ff.98-116	

The contents of the manuscript have been so arranged that it seems to fall into four independent booklets: I, gathering 1; II, gatherings 2 and 3; III, gathering 4; IV, gatherings 5 and 6. The lyrics, in English and French, cluster at the end of the first booklet. However, while the manuscript does seem to have been designed in sections, I would not want to emphasize the independence of the booklets - there is, after all, a catchword at the end of

of the first one (on f.23v) which links it to the second. Perhaps the collection as a whole was copied from a series of booklets. Catchwords also appear on the last versos of gatherings 2 and 5 (ff.43v and 97v). Signatures in arabic numerals (1-10) appear on the bottom right-hand corner of each recto in the first half of gathering 4 (ff.58v-67v).

- d. The average written space measures $7\frac{3}{4}$ x $4\frac{1}{2}$ ins (195 x 110mm), with approximately 30 lines of writing within it. The texts are copied in single columns throughout, although the layout is otherwise generally varied. Frames have been ruled in drypoint.
- e. One scribe, 'Richardowne' (see f.59r where he writes 'Verba auctoris quod Richardowne' at the end of item 17), has copied all the texts in the manuscript. Several later hands, from the sixteenth century onwards, have made additions and annotations - John Stow's hand is the most prominent of these. The main scribe has used a mixed hand, with idiosyncracies which permit the identification of it in several other manuscripts. E.P. Hammond isolated the following volumes, and parts of volumes, as his work: British Library MSS Addit. 34360 (this MS), Arundel 59, Harley 2251, Royal 17.D.xv (ff.167-301, less part of 241); Royal College of Physicians MS 13; Trinity College, Cambridge MS R.3.21 (ff.34r-49v; line 4)¹. To these, A.I. Doyle was able to add British Library MSS Harley 78 (f.3r) and Cotton Claudius A.viii (ff.175-197), Worcester Cathedral MS 172, and Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson D.913 (f.43)². Most recently, R.F. Green has identified the same hand in the second section of British Library MS Harley 372³.
- f. Gaps of varying sizes were left for the decoration of major initials, but this was never completed. Proper names, the initial letters of every line, and paraph marks indicating stanza divisions have all been flourished in red.

D. History and Provenance

The manuscript appears to have been copied at some time during the reign of Edward IV (1460-1483). Lydgate's Verses on the Kings of England (item 20) conclude with an added stanza on the apparently still-reigning Edward, and in the Prayer for King, Queen and People (item 26) the dedication is to Edward rather than to the more usual Henry VI. According to the work of E.P. Hammond, A.I. Doyle and R.F. Green, the scribe was active in London between the 1460s and the 1480s, and copied a variety of texts: Hoccleve's Regiment (MSS Arundel 59 and Harley 372); The Canterbury Tales (MSS Royal 17.D.xv and Royal College of Physicians 13); Fortescue's Governance of England (MS Claudius A.viii); the English prose Merlin (MS Rawl. D.913); part of Pierce the Ploughman's Creed (MS Harley 78), and some important anthologies (MS Harley 2251, TCC R.3.21, Worcester Cathedral 172), of which the present manuscript is one. The lyrics here seem to have been included for their supposed associations with famous or prestigious authors - Chaucer (items 4, 13, 14), and Suffolk (items 6-9) - and in the case of the first gathering seem to have been used to fill up some remaining space. The nature of most of the texts copied in this volume (and in other MSS in the group), and the characteristically verbose rubrics to some of them (see items 6, 7, 13, 15, 16) suggest that the scribe had access to various of the manuscripts copied by, or associated with, John Shirley. E.P. Hammond believed that he was connected with Shirley's own hypothetical workshop, which, she believed, survived him after his death in 1459. Certainly many of the manuscripts copied by this scribe remained in London, and followed the same path as other Shirley-connected manuscripts, through the hands of John Stow: Royal College of Physicians MS 13 seems to have had strong London connections⁴, and four of the manuscripts listed above (Harley 78, Harley 372, Harley 2251, TCC R.3.21), as well as this one, were at some stage in Stow's possession⁵.

Later owners of this collection include William Browne and John Taylor (d.1766)⁶, whose signatures appear on f.4r. Browne also copied in a Latin tag ('Fortuna non mutat genus WB') on f.2v, and on ff.3r-3v added 'A Catalogue of y^e Poemes in this volume'. By the nineteenth century the manuscript had come into the collection of Sir Thomas Phillipps (1792-1872); it was sold to the British Museum in 1893⁷.

E. Bibliography

Hammond, Anglia 28; Chaucer, p.327;
Brusendorff, Chaucer pp.181, 222;
BM Cat. Addit. MSS 1888-93, pp.317-21.

Notes

1. Hammond, MF 27.
2. Doyle, Speculum 34.
3. Green, BLJ 4.
4. Manly & Rickert, Canterbury Tales i pp.444-46.
5. Kingsford, Stow's Survey, i p.xciii.
6. For Browne, see DNB 3 pp.75-76, and for Taylor, DNB 19 pp.440-41.
7. See de Ricci, Collectors, pp.1792-1872.

32. LONDON, British Library, MS Additional 38666.

A. s.xv^{med.}; a copy of The Stanzaic Life of Christ, with some later additions.

B. Contents

1. The Stanzaic Life of Christ (Index 1755), ff.5r-173v.

[*2.] To his Mistress: a Riddle Including her Name (English verse, not in Index), f.173v,

I love good alle þat is no fayle. . .

Pr. Boffey, NQ 226.

[*3.] Dialogue between a Clerk and a Husbandman (Index 344), f.174r-v.

C. Technical Description

- a. Parchment; 9 x 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ins (230 x 145mm).
- b. iv + 173 + i; pencil foliation begins on the inside pastedown at the beginning and continues through the manuscript to the last flyleaf (i.e. 1-178). The flyleaves are fragments of other manuscripts: the fourth at the beginning comes from a Durham manuscript of Prosper, and the single one at the end from a manuscript belonging to Merton College, Oxford.¹
- c. 1¹² - 14¹², 15^{6(6 canc.)}. There are catchwords and leaf signatures.
- d. The main text is copied in single columns of around 30-34 lines; margins have been supplied in red ink. The written space measures 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ ins (165 x 85mm). The love-lyric is scrawled onto some available space, the other lyric more carefully copied.
- e. One scribe wrote the whole of the main text, in an anglicana script, using a textura for the Latin rubrics. Item 3 was added by another fifteenth-century hand, writing a secretary script, and item 2, the love-lyric, in an untidy early Tudor secretary hand.
- f. The main text begins with a small penwork half-border in red and blue, but there is no further decoration. Neither of the added texts is decorated in any way.

D. History and provenance

Various signatures occur: on the inside pastedown is 'Willelmus h', possibly in the hand of the main scribe; on f.3r is 'Iste liber pertinet ad/ Jhoannem balye', and on f.3v 'Iste liber constat Stephanus Stanley', both in hands of the late fifteenth or early sixteenth centuries; on f.176r is 'pray for the sole of Thomas Smyth', again in a roughly contemporary hand. None of these signatures appears to match the hand of item 2, which was presumably copied in by some sixteenth-century reader of the manuscript.

E. Bibliography

HMC 3rd Report p.243;

Sotheby's Sale Cat. (4th March 1913), Lot 117, p.15;

BM Cat. Additions 1911-15 pp.194-95;

Foster, EETS o.s.166 pp.xi-xii;

Brown, MLN 33.

Notes

1. Ker, Medieval Libraries, pp.72 & 147.

*33. LONDON, British Library, MSS Additional 43490 & 43491; the Paston Letters.

Amongst the several scraps of verse embedded in the Paston Letters are two love poems:

*1. Love Letter to a Lord (Index 2267.5), possibly written in the persona of a lady, but equally possibly from another man. BL Addit. 43491, f.27; copied in the hand of John Paston III, with many corrections suggestive of an original composition; c.1471.

My right good lord most knyghtly gentyll knyght. . .

Pr. Davis, Paston Letters no.351, i pp.571-73.

*2. A Valentine (Index 303), from Marjery Paston to John Paston III, February 1477. BL Addit. 43490, f.23, copied in the hand of Thomas Kela, a clerk of Marjery's father Sir Thomas Brews:

And yf ye commande me to kepe me true where euer I go. . .
pr. Davis, Paston Letters no.415, i p.662.

34. LONDON, British Library, MS Addit. 60577; The 'Winchester Anthology'.

s.xv² (after 1477)/s.xvi; anthology of English, Latin and French verse and prose, apparently compiled by one scribe at St. Swithun's Priory, Winchester, with additions in later hands.

For a full description of the contents, and discussion of the composition and provenance of this manuscript, see Wilson & Fenlon, Winchester Anthology. The music is also discussed by Fenlon, Instrumental Music. The following courtly love lyrics occur:

- *1. O splendent spectakyll moste comlyeste of hewe
(not in Index), f.108r, unprinted; see Appendix I p. 454.
- *2. Whan I wold fayne begynne to pleyne (not in Index), f.115v,
Pr. Wilson, NQ 27.
- *3. A lady bryzt fayre and gay (not in Index), f.115v,
Pr. Wilson, NQ 27.
- *4. Why dare I not compleyn to my lady (not in Index), f.116v,
Pr. Wilson, NQ 27.
- 5. O rote of trouthe princes to my paye (Index 2547.5), f.116v,
Pr. Wilson, NQ 27.
- *6. Fortune vnfrendly bou art vnto me (not in Index), f.116v,
Pr. Wilson, NQ 27.
- 7. Soo put in fere I dare not speke (Index 3168.4), f.116v,
Pr. Wilson, NQ 27.
- 8. That was my woo ys now my most gladnes (Index 3297.5), f.116v,
Pr. Wilson, NQ 27.

The anthology also contains (on ff.95r-107v) an English *prose* translation of the French prose Demandes d'Amour found in BL MS Royal 16.F.ii (item 3, see p.332) and other manuscripts.

35. British Library, MS Arundel 26.

A. s.xvi¹; historical collections, in English, Latin, and French, with two English lyrics.

B. Contents

1. Letter to Burgundy from the Emperor Maximilian I, 1487
(French prose), f.2r-v, beg. A tous prelatz gens desglize
barons chevaliers. . .
2. Advice from Louis IX of France to his son (French prose),
ff.2v-4r, beg. Trescher fitz tout premier je te enseigne. . .
3. Commission from Henry VI to Lord Scales etc., 1424 (French prose),
f.4r-v.
4. Treaty between Lord Scales etc. and the Garrison of Sillé-le-
Guillaume, 1424 (French prose), ff.4v-5v.
5. Notes on Castles in Anjou (French prose), ff.5v-6v,
Cy ensuyt les places non tenables. . .
6. Treaty of Arras between Charles VII of France and Philip of
Burgundy, 1435 (French prose), ff.7r-9v.
7. Notes on the Genealogy of the French Kings (French prose), ff.9v-16r,
beg. Quatre cent ans auant que Romme fut fonde. . .
8. Treaty between Louis XI and French Dukes, 1439 (French prose),
ff.10v-11r.
9. Notes on French History, 1439-40 (French prose), f.11r-v.
10. Advice for Lords of Brittany, and their Replies (French prose),
ff.11v-16v.
11. The Churches of Paris (French prose), ff.16v-17r.
12. Commercial Treaty between England and Burgundy (Latin prose),
ff.17v-22r.
13. Treaty of Commerce between John II of Denmark and Henry VII
of England, 1490 (Latin prose), ff.22r-27v.
14. The Burial of Henry VII, 1509 (English prose), ff.28r-29r, beg.
In primis all seremounyrs doon as belongth to a kyng. . .
15. The Burial of Queen Elizabeth Woodville, 1492 (English prose), ff.
29v-30r, beg. On the viij day of june thyr off our lord m iij^c iij^{xx}
et xij at barmondsey/ in southwerke. . .

16. The King of Aragon's Expedition against the Turks (English prose), ff.30v-31v.
- *17. Beware of Deceit (Index 1637.8), f.32r; unpublished, see Appendix II pp.457-58.
- *18. Reversible Balade (Index 1237), f.32v.
BALADE COULOURD AND REUERSID
Honnour and beaute vertue and gentilnesse. . .
19. The Burial of the Earl of Salisbury, 1460 (English prose), f.33r.
20. The Meeting between Henry VII and the Archduke Philip at Calais, 1500 (English prose), ff.33v-34r.
21. List of London Parishes (English prose), ff.34v-35r.
22. The Burial of John Viscount Welles, 1498 (English prose), ff.35v-36r,
On saynt apolyne day the ix day of ffebruary. . .
23. Allowances for Herald's (English prose), f.37v.
24. Extracts from an Anglo-Burgundian Peace Treaty, 1482 (French prose), ff.38r-38v.
25. Two Latin proverbs, f.39v,
(i) Walther 31405;
(ii) Omnis amor fugiturus preter amorem matrimonialem...
26. List of French Dukes (French prose), ff.40r-43r.
27. The Reception of the Papal Ambassador, 1524 (English prose), f.46r.
28. Patent for the Creation of John Duke of Bedford (Latin prose), f.47v.
29. Confirmation Charter for the Guild of St. Christopher, York, (Latin prose), f.48r-v.
30. Charter for the Abbey of Burton-on-Trent (Latin prose), f.49r-v.
31. Letters of Marque granted to John de Wagheye of Beverley and William Count of Holland (Latin prose), f.50r-v.
32. Charter of King Edgar, 964 (Latin prose), f.51r-v.
33. French Charter, 1524 (French prose), ff.52v-53r.
34. Henry VIII's Declaration of War against France, 1513 (English and Latin prose), ff.54v-55v.
35. Henry VIII's Proclamations in France (English and Latin prose), ff.56v-57r.

36. The Summoning of Thérrouanne, 1514 (English prose), f.57v.
37. Notes on the Kings of England (Latin prose), ff.58r-63v, beg.
Brutus per responsum diarie confortans in insulam albion. . .
38. The Creation of Thomas Duke of Norfolk, 1514 (Latin prose),
ff.64v-67r.
39. Indenture, 1513 (English prose), ff.68v-71v.
40. Grant of Arms to William Bolton, prior of St. Bartholomew, 1529
(Latin prose), ff.72v-73r.
41. Confirmation of Arms (French prose), ff.73v-74v.
42. On Blazoning (English prose), f.75v.
43. Note on the Recovery of a Manor (Latin prose), f.76v.

C. Technical description

- a. Paper; 13½ x 9 ins. (340 x 230mm).
- b. ff.ii + 98 + ii; original foliation, roman numerals in the top right-hand corners of the rectos, stretches from 'i' to 'lxxiiij', with one break after 'xxij'; a modern, pencil foliation system has also been added, starting on the second flyleaf, and numbering only the leaves which have been written on. I have used this system in describing the contents.
- c. Collation is impracticable; one leaf seems to be wanting after f.33.
- d. The size of the written space, and the number of lines to the page, vary; all the texts are copied in single columns. Some frames have been ruled (on f.32, for instance, where both the lyrics are copied).
- e. Two different hands have compiled the manuscript. Scribe A copied items 1-26, on ff.2-43, writing a clear and painstaking 'printed' early Tudor secretary hand; scribe B supplied most of the other items (except for the few additions noted in the list of contents) writing a more cursive variety of the script.

B seems to have supplied his material at a later date, copying in items which relate to events of the 1520s; the latest date referred to in the items copied by A is 1509 (item 14), and his interest seems to lie rather with the fifteenth century.

f. There is no decoration.

D. History and provenance

The contents of the manuscript have a distinct historical bias, concentrating especially on Anglo-French and Anglo-Burgundian relations. A possible London connection is hinted at by the List of London Parishes (item 21), and an interest in heraldry, suggested by items 23 and 42, is noticeable; the manuscript later belonged to Sir William Dethick (1543-1612), Garter King-of-Arms,¹ who has written on f.1r 'Willelmi Detheck Garteri principalis regis armorum Anglicorum', so perhaps it was compiled by a herald and passed on to Dethick through a chain of herald-owners - his father Gilbert Dethick was also Garter King-of-Arms. A note added in a different hand from that of the main scribes on f.44r records 'partie of the families anno 1523 in coleyn', supplying a list of names of German inhabitants of Cologne, and of Nuremberg.

E. Bibliography

Catalogue of Arundel MSS pp.7-8.

Notes

1. DNB xiv pp.419-20. cf. Guildhall Library MS 3035, signed 'Wyllelmus Dethyke' on f.xiii v; Ker, MSS in British Libraries i pp.83-4.

36. LONDON, British Library, MS Cotton Cleopatra D.vii.

A. s̄.xiv(?) - s̄.xv; Composite collection of verse and prose in French, Latin and English.

B. Contents

- [1.] On the Coronation of Kings and Queens :(Latin prose), ff.2r-5r, continued on 190r-192v.

[D]ie quo nouus rex est consecrandus erunt presentes in palacio quattuor magnates. . .

2. Table of Dominical Letters and Calendar, ff. 5v-10v.
3. The Three Kings of Cologne (Latin prose), ff.12r-75r, Coll. Horstmann, EETS o.s.85 pp.206-312.
4. The story of Albina and her sisters, on the legendary origin of the name Albion (French verse), ff.76r-79v,
Ci poet home sauer coment quant & de quele/ gent. . .
See Ward, Cat. Romances i p.198.
5. French Prose Chronicle ff.80r-182v,
ASSIT PRINCIPIO SANCTA MARIA MEO
Celi qe vodra sauer coment Brut vint primes en Engle/tere et conquist la tere ci pot il oir et sauer. . .
See Brie, Geschichte und Quellen pp.17ff.
6. The Lamentation of Our Lady (English prose, Revell no.100), ff.183r-187v.
7. Treatise on Tribulation (English prose, Revell no.60), ff.187v-188v.
8. Chaucer, Gentilesse (Index 3348), f.188v.
9. Chaucer, Lack of Steadfastness (Index 3190), ff.188v-189r.
10. Chaucer, Truth (Index 809), ff.189r-v.
11. Chaucer(?), Against Women Unconstant (Index 2029), f.189v,
Madame for your neue fangelnesse. . .

EXPLICIT

C. Technical description

a. Parchment; $9\frac{3}{4}$ x $6\frac{1}{4}$ ins (245 x 160mm).

b. ff.iv + 192 + iv; modern ink foliation.

c. 1-6¹², 7⁸, 8-9¹², 10¹⁰, 11¹⁴, 12-14¹², 15¹⁴, 16¹², 17^{three}.

Catchwords remain at the ends of most of the gatherings. Many leaf signatures are still visible (starting on the first leaf of the second gathering - 'bj'), and the individual gatherings are also numbered on the first recto of each one (starting with the second - '2').

- d. The texts are copied in single columns, with between 30 and 35 lines to the page. Pricking is visible, frames and guidelines for the writing are ruled in, and the average written space measures $7\frac{3}{4} \times 4\frac{3}{4}$ ins (175 x 120mm).
- e. Three different scribes were involved in the copying of the main texts, perhaps over some years. A copied ff.5v-75r, B ff.76r-79v, 119r-120v, 140r-189v, and C ff.80r-139v (excluding 119r-120v). All three write an anglicana formata script, although A uses more secretary forms than the other two. D, writing a secretary script, has added the Order of Coronation (item 1), presumably at a slightly later date.
- f. The work of the main scribes is decorated by flourishes in blue and red ink, sometimes extending in the margins into tiny grotesques. New items begin with 2-line coloured capitals (indeed the capitals are the only means of distinguishing the starts of the lyrics, which are copied continuously).

D. History and provenance

The manuscript seems to have evolved as an anthology of historical and devotional material, mainly in prose, and was perhaps compiled over a number of years¹. The lyrics are added at the end of the last complete gathering, written continuously - almost as if considered to form one item - and were surely inserted as space-fillers. The connection with Chaucer, and the 'moral' tone of the first three lyrics, presumably suggested them as suitable candidates for inclusion. Against Women Unconstant (item 11), something of an anomaly in this collection, seems to have been copied merely as one part of a larger whole - 'short poems by Chaucer'.

There is nothing in the manuscript to indicate its early ownership, although item 1, the order of Coronation of Kings and Queens, has been added after the completion of the main anthology, presumably by an early owner, and a London provenance has been suggested. Thomas Allen of Oxford owned the manuscript in the seventeenth century².

E. Bibliography

Cat. Cotton MSS ii p.583; Doyle, Thesis ii pp.222ff.
Hammond, Chaucer p.327.

Notes

1. A.I. Doyle notes that the main part of the chronicle was copied by an earlier hand - perhaps even of s.xiv ex. He also connects the MS with Westminster and the Baron family.
 2. See Watson, 'Thomas Allen'.
37. LONDON, British Library, MS Cotton Nero E.iii.

s.xv; a large illustrated parchment copy of Les Anciennes Croniques de Flandres, 721-1404, associated with the Dukes of Buckingham. On one of the end flyleaves is an unindexed lyric, O cruell ffortune to me most contraraye .

I am grateful to Mrs. Elizabeth Urquhart, of the University of Sheffield, for alerting me to this lyric; because the information came at a late stage in the project, I have only been able to include a brief mention.

38. LONDON, British Library, MS Cotton Vespasian D.ix.

- A. England and the Netherlands, s.xiv-s.xvi; miscellaneous collections of verse and prose, in English, Latin and Flemish; the lyrics are included in section VII, s.xv², an anthology of English verse.

B. Contents (section VII only).

- VII.*1. Why I Can't be a Nun (Index 316.3), ff.177r-190v, beginning imperfectly and ending unfinished. The leaves are disordered, so that this is bound up as ff.177-182, 190.

2. The Stations of Rome, lacking lines 1-100 (Index 1172),
ff.183r-188r.
- *3. Epistle from a Lover to his Mistress (Index 751 + 2308.8),
ff.188r-189r,
Exemplye sendynge to youe rowte of gentylnes. . .
PENSES DE MOY
- *4. A Description of his Mistress (Index 2491), f.189r-v,
O lord of loue here my complaynt. . .
ends unfinished.
5. Fragment (lines 357-470) of The Northern Passion (Index 1907),
ff.191r-192v.
. . .ye clepyth me yowre lorde alle. . .

C. Technical description

- a. Paper; $7\frac{3}{4}$ x $5\frac{1}{4}$ ins. (197 x 133mm).
- b. ff.16 (ff.177-192 in the present foliation of the manuscript).
There are two systems of foliation: one in ink, in a hand of s.xvii(?), and another, superseding this, written in pencil by a modern hand.
- c. Collation is impossible in this section, as all the leaves have been individually remounted for rebinding, and there are many lacunae in the texts. The order of the leaves has been disturbed; the present f.190 should follow f.182. All the major items - Why I Can't be a Nun (1), The Stations of Rome (2), and The Northern Passion (5) - are fragmentary, and it seems likely that the second lyric (item 4) is also unfinished¹; an unknown number of leaves must have been lost. No leaf signatures or catchwords remain, although the hand responsible for the old foliation system has lettered f.177r as 'DD' and f.183r as 'EE', and f.190r as 'FF', as if these three leaves were considered to have begun separate gatherings within the section.

- d. Frames have been ruled to enclose a written space whose size varies from item to item. All the texts, including the lyrics, have been copied in single columns, with the number of lines per column varying between 24 and 30.
- e. Three different hands appear in this section. One scribe, A, has copied Why I Can't Be a Nun (item 1), and the two lyrics (items 3 and 4); he writes a neat mixed hand. A second scribe, B, who signs himself 'Bertran Watoun' on f.188r, has copied The Stations of Rome (item 2). Many of his letter-forms are similar to those of A, but the aspect of the hand is much thicker and more untidy. A third scribe, C, was responsible for The Northern Passion (item 5); his hand displays fewer secretary features than those of the other two, and is generally more regular. A later hand (s.xvii?) has added notes against one or two of the items, as on f.177r.
- f. Spaces were left for decoration of the major initials in item 1, but it was never completed. The 'directions' from church to church in The Stations of Rome (item 2) were written in red, but there is otherwise no rubrication or flourishing.

D. History and provenance

A number of miscellaneous pieces have been collected together in this manuscript. Sections I and IX, saints' lives in Latin verse, were copied by one scribe in the late fourteenth century. Sections III, V, and VIII, dating from the mid-fifteenth century, contain material best described as of general or topical interest to religious². The Dutch chronicle in section IV is of a slightly later date: its last entry describes events of 1476. The notes on Hyde Abbey in section II were copied in the sixteenth century, and the contributions to Camden's Britannia in section VI in the late sixteenth or early seventeenth. The governing interest of the collection is, broadly speaking, historical, and in this context most of the items in the late fifteenth-century verse anthology

which comprises section VII do not seem out of place: Why I Can't Be a Nun and The Stations of Rome have the same appeal for an historian as some of the material in sections III, V and VIII, even if they do seem originally to have been intended for less learned readers. It seems likely that the component parts of the manuscript were connected in some way with the antiquary and historian William Camden (1551-1623), whose interests they perfectly complement, before reaching the library of Sir Robert Cotton (1571-1631), to whom Camden bequeathed many manuscripts³; the inclusion of the Britannia contributions, quite apart from the general flavour of the collection, certainly suggests this.

There are few clues to the provenance and early history of section VII, with its two lyrics. The seventeenth-century annotator has written against item 21 'Bertram Walton author of the poeme/ Invectives against the Licentiousness of the Clergy/ Especially Nunnes' (f.177r), but Walton, who signs his name at the end of item 2, was surely the scribe rather than the author, and anyway not even the scribe of this first item. The lyrics possibly served the purpose of space-fillers, as they come at the end of item 2, The Stations of Rome. The fragmentary nature of section VII makes any further speculation impossible.

E. Bibliography (Section VII only)

Cat. Cotton MSS ii pp.475-76;

Foster, EETS o.s.145 pp.16-17.

Notes

1. Although R.H. Robbins makes no mention of this in his edition.
2. Section III appears to have been copied by William Mede, of the Charterhouse of Jesus of Bethlehem at Sheen; see Medieval Libraries p.305. Mede signs his name on f.167v ('Deo Gracias quod W. Mede') and on f.47v ('Quod W. Edem V.N.', i.e. verso nomine, Mede). He also copied Bodleian Library Oxford MS Bodley 117 (S.C.1979), a selection of extracts from chronicles, the Church Fathers, and anti-Lollard writings; Trinity College Dublin MS 281, the Emendatic Vitae ascribed to Richard Rolle,

and Cambridge University Library MS Gg.1.6, a devotional paraphrase of the life of Christ. Bodleian Library MS Hatton 14 (S.C.4105), a copy of Higden's Polychronicon, was also at some stage in his possession. See Allen, Richard Rolle p.237; Thompson, Carthusian Order pp.332-33, 340; Doyle, Thesis p.186; Bodleian Summary Cat. ii (1) pp.144-45, ii(2) p.842; Pächt & Alexander, Catalogue iii no.712.

3. Camden, DNBiii pp.729-37; Cotton, DNB iv pp.1233-40.

39. LONDON, British Library, MS Harley 541

A. s.xv ex.-s.xvii; miscellaneous items, in English and Latin, collected together by Sir Simonds d'Ewes. The lyrics occur in section XIII, a miscellany of s.xv ex.

B. Contents (section XIII only).

- XIII.1. The Little Children's Little Book (Index 1920), ff.210r-207v. ff.210 and 207 have been misplaced in binding; the text begins on f.210r-v and is then continued on f.207r. The bottom half of f.210 is torn off, so that there are two gaps in this copy.
2. Reginald Pecock (?), Sensus Miratur que Ratio Dicere Nescit (Index 4181), f.207v.
- *3. Aureate Invocation of his Absent Mistress (Index 2412.5), f.208r,
O desiderabulle dyamunt distinit with diuersificacion. . .
unpublished, see Appendix I p.454.
- *4. An Unhappy Lover's Description of His Mistress (Index 4209),
ff.208v-209r,
With wofull hert & gret mornynge. . .
5. Lydgate, Dietary (Index 824), ff.209v-211v, lacking the final stanza; because of the misplaced leaves (see item 1) the text jumps from f.209v to f.211r.
- *6. On Nurture and Kind (Index 995.4), ff.212r-213r, beginning imperfectly;
Pr. Scattergood, NQ n.s.17.
7. The ABC of Aristotle (Index 4155), f.213r-v.

- *8. Of the Epiphany (Index 2333), ff.214r-v.
9. Bring us in Good Ale (Index 549), f.214v.
10. List of the Mayors and Sheriff(s) of London (English prose), ff.215r-217v, from 'Henricus de Cornhill' to 'William Hareytt'; other, later hands have continued to add to the list up to f.219v. The continuations are pr. by Kingsford, Historical Literature p.321.
11. List of Churches etc. in London (English prose), ff.220v-224v.
12. The Gates of the City of London (English prose), f.224v.
13. List of Collective Terms (English prose), f.225r.
14. List of London Guildhalls (English prose), ff.225v-226v.
15. List of Knighthoods Conferred 29th June 1483 (English prose), f.226v.
16. List of English & Welsh Bishops (English prose), f.227v.
17. The ABC of Aristotle, copied a second time; see item 7; f.228r.
18. Two Latin Proverbs (Walther, Sprichwörter, 4861 and 30668), f.228r.
- *19. An Evening Prayer (Index 3844), f.228v.
20. An Indulgence (English prose), f.228v,
 THE PARDON OF SYON BEDEZ
 For euery pater noster cccc daye3. . .
21. Latin Proverb (Walther, Sprichwörter 11871), with English translation, f.228v.
22. List of London Guilds (English prose), ff.229r-v,
 Mercers/ Grocers/ Drapers. . .

C. Technical description (fifteenth century section only)

- a. Paper; ff.210, 207-9, 211-13 measure $7\frac{1}{2}$ x $5\frac{1}{2}$ ins (190 x 140mm); ff.214-29 measure $8\frac{1}{4}$ x 6 ins (210 x 150mm). Some leaves are torn and badly rubbed. Two distinct watermarks are visible: Tête de boeuf, like Briquet 14185 (ff.207, 208, 211, 212), and Main, like Briquet 10719 (ff.215, 218, 221, 222, 224, 225, 228).
- b. 23 leaves, ff.207-229 in the modern pencil foliation (which, for convenience, I have maintained), but in fact ff.210-232, as some leaves earlier on in the manuscript have mistakenly been numbered twice. No earlier systems of foliation are visible in the fifteenth-century section.

- c. The leaves have all been remounted for rebinding, so collation is made difficult. The evidence of paper and watermarks, however, suggests two distinct gatherings: 1^{seven} (ff.210, 207-9, 211-12); 2¹⁶ (ff.214-29). It is impossible to reconstruct the original order of the first gathering. At least one leaf must now be missing - perhaps even more; the last stanza of Lydgate's Dietary (item 5) and the beginning of the poem On Nurture and Kind (item 6) are missing, and it is quite possible that other texts were originally inserted between these two.
- d. The layout and the size of the writing space are variable in both gatherings. The first is written only in single columns, the second sometimes in double or triple columns, especially for the lists. There is no surviving evidence of ruling in either gathering, but the layout is generally ordered and neat.
- e. The first gathering is written throughout by one scribe, A, although the hand of item 5 (Lydgate's Dietary) presents a slightly different aspect. Perhaps it was written with a different pen, or at a different time from the other items. This hand is basically secretary, although it borrows one or two anglicana features ('e', for instance). At the end of item 1, The Little Children's Little Book, the scribe has written 'Lerne or be lewde quod Whytyng'. The 'lerne or be lewde' tag occurs in other manuscripts of courtesy books - in BL MS Harley 5086 it is found once at the end of The Babees Book (f.90r) and again at the end of The ABC of Aristotle (f.90v)¹ - but the 'Whiting' is unique to Harley 541 and must be presumed to refer to scribe A. The second gathering is more complicated. Another scribe, B, writing a scrappy, informal, mixed hand, copied the two carols on f.214 (items 8 and 9), perhaps filling in a leaf which had been left blank. Scribe C, writing a florid and regular anglicana, was responsible for the items on ff.215-17, 220-25r, 228-29; his seems to be the main hand of the gathering. One more scribe, D, using a slightly darker ink and probably writing later than C, added the information on ff.225v-226r, 227v, 228r. Item 17, the second copy of The ABC of Aristotle, on f.228r, was obviously copied some time after the writing of

f.228v, as allowance has been made for a dark blot showing through the paper from a drawing on the verso of the leaf. Different later hands have annotated the London information in the manuscript; John Stow's hand is one of these.

f. There is virtually no decoration. The initial letters of the items in gathering 1 are flourished, and a gap was left for a decorated initial, never completed, at the beginning of Lydgate's Dietary (item 5). Scribe D has prefaced the second copy of The ABC of Aristotle (item 17) with a small design in red ink. Scribe C has copied one entry in the List of Mayors and Sherrifs (item 10) in red ink: 'Nicholas Brembir knyght vj tymes maire of londone'.

D. History and provenance

The manuscript is noted in an inventory of Sir Simonds d'Ewes's library²; d'Ewes was almost certainly responsible for collecting together the various parts, and several of them contain notes in his hand (II, IV, V, XII). The 'Adagia Britannica' in section I were written and translated by John Davies of Mallwyd, Co. Merioneth (c.1567-1644) at d'Ewes's request³. Michael Lock's Notes on Russia (section X) probably came to d'Ewes via Ralph Starkey of Darley Hall, Oulton, in Cheshire, whose collections were acquired by d'Ewes on his death in 1628; there is a note by Starkey on f.164v⁴.

The second gathering of the fifteenth-century section of the manuscript contains annotations in the hand of John Stow, mainly figures written in a tiny hand against the List of Mayors and Sherriffs (item 10). Presumably on the strength of these, the manuscript as a whole has been entitled 'Stowe's Historical and Other Collections', and this is stamped on the present binding. Part, at least, of the fifteenth-century section must have been in Stow's possession in the sixteenth century; probably it came later into the hands of d'Ewes and was bound up with other items from his collection - several other manuscripts owned or annotated by Stow later belonged to d'Ewes⁵.

The early provenance of the fifteenth-century section is obscure. There are no legible signatures or other indications of ownership beyond the name of the scribe, Whiting, discussed above. Two references in the second gathering do hint at a possible connection with a London merchant milieu, however. Among the notes added by amateur hands to the List of Mayors and Sheriffs (item 10) - in itself enough to link this manuscript with compilations like BL MS Harley 2252 and Balliol College, Oxford MS 354 - is a paragraph describing the death in office of Sir Thomas Hill in 1485, and continuing:

The iiij day aftyr Syr Thomas hylle mayer dyde/ Syr Thomas Frowyke knyte [on] mykkylmas <eue> eue þe moor pytte was God have mercy on hys sowle/ & many a wochyppule mane moo of the swetyng syknes On hose sowles Jhesu have mercy.

Frowyk stands out as the only figure mentioned in these notes who was neither mayor, sheriff, nor royalty. The suggestion that the scribes and later readers of at least this gathering of the manuscript may have had some connection with him is reinforced by the recording of his swans' mark on f.228v. The name of Henry Frowyk has also been underlined in its two appearances in the List of Mayors. The Thomas Frowyk in question, given that he died in 1485, must be Sir Thomas Frowyk of Gunnersbury and Ealing, mercer, alderman of London, and prominent Yorkist, whose family was reaching the peak of its prosperity in the late fifteenth century. Sir Thomas (1420-85) was M.P. for Middlesex in 1447, 1450-51, 1460, 1461-62 and 1467-68, and was knighted in 1477/8. His father, Henry, had also been a mercer and an alderman. Other prominent relatives included a nephew Henry, to be knighted in 1501 at the marriage of Prince Arthur; a son, Thomas (c.1464-1506) also knighted, who was to become Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas, and a granddaughter who was eventually to marry Sir Thomas Cheyney, Treasurer of the Royal Household⁶. The exact connection of Harley 541 with the Frowyk family is impossible to define, but it seems not unlikely that the writers and owners were admiring acquaintances of some kind who sensed the advantage of recording their contact.

E. Bibliography

Cat. Harleian MSS i p.346;

Greene, Early English Carols p.301.

Notes

1. MS Harley 5086 is not copied by any of the scribes associated with section XIII of MS Harley 541. The 'Lerne or be lewde' tag is also found at the end of Chaucer's Gentilesse in Nottingham Univ. MS Me.LM.1; see Davis, RES n.s.20. One Thomas Whiting (al. Utine, still living in 1494/5) was Chester Herald c.1473, and a retainer in the household of Antony Woodville, Earl Rivers. He composed a Latin poem on Richard, 3rd Duke of York (d.1460, see Wright, Political Poems i pp.256-7) and an account of the tournament held in 1465 between Woodville and the Bastard of Burgundy. According to the British Library's card index, this Whiting owned MS Harley 48, a copy of Le Livre de l'Information des Princes, and copied three of the items in it (numbers 2-4); his hand does not appear to be the same as that of the Whiting associated with MS Harley 541, however.
2. Watson, Simonds d'Ewes p.217.
3. Watson, Simonds d'Ewes. See also Wright, Fontes Harleiani p.125.
4. Wright, Fontes Harleiani, p.314.
5. Watson, Simonds d'Ewes, p.26.
6. For information on the Frowyk family and their estate, see DNB 7 p.733; Thrupp, Merchant Class pp.342-43; VCH Middlesex; iv p.209, v p.283, vii p.19; Harleian Soc. 65 (1914) pp.88-90; Wedgwood, History of Parliament, pp.358-59.

The widow of Sir Thomas Frowyk junior, Elizabeth, subsequently married Thomas Jakes, into whose possession she seems to have brought two manuscripts formerly belonging to her first husband: BL Addit. MSS 37659 (Year Books 21 and 38-50 Edward III) and 37657 (Year Books temp. Edward I, Writs temp. Richard II etc.). Jakes also owned BL MS Arundel 23 ('Liber Burnellus', Vita St. Eustace) and Cambridge University Library MS Ff.5.35 (Piers Plowman; Mandeville's Travels), see BL MSS Card Index; BL MS Cotton Nero C.1 (a copy of the Nova Statuta), see Pronay and Taylor, BIHR 47. I am grateful to J.J. Griffiths for drawing my attention to Jakes's library.

40. LONDON, British Library, MS Harley 1317

A. s.xv²; abridged statutes of England, Henry III - Henry VI, in Latin and French. The lyric, and other scraps, are added in early sixteenth-century hands.

B. Contents

1. Statutes of England, abridged, from Henry III- Henry VI. (French and Latin prose), ff.1r-93v,
Graunte est que les desoz puissent faire attourneyz. . .
- [*2.] A May-Morning Encounter (Index 3836.5), f.94*v,
Wep no more ffor me set hart wepe no more ffor me/ as
sharpe as a dart hathe perysht my hart that ye shode/
morne ffor me/ Apone a mornyng of may. . .
also pr. Greene, Early English Carols pp.281-2.
- [3.] Letter from John Stevenson to William Brown (Latin prose), f.95.
4. Alphabetical Index to the Statutes (French), ff.96v-98v.
- [5.] Copy of a Letter from Henry VIII to William Eliot (Latin prose),
ff.99v-100r.

C. Technical description

- a. Paper; 11¼ x 7 ins (290 x 200mm).
- b. ff. iii + 101 + vii; modern pencil foliation, in which f.94 has mistakenly been numbered twice.
- c. 1²²(1-3 wanting), 2¹⁰, 3¹² - 5¹², 6⁸(8 wanting), 7¹⁴(14 wanting), 8⁶, 9¹²(5, 7-12 wanting), 10^{five}. Leaf signatures are visible on gatherings 2 to 8 (marked 'ij' to 'viij'), the figures copied in the top right-hand corner of the first recto of each gathering. One catchword remains, on f.65v.
- d. The main text is copied in single columns of 26-28 lines, and occupies a space of about 6 x 5 ins (175 x 110mm). Frames have been ruled.

- e. One scribe copied the Statutes and the Index to them, writing a small, neat anglicana hand (cf. Parkes, plate 23i), and supplying rubrics in anglicana formata. The added items are all copied in later, more informal hands.
- f. The main scribe has decorated his text with some florid ink initials.

D. History and Provenance

Many hands, mostly of the sixteenth century, have added incidental material in the blank spaces which were offered in the manuscript. On ff.2r and 92v is the signature of 'John Rudyngge'. On f.6r is scribbled: 'to morow shall be/ my fathers wake/ I wold my one true loue/ myght come ther tyll/ chryst came frome heven/ yn for thy sake/ and all was foreuen/ for thy loue style'. On f.94v are the signatures of 'homfrey dymmok' (several times, and again on f.100v), 'John taylbott', 'Edwarde torpyn' and 'frances torpyn', together with what seem to be snatches of song: 'And I were mayden loley to syng & sey as here/ aperyth to the sycht. . .'; 'with a o and a I as men tall can how mete/ maket and klopys shapyt but maners/ maket the man'¹. On f.100 v is a list of household plate, beginning 'In the buttre of new vestell a charger & iix platars. . .'. The hand of the love-lyric is not easily identifiable with any of these incidental notes, however. Some of the sixteenth-century signatures have been traced by Greene to Gloucestershire.

E. Bibliography

Cat. Harley MSS ii p.3;

Greene, Early English Carols p.302.

Notes

1. For the first, cf. Index 302.5. For the second, with its 'O' and 'I' refrain, see Greene, MAe 30 (1961).

41. LONDON, British Library, MS Harley 2251

A. s.xv²; anthology of English verse.

B. Contents

1. A Prayer to Jesus (Index 1682), f.1r-v; not printed, see Appendix II pp.458-59.
2. A Prayer to the Virgin (Index 183), ff.1v-2r.
3. Lydgate, Verses on the Kings of England, to Edward IV (Index 3632), ff.2v-4r.
4. Lydgate, Dietary (Index 824), ff.4v-5v.
5. Lydgate, Letter to Gloucester for Money (Index 2825), ff.6r-7r.
6. Lydgate, Epitaph for Gloucester (Index 3206), ff.7r-8v.
7. Lydgate (?), On Kissing at 'Verbum Caro Factum Est' (Index 4245), f.9r-v.
8. Lydgate, Stella Celi Extirpavit (Index 3673), ff.9v-10r.
9. Lydgate, Prayer for Henry VI, Queen, and People, adapted for Edward III (Index 2218), ff.10v-11r.
10. Lydgate, Consulo Quisquis Eris (Index 1294), ff.11v-13r.
11. Lydgate, Horns Away, lines 1-32 (Index 2625), f.13v.
12. Lydgate, A Satirical Ballad against Jack Hare (Index 36), f.14r-v.
13. Lydgate, As a Midsummer Rose (Index 1865), ff.15r-16v.
14. An Aureate Prayer to the Virgin (Index 2816), ff.17r-18r.
15. A Song of Christ to the Virgin, lines 1-50 (Index 3225), f.18r-v.
16. Lydgate, Right as a Ramshorn, lines 1-32 missing (Index 199), f.19r.
17. Lydgate, Everything draweth to his Semblable (Index 3800), ff.19v-22r.
18. Lydgate, On the Mutability of Man's Nature (Index 3503), ff.22v-24v.
19. Lydgate, Rhyme without Accord (Index 223), f.25r-26r.
20. Lydgate, Verses against Haste, lines 9-16, 25-32, 41-48, 65-72, 81-104, 113-128, 145-end (Index 186), ff.26v-27r.

21. Lydgate, A Song of Just Measure (Index 584), ff.27v-28v.
- *22. Lydgate (?), On the Mysteries of Creation (Index 2503), f.29r-30r.
23. Lydgate, Ave Jesse Virgula (Index 1037), ff.30v-32v.
- *24. Lydgate (?), Mystical Invitation of the Virgin to Man (Index 2803), ff.33r-34r.
25. Lydgate, Ave Regina Celorum (Index 1056), ff.34v-35r.
26. Lydgate, Regina Celi Letare (Index 2570), ff.35v-36r.
27. Birds' Matins (Index 357), ff.36v-37v.
28. Lydgate, Tied with a Line (Index 3436), ff.37v-38v.
29. Lydgate, Right as the Crab Goeth Forward (Index 3655), f.39r-v.
30. Lydgate, Testament, section 5 (Index 2464), ff.40r-42r.
31. On the Uncertainty of Worldly Honour (Index 4228), f.42r.
32. Lydgate, A Lamentation of Our Lady Mary (Index 4099), ff.42v-44v.
33. Chaucer, Fortune (Index 3661), with envoy from The Complaint of Venus (Index 3542), ff.45r-46r.
34. Lydgate, Amor et Pecunia (Index 698), ff.46v-48v.
35. Chaucer, Gentillesse (Index 3348), f.48v.
36. Chaucer, ABC to the Virgin (Index 239), ff.49r-51v.
37. The Craft of Lovers (Index 3761), ff.52r-54v.
38. Lydgate, Fabula Duorum Mercatorum (Index 1481), ff.55r-70r.
39. Lydgate, Legend of Dan Joos (Index 2579), ff.70v-72r.
40. Chaucer, The Prioress's Tale (Index 4019), ff.72v-76v.
41. Lydgate, A Praise of St. Anne (Index 1152), f.76v.
42. On Wine (Index 2668), f.76v.
- *43. The Monk of Paris (Index 2810), f.77r.
- *44. Legend of Wulfryk the Priest (Index 1590), ff.77v-78r.
- *45. Lydgate, Jesus to the Virgin, the Rose of Womanhood (Index 2238), f.78r.
- *46. On the Folly of Heaping up Riches (Index 1936), f.78v.
47. Of the Four Complexions (Index 2624), with stanzas disarranged and repeated, ff.79r-v.
- *48. Lines for a Mumping, spoken by Law (Index 3376), f.79v.
49. Devout and Virtuous Words (Index 285), f.80v.

50. Extracts from Lydgate's Fall of Princes (Index 1168), ff.81r-145v. For details of the extracts, see Edwards, The Library, 5th series 26; also Ann.Med. 13.
51. Lydgate, Song of Virtue (Index 401), ff.146r-147v.
52. Lydgate, Stans Puer ad Mensam lines 1-7 missing (Index 2233), ff.148r-149r.
53. Beware of Deceitful Women (Index 1944), ff.149v-150r.
54. Lydgate, The Pain and Sorrow of Evil Marriage (Index 919), f.150r-v.
55. Four Things that Make a Man Fall from Reason (Index 4230), f.150v.
56. Lydgate, Wicked Tongue (Index 653), ff.151r-152v.
57. The Abuses of the Age, in English and Latin (Index 906), f.153r.
58. Scogan's Moral Balade (Index 2264), ff.153v-156r.
59. Sayings of Old Philosophers, or Summum Sapientiae (Index 3487), ff.156v-167v.
60. Seven Wise Counsels (Index 576), f.168r-v.
61. Burgh, Parvus Cato (Index 3955), f.169r-v.
62. Burgh, Cato Major (Index 854), ff.170r-178v, ending unfinished.
63. Lydgate, The Interpretation and Virtues of the Mass (Index 4246), ff.179r-188r.
64. Lydgate and Burgh, Secrees of Old Philisoffres (Index 935), ff.188v-224r.
65. Lydgate, Procession of Corpus Christi (Index 3606), ff.224v-227v.
66. Lydgate, On the Sudden Fall of Princes in Our Days (Index 500), f.228r-v.
67. Lydgate, A Saying of the Nightingale (Index 1498), ff.229r-234v.
68. Lydgate, Gaude Virgo Mater Christi (Index 464), ff.234v-235r.
69. Lydgate, Christe Qui Lux Es et Dies (Index 614), ff.235v-236r.
70. Lydgate, Benedic Anima Meo Domino (Index 2572), ff.236r-238v.
71. Lydgate, Gloriosa Dicta Sunt de Te (Index 2688), ff.239r-242v.
72. Lydgate, A Valentine to Our Lady (Index 3065), ff.242v-244v.
73. Lydgate, Bycorn and Chichevache (Index 2541), ff.244v-246v.
74. Lydgate, Thoroughfare of Woe (Index 1872), ff.246v-249v.
75. Lydgate, Balade on a New Year's Gift of an Eagle to Henry VI (Index 3604), ff.249v-250v.
76. Lydgate, A Gentlewoman's Lament (Index 154), ff.250v-251v,
Allas I wofull creature. . .

77. Lydgate, To Henry VI on his Coronation (Index 2211), ff.251v-253v.
78. Lydgate, On the Duke of Gloucester's Approaching Marriage (Index 3718), ff.253v-256v.
79. Lydgate, Aesop's Fables (Index 4178), ff.257r-273r.
80. Lydgate, The Order of Fools (Index 3444), ff.274v-276v.
81. Lydgate, Horse, Goose, and Sheep (Index 658), ff.277r-287r.
82. The Court of Sapience, lacking prologue (Index 168), ff.287v-293v, unfinished.

C. Technical description

- a. Paper; $11\frac{3}{4}$ x 8 ins (295 x 205mm).
- b. ff.iii + 293 + iii; an original foliation system remains - arabic numerals in the top right-hand corners of the rectos - and a modern pencil system has been added.
- c. 1^{20} (19 wanting), $2-6^{20}$, $7^{23?}$ (5-7 wanting), 8^{19} , $9-12^{20}$ (one gathering of 20 missing after gathering 9), 13^{22} , 14^{16} (1, 15, 16 wanting), 15^{20} . There are catchwords at the end of most of the gatherings, and some leaf signatures remain.
- d. All the texts are copied in single columns of between 28 and 36 lines. Frames have been ruled (probably with a stylus) and the written space, which overlaps the frames slightly, measures $8\frac{3}{4}$ x $4\frac{1}{4}$ ins (200 x 110mm).
- e. One scribe has copied all the texts in the collection - the same scribe as was responsible for BL MSS Addit.34360, Arundel 59, Royal 17.D.xv (part), Harley 78 (part), Harley 372 (part), and Cotton Claudius A.viii (part); Trinity College Cambridge MS R.3.21 (part); Bodleian Library Oxford MS Rawlinson D.913 (part), and Worcester Cathedral MS 172. See the description of BL MS Addit. 34360 for fuller details. Stow has annotated parts of the manuscript (item 67, for example).

f. The major initials are two lines high, and have been drawn in blue ink, flourished with red; sometimes the flourishing extends into the margin. There is extensive rubrication, including paragraph marks at the beginning of new stanzas. Marginal notes (of which there are many) have been underlined in red.

D. History and provenance

On f.9r is the signature 'Nicholas Skyn', in a hand which is probably of the early sixteenth century. The manuscript passed through the hands of John Stow, who has added some notes to it (the heading to item 67, for example), and another sixteenth-century hand ('J.B.') has also annotated the contents. Little is known of the early history of the manuscript, beyond its connection with other volumes copied by the same scribe (see the notes on BL Addit. MS 34360), and its association with John Shirley's collections and the MSS which came to Stow: many of the rubrics here recall Shirley's style, and a postscript to item 65 records 'Shirley kowde fynde/nomore for this cotype'. The single love-lyric, item 76^{was}, was perhaps included because of its connections with Lydgate.

E. Bibliography

Cat. Harley MSS ii pp.578-82;

Hammond, Anglia 28; Chaucer p.329;

Manly & Rickert, Canterbury Tales i pp.241-44.

42. LONDON, British Library, MS Harley 2252

A.s.xvi¹; commonplace book compiled by John Colyns, mercer, of London.

B. Contents

1. Lydgate, Dietary (Index 824), f.1v.
2. Couplets against Friars (Index 1148), f.1v.
3. Proverbial Rhymes on Nought, stanzas 1-2 (Index 1163), f.2r.
4. A Note on Weights and Measures (English prose), f.2r.
5. Medical Recipe (English prose), f.2r.
6. On the Properties of Wine (Index 4175), f.2r.
- *7. A Farewell by Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham (Index 158.9), ff.2v-3r.
8. A Father's Counsel to his Son (Index 432), f.3r.
9. Information on London - mayors 1399-1538, rates, parish churches etc., with rules for inquests, 1519 (English prose), ff.3r-13v.
10. Statutes concerning London Merchants and Foreign Ones (English and Latin prose), ff.14r-16v.
11. Notes on the Genealogy of the Sons of Edward III and on Edward's Claim to the Throne of France (English prose), f.17r-v.
12. Complaint to the Privy Council about Short Measures (English prose), ff.18r-21v.
13. Ordinances for the Parish of St. Mary Woolchurch (English prose), ff.21v-22r.
14. Story of the Death of a Pope, unfinished (English prose), ff.22r-23r.
- *15. De Profundis (Index 2522), ff.23r-24r; pr. Besserman et al, NM 71.
16. 'A Complaint for the Ruin of a Realm' (English verse, not in Index), ff.25r-28r; pr. Furnivall, Ballads from MSS i pp.152-56.
17. List of those Summoned to Parliament, October 17th 1482, ff.28r-32v.
18. Indictment of Praemunire against Edmund Grey, Parson of St. Benet Grasschurch (English and Latin prose), ff.32v-33r.
19. The Complaint of North to Wolsey (English verse, not in Index), ff.33v-34v; pr. Furnivall, Ballads from MSS i pp.336-39.
20. Notes on Acts of Parliament, Passed, March 1535 (English prose), ff.34v-36r.
21. John Trevelyan's Petition to the King for Pardon (English prose), f.36r.

22. Chronicle of the Turks (English prose), ff.36v-37v.
23. Note on Conducting a Law Suit (English prose), f.38r.
24. The Descendants of the Earls of Arundel (English prose), f.38r-v.
25. Two Letters from James IV of Scotland to Henry VIII, and Henry VIII's Reply (English prose), ff.39r-43r, pr. (in part) Halle, Union.
- *26. The Lamentation of the King of Scots (Index 366.8), ff.43v-45r.
27. Flodden Field (Index 2547.3), ff.45v-48v.
28. Composition of Offerings in London and its Suburbs (English prose), ff.48v-50r.
29. Miracle of Sir Roger Whalesborough (English prose), ff.50v-51r.
30. The English Right to the Throne of France (English prose), ff.51v-53v.
- *31. Ipomydon (Index 2142), ff.54r-84r.
- *32. On an Inconstant Mistress (Index 2518), f.84v,
O mystres why/ owte caste am I. . .
- *33. Marry a Rich Wife While You Are Young (Index 3172), f.48v.
34. Story about the Appetite of the English (English prose), f.84v.
35. Story about a Wise Fool (English prose), f.85r.
- *36. Le Morte Arthur (Index 1994), ff.86r-133v.
- *37. Riddle on the bond of love (Index 3703.3), f.133*r.
38. Skelton, Speak Parrot (English verse, not in Index) with Latin epigraph, ff.134r-139v; pr. Dyce, Skelton ii pp.245-75.
- *39. Dialogue between Two Forsaken Lovers (Index 2224), f.140r, ends unfinished,
Mornynge mornynge/ Thus may I synge. . .
40. Prognostications According to the Day on which the New Year Falls (Index 4253), ff.141r-142r; pr. Besserman et al, NM 71.
41. 'The Craft of Lymnyng', with instructions for making colours etc. (English prose), ff.142r-146v.
42. The King's Words Concerning John at Noke's Grievances against Merchants of the Staple (English prose), f.146v.
43. Skelton, Colin Clout (Index 3903.5), ff.147r-153v, with Latin epilogue.
44. Prognostications if Christmas Falls on a Monday (Index 1411), f.153v.
45. Prognostications According to the Day of the Week on which Christmas Falls (Index 1989), f.154r-v.

46. Speeches of Certain of those Executed during the Reign of Henry VIII - fragment, begins imperfectly (English prose), f.155r.
47. On the Inconstancy of Fortune (English verse, not in Index), f.155r-v; pr. Furnivall, Ballads from MSS i pp.402-413.
48. On Cardinal Wolsey (English verse, not in Index), ff.156r-v; pr. Furnivall, Ballads in MSS i pp.331-35.
49. Consilium Domini in Eternum Manet (Index 2521), ff.157r-v, and again (in a longer version) ff.160r-161r.
50. Against Wolsey (English verse, not in Index), ff.158r-159v; pr. Furnivall, Ballads in MSS i pp.340-63.
51. Prognostications According to the Day of the Week on which the Primes Fall (Index 4040), f.159v, pr. Besserman et al, NM 71.
52. On the Powers of Plants and Minerals (English prose), ff.161v-162r.
- [53.] Note by Thomas Davison Recording his Employment as Gardener to Robert Farrers, 1570 (English prose), f.162v.
54. Orders for Burial in the Parish of St. Mary Woolchurch, 1520, and a Note on the Payment of Priests (English prose), ff.163r-165r.
55. Extract 'owte of a boke callyd Vitas Patrum' on the State of England (English prose), f.165r.
56. Medical Recipe, for a restorative (English prose), f.165v.
57. Note on the Properties of Women (English prose), f.165v.
58. Note on the Dimensions of the World (English prose), f.166r.
59. Precepts in -ly (Index 2794.8, cf.3087), f.166r.
60. St. Thomas of Canterbury's 'lotte', for casting dice (English prose cf. Index 805), f.166r.
61. Note on the Number of English Kings since Brutus (English prose), f.166r.

C. Technical description

- a. Paper; 11 x 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ ins (280 x 190mm).

- b. iii + 167 + iii; the modern pencil foliation numbers f.133 twice, but is amended so that the duplicate leaf is now f.133*; I have retained this foliation.
- c. Collation is difficult because there are no leaf signatures, few catchwords (those that there are occur in an inserted section), and no significant divisions in the contents. The manuscript has also been rebound. The tentative collation which follows is based on the evidence of the present stitching - not a very reliable guide. 1¹⁶, 2¹⁶, 3^{five}, 4^{16/5}¹⁶(with catch word f.69v), 6^{16/7}¹⁶(catchword f.101v), 8¹⁶(2 wanting, catchword f.116v), 9¹², 10^{five}/¹¹¹⁸(one wanting), 12⁶(one wanting), 13⁸, 14⁴. 1.
- d. The layout is immensely varied, except in Ipomydon and the Morte Arthur (items 31 and 36), which are rather more consistent. The main scribe in these, A, copied his texts in single columns of between 36 and 44 lines; in Ipomydon the written space he covers measures $8\frac{1}{2}$ x 4 ins (215 x 100mm), in the Morte $7\frac{3}{4}$ x $4\frac{1}{2}$ ins (195 x 115mm). B, who copies the last part of the Morte, writes a rather smaller hand, and manages around 40 lines in each of his single columns; the written space here measures $8\frac{1}{4}$ x $3\frac{1}{2}$ ins (210 x 90mm).
- e. Almost all of the items in the manuscript, except for 31, 36 and 53, were copied by the same scribe, C, John Colyns himself. His hand, a moderately neat early Tudor secretary, varies throughout the manuscript (presumably it was copied over a number of years); one or two of the additions to the list of mayors etc. (part of item 9) may have been added by different hands, but on balance it is very hard to be sure that they are not the work of Colyns. A and B write mixed hands of the late fifteenth century, predominantly secretary.

f. Some of the items copied by Colyns are ornamented with red ink flourishes - items 9, 38 and 41, for example. The initial letter of each line is similarly flourished for the last four leaves of item 36, the Morte Arthur. Gaps were left for larger decorated initials in both the Morte and Ipomydon, but these were never completed. Neither of the love-lyrics is decorated in any way, and both are copied comparatively carelessly, by Colyns.

D. History and provenance

John Colyns supplies various notes on himself. On f.1v he writes 'John colyns boke is thys late of london(?) mercer &/ dwellyng in wolchirche parissh', on f.166r, 'John colyns boke', and on f.133v 'Thys boke belongythe to John Colyns mercer/ of london dwellyng in the parysshe of our lady/ of wolchyrche have anexid the stockes in þe/ pultre yn anno domini 1519'. The interests displayed in his commonplace book are similar to those of other London volumes of the same date: information; proverbial (and consequently easily memorable) advice; historical and political material; funny stories; romances. Comparable volumes are MS Balliol 354, Richard Hill's book; Bodleian MS Rawlinson c.86 (not exactly a commonplace book, but catering for very similar tastes); Lambeth Palace MS 306; and - on a much smaller scale - the fifteenth-century part of BL MS Harley 541. Like Richard Hill, Colyns seems to have had access to much printed material; a note at the end of the Chronicle of the Turks reads 'prynted by Tomas gybson'. Colyns obviously had his own contacts among printers and booksellers, and it has recently been shown that his manuscript of Ipomydon provided the setting-copy for Wynkyn de Worde's edition². The two romances, Ipomydon and the Morte, obviously formed some kind of core for Harley 2252; Colyns probably bought them (or had them copied), and built up the rest of his collection around them. Interestingly, the first of the two love lyrics was copied onto the blank space remaining at the end of the first romance: On an Inconstant Mistress (item 32) comes right at the end of the

second of the two gatherings containing Ipomydon³. Colyns hardly seems to have valued it for any supposed courtly qualities, however - it is accompanied by a bit of practical anti-feminist advice (item 33) and two apparently humorous stories (34 and 35). A relatively light-hearted context like this perhaps suggests that Colyns copied this lyric, and the second one, remembering them as 'songs'; the short lines certainly recall the 'baletts' of early Tudor song collections, both in manuscript and in print, which have extant musical settings⁴. It suggests, too, that Colyns viewed lyrics like these as suitable material with which to leave one's mark - something like the kind of poem one would copy into an autograph album.

Little is known of the later history of the manuscript beyond its association with 'Robert Farrer(s)' in the later sixteenth century (Farrers is mentioned in the note by Thomas Davison, item 54, and an inscription on f.1v, 'sum Roberti Farrer'). Harley bought the volume from the bookseller Nathaniel Noel in 1724⁵.

E. Bibliography

- Cat. Harleian MSS ii pp.582-85;
Ward, Cat. of Romances i pp.405-6, 755-57;
Robbins, Studia Neophil. 26;
Besserman, Gilman & Weinblatt, NM 71;
Guddat-Figge, Catalogue pp.188-94.

Notes

1. For specific information on the collation, and for much general help with other aspects of the MS, I am grateful to Mrs. Carol Meale, of the University of York.
2. See Meale, SB 35.
3. The second lyric (item 39) comes in the middle of gathering 11. Its unfinished state may indicate that Colyns had no particular interest in such poems.

4. cf. the lyrics in BL MS Addit. 31922, or in XX Songes.

5. Wright, Fontes Harleiani p. 405.

43. LONDON, British Library, MS Harley 3362

A. s.xv²; collected extracts of Latin verse and prose (mainly grammatical material), with some English and French.

B. Contents

This volume is a massive collection of scraps of Latin - instructive material (often in lists), proverbs, riddles, jokes, stories and tables. Space and time do not permit a detailed description of the Latin contents, too numerous and fragmentary to list in full. A later hand (s.xvi/xvii?) has at some stage tried to impose some order on them, dividing them into headed sections:

- f. 6r [JOHANNES GARLANDI MORALE SCHOLARUM]
- f.24r [CARMINA JOCOSA]
- f.29r [CHRONOLOGICA]
- f.33r [AENIGMATA]
- f.38r [RYTHMO IN DETRACTORES]
- f.47r [JOHANNIS GARLANDI SYNONYMA ET AEQUIVOCA]
- f.79v [JOHANNIS GARLANDI ACCENTARIUM];

the material seems to me, however, peculiarly resistant to such classification - the title stamped on the spine of the manuscript, 'Carminum et Rythmorum Collectio', is as accurate as one can be. Some of the titles and attributions inserted by this later hand are, in any case, uncertain: I have been unable to identify the material beginning on f.6r as John of Garland's Morale Sclarium, that beginning on f.47r as his Tractatus de Aequivocis and Liber de Synonymis, or that beginning on f.79v as his Accentuarium¹.

Almost all of the Latin pieces, both short and more substantial, are listed by Walther: some of them are indeed attributed by him to

John of Garland, but they are hardly copied as complete and coherent 'tracts' or 'treatises', instead rather excerpted in snippets. In the following brief description, therefore, I list only the English contents of the manuscript.

1. Latin proverbs, with some English and French translations
 (These occur throughout the manuscript, but are most concentrated between ff.2r and 38v)
 f.2r
 Angelicus iuuenis senibus satanizat in annis
 3oung seynt old deuyt. . .
 Some of the English proverbs are printed anonymously in Retrospective Review ii p.309, and some by Förster, Anglia 42.
2. Macaronic Verses against Friars (Index 808), f.24r,
 Flen flyys and freris populum domini male cedunt. . .
3. Macaronic Riddling Verses on Friars (not in Index), f.24r,
 Fratres carmeli nauigant in a bothe apud Eli. . .
 Pr. Wright & Halliwell, Reliquae Antiquae ii p.91.
- *4. A Riddle on the Days, Weeks, and Months of the Year
 (Index 1396), f.33r.
5. Macaronic Verses on Death (Index 3122), f.36r.
- [6.] Thomas Cromwell's Speech from the Scaffold, 29th July 1540
 (English prose), f.79r,
 THE SAYNGES & ORDRE OF THOMAS CRUMWELLE LATE ERLE/ OF ESSX
 VPPONE THE TOWRE HYLLE AT THE TYME OF HIS DEATHE
 Masters I ame come hyther to dye. . .
 As Fox, Acts and Monuments p.433, repr. Merriman, Thomas Cromwell i p.301².
- [7.] Mutual Affection (Index 2249), f.90r,
 [A SONG]
 My joye it is from her to here. . .
 FINIS
- [8.] De Amico and Amicam (Index 16), ff.90v-91r,
 DE AMICO AD AMICAM
 a celuy que ploys eyne ie (sic) monde. . .
- [9.] Part (lines 1-10) of Responsio to the above (Index 19), f.91r,
 RESPONCIO
 A soun treschere & specyall. . .

C. Technical description

- a. Paper, with one old parchment flyleaf (now numbered f.1);
 $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$ ins (225 x 145mm).
- b. ff.iv + 90 + iii; An old ink pagination system has been deleted, and replaced with modern pencil foliation, beginning on the fourth flyleaf, and extending from 1-91. I maintain the existing foliation.
- c. Accurate collation is impossible. There are many catchwords, but their positioning seems arbitrary; in what appears to be the first gathering, for example (ff.2-15), there are catchwords on ff.2v, 3v, 4v, 5v, 11v, 12, 15v. Sometimes the catchwords do not connect with the text on the following leaf ('Esto' on f.63v, for instance, links up with f.77r, 'Esto salutaris'), and it seems likely that the leaves are disordered. From ff.47-58 the scribe has supplied continuous pagination, writing in red arabic numerals at the top of each page. Ff.39-46, which seem to form an independent booklet, have leaf signatures on the bottom right-hand corner of each recto.
- d. The layout varies. In the main section pricking is visible, and a frame is ruled around a written space of approximately $7 \times 4\frac{1}{2}$ ins (180 x 115mm). The texts are copied in single columns of about 35 lines. The layout of ff.39-46 differs from that of the rest of the manuscript; the ruling changes, and there is no evidence of pricking.
- e. One scribe, A, has copied all the extracts and fragments in Latin and English on ff.2-38 and 47-89; he writes a small, practised anglicana script (cf. Parkes, plate II ii). A second scribe, B, has copied the material on ff.39-46. C, writing an informal mixed hand, seemingly of a later date, has added a Biblical paraphrase on ff.89v-90r, and the pair of lyrics (items 8 and 9), presumably using blank space left after the completion of the main copy on f.89v. D, writing a sixteenth-

century secretary hand, and signing himself 'Robert Redman' (f.79r) has added Thomas Cromwell's Speech (item 6), a fragmentary letter (on f.79v), and the other lyric (item 7), again making use of gaps in the main copy. Many other hands have been through the manuscript, inserting titles and other annotations.

- f. Scribe A has rubricated his portions of the manuscript from time to time in red ink; otherwise there is no decoration.

D. History and Provenance

This manuscript is a good example of the sort of school collection, 'generally of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century date, containing miscellaneous material related for the most part to grammatical studies', discussed by C.E. Wright in an article on BL MS Harley 1002³. The nature of the contents here - grammatical material; English/Latin translations; moral poems; proverbs; jokes and riddles - is suggestive enough, and some individual items reinforce the initial impression: a proverb on f.21v recommends 'Stude puer stude; Si non vis studere lude', while a Latin poem on ff.6r-7r instructs 'Vt te geras ad mensam'⁴. Similar school collections, apart from Wright's Harley manuscript, are BL MSS Royal 15.A.vii and 15.A.xxxi (both thirteenth-century); Royal 12.B.i and Additional 37075 (both fifteenth-century), and Bodleian Library MSS Rawlinson D.328 and Douce 52 (fifteenth-century again)⁵. The lyrics in Harley 3362 do not form part of the original collection, of course, but have been added at a later date - fifteenth to sixteenth-century in the case of items 8 and 9, and mid-sixteenth-century in the case of item 7. The rather precious, learned nature of two of them, though - macaronic, and using Latin, French and English just as some of the items in the school collection do⁶ - suggests that their origins were not so very different; perhaps they were copied in by a later owner of the textbook.

Some signatures have been written into other parts of the manuscript. On f.1r are 'Brystow' (twice), 'Kingeston A Gorgie yn Gylforde'(?),

and 'Sir Robert Syre vycary to myle ovte', and on f.91v,
'Peteworthe' and 'Johannem Burtun' 7.

E. Bibliography

Cat. Harleian MSS iii p.20.

Notes

1. For a list of incipits, see Paetow, Moral Sclarium, and Bursill-Hall, Hist.Ling. 3. Bursill-Hall, Census does not list any John of Garland in MS Harley 3362; the only mention of it is a reference to some anonymous Regulae Grammaticae on ff.79v-89r (see p.118).
2. Merriman comments: 'From the stories of all these chroniclers (Holinshed, Hall, Foxe) it appears that Cromwell on the scaffold made an address to the people, declaring the faith in which he died. That his speech was printed and publicly circulated is attested by Pole; and the fact that Holinshed, Hall and Foxe give it in almost exactly the same words corroborates the truth of the cardinal's statement. Pole, however, goes on to say that though at first he accepted the printed speech as a true version of Cromwell's words, he later learned from trustworthy persons that what Cromwell had actually said was something very different'.
3. Wright, RES n.s.2. MS Harley 3362 is described as a 'commonplace book' by Rigg, Glastonbury Miscellany p.26. Its contents and make-up share many similarities with BL MS Addit. 60577, the 'Winchester Anthology' (see above p.265), whose editor notes a particular 'pedagogical interest' (see Wilson & Fenlon, Winchester Anthology p. 13). cf. also PRO C47/34/13, Ker, MSS in British Libraries. p.180.
cf. also the list of 'Libri Grammaticales' belonging to the College of St.Mary, Winchester, in the mid-fifteenth century, which included: 'liber continens tractatum de accentu, et de dubitabilibus quae sunt in Bibbia'; 'liber continens librum equivocorum, et librum magni doctrinalis...istud est aptum, et remanet in manibus magistri scolarium'; 'liber continens quandam compilationem de informatione puerorum, cum aliis parvis tractatibus' etc. Gunner, Archaeol.Jnl. 15.
4. For an edition, and discussion, see Gieben, Vivarium 5.
5. See Whiting, Collection of Proverbs; Meech, MP 38; Pantin, BJRL 14; Förster, 'Die Mittelenglische Sprichwörterammlung in Douce 52', Festschrift zum allgemeinen deutschen Neuphilologentage (1906) pp.40-60. See also, in connection with these and similar manuscripts: Way, Camden Soc. 25, 54, 89; Wright and Wülcker, Vocabularies.

6. cf. The Latin proverb with English translation on f.2r: 'Angelicus iuuenibus senibus satanizat in annis/ 3ong seynt old deuyt', and the Latin proverb with French translation on f.17v: Par vn petit pertus veit homme son amy/ Artum per modicum discernit amicus amicum'.
7. Among several 'Bristows' listed in Emden's Registers for Oxford and Cambridge is one John Bristow, scholar of Winchester and of New College, Oxford, who was by 1463 a priest vicar of St. Stephen's Chapel, Westminster (Emden, Oxford p.269). This Bristow is a particularly attractive candidate, because not only his ownership of books, but also some of their titles, are recorded. In 1462 he presented to New College a volume entitled Sophilogium, now New College MS 156; see Leach, OHS 32. The identification is at most tentative, however. See also John Brystow of Peterhouse, Cambridge (Emden, Cambridge p.102), admitted as a fellow in 1469, who presented the college with a copy of Joh. Canonicus, Super Libros Physicorum, now Peterhouse MS 188.

44. LONDON, British Library, MS Harley 3810

A. s.xv; three miscellaneous sections now bound together; the love-lyrics are in section I, s.xv med.

B. Contents (Section I only)

- I. 1. Sir Orfeo (Index 3868), ff.1r-10r.
 2. The Lady Who Buried the Host (Index 622), ff.10v-13r.
 3. Precepts in -ly (Index 3087), ff.13v-14r.
 *4. On Friday (Index 4275), ff.14r-15v.
 *5. A Love Letter (Index 3785), f.16r-v.
 To 3ou hie worschip & magnificence. . .
6. Maydestone's Version of The Penitential Psalms (Index 1961), ff.17r-34r.

C. Technical description (Section I only)

- a. Paper; $5\frac{3}{4}$ x 4 in (145 x 100mm).
- b. ff.34; modern pencil foliation.
- c. The leaves have been individually remounted, and collation is impossible. There is one catchword, on f.8v, and one remaining leaf signature, on f.9r.
- d. There are no signs of ruling left, although the written space measures a reasonably consistent $4\frac{3}{4}$ x $3\frac{1}{4}$ ins (120 x 80mm). The texts have been copied in single columns of between 24 and 29 lines. The scribe occasionally supplied paraph marks to indicate stanza divisions and brace-lines to link rhymes.
- e. This section has been copied throughout by one scribe, who writes a small, neat anglicana. The writing is now badly faded, and almost illegible in places; on f.1r a later hand has gone over parts of the original in a darker ink.
- f. There is no decoration.

D. History and provenance

There is some debate over the dating of this section of the manuscript. Bliss, Ward and the Manual set it in the first half of the fifteenth century; Jordan, Brown and Guddat-Figge opt for the second half. The only evidence for the dating is the handwriting, which to me appears more likely to be of the later part of the century. The section gathers together miscellaneous material, and was seemingly designed as a kind of all-purpose anthology; it provides entertainment (Sir Orfeo, item 1), practical instruction (Precepts in -ly, item 3, and On Friday, item 4), and devotional material (The Penitential Psalms, item 6). The love-letter (item 5) perhaps combines the purposes of practical

instruction and entertainment. The early provenance of the section is obscure, but its small format suggests an amateur production designed for personal use - rather like BL MS Sloane 1584 (of the early sixteenth century)¹, whose contents are rather similar. It is impossible to tell when the three sections now making up the manuscript were bound together, but it is quite likely that they all belonged very early on in the collection of one individual; they share roughly the same date, and some of the contents reflect identical interests.

On f.34v, the last leaf of the first section, is a note in a sixteenth-century hand, 'Hic liber olim fuit liber/ Willelmi Shaw clericus/ et Curatus de Baddesly/ Clinton Ecclesia', which suggests a Warwickshire provenance.

E. Bibliography

Cat. Harleian MSS iii p.83;
Ward, Catalogue i pp.171-72;
Brown, Register i p.337;
Bliss, Sir Orfeo p.xi;
Guddat-Figge, Catalogue pp.204-5.
Jordan, Eng.Studien 41.

Notes

1. See below pp.354-59.

45. LONDON, British Library, MS Harley 4011

A. s.xv²; English verse and prose.

B. Contents

1. Fragment (lines 30-40) of Lydgate's So as the Crab Goeth Forward (Index 3655), f.1r.
2. Lydgate, Right as a Ramshorn (Index 199)¹, f.1r.
3. Fragment (lines 1-53) of Lydgate's Stans Puer ad Mensam (Index 2233), f.1r-v.
4. Extracts from Lydgate's Fall of Princes (Index 1168), ff.1v-2v, see Edwards, Library 5th ser. 26.
5. A Prayer to the Blessed Sacrament (English prose, Revell 339), f.2v.
6. The Craft of Dying (English and Latin prose, Revell 169, Jolliffe L.4a), ff.3r-16r.
7. Treatise on Humility (English prose, Revell 149, Jolliffe G19), beg. ff.16r-18v.
8. Advice on the Transience of Life, attributed to St. Isidore (English prose, Jolliffe I.22c), ff.18v-20v, ends unfinished.
9. Lydgate, The Life of Our Lady (Index 2574), ff.21r-119r.
10. Part (lines 1-1091) of The Libel of English Policy, A-text (Index 3491), ff.120r-137v; there is a missing leaf after f.130.
11. Fragment (lines 60-365) of Lydgate's Calendar (Index 1721), ff.138r-142v.
12. Fragment (lines 1-58) of Lydgate's Dietary (Index 824), f.143r-v.
13. Osbern Bokenham, translation of the Description of Britain from Higden's Polychronicon (English prose), ff.144r-163r.
Pr. Horstmann, Eng.Studien 10.
- *[14.] Epistle from a Lover to his Mistress (English verse; not in Index), f.163v,
 My owne dere hart I gret yow well. . .
 Pr. Boffey, NQ n.s.28.
15. Treatise on the Calendar (English prose), ff.164r-169r,
 The yere fro the begynnynge of þe world þat was þat tyme. . .
- [16.] Lamentation of the Soul of Edward IV (Index 2192), ff.169v-170v.
17. John Russell, The Book of Carving and Nurture (Index 1514), ff.171r-189r.

C. Technical description

- a. Paper, 11 x $8\frac{1}{4}$ ins (280 x 210mm).
- b. ff.ii + 189 + ii; modern foliation and numbering of contents.
- c. The leaves have all been remounted at some stage, and collation is difficult. It appears to be as follows:

1^(six), 2¹², 3^{two}, 4^{16-9¹⁶}, 10^{16(1,16 wanting)}, 11^{16(8,9,16 wanting)}, 12^{16(1 wanting)}, 13^{16(1,14-16 wanting)}, 14^{14(one wanting in second half)}, 15⁶.

Catchwords are visible in gatherings 1, 4-9 and 14. Some leaf signatures remain, a system of dots and small roman numerals (·, ··, ···, ····, v, vj, vij, viij) added, unusually, in the top left-hand corners of the versos of the leaves.

Fragments of a system of numbers for the individual gatherings remain, small roman numerals on the first recto: gathering 5 is marked 'xij', and 7 is marked 'xijj', the gatherings seem to have become mixed up at this point; 9 is marked 'xvj', 14 is marked 'xix', and 15 is marked 'xx', so it seems probable that 10 and 11 (which must follow 9) are in fact 'xvij' and 'xviij' (no numbers remain visible now), and that gatherings 12 and 13 have at some stage been misbound, interrupting the original numerical sequence of gatherings. Some of the gatherings preceding 'xij' (5) have presumably been lost.

- d. Traces of frames ruled in ink remain, enclosing a writing space of approximately $8\frac{1}{2}$ x 5 ins (210 x 130mm); pricking is occasionally visible. Items 1-5, on the first two leaves, have been copied in double columns, but all the other texts in the manuscript are in single columns, with anything between 30 and 48 lines to the page.
- e. Three main hands have copied most of the items in the manuscript. Scribe A, William Woodward, who signs his name on f.2v at the end of item 4, has copied all the texts in gatherings 1-3,

except for item 5; he writes a current anglicana hand³. Item 5, the beginning of item 13 (ff.144r-146v), and item 17 have been copied by a second scribe, B, who writes a much smaller hand than A - mixed, but seemingly based on anglicana formata. A third scribe, C, who signs himself 'W. Grauelle' or 'W.G.' (ff.119r, 163r) and uses the anagram 'Etto Gobethe' (?) as a kind of motto, has copied items 9-12, takes over item 13 from B at f.147r to complete it, and supplies items 15 and 16; he writes a mixed hand, with many secretary forms. B, perhaps in charge of the copying, has corrected some of C's work in items 9-12; it is the presence of the anonymous B, too, which links the work of William Woodward^(A) and W. Gravell^(C): he interrupts Woodward's stint in the first three gatherings, and starts Gravell off in gathering 13. Item 14, the love lyric, has been added in the blank space following the copy of Mappula Anglie, and is copied in a scrappy and near-illegible early Tudor secretary hand. Item 16, the Lamentation of the Soul of Edward IV, has also been added in a blank space by a later hand, but this time it is a neat and careful version of Early Tudor secretary. An unpracticed fifteenth-century(?) hand has copied in a letter on f.119v (to 'Welbeloued nonnekyll Wylyam'), and a seventeenth-century hand has annotated many of the items, especially the Mappula Anglie.

- f. The large initials in all the items copied by the three main scribes are flourished in red; the flourishing is more concentrated in items 9 (The Life of Our Lady), 10 (The Libel), and 17 (The Book of Nurture), where it is awarded to the initial letters of each line of text. Item 17 has heavy, crude, textura headings, in red.

D. History and provenance

Most of the items collected together in this volume are devotional, hortatory, or practically informative. One of the major interests is Lydgate, whose Life of Our Lady (item 9) forms the core of the

manuscript, accompanied by shorter poems: Right as a Ramshorn (item 2), and the Calendar and Dietary (items 11 and 12), both fragmentary here. Extracts from Lydgate's poems are included too - from So as the Crab Goeth Forward (item 1), from Stans Puer (item 3), and from The Fall of Princes (item 4). One of the passages chosen from this last work is described as 'Lenvoye to Humfray, late Duke of Gloucestre' by the scribe incidentally providing a terminus a quo of 1447 - the year of Gloucester's death - for the copying of the manuscript. John Russell, author of the Book of Nurture included here (item 17) was at one time usher to Gloucester; perhaps the connection was known to the compiler of the manuscript. Even if not, the Book of Nurture shares a concern with manners and 'betterment' with Stans Puer ad Mensam. Some of the items in the collection display a certain nationalism: The Libel of English Policy (item 10), for example, and the Mappula Anglie (item 13). The love lyric is a later addition, entirely unconnected with the original plan of the manuscript, and included, one presumes, purely because there happened to be a convenient empty space in which to copy it.

The early history of the manuscript is obscure, and it is not clear which of the later owners who have scribbled in it (if any) might have copied in the lyric; perhaps most likely is the 'John Elcoke' who has written his name next to it (f.163v). Other inscriptions include 'Fraunces lawley puer his bok' (f.70v), 'william pothar' (f.125r), and 'this is hari lawleys boke' (f.158r). I have been unable to trace any of these names. Edward Harley's inscription appears on f.1r of the manuscript, recording that he acquired it in 1723, from the collection of John Batteley. Batteley (1647-1708) was a fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, who went on to become Archdeacon of Canterbury; some of his manuscripts were sold after his death by a nephew, and Harley bought several of them⁴.

E. Bibliography

Cat. Harleian MSS iii p.103;

Furnivall, EETS o.s.32;

Warner, Libelle, p.liii;

Lauritis, et al., Lydgate's 'Life of Our Lady', pp.32-33.

Notes

1. Not incomplete, as stated in the Index.
2. Who describes it as 'imperfect', and ending on f.20v.
3. For another scribe called 'Wodewarde', see Eton College MS 42, Pseudo-Chrysostomus, Homiliae in Matthaum, given to Eton in 1453 by 'Thome Weston'. Articles 1 and 2a are signed 'quod Wodewarde'. See Ker, Medieval MSS i p.681.
4. Wright, Fontes Harleiani p.66-68.

46. LONDON, British Library, MS Harley 7333

- A. s.xv²; an anthology of items, mainly in English, compiled over a number of years.

B. Contents

- I. 1. The Brut, (English prose), incomplete at beginning and end; ff.1r-24v,
 . . . him priuelyche to Southehampton to mete þer þe/ too
 Bretherin when thei come to londe. . .
 As Brie, EETS o.s.31, pp.126 (line 26) - 338 (Line 11).
- II. 2. Benedict Burgh, Parvus Cato (Index 3955), f.25r.
3. Benedict Burgh, Cato Major (Index 854), ff.25r-30v.
4. Complaint of a Prisoner against Fortune (Index 860), ff.30v-31r,
 HERE NEXT FOLOWITH A LITELL/TREYYS BY WEY OF COMPLEINT/
 AGEINS FORTUNE
 The playntif
 Fortune alas alas what haue I gylt. . .
 EXPLICIT LE COMPLEINT/ AGEIN FORTUNE
5. Lydgate, The Title and Pedigree of Henry VI (Index 3808),
 with a Roundel for His Coronation (Index 2804), ff.31r-32v.
- III. 6. Lydgate, Guy of Warwick (Index 875), ff.33r-35v.

- *7. Sellyng's Evidence to Beware (Index 4074), ff.36r-v.
8. Balade in the style of Charles d'Orléans, made up of fragments from French songs; f.36v,
BALADE MADE BY þE DUC OF ORLIENCE
Mon cuer chaunte joyeuxsement. . .
Pr. Champion, Poésies ii pp.572-73; MacCracken PMLA 26.
9. Chaucer, The Canterbury Tales (Index 4019), ff.37r-118r, unfinished.
- IV.10. Extract from Gower, Confessio Amantis (Index 2662),
The Story of Tereus, Bk.V, 5551ff, ff.120-121v.
See Macaulay, EETS e.s. 82 pp.98-112. (For a discussion of the text in this MS see EETS e.s.81 p.clxv.
- *11. Impingham's Proverbs (Index 2290), ff.121v-122r.
12. Extracts from Gower, Confessio Amantis (Index 2662),
(i) The tale of Constance, Bk.II, 587ff. ff.122r-126r,
As Macaulay, EETS e.s.81 pp.146-73.
(ii) The three questions, Bk.I, 3067ff. ff.126r-127v,
As Macaulay, EETS e.s.81 pp.119-29.
(iii) The travellers and the angel, Bk.II, 291ff. f.127v,
As Macaulay, EETS e.s.81 pp.138-40.
(iv) Virgil's mirror, Bk.V, 2031ff. ff.127v-128v,
As Macaulay, EETS e.s.82 pp.3-9.
(v) The tale of the two coffers, Bk.V, 2273ff. ff.128v-129r,
As Macaulay, EETS e.s.82 pp.9-12.
(vi) The beggars and the pasties, Bk.V, 2391ff. f.129r-v,
As Macaulay, EETS e.s.82 pp.12-15.
13. Chaucer, The Parliament of Fowls lines 1-679 (Index 3412),
ff.129v-132v.
14. Balade in Praise of Chaucer (Index 2128), f.132v.
15. Chaucer, The Complaint of Mars, lines 1-178 (Index 913),
ff.132v-133v.
- V.16. Chaucer, Anelida and Arcite (Index 3670), ff.134r-135r.
17. A Complaint against Hope (Index 370), f.135r,
LOO NOWE HERE FILOWETHE A COMPLEYNTE AGEYNST HOPE
As that I me stoode in studeyng loo a loone. . .

18. Chaucer(?), Complaynt d'Amours (Index 1388), ff.135v-136r,
 AND NEXT FOLOWYNG BEGYNNITH AN AMEROWSE/ COMPLEYNTE
 MADE AT WYNDESORE IN THE LASTE/ MAY TO FORE NOUEMBRE
 I which þat am þe sorowfullest man. . .
19. Lydgate, The Lives of St. Edmund & St. Fremund (Index 3440),
 ff.136r-146v.
20. Lydgate, Christ's Complaint on his Passion (Index 2081),
 ff.147r-v.
21. Chaucer, Lack of Steadfastness (Index 3190), f.147v.
22. Chaucer, Gentilesse (Index 3348), f.147v.
23. Chaucer, Truth (Index 809), f.147v.
24. Chaucer, Complaint to his Purse (Index 3787), ff.147v-148r.
25. Squire Halsham's Balades (Index 3504, 3437), f.148r.
- 26.. Dialogue between Man and Death (Latin verse; Walther, 16058),
 ff.148r-v.
27. The Fiend and the Soul (English prose), f.148v,
 HERE FOLOWITH HOW þAT þE FOULE FENDE ASSEYLITHE/ þe
 SOULE IN þE DEPARTYNG A WEYE FROM þE BODYE &c.
 I haue long tyme abiden þee here quod ffoule Sathanas/. . .
28. Three Sorrowful Things (Latin verse, Walther 18886), f.148v.
29. Latin couplet (Walther, 4861), f.148v.
- VI.30. Lydgate, Verses on the Kings of England, to Henry VI (Index 3632),
 f.149r-v.
- *31. Master Benet's Christmas Game (Index 2749), ff.149v-150r.
32. Gesta Romanorum (English prose), ff.150r-203r,
 As Herrtage, EETS e.s. 33.
- VII.33. Hoccleve, The Regiment of Princes, lines 1-2016 (Index 2229),
 ff.204r-211v.

C. Technical description

- a. Parchment; 17 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 13 ins (445 x 330mm).

- b. ff.iii + 211 + iii; an original system of foliation remains, with figures supplied in roman numerals on the rectos of the leaves. There is also a modern pencil foliation.
- c. The presence of the original foliation makes possible a full reconstruction of the manuscript in its original form:

<u>Section</u>	<u>Gatherings</u>	<u>Original foliation</u>	<u>Modern foliation</u>
	(1 ⁸ - 3 ⁸)	i - xxiv) wanting	
I	4 ⁸ - 6 ⁸	xxv - xlviij	1 - 24
	(7 ⁸)	xlx - lvj) wanting	
II	8 ⁸	lvij - lxiiiij	25 - 32
III	9 ⁸ - 13 ⁸	lxv - ciiiij	33 - 72
	(14 ⁸)	cv - cxij) wanting	
	15 ⁸ - 19 ⁸	cxiiij - cliij	73 - 112
	20 ⁸ (7 wanting)	cliiij - clviij, clx	113 - 119
IV	21 ⁸	clxj - clxviij	120 - 127
	22 ⁸ (7 & 8 wanting)	clxix - clxxiiiij	128 - 133
V	23 ⁸	clxxviij - ciiiij ^{xx} iiiij	134 - 141
	24 ⁸ (6 wanting)	ciiiij ^{xx} v - ciiiij ^{xx} ix, ciiiij ^{xx} xi - ciiiij ^{xx} xii	142 - 148
VI	25 ⁸ - 27 ⁸	ciiiij ^{xx} xiiij - ccxvj	149 - 172
	28 ⁸	cxviij - ccxxiiiij	173 - 180
	29 ⁸ - 30 ⁸	ccxxv - ijcxvix	181 - 196
		(ccxxxiij is repeated)	
	31 ⁸ (8 wanting)	ijcxl - ijcxlvj	197 - 203
VII	32 ⁸	ijcxlviiij - ijclv	204 - 211

Some leaf signatures are visible, and catchwords remain at the end of all the complete gatherings.

- d. The texts are copied in double columns, usually of 40-50 lines, in a written space which measures approximately $13\frac{1}{4} \times 8\frac{3}{4}$ ins (340 x 225mm). Margins have been supplied.
- e. At least eight hands seem to have worked on the manuscript, all of them writing varieties of anglicana cursiva. They are identifiable as follows:

- A: ff.1-24, 65v-72, 74-148, 165-196.
B: ff.25-32.
C: ff.33-56, 57v-64. This scribe signs his name, 'Stoughton', on f.41r, and adds a punning rebus - a stock in a tun - on ff.32v, 45v.
D: ff.57r, 73.
E: ff.149-156. A later hand has supplied the note 'Doctor Peni writ this booke' on f.150r.
F: ff.157-164.
G: ff.197-203.
H: ff.204-205r.
I: ff.205v-211.

f. Capitals, paraph marks, rubrics and other notes have been supplied in red and blue, sometimes with decorated penwork. For a detailed description of the different styles, see Manly & Rickert, *Canterbury Tales* I p.210.

D. History and provenance

The manuscript is made up of seven distinct sections or booklets, and appears to have been compiled by its various scribes over a number of years. Some of its different sections were copied by one scribe only (I, IV, and V by A; II by B, for example), while others evidently involved considerable collaboration (III contains stints by A, C and D; VI by A, E, F and G), so it seems likely that the collection as a whole was put together by a group of writers and readers who were in close contact. Some of the signatures and notes in the manuscript have been connected by Manly and Rickert with the Abbey of St. Mary de Pratis, Leicester, a house of Austin canons - exactly the kind of institution to favour collaborative compilation like this. The lyrics seem to have been included partly because of their connection with Chaucer (well-publicized in the Shirley-style rubrics to some of them), and partly in order to fill spaces remaining at the end of longer pieces (items 8 and 15, for example).

E. Bibliography

- Cat. Harleian MSS iii p.256;
Herrtage, EETS e.s.33 p.xix;
Fisher, Gower p.306;
Macaulay, EETS e.s.81 p.clxv;
Manly & Rickert, Canterbury Tales i pp.2071218;
McCormick, Canterbury Tales pp.199-207;
Ward, Catalogue i p.494, iii pp.252-55;
Brusendorff, Chaucer pp.219-20;
Hammond, Chaucer pp.176-77;
Seymour, TEBS 4.

47. LONDON, British Library, MS Harley 7578

A. s.xv-s.xvii; a miscellaneous collection of manuscripts bound up together. The fifteenth-century part (s.xv med.), a small verse anthology, forms the first section.

B. Contents (Section 1 only, with a note on Section VII).

- I. 1. The Ten Commandments (Index 3687), f.1r.
2. Form of Confession (English prose, Jolliffe C.44), f.1r-v.
3. Sayings of Old Philosophers, or Summum Sapientiae (Index 3487, here with unique prologue, Index 3749), ff.2r-13r.
4. Chaucer, The Complaint unto Pity (Index 2756), ff.13v-14v,
 [P]itee that I haue sought so yoore. . .
*5. Complaint to my Mortal Foe (Index 231), f.15r-v,
 BALADE
 [A]ll holly youres with outhen othere parte. . .
*6. Complaint to my Lodestar (Index 2626), ff.15v-16r,
 BALADE
 [O]f gretter cause may no wight him compleyne. . .

- *7. A Warning against Lechery (Index 551), f.16r-v.
8. Chaucer, Gentillesse (Index 3348), f.17r.
9. Chaucer, Lack of Steadfastness (Index 3190), f.17r-v.
10. Chaucer(?), Against Women Unconstant (Index 2029), f.17v,
BALADE
Madame for youre newe fangelnesse. . .
11. Lydgate, Beware of Doubleness (Index 3656), ff.17v-18v.
12. Lydgate, Prayer for Henry VI, Queen, and People (Index 2218),
ff.18v-19v.
13. Lydgate, Deceit stanza from The Fall of Princes, II 4432-38
(Index 674), f.20r.
14. Four Things that Make a Man Fall from Reason (Index 4230), f.20r.
15. Chaucer's Proverbs (Index 3914), f.20r.
16. Squire Halsham's Balade (Index 3504, 3437), f.20r.
- 17.. Chaucer, ABC to the Virgin (Index 239), f.20v.
- VII. (a part-book of songs, copied in the sixteenth century by
several different hands).
18. My lady is a prety on (Index 3097.6), ff.85r-86v,
She is gentyll & also wysse. . .

also p Greene, Early English Carols p.303.

C. Technical Description (Section I only).

- a. Parchment; 11 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ ins (285 x 205mm).
- b. ff.20 (although f.1 was probably originally a flyleaf). One
ink system of foliation, beginning with the second folio as
'1', has been crossed out; another, starting with '1' on the
first folio, has been substituted.
- c. The leaves have been individually remounted, making collation
impossible. No leaf signatures or catchwords are visible.
- d. Apart from the first two items, added in closely-written double
columns, the texts are copied neatly and consistently in single
columns of around 42 lines each. Frames have been ruled, and
the written space measures 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 4 ins (210 x 100mm).

- e. One scribe copied all the texts in the main anthology (items 3-17), writing a small secretary script. Items 1 and 2 were added by a different hand, displaying more anglicana features. A later hand (s.xvii?) has added notes to some of the items - 3, for example.
- f. Spaces 2, 3 and 4 lines high were left for the major initials of most of the items, but only one of them was filled in - Chaucer's ABC (item 17) begins with a large red capital 'A'. Otherwise there is no decoration.

D. History and provenance

The dominant interests of this small anthology are the poems of Chaucer and Lydgate; the grouping of its contents and the nature of its texts have been noted as linking it with Bodleian Library Oxford MS Fairfax 16 (see below pp.394-7) and associated manuscripts. The love-lyrics (items 4, 5, 6, 10) are included with other 'ballades' that have an established Chaucerian connection (items 8, 9 etc.). The Warning against Lechery (item 7) is perhaps offered as an antidote to the love-poems, similar in tone to Lydgate's moralizing poem on Doubleness (item 11) and the stanza naming women as one of the Four Things which Make a Man Fall from Reason (item 14).

The early ownership of this part of the manuscript is obscure. On ff.2r and 18v a sixteenth-century hand has written 'Will. and Walke aright/ Will.Walker'. Other parts of the manuscript were owned by James Mickleton (1688-1719) and Humphrey Wanley; Wanley himself compiled one of the later sections¹.

E. Bibliography

Cat Harleian MSS iii pp.538-39;
 Hammond, Chaucer pp.330-31;
 Brusendorff, Chaucer pp.202-203.

Notes

1. See Greene, Early English Carols p.304.

48. LONDON, British Library, MS Loan 29/333 (The Duke of Portland's MS).

Two fragments among the many pasted into this miscellaneous collection of documents contain English courtly love-lyrics. The first fragment consists of one paper leaf, now mounted back-to-front, with the following lyrics:

*1. O verre rote (not recorded in Index), recto; the opening few words of a love-song, with music for two parts (probably the tenor and contratenor voices of a three-part rondeau).
Pr. Fallows, PRMA 103.

*2. A Lover's Complaint (Index 270), verso,
Alle pof I kan no far make in her prese[ns]. . .
with music for one part (possibly the discantus of a three-part rondeau). Pr. Fallows, PRMA 103.

The second fragment is a parchment leaf containing what seems to be part of a Latin Old Testament commentary, onto the margin of which a sixteenth-century hand has copied the following piece:

*3. Reflections of an Ageing Lover (Index *317.5), first two stanzas obliterated,
...And youthe that yeldes newe joyes...
not published; see Appendix I pp.459-60.

49. LONDON, British Library, MS Royal 16.F.ii

A. s.xv ex. Anthology of French poetry and prose, with three English lyrics.

B. Contents

1. Poems by Charles d'Orléans (French verse, unless specified otherwise).
 - i. ff.1r-11r,
Ou temps passe quant nature me fist
As Champion, Poesies i, pp.14-16.
 - ii. ff.11r-12v,
Dieu cupido et Venus la deese
As Champion, Poesies i pp.14-16 (Steele & Day, EETS o.s. 215 & 220, pp.1-2.
 - iii. ff.12v-13v,
Nouvelles ont couru en france
As Champion, Poesies i Ballade no.82.
 - iv. ff.13v-14r,
En acquitant nostre temps vers jeunesse
As Champion, Poesies i Ballade no.78.
 - v. f.14r-v,
Bien monstrez printemps gracieux
As Champion, Poesies i Ballade no.79.
 - vi. f.15r-v,
Vueillez voz yeux emprisonner
As Champion, Poesies i Ballade no.2 (Steele & Day, EETS o.s.215/220 no.2.
 - vii. ff.15v-16r,
A madame je ne scay que je dye
As Champion, Poesies i Ballade no.10 (Steele & Day, EETS 215/220 no.10).
 - viii. ff.16r-17r,
Se je vous dy bonnes nouvelles
As Champion, Poesies i Ballade no.33 (Steele & Day, EETS o.s. 215/220 no.33).
 - ix. ff.17r-18r,
Comment se puet ung poure cuer deffendre
As Champion, Poesies i Ballade no. 4 (Steele & Day, EETS o.s. 215/220 no.4).

- x. f.18r,
Fuyez le trait de doulx regart
 As Champion, Poésies, i Ballade no.51.
- xi. ff.18v-19r,
Mon cuer ouurez luys de pensee
 As Champion, Poésies, i Ballade no.34 (Steele & Day,
EETS o.s.215/220 no.34).
- xii. f.19r-v,
Jay ou tresor de ma pensee
 As Champion, Poésies, i Ballade no.35 (Steele & Day,
EETS o.s.215/220 no.35).
- xiii. f.20r,
Mon seul amy mon bien ma joye
 As Champion, Poésies, i Ballades no.52.
- xiv. f.20r-v,
Je ne vous puis ne scay amer
 As Champion, Poésies i Ballade no.36 (Steele & Day,
EETS o.s.215/220 no.36).
- xv. f.21r-v,
Lautrier alay mon cuer veoir
 As Champion, Poésies, i Ballade no.37 (Steele & Day,
EETS o.s. 215/220 no.37).
- xvi. ff.21v-22v,
Je ne me scay en quel point maintenir
 As Champion, Poésies, i Ballade no.42 (Steele & Day,
EETS o.s.215/220 no.42).
- xvii. ff.22v-23v,
Mon cuer est deueni hermite
 As Champion, Poésies, i Ballade no.43 (Steele & Day,
EETS o.s. 215/220 no.43).
- xviii. ff.23v-24v,
A doux penser jamais je ne pourroye
 As Champion, Poésies, i Ballade no.38 (Steele & Day,
EETS o.s.215/20 no.38):
- xix. ff.24v-25v,
Se je ne pouoye mes souhaits
 As Champion, Poésies, i Ballade no.39 (Steele & Day,
EETS o.s. 215/220 no.39).

- xx. ff.25v-26v,
Fortune vueillez moy laissier
 As Champion, Poésies, i Ballade no.40 (Steele & Day,
EETS o.s. 215/220 no.40).
- xxi. ff.26v-27r,
Espoir ma aporte nouvelle
 As Champion, Poésies, i Ballade no.41 (Steele & Day,
EETS o.s.215/220 no.41).
- xxii. ff.27r-28r,
Quelles nouvelles ma maistresse
 As Champion, Poésies, i Ballade no.14 (Steele & Day,
EETS o.s. 215/220 no.14).
- xxiii. f.28r-v,
Quant je party derrainement
 As Champion, Poésies, i Ballade no.20 (Steele & Day,
EETS o.s. 215/220 no.20).
- xxiv. f.29r-v,
Belle sil vous plaist escouter
 As Champion, Poésies, i Ballade no.32 (Steele & Day,
EETS o.s. 215/220 no.32).
- xxv. ff.29v-30v,
Venez vers moy bonne nouvelle
 As Champion, Poésies, i Ballade no.31 (Steele & Day,
EETS o.s.215/220 no.31).
- xxvi. ff.30v-31r,
Belle bien auez souenance
 As Champion, Poésies, i Ballade no.30 (Steele & Day,
EETS o.s. 215/220 no.30).
- xxvii. ff.31r-32r,
Loe soit cellui qui trouua
 As Champion, Poésies, i Ballade no.21 (Steele & Day,
EETS o.s.215/220 no.21).
- xxviii. ff.32r-33r,
Ardant desir de veoir ma maistresse
 As Champion, Poésies, i Ballade no.26 (Steele & Day,
EETS o.s. 215/220 no.26).

- xxix. f.33r-v,
Quant je suis couchie en mon lit
 As Champion, Poésies, i Ballade no.8 (Steele & Day,
EETS o.s. 215/220 no.8).
- xxx. ff.33v-35r,
Fresche beaulte tres riche de jeunesse
 As Champion, Poésies, i Ballade no.9 (Steele & Day,
EETS o.s.215/220 no.9).
- xxxi. ff.35r-36r,
Mon cuer a enuoye querir
 As Champion, Poésies, i Ballade no. 27 (Steele & Day,
EETS o.s.215/220 no.27).
- xxxii. f.36r-v,
Mon cuer au derrain entrera
 As Champion, Poésies, i Ballade no.24 (Steele & Day,
EETS o.s. 215/220 no.24).
- xxxiii. ff.36v-37v,
Deployez vostre baniere
 As Champion, Poésies, i Ballade no.25 (Steele & Day,
EETS o.s.215/220 no.25).
- xxxiv. ff.37v-38r,
Puis quairsi est que loigntain de vous suis
 As Champion, Poésies, i Ballades no.12 (Steele & Day,
EETS o.s.215/220 no.12).
- xxxv. ff.38r-39r,
En la nef de bonne nouvelle
 As Champion, Poésies, i Ballades no.28 (Steele & Day,
EETS o.s. 215/220 no.28).
- xxxvi. ff.39r-40r,
Je ne crains danger ne les siens
 As Champion, Poésies, i Ballade no.29 (Steele & Day,
EETS o.s. 215/220 no.29).
- xxxvii. ff.40r-41r,
Danger je vous jette mon gant
 As Champion, Poésies, i Ballade no.44 (Steele & Day,
EETS o.s. 215/220 no.44).

- xxxviii. ff.41r-42r,
Se dieu plaist briefment lannee
 As Champion, Poésies, i Ballade no.45 (Steele & Day,
EETS o.s.215/220 no.45).
- xxxix. f.42r-v,
A court jeu de tables jouer
 As Champion, Poésies, i Ballade no.46 (Steele & Day,
EETS o.s. 215/220 no.46).
- xl. f.43r-v,
Vous soyez la tres bien venue
 As Champion, Poésies, i Ballade no.47 (Steele & Day,
EETS o.s.215/220 no.47).
- xli. ff.43v-44v,
Par le commandement damours
 As Champion, Poésies, i Ballade no.50 (Steele & Day,
EETS o.s.215/220 no.50).
- xlii. ff.44v-45r,
La premiere foys ma maistresse
 As Champion, Poésies, i Ballade no.51 (Steele & Day,
EETS o.s.215/220 no.51).
- xliii. ff.45r-46r,
Me mocquez vous joyeux espoir
 As Champion, Poésies, i Ballade no.52 (Steele & Day,
EETS o.s. 215/220 no.52).
- xliv. ff.46r-47r,
Le premier jour du mois de may
 As Champion, Poésies, i Ballade no. 53 (Steele & Day,
EETS o.s. 215/220 no.53).
- xlv. ff.47r-48v,
Pour dieu gardez bien souvenir
 As Champion, Poésies, i Ballade no.54 (Steele & Day,
EETS o.s.215/220 no.54).
- xlvi. ff.48v-49r,
Je deffy tristesse/ Et tout son pouoir
 As Champion, Poésies ii p.555.
- xlvii. ff.49r-53v,
Après le soir qui est fait pour trauail
 As Champion, Poésies, i Ballade no.71a
 (Steele & Day, EETS o.s. 215/220 pp.86-91).

- xlvi. ff.53v-56r,
Supplie presentement/ humblement
 As Champion, Poésies, i pp.105-108 (Steele & Day, EETS o.s.215/220 pp.92-94).
- xlix. f.56r-v,
Quant vint a la prochaine feste
 As Champion, Poésies, i pp.108-9 (Steele & Day, EETS o.s.215/220 no.75).
- l. ff.56v-57v,
Helas sire pardonnez moy
 As Champion, Poésies i pp.109-110 (Steele & Day, EETS o.s.215/220 no.76).
- li. ff.57v-58r,
Amour congnet bien que jestoye
 As Champion, Poésies, i pp.110-111 (Steele & Day, EETS o.s. 215/220 no.77).
- lii. f.58r-v,
Tantost amour en grant arroy
 As Champion, Poésies, i pp.111-112 (Steele & Day, EETS o.s. 215/220 no.78).
- liii. ff.58v-59v,
Quant jenz mon cuer et ma quittance
 As Champion, Poésies, i p.114 (Steele & Day, EETS o.s.215/220 no.79).
- liv. ff.59v-60r,
Confort me prenant par la main
 As Champion, Poésies, i pp.114-115 (Steele & Day, EETS o.s.215/220 no.80).
- lv. f.60r-v,
Le gouverneur de la maison
 As Champion, Poésies, i pp.115-116 (Steele & Day, EETS o.s. 215/220 no.81).
- lvi. ff.60v-61v,
Sachent presens et aduenir
 As Champion, Poésies, i pp.112-113.
- lvii. ff.62r-63r,
Tres excellent tres hault et noble prince
 As Champion, Poésies, i pp.116-118 (Steele & Day, EETS o.s.215-220 pp.100-102).

- lviii. ff.63v-64r,
Balades chancons et complaints
 As Champion, Poésies, i Ballade no.72 (Steele & Day,
EEES o.s.215/220 no.83).
- lix. ff.64v-65r,
Puys que je suys vostre voysin
 As Champion, Poésies, i Ballade no.87.
- lx. ff.65r-66r,
Lemplastre de nonchaloir
 As Champion, Poésies, i Ballade no.73 (Steele & Day,
EETS o.s.215/220 no.82,
- lxi. ff.66r-v,
Belle se ne mosez donner
 As Champion, Poésies, i Ballade no.68 (Steele & Day,
EETS o.s.215/220 no.101).
- lxii. ff.66v-67v,
Mon cuer dormant en nonchaloir
 As Champion, Poésies, i Ballade no.72 (Steele & Day,
EETS o.s.215/220 no.107).
- lxiii. ff.67v-68r,
Sil en estoit en mon vouloir
 As Champion, Poésies, i Ballade no.87a.
- lxiv. ff.68r-69r,
Je fu en fleur ou temps passe denfance
 As Champion, Poésies, i Ballade no.80.
- lxv. f.69r-v (English verse, Index 922),
 CHANCON
 Go forth my hert with my lady. . .
- lxvi. ff.69v-70r,
Cuer trop es plain de folye
 As Champion, Poésies, i Ballade no.81.
- lxvii. ff.70v-71r,
Dame qui cuidez trop sauoir
 As Champion, Poésies, i Ballade no.86.
- lxviii. ff.71r-72r,
Mon chier cousin de bon cuer vous incie
 As Champion, Poésies, i Ballade no.85.

- lxix. f.72r,
Damours meschant par parolle de bouche
 Pr. d'Hericault, Poésies, ii p.280.
- lxx. ff.73r-74r,
Des nouvelles dalbyon
 As Champion, Poésies, i Ballade no.89.
- lxxi. f.74r-v,
De cuer de corps & de puissance
 As Champion, Poésies, i Ballade no.88a.
- lxxii. ff.74v-75v,
Pour la haste de mon passage
 As Champion, Poésies, i Ballade no.88.
- lxxiii. ff.75v-76v,
Belle bonne nonpareille
 As Champion, Poésies, i Ballade no.1 (Steele & Day,
EETS o.s.215/220 no.1).
- lxxiv. ff.76v-77r,
Loingtain de vous ma tresbelle maistresse
 As Champion, Poésies, i Ballade no.11 (Steele & Day,
EETS o.s.215/220 no.11).
- lxxv. ff.77v-78r,
Douleur courrou desplaysir et tristesse
 As Champion, Poésies, i Ballade no.18 (Steele & Day,
EETS o.s. 215/220 no.18).
- lxxvi. ff.78r-79r,
Pourtant se souuent ne vous voy
 As Champion, Poésies, i Ballade no.13 (Steele & Day,
EETS o.s.215/220 no.13).
- lxxvii. ff.79r-80r,
Belle combien que de mon fait
 As Champion, Poésies, i Ballade no.22 (Steele & Day,
EETS o.s. 215/220 no.22).
- lxxviii. f.80r-v,
En ce joyeux temps du jourdhuy
 As Champion, Poésies, i Ballade no.17 (Steele & Day,
EETS o.s.215/220 no.17).

- lxxix. ff.80v-81v,
De jamais namer paramours
 As Champion, Poésies, i Ballade no.7 (Steele & Day,
EETS o.s.215/220 no.7).
- lxxx. ff.81v-82r,
Joy estrangement/ Plusieurs gens parler
 As Champion, Poésies, i Ballade no.71 (Steele & Day,
EETS o.s.215/220 no.73).
- lxxxii. ff.82r-83r,
Mon cuer ma fait commandement
 As Champion, Poésies, i Ballade no.74.
- lxxxiii. f.83r-v,
Na pas long temps qualay parler
 As Champion, Poésies, i Ballade no.6 (Steele & Day,
EETS o.s.215/220 no.6).
- lxxxiiii. ff.83v-84v,
Puis quainsi est que vous alez en france
 As Champion, Poésies, i Ballade no.83.
- lxxxv. ff.84v-85v,
En ceste nouvelle saison.
 Pr. Hericault, Poésies, i p.218.
- lxxxvi. ff.85v-86v,
Cest grant peril de regarder
 As Champion, Poésies, i Ballade no.3 (Steele & Day,
EETS o.s. 215/220 no.3).
- lxxxvii. ff.86v-87r,
Madame vous pouez sauoir
 As Champion, Poésies, i Ballade no.16
 (Steele & Day, EETS o.s. 215/220 no.16).
- lxxxviii. f.87r-88r,
Jeune gente plaisante & debonnaire
 As Champion, Poésies, i Ballade no.19 (Steele & Day,
EETS o.s.215/220 no.19).
- lxxxix. f.88r-v,
Ha dieu damours ou mauez vous loge
 As Champion, Poésies, i Ballade no.110.

- lxxxix. f.89r-91v,
France jadis on te souloit nommer
 As Champion, Poésies i, Complainte no.1.
- xc. ff.91v-92v,
Helas helas qui a laisse entrer
 As Champion, Poésies, i Ballade no.55 (Steele & Day,
EETS o.s.215/220 no.55).
- xc. ff.92v-93r,
Si tost que lautre jour ouy
 As Champion, Poésies, i Ballade no.56 (Steele & Day,
EETS o.s.215/220 no.56).
- xcii. ff.93v-94r,
Las mort qui ta fait si hardye
 As Champion, Poésies, i Ballade no.57 (Steele & Day,
EETS o.s.215/220 no.57).
- xciii. ff.94r-95r,
Jay aux eschez joue deuant amours
 As Champion, Poésies, i Ballade no.58 (Steele & Day,
EETS o.s. 215/220 no.61).
- xciv. f.95r-v,
Je me souloye pour penser
 As. Champion, Poésies, i Ballade no.59 (Steele & Day,
EETS o.s.215/220 no.63).
- xcv. ff.95v-96v,
Quant souuent me ramentoit
 As Champion, Poésies, i Ballade no.60 (Steele & Day,
EETS o.s.215/220 no.64).
- xcvi. ff.96v-97v,
La premier jou du mois de may
 As Champion, Poésies, i Ballade no.61 (Steele & Day,
EETS o.s.215/220 no.65).
- xcvii. ff.97v-98r,
Le lendemain du premier jour de may
 As Champion, Poésies, i Ballade no.62 (Steele & Day,
EETS o.s.215/220 no.66).
- xcviii. ff.98v-100v,
Amour ne vous vueille desplaire
 As Champion, Poésies, i, Complainte no.2.

- xcix. ff.101r-103r,
Ma seule dame et ma maistresse
 As Champion, Poésies i, Complainte no.3.
- c. ff.103v-104r,
Je qui suis dieu des amoureux
 As Champion, Poésies, i Ballade no.77.
- ci. ff.104v-105r,
Visaige de baffe venu
 As Champion, Poésies, i Ballade no.91.
- cii. f.105r-v,
Amours qui tant a de puissance
 As Champion, Poésies i, Ballade no.92.
- ciii. f.106r-v,
Cupido dieu des amoureux
 As Champion, Poésies, i Ballade no.77a.
- civ. f.107r-v,
Espargnez vostre doulx attrait
 As Champion, Poésies, i Ballade no.5 (Steele & Day, EETS
- cv. o.s. 215/220, no.5), ff.107v-108r.
Belle que je tiens pour amye
 As Champion, Poésies, i Ballade no.15 (Steele & Day, EETS
- cvi. o.s.215/220 no.15), f.109r-v.
En regardant vers le pays de france
 As Champion, Poésies, i Ballade no.75.
- cvii. ff.109v-110v,
Jay fait lobseque de ma dame
 As Champion, Poésies, i Ballade no.69 (Steele & Day, EETS o.s.215/220 no.67).
- cviii. ff.110v-111v,
Puys que mort a pris ma maistresse
 As Champion, Poésies, i Ballade no.70 (Steele & Day, EETS o.s.215/220 no.68).
- cix. f.111v,
Ce may qu'amours pas ne sommeille
 As Champion, Poésies i, Chanson no.1.
- cx. f.112r,
Tiengne soy damer qui pourra
 As Champion, Poésies i, Chanson no.2.

- cxix. f.112r-v,
Quelque chose que je dye
 As Champion, Poésies i, Chanson no.3.
- cxii. ff.112v-113r,
Nest elle de tous biens garnie
 As Champion, Poésies i, Chanson no.4.
- cxiii. f.113r,
Quant jay non pareille maistresse
 As Champion, Poésies i, Chanson no.5.
- cxiv. f.113r-v,
Dieu qui la fait bon regarder
 As Champion, Poésies i, Chanson no.6.
- cxv. ff.113v-114r,
Par dieu mon plaisir bien joyeux
 As Champion, Poésies i, Chanson no.7.
- cxvi. f.114r-v,
Que me conseillez vous mon cuer
 As Champion, Poésies i, Chanson no.8.
- cxvii. f.114v,
Ou regart de voz beaux doulx yeux
 As Champion, Poésies i, Chanson no.9.
- cxviii. f.115r,
Qui la regarde de ses yeux
 As Champion, Poésies i, Chanson no.10.
- cxix. f.115r,
Ce moys de may nonpareille princesse
 As Champion, Poésies i, Chanson no.11.
- cxx. ff.115v-116r,
Commandez vostre vouloir
 As Champion, Poésies i, Chanson no.12.
- cxxi. f.116r,
Belle se cest vostre plaisir
 As Champion, Poésies i, Chanson no.13.
- cxcii. f.116v,
Rafreschissez le chastel de mon cuer
 As Champion, Poésies i, Chanson no.14.

- cxxiii. ff.116v-117r.
Se ma douleur vous sauiez
 As Champion, Poésies i, Chanson no.15.
- cxxiv. f.117r-v,
Ma seulle plaisant doulce joye
 As Champion, Poésies i, Chanson no.16.
- cxxv. f.117v,
Je ne vueil plus riens que la mort
 As Champion, Poésies i, Chanson no.17.
- cxxvi. f.118r,
Belle que je cheris et crains
 As Champion, Poésies i, Chanson no.18.
- cxxvii. f.118r-v (English verse, Index 2246),
 CHANCON
 My hertly loue is in your gouernans. . .
- cxxviii. f.118v,
Madame tant quil vous plaira
 As Champion, Poésies i, Chanson no.19.
- cxxix. ff.118v-119r,
De la regarder vous gardez
 As Champion, Poésies i, Chanson no.20.
- cxxx. f.119r-v,
Puis que je ne puis eschapper
 As Champion, Poésies i, Chanson no.21.
- cxxxi. ff.119v-120r,
Cest fait il nen fault plus parler
 As Champion, Poésies i, Chanson no.22.
- cxxxii. f.120r,
Puys quamour veult que bany soye
 As Champion, Poésies i, Chanson no.23.
- cxxxiii. f.120r-v,
Pour le don que mauez donne
 As Champion, Poésies i, Chanson no.24.
- cxxxiv. ff.120v-121r,
Se jesusse ma part de tous biens,
 As Champion, Poésies i, Chanson no.25.

- cxxxv. f.121r,
Pour les grans biens de vostre renommee
 As Champion, Poésies i, Chanson no.26.
- cxxxvi. f.121v,
En songe souhait et pensee
 As Champion, Poésies i, Chanson no.27.
- cxxxvii. ff.121v-122r,
De loyal cuer content de joye
 As Champion, Poésies i, Chanson no.28.
- cxxxviii. f.122r-v,
Se mon propos vient a contraire
 As Champion, Poésies i, Chanson no.29.
- cxxxix. f.122v,
Las merecolie/ Me tendrez vous longuement
 As Champion, Poésies i, Carole no.1.
- cxl. ff.122v-123r,
Loingtain de joyeuse sente
 As Champion, Poésies i, Chanson no.32.
- cxli. f.123r-v,
Avancez vous esperance
 As Champion, Poésies i, Carole no.2.
- cxlii. ff.123v-124r,
Dedans mon sain pres de mon cuer
 As Champion, Poésies i, Chanson no.33.
- cxliii. f.124r-v,
De vostre beaulte regarder
 As Champion, Poésies i, Chanson no.34.
- cxliv. f.124v,
Prenez tost et baiser mon cuer
 As Champion, Poésies i, Chanson no.35.
- cxlv. ff.124v-125r,
Comment vous puis je tant amer
 As Champion, Poésies i, Chanson no.36.
- cxlvi. f.125r-v,
Je ne prise point telz baisiers
 As Champion, Poésies i, Chanson no.37.

- cxlvii. ff.125v-126r,
Ma seule amour madame & ma maistresse
 As Champion, Poésies i, Chanson no.38.
- cxlviii. f.126r,
Se desplaire ne vous doubtoye .
 As Champion, Poésies i, Chanson no.39.
- cxliv. f.126r-v,
Malade de mal ennuyeux
 As Champion, Poésies i, Chanson no.40.
- cl. ff.126v-127r,
Sil vous plaist vendre voz baisiers
 As Champion, Poésies i, Chanson no.41.
- cli. f.127r-v,
Ma seule amour que tant desire
 As Champion, Poésies i, Chanson no.42.
- clii. ff.127v-128r, (Latin verse),
Laudes deo sint atque gloria
 As Champion, Poésies i, Carole no.4.
- cliii. f.128r-v,
Logiez moy entre voz bras
 As Champion, Poésies i, Chanson no.43.
- cliv. f.128v,
Se dangier me tolt le parler
 As Champion, Poésies i, Chanson no.44.
- clv. f.129r,
Va tost mon amoureux desir
 As Champion, Poésies i, Chanson no.45.
- clvi. f.129r-v,
Je me mets en vostre mercy
 As Champion, Poésies i, Chanson no.46.
- clvii. ff.129v-130r,
Mavez vous point mis en oubly
 As Champion, Poésies i, Carole no.3.
- clviii. f.130r-v,
Trop estes vers moy endebtee
 As Champion, Poésies i, Chanson no.47.

- clix. ff.130v-131r,
Vostre bouche dit baisiez moy
 As Champion, Poésies i, Chanson no.48.
- clx. f.131r (English verse, Index 2289),
 CHANCON
 Ne were my trewe innocent hert. . .
- clxi. f.131v,
Je ne les prise pas deux blans
 As Champion, Poésies i, Chanson no.49.
- clxii. ff.131v-132v,
En la forest damoureuse tristesse
 As Champion, Poésies i, Ballade no.63 (Steele & Day
EETS o.s.215/220 no.70).
- clxiii. ff.132v-133r,
Jay este de la compaignie
 As Champion, Poésies i, Ballade no.64 (Steele & Day,
EETS o.s.215/220 no.69).
- clxiv. ff.133v-134r,
Plaisant beaulte mon cuer navra
 As Champion, Poésies i, Ballade no.65 (Steele & Day,
EETS o.s. 215/220 no.71).
- clxv. f.134r-v,
Le beau soleil le jour sai<n>t valentin
 As Champion, Poésies i, Ballade no.66 (Steele & Day,
EETS o.s.215/220 no.72).
- clxvi. ff.135r-136r,
Pryez pour paix douce vierge marie
 As Champion, Poésies i, Ballade no.76.
- clxvii. f.136r-v,
Au besoin congnoist on lamy
 As Champion, Poésies i, Chanson no.50.
2. Advice on Love from Heloise (French prose), ff.137r-187v,
 TOUS CEULX QUI CE LIURE VEUL/LENT ENTENDRE DOIUENT SA/VOIR
 QUE QUANT MAISTRE PI/ERRE ABAIELART EUT LONGE/MENT REGNE
 ET VSE DE SES ARTS SA CONSCIEN/CE LE REPREST IL FONDA VNE
 ABBAYE PRES/ (f.137v) DE SAYNE. . .
 Premierement elle lui demonstre se/ il la veult croire. . .

3. Questions on Love (French verse and prose) ¹, ff.188r-210r,
 LES DEMANDES DAMOURS
 Du chastel damours il conuient/ que me nommez le fondement. . .
 Pr. Klein, Altfranzösischen Minnefragen.
4. Instructions for a Prince (French verse and prose)
 ff.210v-248v,
 CY COMMENCE LE LIURE DIT GRACE ENTIERE SUR LE/ FAIT DU
 GOUVERNEMENT DUN PRINCE
 En lan de septante & trente. . .

C. Technical Description

- a. Parchment; $14\frac{3}{4}$ x $10\frac{1}{4}$ ins (365 x 255mm).
- b. iv + 248 + iv (including two original parchment flyleaves at each end of the volume). Modern pencil foliation.
- c. The manuscript is tightly bound and collation is impossible. There are no visible catchwords or leaf signatures.
- d. The texts are copied in single columns, of about 22 lines. Frames and lines have been ruled in red, and are now slightly faded. Some pricking is still visible, but most has been trimmed off the leaves. The average written space measures $8\frac{3}{4}$ x $5\frac{1}{4}$ ins (220 x 130mm) for verse, and $8\frac{3}{4}$ x $6\frac{1}{4}$ ins (220 x 155mm) for prose.
- e. One scribe copied all the texts, writing a large and careful Burgundian-style Lettre Bâtarde.
- f. There are six full-page miniatures with borders in the collection - three of them associated with the lyrics. A full description is provided in the Catalogue of Royal MSS (see bibliography). The initial letter of each line in the section of poems by Charles d'Orléans is in gold, on a blue or red background. Major capitals, in the lyrics and the other items, are two or three lines high, in gold. Titles are inserted in

blue or red. Line-fillings are provided throughout the section of lyrics, gold, blue and red again, with different designs in them. Warner and Gilson suggest that the illumination, while in a Flemish style, was probably executed in England.

D. History and provenance

A cryptogram at the beginning of the last item in the manuscript suggests that it was produced in the year 1500. Mottoes and devices in the borders of the miniatures connect it with the Prince of Wales, so it would seem that the collection was designed for Prince Arthur, before his death in 1502. The contents are entirely suitable: Instructions for a Prince (item 4), discussion of and advice on the courtly subject of how to behave when in love (items 2 and 3), and a selection of love-lyrics which seem to have been arranged expressly to suit the prince's situation. It appears that the ballades especially have been organized to reflect the sorrow of a lover separated from his lady, and anxiously awaiting a reunion with her; Prince Arthur was betrothed to Catherine of Aragon in 1489, and married her in 1501, and his supposed amorous impatience would presumably have been at its height in 1500. The prince's tutor at this time was the blind French poet Bernard André, who ^{was once} thought to have composed the Instructions in item 4²; it has been suggested that André also organized the selection of lyrics by Charles d'Orléans, and designed the manuscript as a whole. After Prince Arthur's death in 1502 the manuscript obviously remained in the Royal Library.

E. Bibliography

Kipling, Triumph of Honour, pp.42-43;
Warner & Gilson, Cat. of Royal MSS ii pp.203-204;
Champion, Poésies i pp.x-xii;
Fox, Charles D'Orléans; pp.viii-xiii.

Notes

1. An English translation of this item appears in the Winchester Anthology, BL MS Addit. 60577. See above p.265.
2. See Green, Poets and Princepleasers p.221 n.7.

50. LONDON, British Library, MS Royal 17.D.vi.

A. s.xv. Anthology of English verse and prose by Hoccleve, with some added lyrics.

B. Contents

[1.] A Warning against the Uncertainties of the World, lines 1-3 (Index 3909), f.1v.

[*2.] Dedicatory Verses (Index 2257), f.2v.

[*3.] To his Mistress, with the Present of a Ring (Index 932), f.3r,
· Goo lytelle ryng to that ylke suehte. . .

4. Hoccleve, The Regiment of Princes (Index 2229), ff.4r-101v.

5. Hoccleve, The Tale of the Emperour Gerelaus (Index 1561), ff.102r-120r.

6. Hoccleve, Learn to Die, including a prose description of the Heavenly City (Index 3121), ff.120v-138r.

7. Hoccleve, The Tale of Jonathas (Index 4072), ff.138v-149v.

[8.] Henry V's Letter of Defiance to Charles VI of France, 1417 (Latin prose), f.150r,

LITTERA HENRICI REGIS ANGLIE QUINTI MISSA CAROLO REGI FRANCIE

Henricus dei gracie rex anglie & Francie. . .

As Rymer, Foedera iv (3) p.12.

[9.] On Youth and Honour (Index 1151), f.150v.

C. Technical Description

a. Parchment; 10½ x 7 ins (260 x 170mm).

b. ff. vii + 147 + iv. One ink system of foliation, starting on the first recto of the first gathering, has been crossed out and replaced by another, beginning on the fifth flyleaf (the first of three parchment ones at the beginning of the volume).

c. 1⁸-18⁸, 19^{three}. Catchwords remain at the end of every complete gathering; no leaf signatures are visible.

- d. The major items (i.e. all the Hoccleve texts) are copied in single columns of between 31 (prose) and 28 (verse) lines. Pricking is visible, and frames and writing-lines have been ruled. The written space measures between $6\frac{3}{4}$ x $3\frac{1}{2}$ ins (175 x 90mm) for verse and $6\frac{3}{4}$ x $4\frac{1}{2}$ ins (175 x 110mm) for prose.
- e. The Hoccleve texts, items 4-7, have been copied by one scribe, who writes a neat anglicana formata. All the other items have been added by different, later hands; the love-lyric, item 3, appears to have been copied in a mixed hand of the late fifteenth or very early sixteenth century.
- f. The Regiment of Princes includes a presentation miniature on f.40r, and a margin-drawing of Chaucer (entitled 'Chaucers ymage') on f.93v. Major initials in the Hoccleve items are three lines high, in blue, gold and red, sometimes extending into a half-border. Each stanza in the verse texts begins with a two-line initial, alternately blue and gold, flourished with red. Two coats of arms have been added to the illumination on ff.4r and 40r. None of the added items is decorated in any way.

D. History and provenance

The original Hoccleve anthology seems to have been put together in the first half of the fifteenth century, for an unknown owner. The arms which have been added associate the volume with Joan Nevill, Countess of Salisbury (d.1462), and her husband William FitzAlan, Earl of Arundel (1438-87). Arundel's name and motto appear on f.1r ('Euer ffeytheffulle/ Arundelle') and again on f.150v ('Mouncer darundell'). This Arundel was a Yorkist (his son and heir Thomas FitzAlan married one of Elizabeth Woodville's sisters), who also owned Royal MSS 19.B.xvii and 20.D.v¹. The Hoccleve collection presumably stayed in his family in some way; it came into the Royal Library from John, Lord Lumley, whose signature is on f.4r, and whose first wife Joan FitzAlan was a direct descendant of William.

Many other fifteenth-century names appear in the manuscript, however - presumably 'autographs' supplied by borrowers or readers. Most of these have demonstrable Arundel connections. John Sutton, Baron Dudley (1401-1487), for example, whose name also appears on f.1r ('alas porquey/ duddeley j') was a Lancastrian who defected to support Edward IV, and was sent by him on an embassy to France with Arundel in 1477-8. The signature of 'E. berkeley' on f.1r must be that of Dudley's wife Elizabeth. 'Alyanor Roos', on f.1r, is perhaps Eleanor Roos of Hunmanby who married Dudley's brother Humphrey Sutton, while one of the later signatures, that of a 'Blount' (ff.2r and 3r), is perhaps connected with Dudley through his mother Constance Blount. The 'jane Fytzlowys' whose name is written on f.1r was probably a relation of Arundel; his mother's aunt, Alice Montacute, married Sir John FitzLewis, and became step-mother to children by his first wife who included a Jane. The 'Wyngeffeld' on f.1v may well be Sir John Wingfield of Letheringham, Suffolk, another Yorkist, who married Jane FitzLewis's sister Elizabeth². Other names include 'John Myll' (ff.2r and 3r), 'John Wombey' (or 'Womgey', f.2r), 'lothe to offende/ Stoughton' (f.2r), 'Acton' (f.2r), 'Folyet' (f.2r), and 'Rolund Schakyrley' (f.3r). None of the signatures seems to match the hand of the love-lyric, so the identity of its copyist (and possibly its author) remains unknown.

E. Bibliography

Warner & Gilson, Cat.Royal MSS ii pp.251-52;
 Seymour, TEBS 4.

Notes

1. Copies of the Legenda Aurea and St. Gregory the Great's Homilies on the Gospels respectively.
2. For information on these families, see DNB lxi pp.187-90, and Seaton, Richard Roos, pp.556-64.

51. LONDON, British Library, MS Royal 17.D.xviii

A. s.xv med.; Hoccleve's Regiment of Princes, with an added lyric.

B. Contents

[*1.] On Women's Inconstancy (Index 2195.3), f.1v,
Pr. Edwards, NM 74.

2. Hoccleve, The Regiment of Princes (Index 2229), with a
dedication to the future Henry V, ff.2r-100r.

C. Technical description

a. Parchment; 11 x 7 ins (280 x 180mm).

b. ff.iv + 100 + v; the modern pencil foliation (1-101) begins
on the fourth flyleaf.

c. 1⁸ - 12⁸, 13⁴. Some leaf signatures and catchwords are visible.

d. The main text is written in single columns of 4 7-line stanzas,
and the written space measures 7 x 4 ins (180 x 100mm). A
frame, and guide-lines for the text, have been ruled with crayon.

e. One scribe copied the whole of the Regiment, in a neat anglicana
formata. The lyric is added in a different hand, probably of
a slightly later date.

f. The Regiment begins with a large capital decorated with red and
blue penwork; this continues around all four sides of the text
to form a border. Major initials within the text, and new
stanzas, are flourished, with the flourishing occasionally
extending into a border.

D. History and provenance

The lyric must have been copied onto the blank original flyleaf of the Regiment by some early owner or reader. The signature of 'Nycholas Wikes' which appears below it, however, does not seem to be in the same hand¹, so the identity of the copyist must remain unknown. More notes on the Wikes family are copied onto f.1v: the names of 'John', 'William', 'Edwarde', 'Thomas', 'Francis' and 'Morice'². Other signatures on the same page include 'Izabell Powyns' and 'Marget', 'Katheryn', 'Izabell', 'Mary', 'Jane' and 'An', all members of an 'Unwyn' family; further notes on the Unwyns, listing dates of birth during the reign of Edward VI, are recorded on f.3r.

E. Bibliography

Warner & Gilson, Cat. Royal MSS ii p.256;
Seymour, TEBS 4.

Notes

1. I disagree here with the Index, and with A.S.G. Edwards (as above), both of whom attribute the lyric to Wikes.
2. A Wykes family also owned Bodleian Library, Oxford MS Bodley 953 (S.C.3089), Rolle's Commentary on the Psalter, in the sixteenth century. See Pächt & Alexander, Catalogue iii p.63.

52. LONDON, British Library, MS Royal 19.A.iii

A. s.xv²; an anthology of French courtly poems, with two added English lyrics.

B. Contents

1. Alain Chartier, La Belle Dame sans Merci (French verse), ff.1r-15v; lines 129-76, 657-704 wanting, because of two missing leaves.

As Laidlaw, Chartier pp.332-60.

- [*2.] An Envoy to his Mistress (Index 2386), f.16v,
O bewtie pereles and right so womanhod. . .
- [*3.] The Faithful Lover (Index 823), f.16v,
For he is true/ And wille pursue. . .
4. Baudet Herenc, Les Accusations contre la Belle Dame sans Merci
(French verse), ff.17r-28v; lines 1-4⁸ wanting, because of a
missing leaf.
As Droz & Piaget, Jardin de Plaisance i ff.cxxxix-cxlj.
5. Michel Taillevent (?) Le Débat du Cueur et de l'Oeil (French
verse), ff.29r-41v.
As Droz & Piaget, Jardin de Plaisance i ff.1v-1x.¹
6. Alain Chartier, Le Breviaire des Nobles (French verse),
ff.42r-50v; lines 417-46 wanting, because of a missing leaf.
As Laidlaw, Chartier pp.395-409.
7. Le Congie d'Amours (French verse), ff.51r-56v,
En ce temps de joyeux este. . .
8. Le Pris d'Honneur (French verse), ff.57r-68r,
Au moys que len nomme septembre. . .
9. Le Serviteur sans Guerdon (French verse), ff.69r-76r,
Souspirs tires par desconfort. . .
10. Les Traitz et Esbatementz d'antre l'Omme et la Femme (French
verse), ff.77v-84v,
Nault vouloir tout vostre engin sapplique. . .

C. Technical description

- a. Paper, with 2 parchment leaves (ff.1 and 16, the outer leaves
of the first gathering); 11 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ ins (285 x 210mm).
- b. ff.vii + 83 + iv; modern pencil foliation, beginning on the
seventh flyleaf.
- c. 1^{18} (4,15 wanting), 2^{14} (1 wanting), 3^{12} , 4^8 , 5^8 , 6^{10} , 7^{10} , 8^6 .²
No leaf signatures or catchwords remain.

- d. The texts are copied in single columns of between 24 and 32 lines. The size of the written space varies around 7 x 4 ins (175 x 105mm). No ruling is visible.
- e. One scribe appears to have copied all the French texts, writing a secretary hand, and introducing each new item with a few words written in a more formal script. The aspect of the hand changes, and item 7 is distinctly more untidy than the others. The English lyrics are added in another hand, not unlike that of the main scribe.
- f. There is no decoration. Gaps were left for decorated initials to begin items 1 and 6, but they were never completed.

D. History and provenance

The early history of the manuscript is unknown. Its English lyrics were presumably copied in by an English owner or reader of the French texts.

E. Bibliography

Warner and Gilson, Cat. Royal MSS ii pp.317-18;
Laidlaw, Chartier p.131.

Notes

1. An English translation of this, The Eye and the Heart (Index 1548) is included in MS Longleat 258; see below pp.439-42.
2. I disagree with the collation given by both Laidlaw and the Cat. Royal MSS, both of which assign each item in the manuscript to its own individual booklet. Both of these descriptions, furthermore, assign items 5 and 9 to different hands; I can see no change in the script, even though the paper-stock of the gathering containing item 5 is a new one.

53. LONDON, British Library, MS Royal 19.B.iv.

A. s.xv². French verse and prose, with some English additions.

B. Contents

1. transl. Guillaume de Thignonville, Les Dits Moraulx des Philosophes (French prose), ff.3r-74v,
Sedechias fut philosophe le premier. . .
2. Jean Bruyant, Le Chemin de Povrete et de Richesse (French verse), ff.75r-96r,
En dit douent en reprouchier. . .
- [*3.] The Fox and the Goose (Index 1622), f.97v.
- [*4.] Fragment of a Love-Song (Index 3131.5), f.98r,
Sin it is lo that I muste goo & pas yow ffroo my lady dere
pr. Robbins, Anglia 83.
- [5.] The Trap of Marriage (French verse), f.98r,
pr. Warner & Gilson, Cat. Royal MSS ii p.324.
- [6.] Latin Verses (not in Walther), f.98r,
In Jerusalem fuerunt reudutum . . .
- [7.] On Virtue (English prose, f.98r),
yf that a yong man wold a tayn. . .
- [8.] Fragment of Stans Puer ad Mensam (Walther, Sprichwörter 18581),
f.98r.

C. Technical description

- a. Parchment; 12 x 8½ ins (305 x 215mm).
- b. vi + 96 + iv; modern pencil foliation (1-98) begins on the fifth flyleaf at the beginning (i.e. the second of three original parchment flyleaves).
- c. 1⁸ - 12⁸; catchwords and leaf signatures.
- d. The main texts, items 1 and 2, are carefully copied in double columns of c.30 lines. The written space measures 7¼ x 5¾ ins (185 x 145mm). The added items have been scribbled in with no

apparent attention to layout, although they have been copied onto leaves which were ruled in preparation for the main text.

- e. Items 1 and 2 were copied by the same scribe, writing a French cursive hand. The added items were copied by a variety of different hands; the only one to appear more than once has copied item 4, the love-song, and item 6, the Latin verse.
- f. Items 1 and 2 are decorated. The first begins with an illuminated initial and a miniature of a philosopher reading (f.3r, 'of coarse execution', according to Warner and Gilson); major initials throughout the rest of the text, and in item 2, are flourished with red and blue or with gold and violet. None of the added items has been decorated.

D. History and provenance

The manuscript seems to have been copied in France, and was perhaps - on the evidence of the added French items - in French hands in the late fifteenth or very early sixteenth century. It probably belonged to an English owner by the early sixteenth century, however (especially if the suggestion made by Warner and Gilson that this is no.92 in the inventory of Royal manuscripts taken at Richmond Palace in 1535 is correct)¹, and the English additions were presumably made at this stage. The lyric fragment is only one of several, varied jotted items. On the verso of the first parchment flyleaf at the beginning (f.iv) are several inscriptions, including 'Lux et orygo bone prettes ssemper Cleyford'; on f.98r is 'uiue le roy henry' - presumably Henry VII or Henry VIII. Warner and Gilson note an erased inscription on f.98r, 'Cest liure fu a Henry. . .'.
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E. Bibliography

Warner & Gilson, Cat. Royal MSS ii p.324.

Notes

1. See Omont, MSS des Rois d'Angleterre.

54. LONDON, British Library, MS Royal Appendix 58.

A. s.xvi¹ - s.xvi^{med}. A collection of vocal and instrumental music.

B. Contents

1. A the syghes that come fro my herte (Index 14.5), f.3r, with music for one part.
- *2. Though that she can not redresse (Index 3706.8), f.3v, with music for one part.
- *3. For my pastyme vpon a day (Index 835.5), with burden 'Colle to me the rysshys grene', ff.4r and 14v (burden only); music for one part.
4. Downbery down down hay down (Index 688.8), f.4v, with music for one part.
- *5. Westron wynde when wylle thou blow (Index 3899.3), f.5r, with music for one part.
6. Iff I hade wytt for to endyte (Index 1414.8), f.5v, with music for one part.
- *7. Syne the tyme I knew yow fyrst (Index 3144.5), with burden 'Why soo vnkende alas'; f.6r, music for one part.
also pr. Greene, Early English Carols p.274.
- *8. Song: Kytt hath lost hur key (Index 1824.8), ff.6v-7r.
9. Song: Blow thy horne hunter (Index 3199.8), f.7v.
- *10. Alone alone alone alone alone alone (Index 263.3), f.8r, with music for one part: probably a refrain.
- *11. The lytyll prety ny3tyngale (Index 3413.3), ff.8v & 9v, with music for one part.
- *12. Song: In be begynnyng off thys yere (Index 1540.5), ff.9r & 13r.
- *13. To leve alone comfort ys none (Index 3758.5), f.10r, with music for one part.
- *14. Song: By a bancke as I lay (Index 558.5), ff.10v-11r.
15. Motet: Spem in Alium, ff.11v-12r.
- *16. Song: This yenders nyght (Index 3595.6), ff.12v, 52v-54v.
17. Instrumental trio, 3 parts, ff.15v-16r.
18. Musical canon (no words), f.16v.

- *19. O my lady dure (Index 2532.3), f.16v, with music for one part;
'Quod parker monke of stratforde'.
- *20. Rasyd is my mynde (Index 2794.4), f.17r, with music for one part.
- *21. Song: Dunbar(?), Now fayr fayreste off euery fayre (Index 2308.5),
ff.17v-18v.
- *22. Thofe I doo syng my hert dothe wepe (Index 3703.5), ff.18v-19v,
with music for one part.
23. Petyously constraynyd am I (Index 2755.5), ff.19v-21r, with
music for one part.
- *24. When fortune had me avaunsyd (Index 3947.6), ff.21v-22v, with
music for one part.
- *25. Song: My thoght ys full hevvy (Index 2272), ff.23r-24r.
- *26. Song: Frere gastkyn wo ye be (Index 870.5), ff.24v-25v.
27. Motet: Stella celi extirpavit, f.26r.
28. Motet: O gloriosa stella maris, f.26v.
29. Motet: Eredientem de templo, f.27r.
30. Instrumental music: single part for viol (?) consort
(i) 5 unnamed pieces, ff.28v-29v;
(ii) Apres de vous + 2 unnamed pieces, f.30r-30v;
(iii) Dum vincela + 2 unnamed pieces, ff.30v-31r;
(iv) Grace & vertu, f.31r;
(v) A solis ortus cardine (3 parts), ff.31v-32r;
(vi) unnamed piece, f.32r.
31. Motet: Sancta Maria virgo intercede, f.31v.
32. Motet: Sabatum Maria, f.32v.
33. Motet: Salva festa dies, f.33r.
34. Mass (1 part), beg. 'Et in terra pax', ff.33v-38v.
35. Instrumental music: single part for viol consort
unnamed piece + La belle fyne, f.39r-39v.
36. Motet: Jacob genuit Joseph, f.39v.
37. 'The chime of Cardiff', f.39v.
38. Keyboard pieces
(i) La belle fyne, f.40r;
(ii) unnamed, f.40r;
(iii) Hornpipe ff.40v-44v;
(iv) My lady Careys dompe, ff.44v-45v;
(v) My lady Wynkfylds rownde ff.45v-47r;
(vi) The emperorse pavyn, f.47r;

- (vii) galliard f.47r-v;
 - (viii) King Harry the viiith pavyn ff.47v-48r;
 - (ix) The crocke f.48r-v;
 - (x) The kynges marke, f.49r;
 - (xi) galliard, f.49v.
- *39. The whele off fortune who can hold (Index 3498.5), ff.50r-51v,
music for one part.
40. Illustrations of prolation, f.51r.
41. Lute pieces
- (i) The Duke of Somersettes dompe, ff.51v-52r;
 - (ii) In wynters juste returne, f.52r;
 - (iii) Yf care cause me to cry, f.52r;
 - (iv) Heven & erth, ff.52r, 55v;
 - (v) unnamed, ff.54v-55r;
 - (vi) Pastyme, f.55r;
 - (vii) Pover mans [. . .], f.55r.
42. Song: My lytell fole/ ys gon to play (Index 2255.3), ff.55v-56v.
43. Single part for viol consort, f.57r.
44. Instrumental trio, f.57v.
45. Motet: Gloria sanctorum, f.58v; unfinished.
46. Motet: Gloria patri, f.59r; beginning missing.
47. Single parts for viol consort, two unnamed pieces, f.59r.
48. Motet: Adesto nunc propitius, f.59v.
49. Single parts for viol consort, two unnamed pieces, ff.59v-60r.

C. Technical description

- a. Paper; $5 \frac{7}{8} \times 7 \frac{7}{8}$ ins (150 x 205mm).
 - b. viii + 58 + v; ink foliation (1-58) has been crossed out, and a pencil one (1-60) substituted, starting on the first full leaf as '3', and numbering the scraps pasted in on the flyleaves as '1' and '2'.
 - c. $1^8 - 3^8, 4^8$ (one wanting before 4), $5^4, 6^8, 7^8, 8^8$ (7 wanting).
- No catchwords or leaf signatures.

- d. The layout varies with the different hands. Staves for the music have been ruled onto the leaves as and when needed - there are some blank leaves with no ruling.
- e. Many different scribes have copied the pieces into the manuscript, so that it seems something of a composite effort. Most of the love-songs, however (especially those at the beginning of the manuscript) have been copied by the same hand.
- f. Some of the songs begin with an initial which has been ornamented with penwork in red and black; it seems as though similar decoration was planned for most of the songs in the collection, but not always executed.

D. History and provenance

One of the scraps pasted onto the flyleaves at the beginning of the manuscript bears the single word 'tenor', suggesting that this collection was perhaps one of a set of part-books; this would explain the fact that most of the songs have only one part (generally the tenor or contra-tenor). Stevens suggests that the volume was 'a professional musician's commonplace book' in which he entered all sorts of music which would be useful to him as a court musician - a plausible theory, although it seems strange that so many different hands should have been at work in the copying. A note on f.59v, now mostly obliterated, reads 'Dominus Johannes B...'. Warner and Gilson remark that the collection does not figure in early catalogues of the Royal manuscripts; it must have been a later addition.

E. Bibliography

Warner & Gilson, Cat. Royal MSS ii p.394;
 Hughes-Hughes, Cat. MS Music, i pp.139, 204, 212, 258, ii pp.1, 123, iii pp.57, 103, 181, 235, 313, 375;
 Flügel, Anglia 12; Greene, Early English Carols p.306;
 Stevens, Music and Poetry pp.129-30, 466 (with a list of refs.).

55. LONDON, British Library, MS Sloane 1212.

A. s.xv; English verse, by Hoccleve and Lydgate.

B. Contents

- *1. To his pitiless mistress (Index 2161), f.1r,
Mercy me graunt off þat I me compleyne. . .
Lines 17-36 = Lydgate's Temple of Glass, lines 736-54,
762, 763.
- *2. To his mistress, for pity (Index 2188), f.1v,
PUR MA SOUERAIGNE
Myn worldly ioy vp on me rewe. . .
LUCAS
FORTUNE HUMBLEMENT ATTENDAUNT PUR MA SOUERAIGNE/ VNE SANZ.
PLUS PUR LE ROY
3. Fragment from Lydgate's Temple of Glass (lines 98-162 of the
version in MSS CUL Gg.4.27 and BL Addit. 16165), (Index 851),
f.2r-v,
...how philomene yn to a ny3tyngale. . .
4. Fragment from Lydgate's Defence of Holy Church (lines 1-58)¹
(Index 2219), f.3r-v.
5. Fragment from Supplicacio Amantis (lines 439-505 of the poem
which forms a continuation to The Temple of Glass in MSS CUL
Gg.4.27 and BL Addit. 16165), (Index 147), f.4r-v;
as Schick, Temple of Glass p.65 (Schick does not seem to have
been aware of the existence of this fragment, and collates
only the other two versions of the poem).
6. Latin proverbs on death (Walther, 4679, 4680, 19352, 31221), f.4v.
7. Hoccleve, The Regiment of Princes (Index 2229), ff.5r-100r.
- *8. Fragment (nine lines of verse, seemingly in rhyme royal stanzas
with a two-line colophon; perhaps from an unidentified verse
epistle . Not listed in Index), f.101r,
. . .Off my chambyr he is and born in pallatye. . .
PALLAS THE DOWTYR OFF JUPITER/ GODDESSE AND GOVERNOUR OF
VENUS VERRE LUCAS.
not printed; see Appendix II pp.460-61.

9. Lydgate, Ballade in Commendation of Our Lady (Index 99),
ff.101r-102v.
10. Latin couplet (not recorded by Walther) f.101v,
Tam grauis ira duos non conuenit inter amantes. . .

C. Technical description

- a. Parchment (ff.1-4, 101, 102) and paper (ff.5-100). The parchment leaves measure $12\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ ins (210 x 140mm), and the paper leaves $12\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ ins (215 x 140mm).
- b. ff.i + 102 + ii. Modern foliation has been supplied in red ink, and corrected in pencil.
- c. The leaves have all been remounted for rebinding, so collation is difficult. It is made somewhat easier in the paper section of the manuscript where the system of catchwords indicates the different gatherings. The parchment leaves seem to be fragments of another manuscript, used here to enclose the central paper gatherings. The collation can best be expressed as: 1^{four} / (2-9)¹² / 10^{two}. Leaf signatures are visible in most of the gatherings of the paper section - arabic numerals with lower case letters. Gatherings 3-9 are marked 'b' - 'h'; gathering 2 was presumably 'a', but no signatures remain.
- d. The layout varies slightly between the parchment and paper sections of the manuscript. In the former the texts are set out in single columns, with anything between 29 and 37 lines of writing to a page; the dimensions of the written space vary between 6 x 4 ins (150 x 100mm), and 7 x 4 ins (180 x 100mm). Ruled lines for the writing are still faintly visible in this section. In the paper part of the manuscript, the layout is rather more consistent: the written space measures about $5\frac{1}{2} \times 3\frac{1}{2}$ ins (140 x 90mm), and the text is copied in single columns of around 31 lines to the page. Lines are faintly visible, again, seemingly ruled with a stylus; the frames, though, have been ruled in ink.

- e. One scribe, signing himself several times as 'Lucas', seems to have been responsible for copying all the parts of the manuscript, both the inner paper gatherings and the odd surrounding parchment leaves. The main Hoccleve text ends on f.100r with 'Cest tout/Lucas endi(t)ur'. He writes a mixed hand, mainly anglicana in the parchment sections of the manuscript (perhaps executed at an earlier date?), but with more secretary forms in the Hoccleve text on the paper leaves. Scott, in the Index to Sloane Manuscripts, suggests that the scribe is the Lucas who was secretary to Jasper Tudor, duke of Bedford.
- f. In the main paper section of the manuscript, gaps were left for decorated initials which were never completed. The enclosing parchment leaves contain several mottoes and devices which have been incorporated into small ink designs, executed presumably by the scribe himself. At the foot of f.1v is a leaf and berry design which includes the letter 'h'; the 'Lucas' signature on the same page is accompanied by a small leaf. Items 1 and 2 on these parchment leaves are both surrounded by mottoes and names: 'Le Roy', 'Une sanz plus', 'Fortune allas', 'Ver elle tout bien', 'Ele est mon-cure', 'Sans mwer', '3ouris for euer', 'Mercy ma soueraigne ioie', '3ouris allone', '3ow best', 'Non bettir', 'ieo nose dire', 'humblement magre' (cf. The Temple of Glass, line 530, in the versions in MSS CUL Gg.4.27 and BL Addit. 16165), 'obeysaunz & plesaunz'; the names are 'Scales', 'Morley', 'Felbrigge', and 'Normanvile'. On f.3r there is a flourished pen drawing of an animal which looks like a deer, carrying a banner which bears one of the mottoes; a similar design, but with a different motto, reappears on f.4v, and again, with yet another motto, on f.102r. Some of the initial letters in these parchment sections are flourished in ink - for example the 'M' which begins the Defence of Holy Church (item 4) on f.3r.

D. History and provenance

The manuscript as it now exists seems to represent an amalgam of two originally separate volumes, one a paper copy of Hoccleve's Regiment of Princes, and the other a collection of poems, evidently either by Lydgate or deliberately emulating him, copied on parchment. Only fragments of this parchment manuscript survive, and they have been used in the manner of protective flyleaves to enclose the paper gatherings. The same scribe seems to have been responsible for both original manuscripts², so it is likely that they very early formed part of the same collection. The correct original order of most of the parchment leaves cannot now be ascertained; three of them (ff.2-4 in the present foliation) contain isolated fragments from within longer works; one (f.1) is self-contained, with no indication of what originally preceded or followed it; only the last two (ff.101, 102) remain in what must have been their original order - the Ballade in Commendation of Our Lady (item 9) begins on f.101v and is continued onto f.102r-v.

The dating of this manuscript has proved something of a problem. MacCracken puts it 'between 1431 and 1450'; Norton-Smith describes it as a 'fifteenth-century MS(? of the second half of the century) which has flyleaves made up from a dismembered Lydgate MS of an earlier date'; the Manual suggests 'c.1450'. The editor of the British Library's Index to Sloane Manuscripts gives no date, but in suggesting that the scribe, Lucas, is the Thomas Lucas who appears in records of the later fifteenth century as secretary to Jasper Tudor (1431-95), must have assumed that the manuscript was copied in the second part of the century. Suggested dates, then range from the early to the late fifteenth century³. MacCracken puts forward a provenance for the manuscript in early fifteenth-century Norfolk or Suffolk, linking the names which feature with the mottoes on f.1v (Scales, Lucas, Morley, Felbrigge, Normanville) with prominent contemporary local nobles. Unfortunately his evidence goes no further than the provision of names to match some of those in the manuscript. and he is unable to demonstrate links between his noble families which would support their inclusion together in one volume. The palaeographical evidence has to be stretched, too, if the hand of the scribe is to be interpreted as early fifteenth-century. Scott's dating seems to me more plausible (even though the Thomas Lucas in question lived on until 1531)⁴ because a more credible

series of links can be made between the names in the manuscript and a group of late fifteenth-century East Anglian figures.

Scott gives little information about Lucas, but other sources indicate that he was a member of the Fitzlucas or Lucas family of Suffolk and Essex, and was the son of one John Fitzlucas⁵. One source records the father, John, as town clerk of Colchester⁶, but there appears to be confusion over this point, for Copinger describes Thomas's own son, John, as the town clerk⁷. Thomas Lucas became a member of the household of Jasper Tudor, and then his secretary; later he became solicitor-general for Henry VIII. He married Elizabeth, daughter of John Kennys of Rayland in Wales, fathered three sons and two daughters, built Little Saxham Hall, near Hengrave in Suffolk, and died in 1531⁸. Lucas's probable connections with the families of Scales and Felbrigg depend partly upon his residence near to Hengrave, and partly on a connection with the Woodville family. One of Thomas's sons, Jasper (named presumably after his father's illustrious employer) married Margaret or Marjery Gedding, daughter of Robert Gedding, owner of the manor of Lackford near Hengrave, who had been from 1469 until the attainment of his majority the ward of Richard Woodville (d.1491) and his wife Elizabeth⁹. Jasper Tudor himself was the second husband of Catherine Woodville¹⁰. Anthony Woodville, brother of this Richard and of Catherine, was the second husband of Elizabeth Scales, daughter of Thomas lord Scales, whose murder in 1460 was succeeded by a court case which attempted to establish his lawful heir. Eventually the inheritance was divided between Elizabeth and Sir William Tyndall as co-heirs. This is where the Felbrigg connection comes in, for Tyndall was the great-grandson of Sir Simon Felbrigg (d.1442), a prominent Norfolk landowner, and cousin by marriage of Elizabeth Scales's grandfather Robert¹¹. While a Lucas-Scales-Felbrigg acquaintance is reasonably easy to establish, it is more difficult to draw in a Morley connection, and - as far as I can make out - almost impossible to establish a Normanville one. The 'Morley' in question could have been William, seventh Baron Morley (d.1476) or Henry, eighth Baron Morley (d.1489), both of whom held extensive lands in Suffolk. One possible link is provided by the fact that Henry Morley

married Elizabeth, daughter of John Duke of Suffolk by the sister of Edward IV (another Elizabeth); Elizabeth Morley would therefore have had connections both with the crown, and, by extension, with the Woodville family. Her father, John Duke of Suffolk, was also the cousin of one of the wives of Sir Miles Stapleton, who at some other stage was married to the daughter of Sir Simon Felbrigge¹². The most prominent Normanville family in the fifteenth century was based in Yorkshire¹³; at present I can find no reason for the inclusion of the name of Normanville amongst the mottoes.

A note on f.8r of the manuscript, in a sixteenth-century hand, reads 'Nicholas Paynes bok'. A tenuous connection can be established between Thomas Lucas, the possible scribe of the manuscript, and a Suffolk Payne family. Lucas had various dealings with the Stafford family over the manor of Luce's Hall, Westley. This was held by Humphrey Earl of Stafford until his death in 1460; later it was held in dower by Margaret Countess of Richmond and Derby (mother of Henry VII), the widow of Lord Henry Stafford; she leased it to Thomas Lucas in 1503¹⁴. When Henry VII restored Edward Stafford (great-grandson of Humphrey) to his titles, the manor of Luce's Hall was exchanged with Lucas for the Stafford manor of Hanhill. In the service of Edward Stafford at this time, as bailiff of Hengrave, was one William Payne¹⁵, who perhaps knew Lucas, and perhaps was related to the Nicholas Payne who has signed in name in MS Sloane 1212. His is the only mark of ownership.

If Thomas Lucas is taken to be the scribe of the manuscript (or at least closely associated with its compilation) there seem to be two alternatives to account for the inclusion of the other names and mottoes in it. Either they were designed to relate retrospectively to those people whom Lucas supposed to be concerned with the inception of the poem which they surround, or they were related to a group of contemporary readers who would appreciate, and be flattered by, the parallels drawn between their own world and that of the fictional 'world of love'.

E. Bibliography

Scott, Sloane MSS p.324;
MacCracken, PMLA 23;
Norton-Smith, Lydgate: p. 143;
Seaton, Richard Roos, p.376.
Seymour, TEBS 4.

Notes

1. Lines 1-58, not 1-56 as noted by Norton-Smith, Lydgate p.150.
2. Even MacCracken; anxious to establish a difference in hand and date between the two sections, could go no further than describing the fragments on parchment as copied by 'what may be a different hand from that of the Hoccleve scribe'; p.128.
3. For MacCracken, Norton-Smith and the Index to Sloane MSS, see references in Section E, bibliography. The Manual date is given in vol iv p.1290.
4. PCC Wills ii p.344 (14 Thower).
5. Metcalfe, Harleian Soc. 13 pp.77, 235.
6. Burke, Extinct Peerages, p.335.
7. Copinger, Manors of Suffolk, vii p.100.
8. Copinger, as above; Harl.Soc. 13 p.71; IPM 23 Henry VIII no.62.
9. Gage, History of Hengrave, pp.8,3,14,100.
10. DNB xxi p.887.
11. Pretyman, Genealogist n.s.26 pp.16-23.
12. Copinger, Manors of Suffolk, vi pp.142-45.
13. Collins, Yorks.Archaeol.Soc.Record Series 55, pp.13-14.
14. Copinger, Manors of Suffolk, vii p.111.
15. Copinger, Manors of Suffolk, vii p.84.

56. LONDON, British Library, MS Sloane 1584.

A. s.xvi in; miscellaneous items, verse and prose, in English and Latin.

B. Contents

1. Instructions for Deacons and Subdeacons (English prose), ff.2r-6r, beginning imperfectly,
. . .he has done lett hyme go be hynde the/awter & prepare
the challys & putt in wyn. . .
2. Two Medical Recipes (English prose), f.6v.
3. Questions to Ask at Confession, to a husbandman, a woman, a servant, and a single woman (English prose, Jolliffe E.10,N.6) ff.7r-10r.
4. Form of Confession (English prose, Jolliffe c.34), ff.10r-12r.
5. Form for Banns (Latin prose), f.12r,
Venerabili viro a magne discrecionis. . .
6. A Scribe's Prayer (Latin verse), f.12r,
Christus rex regum det michi scribere verum. . .
7. Proverbs of Wisdom - Solomon, Augustine, Gregory, Innocent, Jerome (Latin prose), ff.12v-13r,
Si haberes sapienciam Salomonis fortitu/dinem sampsonis. . .
8. Cur Mundus Militat (Latin verse; Walther, 3934), ff.13v-14r.
- *9. A Prayer to the Virgin against Plague (Index 2444), ff.14v-15v.
- *10. A Salutation to the Virgin (Index 2446), ff.15v-16v.
11. A Litany (Index 914); stanzas 1-5 and 16 of the fullest version are lacking in this copy; ff.16v-18r.
12. Note on St. Bernard's Fast (English prose), f.18r-v,
Ther be xij frydays in the yer pat who so/ wyll ffast
them truly. . .
13. Notes on Confession and Penance (English prose, Jolliffe E.1,N.1), ff.19r-20v, ends unfinished.
14. A Miracle of Pope Innocent IV (English prose), ff.21r-22v,
There is att exceter in the mynster a boke/ fastenyd with
a cheyne vpon the Tumble/ off byschope lacy. . .

15. Notes on Prayer (English prose), ff.23r-25r,
 3e shall knell youe downe a pone your/ knes and mak a
 specyalle prayer to god. . .
16. Six Medical Recipes (English prose), ff.25v-26r.
17. Selection of Model Letters (English and Latin prose),
 ff.29r-32v: to parents, an uncle, an aunt, a cousin, a priest;
 a business letter; letters to a friend and to a lady; another
 business letter (in Latin); a letter to an archbishop (in Latin),
 Right worshipfull ffader and moder in as/ humble and
 louly maner as I can/ I recommend me vnto youe. . .
- *18. The Song of the Schoolboy at Christmas (macaronic English and
 Latin verse; Index 320.5), f.33r.
19. Legal Formulae (Latin prose), ff.33v-34r,
 Nominunt vniuersi per presentes me Petrum/ Wikame rectorem
 ecclesie parochalis de alyng/ tone. . .
20. On the Qualities of the Soul (Latin prose), f.34r,
 Ornamenta anime hec sunt que/ pro domini dei in presentis
 tempore debemus habere. . .
21. On the Torments of Hell (Latin prose), ff.34v-35r,
 Prima pena est ignis. . .
22. Procedure for Confession (Latin prose), f.35r,
 Notum sit omnibus & singulis/ curam animarum habentibus
 quod ego dominus/ johannes Gisborne curatus de alyngton. . .
23. Procedure for Mass (Latin prose), f.35r,
 Quare non datur pax ad missam/ per mortuis. . .
24. Instructions for Engraving and Enamelling (English prose),
 ff.35v-36r,
 Take sall/armonyake sall peter verdgrece/mercurie. . .
25. Formula for a Testament (Latin prose), f.36v,
 In dei nomine amen Quarto die/ mensis iulii anno domini
 millesimo/ ccccc^{mo} xx^{mo} ix^o Ego Robertus Wright/ compos
 mentis meis condo testamentum/ meum in huic modum. . .
26. How to Speak to the Dying (English prose), ff.37r-39v,
 Iff a mane be neygher to the speke to hyme one/ this maner. . .
27. Instructions for Preparing Paper and Parchment, and for
 Writing and Drawing (English prose), ff.39v-41r,
 Take levyde golde and grinde ytt on a stone of glase. . .

28. Three Medical Recipes (English prose), ff.41r-42r.
29. On the Months (Latin verse; Walther 8953, Sprichwörter 11795), ff.42v-43r.
30. Three Medical Recipes (English prose), ff.43v-44r.
31. Recipes against the Pox, and one for a Laxative (English prose), ff.44v-45r.
32. In Praise of Serving Men (Index 2654), f.45v.
33. On Confession (English and Latin prose, Jolliffe C.3, C.16), ff.46r-62r.
34. Medical Recipe (English prose), f.62v.
35. Notes on Confession and Penance, as item 13 (English prose, Jolliffe E.2, N.1), ff.63r-79r, ending unfinished.
36. Form for General Confession (English prose), ff.79v-80r,
 Almyghtye gode father of owre lorde/ jhesus christ maker
 of all thynges/ judge of all men/ . . .
37. Two Medical Recipes (English prose), f.80r.
38. A Cure for Dog-Bites (English prose), f.80v.
39. Two Medical Recipes (English prose), f.84r.
- *40. Song of Love-Longing (Index 1018), ff.85r-87r,
 Greuus ys my sorowe/ Both evyne and moro. . .
 FINIS AMEN
41. Legal Formulae (English and Latin prose), ff.87v-88r,
 Curatus Ecclesie de Alyngtone curato/ ecclesie de
 Segbroke salutem notum te facio. . .
42. A Rule for Hermits (English prose), ff.89r-95v,
 [A Pope] of Rome that hyght Celestyn/ made this maner
 off lyff that ys writ/ tyne here for lyffying off hermettes. . .
43. Service for Receiving Lay Brothers (Latin prose), f.96r-v,
 ends unfinished,
 Veni creator Emitte spiritum. . .

C. Technical description

- a. Parchment (ff.1, 27-8, 63-84, 89-96) and paper (ff.2-26, 29-62, 85-88). The parchment leaves measure $5\frac{3}{8}$ x $3\frac{1}{8}$ ins (135 x 90mm), and the paper leaves $5\frac{1}{2}$ x $3\frac{3}{4}$ ins (140 x 95mm).

- b. ff.i + 98 + ii; modern foliation has been supplied in red ink, but as the two blank leaves after f.82 have been left unfoliated, this goes up to only 96. In describing the manuscript, I have kept to the existing foliation, for convenience.
- c. The leaves were all individually remounted when the manuscript was rebound in 1963, and collation is now impossible. No catchwords or leaf signatures remain.
- d. The layout is variable, and no generalizations can be made. Ruling is visible on one or two leaves (in part of item 35, for example) but does not seem to have been supplied with any consistency.
- e. Most of the items have been copied by the same hand, that of John Gysborn, who signs himself on f.12r and includes his name in some of the model letters and formulae. His hand is basically anglicana, but with some secretary forms. Some items have been supplied by other hands -30, 34, 36 and 39 by one, and 38 by another, later, early Tudor secretary hand¹. These later hands were presumably filling in gaps left in Gysborn's original copy.
- f. Decoration is limited to flourishes and rubrics in red ink. There are one or two crude drawings in the manuscript: a depiction of the Five Wounds of Christ, in brown and red ink, on f.26v, and a pen-drawing of a man dancing (in what seems to be later sixteenth-century costume) on f.83v. Carefully executed trial letters of the alphabet appear on ff.25r and 27-28r.

D. History and provenance

According to an inscription on f.12r, 'Scriptum per me Johannes Gysborn/ Canonicus de Couerham', the manuscript was copied by John Gysborn, canon of the Premonstratensian Abbey of Coverham in North Yorkshire, presumably for his personal use. The dates in some of the legal formulae and model letters suggest that Gysborn put the manuscript together in the early sixteenth century: a date

of 1520 is mentioned on f.31r, and another of 1531 on f.87v. Some of the names in these documents tie in with Gysborn's premonstratensian connections: 'Ricardus.. Abbas monasterii sancte Marie de Newbo' (f.32v), and 'Roger Turner and William Stevenson canons of Newbo' (f.87v) were perhaps acquaintances from the premonstratensian house of Newbo in Lincolnshire. Some of the other names mentioned share a Lincolnshire connection: 'Richard Tonnell off Grantham draper' (f.31r), 'Johannem Donyngtone in comitate lincollnensi yeoman' (f.32r), Petrum Wikame Rectorum ecclesie parochialis de alyng/tone' (f.33v). One or two refer to people and places in Yorkshire: the church of 'Akester Malbis' (Acaster Malbis, near York, on f.32v); 'Robertus Wright', 'Thomas Cok', and 'William Mason', all of Coverham (f.36v). At a visitation in 1475 the Abbey of Coverham maintained one abbot, sixteen canons, and two novices². Gysborn was presumably a member of a similarly small community in the early sixteenth century, although I have been unable to trace any record of his existence in printed sources³. His interests, as displayed in this manuscript, are what one would expect of a man in his position: information for clerics (items 1, 3-5, 12-14 etc.); religious lyrics (items 9-11); instructions for preparing paper and parchment, and for writing and drawing (items 24, 27); medical recipes, and model formulae and letters⁴. The love-lyric (item 40), like the schoolboy's song (item 18) and the carol (item 32), is in many ways utterly consistent with the rest of the contents - merely one of the lighter pieces (possibly intended for singing) in a typical clerical repertory. The items not copied by Gysborn (30, 34, 36, 39; 38) are nonetheless in keeping with his own choice of texts, and it seems likely that they were added by a colleague or an associate (at Coverham or elsewhere) who came into possession of the volume. Its later history is completely obscure; there are no later marks of ownership, and no indications of the means by which it came into the Sloane collection.

E. Bibliography

Brown, Register p.571;

Greene, Early English Carols p.306;

Cat.Sloane MSS iii pp.331-33.

Notes

1. I disagree here with Greene, Carols p.306, who describes items 35 and 40 as added by 'a hand which is not Gysborn's'.
2. Colvin, White Canons pp.126-29; VCH Yorkshire iii pp.243-45.
3. Sources checked: Colvin, White Canons, and VCH Yorkshire, as above; Dugdale; Gasquet, Camden Soc. 3rd series, 6, 10, 12; Knowles & Hadcock, Medieval Religious Houses; Letters & Papers Henry VIII - the only John Gysborn to appear here is recorded at Calder, seeking release from an accusation of sodomy, 10 (1536) p.140, no.364.
4. The Premonstratensians, like the Cistercians, admitted lay brothers - 'conversi' (See Colvin, White Canons pp.360-62). This perhaps explains Gysborn's inclusion of his final item (43); a form of service for the admission of such brethren.

57. LONDON, British Library, MS Sloane 3501.

A. s.xv¹; The Master of Game, with some later additions.

B. Contents

- [1.] List of Songs and Dances (English prose), f.2v,
The empurers pavyn/ vive of andrea. . .
2. Edward of York, The Master of Game (English prose), with a table of contents, ff.3r-5r; as Baillie-Grohman, The Master of Game.
- [*3.] To his Absent Mistress (Index 2261.6), f.52v,
My love so swyte Jehsu (sic) kepe. . .
- [4.] On the Plight of Lovers (French verse), f.52v.
Vrays amoureulx auroient bon temps. . .
- [*5.] To his Mistress: a Memento (Index 1176.8), f.53r,
hartte be trwe and true loue kepe. . .

C. Technical description

- a. Parchment; 10½ x 7½ ins (265 x 190mm).

- b. ff.v + 57 + v; foliation begins on the fourth flyleaf at the beginning (iv and v are old parchment leaves), omits leaves which have been damaged, and finishes before the end of the last gathering (see collation).
- c. 1^8 (2 wanting, but replaced by a modern leaf), 2^8 (3 wanting, but replaced), $3^8 - 6^8$, 7^8 (1 wanting?). Catchwords and leaf signatures remain.
- d. The Master of Game is copied in single columns of 34 lines in a written space of $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5$ ins (190 x 125mm). Margins have been supplied and the leaves ruled in ink; pricking is visible. The additions are laid out haphazardly.
- e. The Master of Game has been copied throughout by one scribe, writing a neat anglicana. Different early Tudor secretary hands have copied in the additions, one writing in the list of songs and dances (item 1), another the two English love-lyrics (items 3 and 5), and still another the fragment of French.
- f. The main text was originally decorated, but the leaves containing the decoration have been cut out entirely or damaged. Traces of a full border remain on f.3r, but the beginning of the table of contents has been cut out, presumably for an illuminated initial. The original f.4 is missing altogether, again because The Master of Game must have begun with an illuminated initial and perhaps been surrounded by a border. Within the body of the text the initial letters of the different chapters (3 lines high) are executed in blue and red, decorated with gold and coloured sprays. Marginal rubrics are supplied in red. None of the additions is decorated.

D. History and provenance

Notes in various hands have been added throughout the manuscript. On f.1v (the first of the parchment flyleaves at the beginning) are some accounts, copied in a late fifteenth- or early sixteenth-century hand, and including the names of 'thomas baker', 'william melle', 'nikolas and Robart pay', 'Water Rossel', and 'henery deker'. This hand is similar to one which has written on the second flyleaf at the end 'god saue me Edmond Pakenham amen and Katerine/ ys wife' and 'To owr ryght trusty and hartely welbelouyd Edmond pakenham thys be delyueryd'. The Index to Sloane Manuscripts identifies this as Edmund Pakenham of Pakenham in Suffolk, alive during the reign of Edward IV.¹ Other notes include 'custance' (f.53r) and a reference to 'Lawrence Bremshor' or 'Brewshore' (f.55r). None of the jottings seems to be in a hand which matches that of the lyrics.

E. Bibliography

Cat. Sloane MSS xiii p.471.

Notes

1. Scott, Sloane MSS p.406.

58. LONDON, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 306

A. s.xv²/xvi; miscellaneous collection of English verse, prose, and historical notes.

B. Contents

I 1. Brief abridgment of the English prose Brut, to 1399, ff.1r-17v,
Pr. Gairdner, Camden Soc. n.s.28 pp.1-28.

2. Lydgate, Verses on the Kings of England, up to Henry VI
(Index 3632), ff.17v-18v,
pr. Gairdner, Camden Soc. n.s.28 pp.28-31.
3. Brief London chronicle, 1189-1464/5 (English prose), ff.18v-46r,
pr. Gairdner, Camden Soc. n.s.28 pp.31-80.
- [4.] Notes by Stow (English prose), ff.46v-48r,
Turnar of cullyn preching at powells crosse. . .
- II. [5.]¹ Jack Cade's proclamation 1460 (English prose), ff.49r-51r,
pr. Gairdner, Camden Soc. n.s.28 pp.94-99.
- [6.] Verses on the death of the Duke of Suffolk (Index 1555),
ff.51r-52v,
pr. Gairdner, Camden Soc. n.s.28 pp.99-103.
- [7.] Description of the christening of Prince Arthur (English prose),
f.53r,
pr. Gairdner, Camden Soc. n.s.28 pp.104-5.
- [8.] Procedure for creating Knights of the Bath (English prose),
pr. Gairdner, Camden Soc. n.s.28 pp.106-113 (with the
suggestion that this has been transcribed from BL MS Cotton
Nero c.ix f.168v).
- [9.] Names of the noblemen who accompanied William the Conqueror
in 1066 (English prose), f.55v,
HERE FOLOWITHE YE SURNAMES OF YE LYNAGIS OF YE OLDE &
GREAT JENTYLLMEN þAT CAME OVER/THE SEE OUT OF NORMANDYE
WITH WILLIAM CONQUEROUR WHEN HE CONQUIRYD THIS REALLME
OF ENGLANDE
Aumarle, bertrame. . .
- [10.] Royal expenses at Boulogne (English prose), f.56r,
pr. Gairdner, Camden Soc. n.s.28 p.114.
- [11.] Historical notes, 1565-67 (English prose), ff.56v-59r,
pr. Gairdner, Camden Soc. n.s.28 pp.134-44.
- [12.] Historical notes, 1564 (English prose), f.67v,
pr. Gairdner, Camden Soc. n.s.28 pp.144-47.
- [13.] Historical notes, 1561 (English prose), f.63r-v,
pr. Gairdner, Camden Soc. n.s.28 pp.115-17.
- [14.] St. Bernard, De Cura Rei Familiari (English prose), ff.64r-65r,
pr. Furnivall, EETS o.s.15 pp.126-32.
- [15.] List of books banned in 1531 (English prose), f.65r-v,
pr. Gairdner, Camden Soc. n.s.28 pp.89-90.

- [16.] Two Medical recipes (English prose), f.65v,
pr. Furnivall, EETS o.s.15 pp.64-65.
- [17.] Historical note, 1561 (English prose), f.65v,
pr. Gairdner, Camden Soc. n.s.28 p.117.
- [18.] Richard Allington's confession, 1561 (English prose), ff.66r-67r,
pr. Gairdner, Camden Soc. n.s.28 pp.117-21.
- [19.] Historical note, 1562 (English prose), f.67v.
pr. Gairdner, Camden Soc. n.s.28 pp.121-2.
- [20.] Four Medical recipes (English prose) f.68r,
A MEDECYNE FOR THE WORME IN A MAN. . .
- [21.] Historical note, 1563 (English prose), f.68r,
pr. Gairdner, Camden Soc. n.s.28 p.122.
- [22.] Alphabetical list of herbs, in English and Latin (I), ff.68v-69r,
Acedula sorell/Althes holybok. . .
- [23.] Historical note, 1563 (English prose), ff.69v-70r,
pr. Gairdner, Camden Soc. n.s.28 pp.122-7.
- [24.] Eight Medical recipes (English prose), ff.70v-71v,
TO MAKE A POWDER THAT IS CALLYD PULUIS SINE PARI THAT
IS POWDER PEERLES OR WITH OWTE FELOWE. . .
- [25.] Historical note, 1563 (English prose), f.71v,
pr. Gairdner, Camden Soc. n.s.28 p.127, and Furnivall, EETS
o.s.15 p.xiv.
- [26.] Alphabetical list of herbs, in English and Latin (II), f.72r-v,
NOMINA HERBARUM SECUNDUM ORDINEM ALPHABETI
A artemesia mugworte. . .
- III.27.. Lybeaus Desconus (Index 1690), ff.73r-107r,
coll. M. Mills, EETS o.s. 261.
28. The adulterous Falmouth squire (Index 2052), ff.107r-110r.
29. The trental of St. Gregory (Index 1653), ff.110r-113v.
- IV [30.] Two Medical recipes (English prose), f.114r,
FOR THE BYTYNG OF A DOGGE. . .
31. Collection of medical recipes (English prose), ff.114r-126v,
HEREAFTER FOLOWETH MEDCYNES OF LECHECRAFTE
(includes a Tract on the humours (iiii ELEMENTES) ff.117v-121r,
of which f.118r is pr. by Furnivall, EETS o.s.15 p.65).
- V.32. The life of St. Eustace (English prose , Manual ii(5) no.98),
ff.127r-131v,
[THE LYFE OF SENT EVSTAS]
[E] wstas that was callyd placidas was mayster/of the
chevalrye of troian the Emperour. . .

See Ellis, The Golden Legend vi. pp.83ff.

[33.] Medical recipe (English prose), f.131v,
A MEDECYNE FOR THE MEGRYME

Take a peny worth of sanguis draconis. . .

VI.34. The receiving of Edward IV at Bristol, 1461 (four lines of
English verse, Index 3880, followed by prose), f.132r.

[35.] Three Medical recipes (English prose), f.132r,
A MEDYCYNE FOR THE PESTYLENCE. . .

36. Regina Celi letare (Index 2789), f.132v.

[37.] Medical recipe (English prose), f.132v,

Take an handfull of a herbe caulyd townehow. . .

38. Gaude flore virginali (Index 897), f.133r.

[39.] Three Medical recipes (English prose), f.133v,
FOR THE STONE AND STRANGUYLYOUN. . .

40. Twelve letters that shall save England (Index 700), ff.134r-135r.

[41.] Two Medical recipes (English prose), f.134r,

A SPECYAL MEDYCYNE FOR A MAN/OR A WOMAN THAT IS DYSESYD
AND/PAYNED IN THE REYNES OF THER/BAKKE AND IN THER BELY. . .

42. Carol on different kinds of women (Index 3171), f.135r-135v,
also pr. Greene, Early English Carols pp.237-38.

[43.] Two Medical recipes (English prose), f.135r,

A MEDYCYNE FOR THE SPLENE AND FOR THE LUNGES. . .

*44. Edwardus dei gracia (Index 3127), f.136r,
Robbins, Historical Poems p.221.

[45.] Medical recipe (English prose), f.136r,

For brekyng owte of scabbes & bleynes. . .

*46. A greeting on New Year's Morning (Index 1789), f.136v,

Iuellis pricious cane y non fynde to sell. . .

*47. A Letter To his heart's joy (Index 2247), f.137r,

My hertes joie all myn hole plesaunce. . .

*48. To his mistress, flower of womanhood (Index 3291), ff.137v-138r,

That pasaunt goodnes the rote of all vertve. . .

EXPLICIT

*49. To my lady dear (Index 868), f.138r-v,

Frische flour of womanly nature. . .

50. King Edward III's retinue at the siege of Calais, 1436
(English prose), ff.139r-141r,

pr. Gairdner, Camden Soc. n.s.28 pp.81-85.

- [51.] Four Medical recipes (English prose), f.139v,
Item for a ryng worme take mosse an bren it to powder. . . .
- [52.] The capitulation of Granada, 1491/2 (English prose), f.141r,
 pr. Gairdner, Camden Soc. n.s.28 pp.86-87.
- [53.] Four Medical recipes (English prose), f.141r-v,
ITEM FOR BRENNYNG OR SCALDYNG. . . .
- VII.54. Lydgate, Horse, Goose and Sheep (Index 658), stanzas 1-45
 missing, ff.142r-145r.
55. The complaint of God (Index 3612), ff.145r-147r.
56. William Lychefelde's complaint of God (Index 2714), ff.147r-152r.
57. The stations of Rome, lines 554-914 (Index 1172), ff.152v-165r.
- [58.] Three Medical recipes (English prose), f.165r-v,
A MEDECYNE FOR THE PESTYLENS. . . .
- VIII.59 The manner to keep hawks (English prose), ff.166r-176r,
This is the maner to kepe haukes and to rewle them in
all poyntis. . . .
 at f.176r is a List of Terms of Venery (I), beg. An hert is
herbrowed. . . .
60. Terms of venery (II) (English prose), f.177v,
A dere brokyn/brawne is lechyde. . . .
- [61.] Diet for a nightingale (I) (English prose), f.177v,
BREVIS/DIETA/PHILOMENE
Flyes & gnattes/grene wormes that hang on trees. . . .
- [62.] Note on sexing larks (English prose), f.177v,
By certen tokyns ye may know yn/larkes the cok from
the hennes. . . .
- [63.] Diet for a nightingale (II) (English prose), f.177v,
DIETA PRO PHILOMENA/DYETE FOR A NYGHTYNGALE
Fyrst take & geue hym yelow antes other wyse called
pysmerys. . . .
- *64. A salutation to the Blessed Virgin (Index 2397), f.177v.
- [65.] Medical recipe (English prose), f.178r,
A MEDYCINE FOR THE TOTHE ACHE
Take pepyr and broose it in a mortar and then put a
lytell quantyte in a/lynen clothe. . . .
- IX.66. The wright's chaste wife (Index 252), ff.178r-187r.
- [67.] Ten Medical recipes (English prose), ff.186v-187v.

- X.68. The life of St. Winifred (English prose), ff.188r-201v,
Printed book, Caxton, Westminster 1485 (STC 25853),
repr. . Horstmann, Anglia 3.
- [69.] The benefice of St. Peter's, Cornhill, 1435 (English prose),
f.202v,
pr. Gairdner, Camden Soc. n.s.28 pp.91-92.
- [70.] Advice for purchasers of land (Index 4148), f.203r.
- [71.] Heights of the famous (English prose), f.203r,
pr. Furnivall EETS o.s.15 p.61;
Wright & Halliwell, Rel.Ant. i p.200;
Gairdner, Camden Soc. n.s.28 p.xxvii.
- [72.] Notes on the terms of vacations (Latin prose), f.203v,
Pas[c]he Quindena pasche. . .
- [73.] Latin verses (not recorded by Walther), f.203v,
In nvcm dentes vane dux Karolus armat. . .
- [74.] On the Battle of Flodden, 1513 (English prose), f.204r-v,
pr. Gairdner, Camden Soc. n.s.28 pp.87-89.

C. Technical description

- a. Paper throughout, the outer leaves badly damaged by worm;
11 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 8 $\frac{1}{8}$ ins (190 x 205mm).
- b. i + 202 + ii leaves; modern pencil foliation (with the end
flyleaves numbered 203, 204).
- c. Booklet I 1⁸ - 6⁸
II 7⁸ - 9⁸
III 10⁸ - 14⁸, 15¹(f.113)
IV 16⁸(1-3 wanting), 17⁸
V 18⁶(6? wanting)
VI 19¹⁰
VII 20¹⁶, 21⁸
VIII 22¹²
IX 23¹⁰
X a⁸(1 wanting, 8 misbound after 6), b⁸.

Several of the booklets making up the MS have comprehensive systems of leaf signatures and catchwords. The six gatherings making up booklet I are lettered a to f, as are the six gatherings forming booklet III; the gatherings in both these booklets are linked by catchwords. The gathering containing item 32, The life of St. Eustace (18, booklet V) is lettered a, as is that containing item 59, The manner to keep hawks (22, booklet VIII). The gatherings making up booklets VI and IX (19 and 23 respectively) are lettered g and h, as if they once formed part of one other, larger booklet. It seems unlikely that they were ever attached to III, as this is a completely self-contained unit, ending with one specially-added singleton which accommodates the end of item 29, The Trental of St. Gregory; the leaf signature on this is added in red ink, rather than the usual brown, as if to draw attention to its special purpose. VI and IX may perhaps originally have formed part of booklet I, though; it is possible that the existing last gathering of this (6) was left partly blank in order to accommodate contemporary notes on sheriffs and bailiffs as they were elected, and that the two gatherings marked g and h were intended to come after this continuation. The material in g certainly maintains the historical bias of this first booklet. Booklets II and VII contain no signatures or catchwords. IV includes a catchword at the end of the first of its two gatherings, but no leaf signatures are visible.

- d. Frames are ruled in ink on ff.1-48 and ff.73-186; the average size of the frames is $7\frac{3}{4} \times 4\frac{7}{8}$ ins (195 x 125mm), but the variation around this figure is considerable - the frames ruled throughout booklet VIII, for example, measure $9\frac{1}{8} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ ins (230 x 165mm). Pricking is occasionally visible - in booklet VI, for instance. The written space within the ruled frames also shows great variation. The main items throughout the MS are copied in single columns, with between 31 and 37 lines of writing to a page. Traces of lines ruled in ink and in stylus remain. Many of the historical notes and medical recipes have been added at random, as space was available. The layout of Stow's memoranda in booklet II is haphazard.

- e. The main items in booklets I, III, IV, V and VIII have been copied by the same hand, A, writing a clear, thick secretary script and using only occasional anglicana forms. The lyrics and the more important historical notes in booklet VI have been copied in a much smaller hand, B, but one whose forms are substantially the same as those of the main scribe A. Scribe C, copying booklet IX, used many more anglicana forms: long r and reverse e, for example, occur frequently, although the overall impression made by the script is not unlike that of B. Booklet VII has been copied by still another scribe, D, who writes a 'loopy' variety of secretary. Notes and recipes have been added throughout the MS in such a confusing number of later hands that it is impossible to differentiate them all. The main hand of the jottings, though - most apparent in booklet II, but recurring throughout the rest of the MS - is that of John Stow.
- f. The capitals and occasionally other letters in booklets I, III, IV, V and VIII have been executed in, or flourished with red; the flourishing seems not to have been completed in IV and V. Booklets VI and IX are undecorated except for one or two insignificant designs executed in the same ink as the main copy. In booklet VII, initial capitals are large and decorated with green and yellow; some other letters here are flourished in yellow.
- g. The binding is Tudor, described by M.R. James as 'stamped leather over wooden boards: a roll-ornament with portcullis and dragon'. M. Mills notes that this decoration is 'Oldham's Roll AN.g.1' and the ornament '1.2', recorded on bindings of books printed between 1504 and 1512². The two clasps which once secured the MS are missing; only traces of these remain.

D. History and provenance

Several booklets in the MS are connected and form a main 'core'. I, III-V and VIII are obviously linked, for they were copied by

the same scribe. Palaeographical evidence suggests a date in the late fifteenth century for these parts of the MS, and the contents of booklet I provide further information which helps to narrow this down. The Brief London Chronicle (item 3), with its names of the keepers and bailiffs of the City of London, continues up to 1464, so this part of the MS must have been copied after that date. The Verses on the Kings of England (item 2) end with Henry VI rather than continuing up to Edward IV; this perhaps indicates that the poem was copied some time while Edward was still alive, a reigning monarch rather than an historical figure -before 1483. Booklet VI (and probably booklet VII too, which is linked to it by a similar format, and similar leaf signatures) shows an historical preoccupation very similar to that of booklet I, and on top of this displays distinctly Yorkist sympathies (see items 34, 40, 43). It seems of an exactly similar date, if Furnivall's analysis of the Twelve letters that shall save England (item 40) is correct. Seven of the booklets which make up the MS, then, date from c.1464-83. Booklet X, Caxton's print of the Life of St. Winifred (item 68), dates from 1485. Booklet II, containing Stow's memoranda, was obviously copied much later, in the sixteenth century, but the date assigned by Oldham to the binding of the MS (see above) suggests that the booklet may have been gathered up, blank, with the fifteenth-century material, and the whole lot bound together at a fairly early stage. Perhaps it was inserted for the exact purpose of continuing the annals.

Little can be said about the provenance of the MS beyond the fact that it was probably compiled by or for a Londoner who had Yorkist sympathies. Many of the MSS which came into Stow's possession have strong London connections³. The contents of the MS provide a compendium of late fifteenth-century favourites: historical matter, with local application (most of the contents of the first booklet); romance (Lybeaus Desconus, item 27); saints' lives (The Life of St. Eustace, item 32, and The life of St. Winifred, item 68); practical advice (Collection of medical recipes, item 31), sometimes with a fashionable slant (The manner to keep hawks, item 59); stories with a moral (The adulterous Falmouth squire, item 28, and The wright's chaste wife, item 66), and religious poems of a combined practical and devotional nature (The trental of St. Gregory, item 29;

The Stations of Rome, item 57; the two Complaints of God, items 55 and 56, and the macaronic songs to the Virgin, items 36 and 38).

E. Bibliography

- James, Lambeth MSS pp.421-26;
Brown, Register i pp.438-39;
Mills, EETS o.s.261 pp.2-3;
Guddat-Figge, Catalogue pp.218-26;
Greene, Early English Carols pp.312-313.

Notes

1. I have treated items 5-26 as additions to the original manuscript, assuming that Section II was bound up in the manuscript as a blank gathering, and added to by various hands at various stages.
2. Oldham, Blind-Stamped Bindings p.43.
3. Kingsford, Stow's Survey i intro.p.xciii.

59. LONDON, Lambeth Palace, MS 432.

- A. s.xv¹; anthology of English prose works of spiritual guidance, with some Latin, and an added lyric.

B. Contents

1. Life of St. Jerome (English prose, Manual ii p.593) ff.1r-37r, pr. Horstmann, Anglia 3.
2. The Abbey of the Holy Ghost (English prose, Jolliffe H.16(c)).
3. The Charter of the Abbey of the Holy Ghost (English prose, Jolliffe H.9(d)), ff.47r-68r.
4. Comfort for the Dying (English prose, Jolliffe L5(b) and N.9(b)), ff.68v-75r.
5. Instructions for the Devout (English prose, Jolliffe I.12(a)), ff.75r-76r.

6. The Virgin's Words to St. Bridget (English prose), ff.76r-83v,
 WORDYS/ OF THE BLESSID VIRGYNE OURE LADY SEINT/ MARYE TO
 SEINT BURGITT OF THE IN/CARNACION AND PASSIONE OF OURE
 LORD JHESU CRIST. . .
 I am Quene of heuen moder of god. . .
7. St. Bridget's Prayer (Latin prose), ff.83v-84r,
 HERE FOLLOWYTHE A DEVOUTE/ ORYSON OF SEINT BRYGITT MAKYNG. . .
 Jhesu Filii dei omnium cognitor anima me. . .
8. Prayer on the Seven Last Words, often attributed to Bede
 (Latin prose), f.84r-v;
 as PL 94, 562. See Woolf, Religious Lyric pp.220-21.
9. Fifteen Miracles of the Virgin (English prose), ff.85r-90r,
 A curatt hadde in his parishe a paryshen/ rebell vnbuxum
 and malicious. . .
10. Life of St. Dorothy (English prose, concluding with a Latin
 hymn), ff.90r-94r,
 Pr. Horstmann, Anglia 3.
- [*11.] An Unkind Mistress (Index 2599), f.94v,
 O ye 'prynces' in my presens pat prechyd hase my hert. . .

C. Technical description

- a. Paper; $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$ ins (215 x 145mm).
- b. ff.iv + 95 + ii. Flyleaves iii and iv at the beginning, and f.95, have been partly torn or cut away. Modern pencil foliation numbers ff.1-94.
- c. Collation: (1-7)¹², 8¹²(11 damaged, 12 wanting). A late hand has lettered the gatherings 'A' to 'H', at the foot of the first recto of each one. The original leaf signatures remain: an arabic letter is written on the verso of each leaf of the first half of the gathering, and repeated on the facing recto (i.e. f.1v='a'; f.2r='a'; f.2v='b'; f.3r='b' etc.). In the sixth gathering the usual six letters are replaced by 'be' - 'ne' - 'di' - 'ca' - 'mus' - 'domino', and in the eighth by 'aue' - 'ma' - 'ria' - 'gra' - 'cia' - 'plena'.

- d. No ruling or pricking is visible now. The size of the written space varies according to whether the scribe is copying text proper or prefatory material, but the usual dimensions are $5\frac{3}{4} \times 3\frac{1}{2}$ ins (150 x 85/90mm). The texts are copied in single columns of around 29 lines each.
- e. All the major items have been copied by one scribe, writing a mixed hand in which secretary forms predominate (particularly 'a', 'r', 'w', 'g'), and signing himself as 'Richard Fuller' on f.46v. Headings are supplied by him in anglicana formata (cf. Parkes, plate 8ii). The love lyric, item 11, has been added by a different hand, later and evidently less practised than Fuller's. Two much later hands (s.xviii?) have added and annotated a list of contents on the verso of the third flyleaf at the beginning.
- f. Headings, titles, explicits, and rubrication have been added by the scribe in red. Major items begin with a 2/3-line red initial, and some capitals within the texts have been flourished in red.

D. History and provenance

The manuscript has been clearly planned as an anthology of devotional pieces and works of spiritual guidance, and the solitary lyric, of course, added at some stage after the completion of the volume, plays no part in this original design; presumably it was copied in by an owner or borrower of the manuscript. Various signatures occur at different points. On the fragmentary third flyleaf at the beginning, seemingly a part of the original manuscript, are the names 'Jhon', 'Thomas', 'Thomas parsons et tho' and 'Thomas Gellot'. On f.94v, following the lyric, are the names 'Thomas parsons' again (twice), 'hugh wynstanley', and the inscription 'credo quod alicie delebie'. On the first flyleaf at the end, again an old one, is the proverb 'dum sumus in mundo viuamus corde iocundo', and the signature 'quod iohanne bowld'. All of these

scribbles appear to be in hands of the fifteenth or early sixteenth century, but it is impossible to determine whether any of them matches that of the lyric; I suspect not.

E. Bibliography

James, Lambeth MSS pp.599-601.

*60. LONDON, P.R.O. Chancery Miscellanea C.47/37/11, part of the Cely Papers.

A long, narrow booklet of twelve folios, on ff.1-5 of which George Cely recorded his personal expenses between 1473 and 1475, mentioning the names of five English songs in connection with music lessons taken from a teacher in Calais. For a full text, see Hanham, RES n.s.8.

- *1. O ffresshes flour (Index 2437.5), not identified elsewhere. My own suggestion is that it might refer to a musical version of the 'Litera Troili', Troilus and Criseyde V, 1317ff., which begins 'Right fresshe flour. . .'.
2. Myne hartys luste (Index 2183), identified by Hanham as My' hertis lust sterre of my confort (Index 2183), in the Mellon Chansonier; see below pp.448-49.
- *3. Off seche cvm playn (Index 2657.5), not identified elsewhere.
- 4. Go hertt hurt wyth athewersyte (Index 925); as the copy in MS Ashmole 191; see below, pp.380-83.
- *5. My dely wo (Index 2236.5), not identified elsewhere.

*61. PRO Exchequer Miscellanea, E.163/22/2/57.

A small, damaged parchment fragment containing a lyric, copied in a sixteenth-century hand:

- * To his Lady (Index 3706.9), f.57,
Tho that ye cannot redresse. . .

See Saltmarsh, Antiquaries Journal 15.

*62. PRO Exchequer Miscellanea E.163/22/1.

One leaf of paper, 17 x 12 ins (430 x 305mm), containing on the recto some notes on an inquiry into a riot, held in Gloucestershire in 1457. On the verso is music for three voice parts, and the text of the following lyric, apparently copied in the early sixteenth century by one of the exchequer clerks:

* The Lonely Lover (Index 2293,5),

No wondre thow I murnyng make. . .

See Saltmarsh, Antiquaries Journal 15; Robbins, Secular Lyrics pp.154-55.

63. PRO, State Paper Office, SP.1/246.

1540-50. The bass-part of a set of song-books, containing 25 pieces, religious and secular, in English, French and Latin. For descriptions, see Saltmarsh, Antiquaries Journal 15; Denis Stevens, Music Survey 2; Stevens, Music and Poetry p.466. Many of the English pieces are love lyrics, several of them corresponding to texts printed in later sixteenth-century collections (Tottel's Miscellany, A Gorgeous Gallery of Gallant Inventions). The following two are listed in the Index:

*1. On the Pain of Separation (Index 1620.5), f.27r,

Is it not sure a deadly pain. . .

with music for the bass part.

*2. The Lover's Pains (Index 1414.5), f.28r,

Yf I had space now for to write. . .

with music for the bass part; not published; see Appendix I, p.455.

*64. OXFORD, Balliol College, MS 316B.

s.xv². A copy of Walton's verse translation of Boethius, De Consolatione Philosophiae (Index 1597), with some sixteenth-century additions. For a full description, see Mynors, Cat. Balliol MSS pp.333-34. The additions include the following lyric, on a flyleaf at the end:

Secret Love (Index 158.6), f.114r,

Alas poor man what chans havy. . .

pr. Mynors, Cat. Balliol MSS p.334. The Index enters this separately, but it is in fact a version of a poem which appears in the Devonshire manuscript (see above p .236 no.21) and has been ascribed to Wyatt: see Muir and Thomson pp.195-96.

65. OXFORD, Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 39 (s.c.6919, 7486).

A. s.xv². Lydgate's Life of Our Lady, with some added lyrics and scraps.

B. Contents

1. Lydgate, The Life of Our Lady (Index 2574), ff.1r-109r.
- [*2.] Eternal Devotion (Index 2245.4), end pastedown,
My harte ys yours ye may be sure. . .
- [*3.] Women's Faithlessness (Index 3914.5), end pastedown,
What shuld I say sithe faith is ded. . .
- [*4.] Advice to Women (Index 2602), the last stanza of Lydgate's Doubleness, end pastedown.

C. Technical description

- a. Paper, with parchment endpapers; 11½ x 8½ ins (290 x 215mm).
- b. 109 leaves. Modern pencil foliation.

- c. 1⁸(1 wanting), 2⁸, 3¹⁶, 4¹² - 6¹², 7¹⁶, 8¹⁴, 9¹². Catchwords. but no leaf signatures.
- d. The Life of Our Lady is copied in single columns of 28 lines. Signs of pricking are visible, and margins have been ruled in ink. The written space measures 8 x 4 ins (205 x 100mm).
- e. The Life of Our Lady is written throughout in one hand. Additional scribbles on the parchment endpapers are in a variety of informal, and generally rather later hands.
- f. In the main text, rubrics have been supplied, and initials flourished, in red. None of the additions is in any way decorated.
- g. The binding is contemporary with the manuscript; original wooden boards, covered in white parchment. The parchment endpapers enclosing the inner gatherings have been stuck down onto the boards.

D. History and provenance

There are many scribbles and signatures in the manuscript. On the front pastedown are two names in the same hand, 'Sir t Bourgchier' and 'Anne Bourgchier', and, in a different hand, 'Sir William Rous', 'Sir William Rous knyght'. The blank page at the end of The Life of Our Lady, f.109v, bears two decorative initial 'T's and the inscription 'Amen John May', this last in a sixteenth-century hand. The end pastedown carries more scribbles: 'Sir t Bourgchier' (twice), 'Anne Bourgchier' (twice), 'Isabell', 'Sir Thomas Bourgchier', 'Anne Bowrgcher lady preserue hyr in god helth' - all of these in the same 'Bourgchier' hand as the two names on the front pastedown; 'Richard Blandryll'; 'loue lakyth liberte seith(?) janney[.....]Robert'. The hands of these notes and of the added lyric scraps are difficult to isolate. The first two couplets (items 2 and 3) are in a hand similar to that of the

Lydgate scribe, and probably almost contemporary with it; it is impossible to tell whether the hands of any of the names match the hands of the additions, though.

Ethel Seaton suggested Thomas Bouchier (1404-86), cardinal and archbishop of Canterbury, as the owner of the manuscript, remarking that the 'Anne Bourgchier' whose name is copied would be Thomas's mother (d.1438), and the 'Isabell' his sister-in-law (married to Henry Bouchier, 1st Earl of Essex in 1435)¹. The identification seems strained, though, partly because of the comparatively distant relationships involved, and partly because of the very early date which it requires for the production of the manuscript. A much more likely early owner is to be found at the end of the fifteenth century, complete with a wife, Anne, and a daughter, Isabel. This is Archbishop Bouchier's nephew, Sir Thomas Bouchier the elder (d.1492), who was the son of the first earl of Essex (and consequently the son of an Isabel, too). He married firstly Isabel, countess of Devon, who bore him a daughter Isabel, and secondly Anne, widow of one John Sulford². Archbishop Bouchier left him jewels to the value of 100 marks in his will, distinguishing him from another nephew, Sir Thomas Bouchier the younger, who was the son of the first Lord Berners³. Sir Thomas the elder very probably signed the relevant names in this manuscript, and the lyrics could have been copied either by him or by someone connected with him - the nature of the hands makes any certainty impossible, though. The later names and scraps must have been copied in at some time during the sixteenth century, before the manuscript came into the possession of Elias Ashmole.

E. Bibliography

Black, Cat. Ashmole MSS p.62; .

Lauritis et al., Lydgate's Life of Our Lady p.40.

Notes

1. Seaton, Richard Roos pp.486-87.
2. IpM Henry VII i nos. 682-84.
3. Duncan, Arch.Cant. 24. One or other of these Bouchier nephews was perhaps the owner of Princeton University Library, Garrett MS 150, a copy of the Brut, which carries the inscription 'T bourgchier', see De Ricci, Census i p.895. Sir Thomas junior was also associated with the book-owning Gaynesford family (see notes on Bodl.MS Rawlinson c.86; IpM London p.6), and married Agnes, widow of Thomas Bledlowe, who had connections with Sir Thomas Frowick (see notes on BL MS Harley 541; Thrupp, Merchant Class p.324).

66. OXFORD, Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 48 (s.c.6933).

c.1557-1565. A collection of English poems, copied (in many cases from printed sources) by several different hands. The contents of the manuscript were edited by Wright, Songs and Ballads, and supplementary notes to Wright's edition were provided by Rollins, MLN 34, and Seaton, Richard Roos p.190. The following lyric is included:

- * In Praise of Women (Index 4044.6), ff.88r-90v,
When the wyntar wynddys ar vanished away. . .
signed 'Johan Walles'.

67. OXFORD, Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 176 (s.c.6659).

A. s.xvi^{med.} - s.xvii¹. A composite manuscript, gathering together personal papers of Elias Ashmole and William Lilly. Section III includes some English poems.

B. Contents (Section III only).

1. Astrological Calculations and Nativities, ff.52r-111v, with a blank space between ff.97r and 101r, into which the lyrics have been copied,

2. Surrey, If care may cause men crye, ff.97r-v, as Rollins, Tottel's Miscellany i p.209.
- *3. The Forsaken Lover (Index 2250.3), f.98r,
My ladye hathe forsaken me. . .
4. A Betrayed Maiden's Humorous Lament (Index 3832.5), f.98v.
5. I Can Be Wanton (Index 1286.5), f.98v.
6. An Erotic Song (Index 1863.3), f.98v.
- *7. On his Unfaithful Mistress (Index 3707.3), f.99r,
Though ye my love were a lady fayre. . .
- *8. The Lover's Eyes Betray Him (Index 158.2), f.99r,
Alas myne eye why doest thou bringe. . .
- *9. On his Mistress's Unkindness (Index 13.5), f.99v,
Ah my hart ah this ys my songe. . .
- *10. The Pains of Love (Index 3074.6), f.99v,
Sauns remedye endure must I. . .
- *11. On his Absent Mistress (Index 13.3), f.100r,
A most fayre and true ye cause me rue. . .
12. A Lover's Complaint (Index 158.8), f.100r,
Alas to whom shuld I complayne. . .
13. A Lover's Farewell (Index 120.5), f.100r,
Adew adew my hartes lust. . .
- *14. Requited Love (Index 2579.3), f.100r,
O what a treasure ys love certeyne. . .
15. Christ's Appeal from the Cross (Index 3318.4), f.100r.
- *16. A Lover's Complaint Overheard (Index 1449.5), f.100v,
In a garden vnderneath a tre. . .
17. On the Princess Mary's Dance with her Father, Henry VIII
(Index 2794.2), ff.100v-101r.

C. Technical description (Section III only).

- a. Paper; $8\frac{1}{4}$ x 6 ins (210 x 155mm).
- b. ff.60. Modern pencil foliation, 52-111, within the sequence of the rest of the volume.
- c. 1^8 (ff.52-59); 2^{20} (ff.60-79); 3^{16} (ff.80-95); 4^{16} (ff.96-111).

- d. The lyrics are copied in single columns, but otherwise the layout is varied, as it is for the other material in the section. There is no evidence of ruling.
- e. The lyrics have all been copied by one Tudor secretary hand, similar to, but apparently not the same as the hand which copied all the other material in the section.
- f. There is no decoration of any kind in the whole of the section.

D. History and provenance

Nothing is known of the history of this part of the manuscript before it came into the possession of Ashmole.

E. Bibliography

Black, Cat. Ashmole MSS pp.120-123;
Wager, MLN 50.

68. OXFORD, Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 191 (s.c.6665, 6667-8).

- A. s.xv^{med}. Four separate manuscripts, containing alchemical and astrological material, bound together; the fourth includes some English songs.

B. Contents (section IV only).

- 1. A Pledge of Loyalty (Index 2381), f.191r,
Now wolde I fayne sum merthis mak. . .
with music for two voice parts.

- *2. To his Mistress (Index 2475), ff.191v-192r,
 O kently creature of beute perlez. . .
 with music for two voice parts.
3. The Wounds of Love (Index 925), ff.192v-193r,
 Go hert hurt with aduersite. . .
 with music for two parts.
 also pr. Silverstein, Medieval Lyrics p.138.
- *4. The Indifferent Lover (Index 3722), ff.193v-194r,
 Thus y compleyne my grevous heuynesse. . .
 with music for two parts.
- *5. The Sorrow of Parting (Index 146), ff.194v-195r,
 Alas departynge is ground of woo. . .
 with music for two parts.
 also pr. Silverstein, Medieval Lyrics p.139.
- *6. Love with Variance (Index 2016), ff.195v-196r,
 Luf wil I with variance. . .
 with music for two parts.
 also pr. Silverstein, Medieval Lyrics p.138.
7. Astronomical Calendar, with Tables (English prose),
 ff.197v-198v,
 Thus stondit þis kalender to vnderstonde it. . .
8. On the Volvelle¹ (English prose), ff.199r-200r,
 Off 12 signes/ þe rewle of þe uoluelle. . .
9. Astrological Tables, with a diagram giving the signs of the
 zodiac appropriate to different parts of the body (Latin prose),
 ff.200-210v.
10. Volvelle, f.211r.

C. Technical description

- a. Paper, with one parchment leaf at the end; 8½ x 6 ins
 (220 x 150mm).
- b. ff.20, numbered 191-211 in the modern ink foliation.
- c. Collation is impracticable, because of the composite nature
 of the manuscript. There are no catchwords or leaf signatures.

- d. The layout varies with the contents - music, tables, prose. In general, the written space measures approximately 6 x 4½ ins (150 x 115mm), ruled off by margins. ff.191r-197r have been ruled out in musical staves.
- e. One scribe, writing a neat secretary script, copied all the material in this section.
- f. Red ink has been used to touch some of the letters and figures in the tables, more for clarity than for decorative purposes. None of the songs is in any way decorated.

D. History and provenance

The songs and astrological notes in this section are bound together with three other fragments of astrological and alchemical manuscripts, sections I and II dating from the fifteenth century and section III from the sixteenth (the year 1548 is mentioned). Section I (fully catalogued in Thorndike and Kibre, Incipits) is copied throughout by one scribe who signs himself 'dep' or 'dey' (f.45r, f.49v), and it seems to date from c.1440, judging from the years quoted as of immediate interest in the astrological items. Section II, containing similar material, and seemingly dating from the same period, was copied by two scribes, one of whom signs himself as 'holbrooke' (f.135v) and the other as 't.c.' (f.159r); this section belonged to John Dee and is listed in an inventory of his manuscripts taken in 1583². There are no indications of early ownership in the fourth section, with its songs, although the combination of scientific and musical material suggests a similar clerkly provenance to that of MS Ashmole 1393³. The four sections were presumably brought together by Elias Ashmole, who had them bound, and bequeathed them to the Bodleian, with other manuscripts in 1692.

E. Bibliography

Black, Cat. Ashmole MSS pp.154-59;

Stainer, Early Bodleian Music ii pp.72-3.

Notes

1. For a description of the uses of volve||es in MSS, see Robbins, E & S 21, pp.8-9.

2. See James, Suppl. to Trans.Bibl.Soc. 1 (1921).

3. See below pp.

69. OXFORD, Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 1113 (s.c.7391).

s.xvi. A collection of miscellaneous material put together by Elias Ashmole, some of it copied by him; the complete manuscript is described by Black, Cat.Ashmole MSS pp.790-807. Part 5 of section VIII consists of two paper leaves (ff.128 and 129 of the complete volume), $12\frac{1}{4} \times 8\frac{1}{2}$ ins (310 x 210mm), onto which a sixteenth-century hand has copied a description of the Garter celebrations of St. George's day at Windsor in 1563; another, contemporary hand has added a lyric:

* On his Mistress (Index 1422.5), f.129r,

Yf onely sight suffyse/my hart to lose or bynde. . .

70. OXFORD, Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 1393 (s.c.7589-90, 7688).

A. s.xv^{med} - xv²; one of five fragmentary MSS bound together in a composite volume, containing medical and astrological material in English and Latin prose, and some English songs.

B. Contents (section V only).

1. Treatise on Urine (English prose), ff.58r-60r,

Here begynnyth þe knowynge of vrynes. . .

2. Physiological Instruction (English prose), f.60r,
Here begynnythe þe knowlyche of þe chefe membrys of a manne. . .
3. Rules for Judging Urines (English prose), ff.60r-62r,
A leche þat schall see waters þe first tyme. . .
4. On the Four Complexions (English prose), f.62r,
Here begynnyþ þeiiij compleccyoune. . .
5. Treatise on Urine (English prose), ff.62r-63v, beginning imperfectly, . . . to be corrupt þe forseide uryne. . .
6. Astrological Note (Latin prose), f.63v,
Diei naturalis 4 distinguuntur. . .
7. Notes on the Course of the Moon (Latin prose), ff.64r-65v,
Cum cursum lune scire volueris. . .
8. Notes on Nativities (Latin prose), ff.65v-66r,
Natus in aquario negligens erit. . .
9. Notes on Favourable Hours (Latin prose), f.66r,
Cum medicinam alicui dare uolueris. . .
10. Astrological Note (Latin prose), f.66r,
Si uis scire tocius anni uarietates. . .
11. Astrological Note (Latin prose), f.66r,
Nota ille dicitur nasci in signo. . .
12. Astrological Table (Latin prose), ff.66v-67v,
Tabula ad inueniendum in quo signo sit luna. . .
- *13. Love without Variance (Index 2017), f.68v,
loue wolle I with oute eny variaunce. . .
with music for two voice parts, the second part headed
'tenor de loue'.
also pr. Silverstein, Medieval Lyrics p.137.
14. Latin Cantilena: Ecce Quod Natura, f.69r, with music;
pr. Stainer, Early Bodl.Music ii p.64 (fac. i pl.xxvii);
Stevens, Mus.Brit. 4 pp.26, 32, 51; (words alone) Greene,
Early English Carols p.cx.
15. Of the Nativity (Index 63), f.69v.
16. To the Virgin (Index 61), f.69v.

C. Technical description (section V only).

- a. Paper, with outer and inner bifolia of parchment; $5\frac{3}{4}$ x $4\frac{1}{4}$ ins (145 x 110mm).
- b. 12 leaves, foliated in pencil as part of the complete manuscript.
- c. Probably 1¹². No catchwords or leaf signatures.
- d. The medical and astrological material is written in single columns of between 31 and 37 lines, in a space of around 5 x 3 ins (125 x 75mm). Items 13 and 14, the songs with music, are copied so that the text underlies the appropriate notes on the staves. The music is written out simply but carefully.
- e. One scribe, writing a small, practised secretary, with some anglicana features, has copied all the material.
- f. Some capitals in the astrological and medical notes are touched with red. The songs are not decorated in any way.

D. History and provenance

There are no indications of early ownership in this part of the manuscript. The nature of the contents of this section, the scribe's facility with Latin and with musical notation, probably indicate a learned, clerkly background.

E. Bibliography

Black, Cat.Ashmole MSS pp.1082-86;
Stainer, Early Bodl.Music ii pp.61-62;
Greene, Early English Carols p.316.

71. OXFORD, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 120 (s.c.27643).

A. s.xv²; Lydgate's Life of Our Lady, with some added lyrics.

B. Contents

1. Lydgate, The Life of Our Lady (Index 2574), ff.1r-94v.

*[2.] A Prayer to his Heavenly Mistress (Index 511), f.95r,
Not printed; see Appendix II p.461.

*[3.] A Farewell to his Mistress (Index 766), f.95r,

Now fayre wele joye my comfort and solace. . .

One line copied in the same hand - perhaps a title or the indication of a tune - precedes this lyric: 'It is to me of joy the esperaunce'.

C. Technical description

a. Parchment; 11 x 7 $\frac{5}{8}$ ins (280 x 220mm).

b. v + 99 + vii; flyleaves v at the beginning and i at the end are original paper ones; vi and vii at the end are later, paper. i - iv at the beginning are fragments of parchment leaves from a late eleventh-century Sacramentary; flyleaves ii - iv at the end are parchment fragments from a twelfth-century Breviary. The modern pencil foliation numbers 100 leaves, including the end flyleaves and doubling ff.21, 31, 54, 72, 75.

c. The manuscript has been tightly rebound and collation is impracticable. There are some catchwords (e.g. ff.63v, 72v), but no consistent pattern. Leaf signatures are visible in the first gathering.

d. The layout of the main text varies with the scribes. A writes between 28 and 37 lines to the page, in a written space of 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ ins (205 x 85mm); he begins copying with a gap between stanzas but later abandons this, joining them together and

indicating new stanzas with a paragraph mark. B, like A, copies single columns, but only about 26 lines to the page, and in a written space of $8\frac{1}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{4}$ (205 x 110mm). Margins and ruling have been supplied in both cases. The added lyrics are copied with little regard to layout.

- e. Two scribes copied the Lydgate texts: A, writing an anglicana script, worked on ff.1r-7r and 9r-32v; B, writing an anglicana formata, copied ff.7v-8v and 33r to the end. The two lyrics are added in the same current hand, probably dating from the very end of the fifteenth century.
- f. Like layout, the decoration of the main text varies with the scribes. A's stint has rubrics, paragraph marks and brace lines supplied in red; B's stint the initials of each line are decorated in penwork and a yellow colour-wash. For details, see Pächt and Alexander, Catalogue iii no.1142. The lyrics are not decorated.

D. History and provenance

There is nothing in the manuscript to indicate its early history. It was presented to the Bodleian by William Brewster of St. John's College, Oxford, as a note (by Hearne) records on the fifth flyleaf. The lyrics have been copied into the blank space remaining, invitingly, at the end of The Life of Our Lady.

E. Bibliography

Bodleian Summary Cat. v p.318;

Lauritis et al., Lydgate's Life of Our Lady, pp.24-25.

72. OXFORD, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 638 (s.c.2078).

s.xv²; an anthology of English poems by Chaucer, Lydgate and other writers. For a full description and list of contents, see Robinson, Bodley 638. Its lyrics are included because of their presumably well-known Chaucerian associations. Bodley 638 is one of the 'Oxford group' of Chaucerian manuscripts described by E.P. Hammond and now often referred to as the 'Hammond group'¹. Its contents are similar to those of MS Fairfax 16 and MS Tanner 346 (described below); it does not share the booklet construction of Tanner 346, but the ordering of its contents does to some extent reflect the composition of MS Fairfax 16². Scholars before and including E.P. Hammond believed the texts in all three manuscripts to have been derived from common exemplars³, but Pamela Robinson states firmly that this is not the case, and instead suggests that the common items were derived from a number of independent booklets⁴. Bodley 638 is probably rather later than either the Tanner or the Fairfax MSS. Its earliest owners are unknown, and the numerous names copied into it date from the sixteenth century or later. Its lyrics are these:

1. Chaucer, The Complaint of Anelida (Index 3670), ff.5r-7r,
prefacing Anelida and Arcite,
THE COMPLAYNT OF FEYRE ANELIDA ON FALS ARCYTE &c.
So thyrlid with the poynt of remembraunce. . .
EXPLICIT SO THIRLID WITH THE POYNT OF REMEMBRAUNCE.
2. Chaucer, The Complaint unto Pity (Index 2756), ff.46r-47v,
THE COMPLAYNTE VNTO PYTE
Pite that I haue sought so yore ago. . .
EXPLICIT THE COMPLEYNTE VN TO PYTE.
3. The Complaint against Hope (Index 370), ff.209v-212r,
THE COMPLAYNTE A GEYNE HOPE
As I stode in studyenge allone. . .
EXPLICIT.
4. Chaucer(?), Complaynt d'Amours (Index 1388), ff.212r-214r,
COMPLYNT DAMOWRS
I which that am the sorwefullist man. . .
EXPLICIT.

Notes

1. See Hammond, Chaucer pp.333-339; MLN 23;
2. See the table provided by Hammond, Chaucer p.339.
3. Hammond, Chaucer p.338.
4. Robinson, Bodley 638, intro.

73. -OXFORD, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 95 (s.c. 21669).

A. s.xv². Miscellaneous items, verse, and prose, in English and Latin.

B. Contents

- *1. A Lover's Farewell to his Mistress (Index 752), ff.1r-3r,
Excellent soueraine semely to see. . .
EXPLICIT AMOR PER DUCEM EBORACENSEM NUPER FACTUS.
- *2. From a Lover to his Mistress (Index 754), f.3v,
Fair freshest erply creature. . .
EXPLICIT.
3. The Crowned King: On the Art of Governing (Index 605), ff.4r-6r.
- *4. To his Absent Mistress (Index 724), f.6r,
En jhesu Roy soueraign/ you lady fair and fre. . .
5. Short treatise on spiritual guidance (Latin prose), f.6v,
Materia cognacionis spiritualis hic per optime declaratur. . .
- [6.] Declaration concerning John Lybyth, gentleman, of London, 1519-20 (Latin prose), f.6v,
henricus dei gracias Rex Anglie et Francie. . .
7. Debate between Dives and Lazarus (Latin verse; not indexed by Walther), ff.7r-8v,
Audi sancte senior audi me loquentem. . .
8. Names of London Churches (Latin prose), ff.9r-12r.
9. Note on the Dimensions of St. Paul's (Latin prose), f.12r-v.
10. Towns in England, with a Note on Taxes (Latin prose), f.12v.
11. Statistics: distances from earth to moon, from moon to sun etc. (Latin prose), f.12v.
12. Notes on the Cinque Ports (Latin prose), f.13r.
13. Alphabetical List of Saints, Bishops, Abbots etc. (Latin prose), ff.13v-20r.
14. Versified List of Archbishops of Canterbury (Walther 7883), with other details (Latin prose), ff.20r-23r.
15. The Abuses of the Age (Index 906), with Latin introduction and parallel version, f.23v.
16. Prognostications (Latin prose), f.24v,
Si nativitas domini in die dominica. . .

17. Order of Coronation for a King (Latin prose), beginning imperfectly, ff.25r-28v,
Edwardi que regalia singulatim sicut auferentur. . .
18. Pseudo-Aristotle, Secreta Secretorum, chapters 1-20 (Latin prose, not listed in the MSS given by Singer & Anderson Alchemical MSS i pp.25-35), ff.29r-37r,
Domino suo excellentissimo & in cultu christiane. . .
19. Ordinances for Choosing Churchwardens, St. Stephens, Colman Street (English and Latin prose), ff.37v-38r.
20. Statutes for Bells and Pits (English and Latin prose), ff.38r-v.
21. Letter, from a son to his parents (English prose), f.38v.

C. Technical description

- a. Paper; $8\frac{3}{4}$ x $6\frac{1}{8}$ ins (225 x 155mm).
- b. iii + 39 + ii; ink foliation:
- c. 1^{12} , 2^{12} , 3^{20} (1-5 wanting). No catchwords or leaf signatures visible.
- d. The layout is neat, although varied, with between 25 and 40 lines of writing to the page, mostly in single columns; item 4 is copied in double columns, however. Margins and lines have been ruled; the framework measures approximately $6\frac{1}{2}$ x $3\frac{3}{4}$ ins (165 x 95mm), although the written space does not always correspond with this.
- e. One main scribe, writing a small, practised script with many secretary forms, copied items 1-5 and 7-18. The aspect of his hand varies considerably within these portions. A rather later hand (1519-20 is quoted in one of the notes he copies) added item 6, and two other later hands completed 19 and 20, and 21.
- f. Decoration in red and blue - flourishing of capitals, brackets, paragraph marks etc. - has been added to items 8-18 from f.10v onwards. The lyrics, all situated before f.10v, are undecorated.

D. History and provenance

The contents of this volume suggest a small-scale version of the

kind of commonplace book which became popular in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries - 'one-man' collections such as those maintained by John Colyns (BL MS Harley 2252), Robert Renys (Bodl. MS Tanner 407), and Richard Hill (Balliol College MS354), for example ¹. On the other hand, its contents have been carefully and consecutively copied, not compiled in the random and haphazard way which characterizes these other manuscripts. Perhaps it is best described as an 'amateur collection', still probably copied out by its owner, but viewed from the start as more of a whole (and probably more speedily completed) than the sort of compilation which is added to piecemeal over a lifetime. In this respect it can be compared to BL MS Sloane 1584, an 'amateur collection' made by John Gysborn ².

Douce 95 contains many of the ingredients of the commonplace-book proper, however: useful information (statistics, lists); proverbial lore (the prognostications, item 16); 'improving' advice (the Secreta Secretorum); items of social or historical importance (the Order of the Coronation, item 17, and the Abuses of the Age, item 15). Several factors could explain the inclusion of the love-lyrics: they may have been remembered as 'songs', appropriate for various diversions - although in view of the length of the first of them, this is perhaps unlikely; they may have been thought of as particularly fashionable (especially the third one, with its French); they may also have been included for their prestigious figures - the colophon to the first associates it with an unspecified Duke of York. Their position, right at the beginning of the collection, certainly suggests that they are more than afterthoughts or fillers, in this case.

The compiler of the manuscript does not supply any information about himself (again, unusual in a straightforward commonplace book). The London associations of some of the items (8 and 9, for example), and the fact that even the later additions (6, 19, 20) relate to London, suggest that he was a Londoner, and that his manuscript stayed in London hands at least until the early sixteenth century. A slight Yorkist bias emerges, too (noticed, but not explained, by Seaton)³. The order of coronation probably describes the coronation of Edward IV, and the lyric is admirably connected with 'Ducem

Eboracensem⁴. The practised script, the familiarity with Latin, the interest in churches and bishops, all probably indicate a clerical background. This is confirmed by a later note jotted onto f.39v by 'y John Smyth Doctour of phisik and prebend of the cathedrall chirche of Seint Paule'⁵. The history of the manuscript after the mid-sixteenth century is unclear until the time of Thomas Warton, who passed it to Joseph Strutt; from Strutt it came to Francis Douce, who supplied a note on these two predecessors on the third flyleaf.

E. Bibliography

Bodleian Summary Cat. iv(2) pp.519-20.

Notes

1. For Harley 2252 and Balliol 354, see above pp.288-94. For Tanner 407, see Robbins, Eng.Studies 30, and Louis, Tanner 407.
2. See above, pp. 354-59.
3. Seaton, Richard Roos p.183.
4. The exact identity of this 'Duke of York' is unclear. By the time of the composition of the MS - probably some time in the 1480s or 1490s - no living Duke of York can have been renowned as a courtly lover. Richard Duke of York, one of the princes in the Tower, had died in 1483 aged 10; the future Henry VIII was not invested with the title until 1494, when he was 3, and between these dates it lay in abeyance. The 'super factus' of this colophon suggests a more famous past duke, and two candidates suggest themselves here. One is Edward Duke of Aumerle, grandson of Edward III, who inherited the dukedom of York from his father, Edmund. This Edward (incidentally, the author of Maister of the Game, which may well have qualified him for some sort of literary reputation) died at Agincourt in 1415, and he can hardly have been fresh in the mind of a MS compiler in the late fifteenth century. The obvious identification is with Richard Duke of York, nephew of the hunting-literary Duke Edward and famous father of Edward IV. Having been declared heir-apparent and Protector in 1460, he was killed at the Battle of Wakefield in the same year, and his head, crowned with a paper cap, was stuck on the walls of the City of York. This duke, notorious or heroic according to one's sympathies, would probably have been the figure to come to the minds of readers of the colophon in Douce 95.
5. Probably the John Smith listed in PCC Wills 1383-1558 p.486 as 'clerk and M.D., canon of St. Paul's', who died in 1540. Le Neve, Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae v p.39 also gives a reference to 'John Smith D.M.' in a list of the prebendaries of Harleston.

74. OXFORD, Bodleian Library, MS eng. poet.e.1. (s.c.29734).

s.xv². A large collection of carols and songs in Latin and English, with some music, possibly connected with Beverley Minster. For a description, see Greene, Early English Carols pp.317-18. The contents of the manuscript were edited by Wright, Songs and Carols. One courtly love-song is included:

* The Complaint of One Banished (Index 4075), ff.14r-15v,
Whylome I present was with my soffreyne. . .
also pr. Greene, Early English Carols pp.267-68.

75. OXFORD, Bodleian Library, MS Fairfax 16 (s.c.3896).

s.xv^{med}. An anthology of English poetry by Chaucer, Lydgate, and other poets, containing many lyrics which have been connected with Charles d'Orléans and (on much flimsier evidence) with the Duke of Suffolk. For a full discussion, and a list of the contents, see Norton-Smith, Fairfax 16. Norton-Smith describes the manuscript as a good example of a book made up to order by a commercial scriptorium or a bookseller, and divides the contents into five sections which, although not separate booklets in themselves, might have been copied from booklet exemplars. He identifies the 'single owner belonging to the landed gentry' who must have commissioned the manuscript, as John Stanley (d. by 1469), esquire of Henry VI. A.I. Doyle has suggested a different candidate, William Stanley of Hooton¹. The lyrics fall into two categories: those connected with Chaucer and the Chaucerian apocrypha (items 1-7 in the list which follows), and those in the fifth 'booklet', organized into smaller groups by the contemporary table of contents, connected with the Charles d'Orléans circle (8-29). They are these:

- I. 1. Chaucer, The Complaint of Mars (Index 913) and The Complaint of Venus (Index 3542), written out as one. The separate complaints are indicated by a rubric, and the whole is prefaced by a full-page miniature on f.14v; ff.15r-20v,
Gladeth ye lovers on the morowe gray. . .

2. Chaucer, The Complaint of Anelida (Index 3670), followed by
Anelida and Arcite, ff.30r-32r,
So thirled with the poynt of remembraunce. . .
3. Ballade with Envoy to Alison (Index 2479), ff.147v-148r,
O lewde boke with thy foole rudenesse. . .
4. The Ten Commandments of Love (Index 590), ff.184r-185v,
Certes ferre extendeth yet my reason. . .
- II. 5. Chaucer, The Complaint unto Pity (Index 2756), ff.187r-188v,
Pite that I haue sought loo yre agoo. . .
6. Chaucer(?), Against Women Unconstant (Index 2029), ff.194v-195r,
Madame that throgh yout newfangelnesse. . .
Pr. Doyle & Pace, SB 28.
7. Chaucer(?), Complaynt d'Amours (Index 1388), ff.197r-198v,
I whiche that am the sorwfullest man. . .
- III.*8. How a Lover Praiseth his Lady (Index 4043), ff.306r-312v,
When the son the saumpe of heuene ful lyghte. . .
- IV.*9. Venus Mass (Index 4186), ff.314r-317v,
Wyth allmyn hool herte entere. . .
(a. 'The iij balattis þat þe louere made to his lady'²):
- *10. To his Mistress (Index 3752), f.318r,
BALADE
To fle the sect of alle mysogouernaunce. . .
- *11. To his Mistress (Index 296), f.318r-v,
BALADE
Andos for yow that most ar in my mynde. . .
- *12. In Praise of his Mistress (Index 2488), ff.318v-319r,
O lord god what yt is gret plesaunce. . .
(b. 'The ij complayntex þat louere made to his lady':
- *13. The Faithful Lover's Lament (Index 2349), ff.319r-v,
COMPLEYNT
Now lyst fortune thus for me to purueye. . .
- *14. The Lover Wills his Heart to his Mistress (Index 1826),
ff.319v-320r,
COMPLEYNT
Knelyng allon ryght thus I may make my wyll. . .
(c. 'A letter þat þe lover made to his lady':

- *15. Love Letter to his Mistress (Index 2823), f.320r-v,
LETTYR
Ryght goodly flour to whom I owe seruyse. . .
(d. 'The vij³ complayntez þat þe louere made to his lady').
- *16. The Lover Comforts his Broken Heart (Index 2583), ff.320v-321r,
COMPLEYNT
O wofull hert prisound in gret duresse. . .
17. Charles d'Orléans, On Love and Fortune (Index 2567), f.321r-v,
COMPLEYNT
O thou ffortune whyche hast the gouernaunce. . .
- *18. Complaint to 'Daunger' (Index 2407), f.321v,
COMPLEYNT
O cruell daunger all myn aduersarye. . .
- *19. To his Mistress, on his Departure (Index 2350), f.322r,
COMPLEYNT
Now must I nede part out of your presence. . .
- *20. The Lover, Unjustly Wronged, to his Mistress (Index 3915),
f.322r-v,
COMPLEYNT
What shuld me cause or ony wyse to thynk. . .
- *21. To the God of Love (Index 3860), ff.322v-323r,
COMPLEYNT
Walkyng allon of wyt full desolat. . .
(e. 'The supplicacion that the lover made to his lady'):
- *22. The Lover to his Mistress (Index 509), f.323r-v,
SUPPLICACION
Besechyth mekly in ryght lowly wyse. . .
(f. 'The letter þat þe louere made to his lady').
23. Letter to his Mistress (Index 2182), ff.323v-324r,
LETTYR
My hertys ioy and all my hole plesaunce. . .
also pr. Silverstein, Medieval Lyrics p.142.
- *24. Complaint to his Mistress (Index 3488), f.324r,
COMPLEYNT
The tyme so long the payn ay mor and more. . .
- *25. The Unhappy Faithfull Lover (Index 3913), f.324r-v,
COMPLEYNT
What schall I say to wnom schall I compleyn. . .

- (h. 'A letter and a complaynt that þe louere made to his lady'):
- *26. Letter to his Mistress (Index 2230), ff.324v-325r,
LETTYR
My best belouyd lady and maistresse. . .
- *27. The Lover Reflects on his Long Service (Index 2295), f.325r-v,
COMPLEYNT
Not far from marche in the end of feueryere. . .
- (i. 'How þe louere is sett to serve þe floure'):
- *28. The Lover Defends Women (Index 2178), ff.325v-326v,
Myn hert is set and all myn hole entent. . .
- (j. 'The parliament of Cupyde gode of love'):
- *29. The Parliament of Love (Index 2595), ff.327r-329r,
PARLEMENT
O ye louers which in gret hevynes. . .

Notes

1. Doyle & Pace, SB 28.
 2. Headings are taken from the contemporary table of contents on ff.2r-v.
 3. Actually six, rather than seven.
76. OXFORD, Bodleian Library, MS Lat.misc.c.66, formerly the Capesthorpe MS
- A. s.xv/svi. Miscellaneous items in Latin and English, mainly copied by Humfrey Newton of Pownall, Cheshire (1466-1536); the first part of the collection contains legal memoranda and other notes, the second part includes some lyrics.
- B. Contents (section II only).
1. List of Contents, signed 'humfridus neuton', f.92r.

2. A Fable of Aesop, unfinished (Latin prose), f.92v,
 Erat quidem magnus dominus. . .
- *3. An Epistle to his Mistress (Index 2281), f.92v,
 MITTITUR
 My worshipfulle & reuerent lady dere. . .
- *4. Love Letter, with Acrostic on 'Elyn' (Index 735), ff.92v, 94v,
 BILEF
 Euer lastyng lof to me I haue tane. . .
- *5. To his Mistress, with Acrostic on 'Humfrey' (Index 1187), ff.92v, 95r,
 her hert I wolde I had i wis. . .
 headed on f.95r 'Hert be trowe & trulof kepe/ Mi trulof will
 I neuer forsake'.
- *6. A Love Adventure (Index 4057), f.93r,
 When Zepheres eeke with his fresshe tarage. . .
- *7. The Cynic is Overcome by Love (Index 572), f.93r-v,
 be god of loue set I nothyng. . .
 also pr. Silverstein, Medieval Lyrics pp.156-59.
- *8. A Love Letter to his Mistress, with Acrostic on 'Margaret'
(Index 2217), f.93v,
 LITTERA AMANDI & NOMEN DE ILLA EST EXPRESSUM HIC
 Most soueren lady comfort of care. . .
- *9. Love Letter, with Acrostic on 'Elin' (Index 737), f.93v,
 ALIA DE ALIO NOMINE
 Euer suereyn swete swettist in sigt. . .
- *10. Love Letter with Acrostic on 'Brian' (Index 481), f.93v,
 ALIA DE HOMINE
 beaute of you burne in my body abydis. . .
- *11. On the Seasons (Index 2760), f.93v.
- *12. To his Mistress, a Letter of Farewell (Index 768), f.93v,
 fare well pat was my lef so dere. . .
- *13. A Letter to his Mistress, 'M' (Index 1344), f.93v,
 MITTITUR
 I pray you M to me be tru. . .
- *14. A Letter to his Mistress (Index 2597), f.94r,
 MITTITUR
 O ye my emperice I your seruaunt pis to you .I say. . .

- *15. A Letter to his Mistress (Index 926), f.94r,
MITTITUR
 Go littulle bille & Command me hertely. . .
 also pr . Stemmler, Love Lyrics p.109.
- *16. A Letter to his Mistress (Index 556), f.94r,
MITTITUR
 bot on thyng mastres greues me ful sore. . .
- *17. A Lover's Lament (Index 137), f.94v,
 Alas a thousand sith alas. . .
- *18. A Letter to his Mistress, 'M' (Index 2263), f.94v,
 Mi mornynge M greues me sore. . .
- *19. A Letter to his Mistress (Index 855), f.94v,
 for you my lady I am nez slayn. . .
20. Palmistry Diagram, with notes in Latin, f.95r.
21. The Bird of Paradise (Index 2231.3, drawing with verses),
 together with other drawings of birds, f.95v.
22. Pen-Trials and Ornamental Letters, ff.96r-99v, 104v-105v,
 (copied from the examples on the parchment leaves ff.112-121).
23. Newton Family Tree, f.101r.
24. Advice for Purchasers of Land (Index 4148), f.101v.
25. Notes on Charters (Latin prose), ff.102r-103r,
 Quid est carta. carta est quoddam feoffamentum. . .
- [26.] Chaucer's Prophecy (Index 3943), f.104r.
27. Fragment of Richard de Caistre's Hymn (Index 1727), f.106r.
- *28. Two Alliterative Poems, (listed as one, Index 2682; see Turville-
 Petre, Alliterative Revival pp.123-24); ff.106v-107r, with a
 drawing of St. Veronica.
29. Lydgate, A Saying of the Nightingale (Index 1498), ff.107v-111v.
30. Model Letters and Petitions, inserted on parchment leaves,
 ff.112r-121v.
31. Tables of the Planets (Latin), f.122r-v.
32. Recipes for Making Inks and Colours (English prose), ff.123r,
 124v-127r, 128v.
33. On Physiognomy: Extracts (English prose), f.123v,
 Aristotyll in a boke he calis secreta secretorum. . .
34. 'Proporcio ymaginis undarum' (Latin prose), f.124r,
 Primo longitudo faciei. . .

35. Names of the Books of the Bible (Latin verse), f.127r.
36. Note on the Shires of England (English prose), f.127v.
37. Notes on the Humours (English and Latin prose), f.127v.
38. Unidentified fragment (not in Index), f.127v,
 Quene Phebus passyd was be ram. . . see Appendix II p. 462.
39. Recipe for Cooking Rabbit (English prose), f.128r.
40. Extracts from 'be boke of schrift' (English prose, Jolliffe
 F.15, F.27), f.128r-v.
41. Note on Christ's Wounds, with Drawing, and a Prayer (Index
 3079.4), f.129v.

C. Technical description (section II only).

- a. Paper, with some inserted parchment leaves (ff.112-121);
 $15\frac{3}{4} \times 8\frac{3}{4}$ ins (405 x 225mm).
- b. 56 leaves, numbered 92 to 148 in the two modern pencil
 foliation systems which run throughout the whole manuscript.
- c. Collation is impossible. There are no catchwords of leaf
 signatures.
- d. The layout of the second section of the manuscript is extremely
 confused, especially the leaves containing the lyrics - these
 have been copied in any available spaces, sometimes added in
 the margins of leaves which are already covered in writing.
 There are occasional attempts to set the texts out more
 formally; Lydgate's Nightingale poem, for example (item 29)
 has been more carefully laid out and copied.
- e. One hand, that of the 'humfrey newton' who signs the table of
 contents on f.92r, has copied everything in this part of the
 manuscript except for item 30 (inserted from elsewhere), and
 item 26, which seems to have been added by a slightly later
 hand. Newton writes a secretary script, varying in formality;
 at some points it is careful and legible, at others almost
 indecipherable.

- f. Some of the more carefully copied pieces have been decorated with red ink flourishes - item 34, for example - although none of the lyrics receives this treatment. There are several drawings and diagrams, such as those accompanying items 20, 21, 28 and 41.

D. History and provenance

The background of this manuscript has been fully described by R.H. Robbins¹. Newton was a Cheshire gentleman, probably a prominent local figure (and possibly a lawyer), who compiled a collection of legal memoranda relating to his own and local families, added to it a collection of medical treatises and recipes (the whole forming section I of the present manuscript), and completed the volume with a kind of commonplace book in which he jotted pieces which appealed to him and, apparently, some of his own compositions. None of the love lyrics included in this collections appears in any other manuscript, and although this in itself is no guarantee that Newton was the author of them, it does reinforce the evidence for his authorship provided by other features: the corrections and revisions made to the poems as they are copied; the fact that some of them appear twice (items 4 & 5 for example); the correspondence of some of the acrostics with Newton family names (item 5 is an acrostic on 'Humfrey'; items 4 and 9 on 'Elin' - Newton married Elena Fitton of Pownall)². It seems reasonably likely that items 3-8 and 12-19 here are Newton's own compositions, and quite possible that other pieces (items 11, 23) are also his. The scope of the contents in general is interesting: familiar commonplace-book 'informative' pieces (items 36,39); useful practical aids (Items 20, 24, 31); poetry of various kinds, including the unusual alliterative pieces (item 28); items revealing Newton's interest in the written word (model letters, as in item 30, recipes for making ink - item 32 - and experiments with lettering and illumination - item 22). Newton must have had access to a fairly wide range of material. His love lyrics are fashionable in the extreme, many of them taking the form of 'bills' or 'epistles' to the lady, or including acrostics on relevant names. Sometimes the headings point out these particular

qualities - several of the epistles are prefaced by 'Mittitur', and one (item 8) is entitled 'Littera amandi & nomen de illa est expressum hic'. Newton exploits courtly forms and gives them a peculiarly domestic application, and the products of the combination have much more the flavour of the autograph book than of the 'literary' volume.

The complete manuscript, including for a long time a copy of the 1486 print of Juliana Berners' Treatise of Hunting, remained with the Newton family and its descendants until relatively recently when it was purchased by the Bodleian. The Treatise on Hunting is now separated from it.

E. Bibliography

Bodleian Catalogue of Additions to MSS (typescript held in the library), Medieval MSS.

Robbins, PMLA 65.

Notes

1. PMLA 65.

2. cf. Aberdeen Univ. MS 123, a miscellany, with the signature 'William Fitton'; see Ker, MSS in British Libraries ii pp.4-11.

77. OXFORD, Bodleian Library, MS Laud misc.735 (s.c.1504)¹

A. s.xv². An anthology of English verse, mostly by Hoccleve, with an added lyric.

B. Contents

- *[1.] Women cannot be tamed (Index 4166.5), verso of second flyleaf.
- 2. Hoccleve, Complaint (Index 124) lacking lines 74-146, ff.1r-5v.
- 3. Hoccleve, Dialogue with a friend (Index 299), ff.5v-15r.
- 4. Hoccleve, Tale of the Emperor Gerelaus (Index 1561), ff.15v-29r.
- 5. Hoccleve, Lerne to die (Index 3121), ff.29r-42.

6. Hoccleve, Prologue and Tale of Jonathas (Index 3582 & 4072),
7. Lydgate, Dance of Death (Index 2591), ff.52v-61v.
8. Hoccleve, The Regiment of Princes (Index 2229), ff.62r-134r.
- *[9.] To his despairing mistress (Index 143.5), f.135r (end flyleaf),
 Alas dere hart what ayleth the. . . Not published; see
 Appendix I p.455.

C. Technical description

- a. Paper and parchment (inner and outer bifolia of the gatherings are regularly parchment); 12 x 8 ins (305 x 205mm).
- b. ii + 134 + i; ink foliation, with traces of an older foliation system.
- c. 1^{14} (2 wanting); $2^{14} - 9^{14}$; 10^{16} (10-16 canc.). Leaf signatures ('a' - 'k') and catchwords.
- d. The main texts are copied in single columns of around 36 lines, inside a frame measuring $8\frac{1}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{4}$ ins (210 x 110mm). The love lyric is added haphazardly on a parchment flyleaf at the end; the other lyric copied carelessly at the beginning of the MS.
- e. One scribe copied all of items 2 - 8, writing a neat anglicana. The lyrics have been added in two different sixteenth-century hands.
- f. The Hoccleve and Lydgate pieces, especially Hoccleve's Complaint, which opens the volume, have been provided with 'good initials with penwork interlace' (Pächt and Alexander, Illuminated MSS iii no.1155), up to 9 lines high. The lyrics are not decorated in any way.
- g. The manuscript remains in its original fifteenth-century binding, parchment on boards.

D. History and provenance

Scribbles on the front flyleaves include the names 'master gaddeyng', 'Ieram hamden', '[...]lady grey', and 'Roger jonson', in what appear to be different sixteenth-century hands, although the second may be a fifteenth-century one. Several signatures and remarks further on in the manuscript connect it in the sixteenth century with one Thomas Creyk: 'Thomas Creyk', f.1r; 'Thomas creyk ys my nyme', f.71r; 'Creke ys as wysse as a/capoun(?) so sayythe M Jane/ fyndderne & M Jhone', f.125r. Creyk's name appears again on the parchment flyleaf at the end of the manuscript, together with the signature of 'wyllymus Ky[n]gwyth', in drypoint, and the alliterative proverbs 'Folowe Folyssnys quod Fayerclyffe/ hastynys hurtythe quod hampden/ fayer fall flateryng quod fewyllaymys(?)'. The love lyric is added in a hand which is probably contemporary with that of Thomas Creyk.

E. Bibliography

Cat.Laud MSS pp.522-23;
Seymour, TEBS 4.

Notes

1. The Index entries which list items 1 and 9 in this description as appearing in Bodl.S.C.1502 are incorrect; amend 1502 to 1504.

78. OXFORD, Bodleian Library, MS e Mus.88 (s.c.3509).

A. s.xv¹; The Prick of Conscience, with some later additions.

B. Contents

1. The Prick of Conscience (Index 3428), ff.1r-92r; the opening is imperfect, and there are some further gaps.

- [2.] Merchants' Accounts (French prose), f.93r-v,
Fait a remembrer que Robert Wade paia pur iiij duszein/
cappes achatez a loundres. . .
- [3.] Six Latin Proverbs (Including Walther, Sprichwörter nos.
4861, 8751), f.93v.
- [4.] The Resigned Lover (Index 2015), f.93v,
Love wylle I and leve so my be falle. . .
- [5.] Lampoon on John Day (printer of Foxe's Martyrs, 1562), f.94v,
The grave consell of gravesend barge. . .
- [6.] Mnemonic for vowels (English verse, not in Index), f.94v,
he that intendyth too wrytt & to rede . . .

C. Technical description

- a. Paper, 10½ x 7 ins (265 x 170mm).
- b. ii + 94 + ii; sporadic pencil foliation.
- c. Collation impossible; no catchwords or leaf signatures.
- d. The layout of The Prick of Conscience is consistent; margins ruled in crayon are still faintly visible, and the text is written in single columns of about 45 lines. The written space measures 8¼ x 4½ ins (220 x 115mm). The added items are copied in haphazardly.
- e. The Prick of Conscience has been copied throughout by one scribe, writing an anglicana script. The added items are the work of four different hands : one copied the accounts (item 2); one copied the proverbs and the love-lyric (items 3 and 4); another, much later one copied the lampoon (item 5), and the last added the improving advice (item 6).
- f. The main text is undecorated, except for a few headings in red. None of the additions is ornamented in any way.

D. History and provenance

Names mentioned in the accounts on f.93r-v include those of Aaron and John Vyne, merchants of London, and of Robert Wade¹. Other signatures in the manuscript include 'Thomas Cowley' (f.93v), 'Adam Benet' (f.94v), and 'Robert Lowe' (f.94v)². The manuscript appears to have come to the Bodleian Library some time in the mid-seventeenth century.

E. Bibliography

Bodleian Summary Cat. ii(2) p.665.

Notes

1. The will of one Robert Wade of St. Magnus, London and Egham, Surrey, is recorded in 1529 (PCC Wills p.546, 8 Jankyn); I have been unable to trace Aaron or John Vyne.
2. MS Bodley 649 (s.c.2293), a collection of sermons in Latin and English, c.1400, also contains the signature of 'Adam Benet', in a sixteenth-century hand.

*79. OXFORD, Bodleian Library, MS Mus.d.103 (S.C.30644).

s.xvi¹. Fragments of three English songs, with music for one voice. The four paper leaves on which the fragments occur (ff.1-4 of the present manuscript) were formerly incorporated in a printed book in the Bodleian (B.9.12.th.), a copy of Bishop Gervase Babington's Works (London, 1615); the remaining leaves in the manuscript (ff.5-37) are blank (for descriptions, see Bodl.Sum.Cat. p.860 and Stainer, Early Bodleian Music). Two of the songs seems to be love-lyrics.

- *1. Have I not cause to morne a las, f.3r (not in Index, but see Stevens, Music and Poetry p.438); pr. Stainer, Early Bodleian Music i xxiv, 105-108; ii 192.
- *2. Of one accorde owre harttes by knytt, f.2r (not in Index; see Stevens, Music and Poetry p.449); pr. Stainer, as above.

80. OXFORD, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson c.86 (S.C.11951).

A. s.xv/xvi; miscellaneous English & Latin verse and prose.

B. Contents¹

1. The Northern Passion (Index 1907), ff.2r-30v.
2. Utter thy language (Index 3847), f.31r.
3. Latin couplet (Walther, 18075), f.31r.
4. Translated extracts from Ranulph Higden's Polychronicon (English prose), ff.31v-50v, unfinished.

POLICRONICA

Josephus of jewes þat nobyl was þe firste auctour of þe booke. . .

The three(?) extracts, unremarked in all works dealing with English translations of the Polychronicon until Edwards, PLFLS17, come from the first two books. The first and most substantial extract (ff.31v-49v) contains the geographical description of the world from book I., The following two very short fragments (f.49v and f.50r-v) appear to condense some of the material on the history of the world from book II.

None of these extracts has been printed, and the translations are, as far as I have been able to ascertain, unique to this MS.

- [5.] On the redemption (Index 2719), f.51r.
6. Jack and his stepdame (Index 977), ff.52r-59r.
7. English proverb (cf. Index 1162.9, 4095), f.59r,
Who so in welth takyth non hede. . .
8. Macaronic verses lamenting the evils of the age (Index 3113), f.59r.
9. On the fickleness of women (Index 4090), ff.59v-60v.
10. Medical recipe (English prose), f.60v.
11. Lydgate, Dietary (Index 824), ff.61r-62r.
12. Lydgate, Testament, section V (Index 2464), ff.62v-64v.
13. The appeal of Christ to man (Index 1841), ff.65r-66v.
14. The complaint of God (Index 3612), ff.67r-69r.
15. Quia amore languero (Index 1460), ff.69v-71r.
16. In my youth full wild I was (Index 1511), ff.71r-72v.

17. A lament of the Blessed Virgin (Index 1447), ff.72v-74r.
18. Filius regis mortuus est (Index 404), ff.74v-76v.
19. On the mutability of man's nature (Index 3503), ff.77r-79r, 'embellished' in this MS with extra lines, added in a later hand.
20. Two medical recipes (English prose), f.79r.
21. Lydgate, Song of Virtue (Index 401), ff.79v-81r.
22. Three Medical recipes (English prose), f.81r.
23. Lydgate, Look in the mirror (Index 3798), ff.81v-83v.
24. Lydgate, Verses against haste (Index 186), ff.84r-86r.
25. Lydgate, Stans puer ad mensam (Index 2233), ff.86v-88r.
26. Two Medical recipes (English prose), ff.88r.
27. Lydgate, Horns Away (Index 2625), ff.88v-89r.
28. Balade morale of good counsayle lines 1-28 (Index 2737), f.89v.
29. Lydgate, Horse, Goose and Sheep (Index 658), ff.91r-100r.
30. Piers of Fulham (Index 71), f.100r-106v.
31. Colyn Blowbol's Testament (Index 4020), f.106v-113r.
32. Chaucer, The legends of good women, lines 924-1367: Dido (Index 100), ff.113r-119v.
33. Sir Launfal (Index 3203), ff.119v-128r.
34. The wedding of Sir Gawain and Dame Ragnell (Index 1916), ff.128v-140r.
35. Lydgate, That now is hay some time was grass (Index 3531), ff.141r-142r.
36. Two Latin couplets, f.142r,
 - (i) (not in Walther, or Walther, Sprichwörter)
Dum vivis et bene stas et sursum cornua gestas. . .
 - (ii) (Walther 33583; ^{Walther,} Sprichwörter 20431)
Uir videas quid tu iubeas dum magnus haberis. . .
37. The treachery of fortune (Index 2584), f.142v.
38. Prologue to Guyscard and Segismonde (fragmentary) (see Index 4082), f.143r. Two missing leaves between ff.142 and 143 (see collation) must have contained the beginning of the prologue.
39. Medical recipe (English prose), f.143r.
40. tr. Gilbert Banester, Guyscard and Segismonde (Index 4082), ff.143v-155r.
41. Medical recipe (English prose), f.155r.

- *42. Song of joyful love (Index 2179), beg. f.155v,
 Myne hert is set upon a lusty pynne. . .
 ends f.156r,
 FINIS QUOD QUENE ELYZABETH
43. Miscellaneous information about England (English prose), f.156r,
 Ther ben in Englund xxxvi shyres. . .
44. Chaucer, The Clerk's Tale, fragmentary (Index 4019), ff.156v-173v.
 The fragments here correspond to lines 57-82, 212-265, 317-366
 and 485-1200 of Robinson's text. The gaps can be explained by
 missing leaves (see collation). An attempt has been made by
 some owner of the MS to bridge the gap between lines 367 and
 483 (after f.158) by inserting one leaf from another, unknown
 copy of the Clerk's Tale; this supplies lines 418-481.
45. Prognostication (Latin verse, Walther, 2826), f.173v,
 Clara dies Pauli bona tempora denotat anni. . .
46. Medical recipe (English prose), f.173v.
47. Fortune (Latin verse; Walther, 13013), f.173v
 FORTUNA
 O tu fortuna cur non es omnibus una. . .
48. Medical recipe (English prose), f.173v.
49. On the death of Edward IV, Latin verse; (not listed by Walther or
 identifiable in any of the standard collections of English
 historical/political poems), f.174r,
 Carmina qui letus cecini cano tristia mestus. . .
50. Chaucer, The Prioress's Prologue and Tale, lines 1-632
 (Index 4019), ff.174v-177v. The text here breaks off because
 of a missing leaf after f.177.
51. The expedition of Henry V into France (Index 969), ff.178r-186r.
52. Lydgate, Verses on the Kings of England, to Henry VI
 (Index 3632), ff.187r-189r. Accompanied here by a crude
 diagrammatic family tree.
53. England's claim to the throne of France (English prose), f.189r,
 THE TYTLE OF FRAUNCE
 Phyllype kyng of ffrance hade issue iij sonnys. . .
 (cf. BL Harley 2252, item 11).

C. Technical description

- a. Paper, with parchment central and enclosing bifolia in the
 first two gatherings; approx. $11\frac{1}{2}$ x $8\frac{1}{2}$ ins (290 x 210mm).

- b. ff.iii+190+ii ; the modern foliation erroneously numbers f.129 twice, but for the sake of convenience I retain this, marking the misnumbered leaf (actually f.130) as f.129*.
- c. 1^{22} (wants 1; 14 and 19 are half-sheets), 2^8 + one leaf after 8, 3^{22} (wants 21), 4^{24} + one leaf after 24, 5^{16} (wants 1,15,16), 6^8 , 7^{10} , 8^{16} , 9^{14} , 10^6 (wants 1,6), 11^{26} (wants 1,3,5,6,21,22,24,26), 12^{22} (wants 1,16,17,22; one leaf inserted before 2), 13^{12} . Leaf signatures are visible in the bottom right-hand corners of the leaves of five gatherings: 5 ('a'), 4 ('b'), 11 ('c'), 12 ('d') and 3 ('e'). With the help of these it is possible to reconstruct the MS as four independent booklets:
- I gatherings 1,2;
 - II gatherings 3-5, 11, 12;
 - III gatherings 6-10;
 - IV gathering 13.
- At some time after the rearrangement of the signed gatherings of the second booklet into their present order, each individual gathering has been numbered in ink on the top right-hand corner of its first recto. A break in the sequence between present gathering 2 (numbered '2') and present gathering 3 (numbered '6') seems to indicate that three gatherings have been lost, some time between the numbering of them and the binding.
- d. The first booklet is the only one to contain evidence of any preparation of the writing surface: the leaves here have been ruled, and the text is regularly written in single columns with an average of 37 lines to a side. The remaining booklets are irregularly laid out, with no evidence of ruling, and the size of the written space is variable.
- e. At least five different hands are identifiable. Scribe A, writing a formal anglicana, was responsible for the whole of the first booklet (ff.1-30). Scribe B, writing a secretary hand, was responsible for most of the second booklet (ff.31-51,

53-74, 77-89, 141-177), although the outer leaves of gathering 4 (ff.52r-v, 75r-76v) have been completed by another scribe B¹, whose hand is informal and mixed. This informal mixed hand may well be the same as that which appears in parts of the third booklet, B², (ff.125r-v, 128r-v, 129r-140r); a firm decision either way is impossible, as the hands in both cases are so irregular. The other scribe to appear in this third booklet is probably a new one, C, but might just be scribe B again, writing at a different time or consciously adopting a different style. Two more scribes, D and E, were responsible for the fourth booklet; D completed most of the copying (ff.178r-183v, 186r-189v) but was interrupted for a short stint by E (ff.184r-186r), who signed himself 'John Reve Free'.

Various later hands have gone through the MS adding titles and the names of authors, usually merely reiterating the information already available in colophons. One of these later hands is confined to booklet II only, indicating perhaps that this circulated for a time independently of the rest of the MS. A spidery hand, similar to that of Lord William Howard's signature on f.1r, has written in every gathering, adding titles and ascribing many pieces - correctly and otherwise - to Lydgate. Another of the later hands appears only with item 19, On the mutability of man's nature, to which it has added substantial embellishment.

- f. Only the first booklet is decorated. On f.1v, facing the opening of The Northern Passion on f.2r, is a full-page miniature of the crucifixion, now badly rubbed, but originally competent enough². The large initial letter of the text on f.2r is illuminated, with the decoration continuing into a full border. Within the rest of the text, large initials have been executed in red ink; the ascenders and descenders of the writing in the top and bottom lines have frequently been lengthened into ornamental scrolls.
- g. The present binding of red leather dates from the eighteenth century.

D. History and provenance

Various signatures and notes appear in different parts of the MS to offer some clues about its provenance and early history.

On f.30v, the last page of the first booklet, the scribe of The Northern Passion has added a note at the end of his copy: 'Finitur iste liber/sit scriptor liber/Iste liber constat [. .]' The name of the original owner has been erased, and another hand has added 'Wyllelmus Aylsburrey monachus sancti Saluatoris de Bermudesay'. This is probably the William Aylesbury who became prior of the cluniac priory of St. Saviour, Bermondsey in 1519, and who was a member of the Buckinghamshire Aylesbury family which had long-standing Surrey connections³.

The second booklet (which contains the one courtly love lyric in the MS) bears several late fifteenth- or more probably early sixteenth-century signatures:

f.51v Hamond jhon?

John Samson

f.80r Thomas Roff & Willm

f.87v Wyl~~l~~iam Warner the son of tomas warner.

Manly and Rickert believe the MS to have been owned (bound together in its present state) by a late fifteenth-century Rochester family of Warners, and they link these with another William Warner (not demonstrably related) whose connection with Alexander Clifford, great-grandson of Chaucer's friend Sir Lewis Clifford, is held to explain the inclusion of the Chaucerian pieces in the volume (item 32, Dido; item 44, the Clerk's Tale; item 50, the Prioress's Tale)⁴. The documentary evidence to support this hypothesis is somewhat thin, and it seems to me equally, if not more, likely that the names in this second booklet can be linked with certain London merchant families who flourished in the early sixteenth century and who form an entirely characteristic audience for the miscellaneous material contained in it.

A Warner family which included a father Thomas and a son William makes sporadic appearances in London records of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. In 1461 Edward IV granted

'Weybrigge Hawe', two acres of Thames-side land in Surrey, to one Thomas Warner, 'citizen and ironmonger of London'. In 1463 permission was granted for the construction of a wharf on the same land⁵. In 1471, along with two aldermen and three other 'commoners', Warner (now described as a saddler) was elected as an auditor of the accounts of the Chamber and of the Wardens of London Bridge. In 1477 he was involved in a dispute over land in Middlesex, and in 1478 he died, leaving land and property in the London parish of St. Andrew, Baynard's Castle, in Weybridge and other parts of Surrey, and in Leicestershire⁶. A deposition made by his widow, Joan, in 1493, refers to their sons Richard, Thomas, Nicholas, John and William⁷. It seems probable that two of the sons are the Thomas and William Warner referred to in 1505 as merchants of the Staple at Calais⁸. William is described at his death in 1521 as 'citizen and merchant taylor'. He left land in Ewherst and other parts of Surrey, in St. Bride's Fleet Street and in Shoe Lane, and also a London tenement known as the 'Anker'⁹. Wealthy and prominent relatives of this Warner family included Robert Warner (d.1439), whose monument Stow notes with that of John Shirley in the church of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, and John Warner, sheriff of London 1494-5 and alderman 1503-11¹⁰.

Hammonds can be traced in Thames-side London and Surrey in the same period. One John Hammond who died in 1501 left land in West Molesey. In 1518 a certain Robert Hammond was involved with one Robert Warner (whose connection with the Warner family described above is impossible to identify) in the acquisition of a large amount of land near Kingston. Another John Hammond of London, described variously as 'gentleman' and 'citizen and scrivener', owned a tenement, 'with wharf adjoining, called the Flower de Lewse' in St. Andrew's parish. The list of names of those giving oaths at the inquisition concerning his property includes a John Sampson, who crops up frequently as a juror in London in the 1540s¹¹. A suitable Thomas Roffe proves harder to identify, but I think it more likely to refer to someone of the surname Roffe or Rolf than to one of the bishops of Rochester ('Roffensis' - the suggestion is Manly and Rickert's), whose signature would surely have been rather more practised and impressive than the scribble on f.80r of this manuscript. One Thomas Roffe or

Rolffe does appear as an auditor and assessor of the possessions of those convicted of treason in the latter part of Henry VIII's reign¹².

It seems likely, therefore, that at least the second booklet of this MS (possibly the third as well, if hand. B¹ is taken: to appear in both) was in the possession of a group of London readers in the early sixteenth century. The milieu is similar to that of Richard Hill's commonplace book (Balliol College, Oxford MS 354) and John Colyns's personal collection (BL MS Harley 2252). Perhaps the relevant sections of MS Rawlinson c.86 were put together as the idle or preoccupied reader's alternative to this kind of do-it-yourself commonplace book - a compendium of all that was popular and best-known - for the contents have clearly been planned and copied in a less random fashion than those of either Hill's or Colyns's volumes. The London connection of this part of Rawlinson c.86 is shared by the booklet containing The Northern Passion, which must have been at Bermondsey with William Aylesbury in the first few decades of the sixteenth century. This booklet was probably copied at some time in the second half of the fifteenth century, presumably for the owner whose name William Aylesbury erased. Booklet II must have been copied after 1483, for the Latin verses on the death of Edward IV (item 49) cannot have been composed before this date. The 'Quene Elyzabeth' to whom A song of joyful love (item 42) is ascribed may have been either Edward IV's own queen Elizabeth Woodville (d.1492), or Henry VII's queen, Elisabeth of York (d.1503). This part of the MS, though, seems slightly later than the copy of The Northern Passion - the turn of the century is a more probable date. The fourth booklet may well be even later than this, but once again it shares the same London background as the rest of the MS: the scribe signs himself 'Johannem Reve free', and a John Reeve was admitted to the Scriveners' Company in London in 1505 and made a warden in 1536¹³; if the two are the same, a London provenance and a date in the first quarter of the sixteenth century seem likely for this section.

The later history of the MS is less clear. The first signature on the flyleaf, 'Randal D[rewe?]', is blurred, and I have been unable to trace anyone of this name. By the end of the sixteenth century or the beginning of the seventeenth, though, it seems probable that all the booklets making up the present volume were in the possession of Lord William Howard of Naworth (d.1640); he has signed his name on the first flyleaf, and a hand which appears to be his has annotated the contents of the contents of the MS throughout. Howard was an enthusiastic collector of manuscripts and he evidently knew John Stow, whose own collection included numerous manuscripts of London provenance. Howard also owned at least one other manuscript connected with Bermondsey Abbey¹⁴. An inventory of the library at Naworth, taken after Howard's death, lists nothing which can be identified specifically with MS Rawlinson c.86, but there are one or two entries with titles vague enough to designate this collection (number 25, for example, 'Collectanea ex variis auctoribus', or number 53, 'Chaos carminale'¹⁵); on the other hand, though, it is quite possible that the MS had left Naworth by this date. The next identifiable owner was Knox Ward, Clarencieux King of Arms from 1726 until his death in 1741¹⁶, who has written his name boldly on the second flyleaf. How the MS passed from him to Richard Rawlinson is unknown (although Rawlinson came into possession of at least one other of Knox Ward's MSS, Rawlinson b.216)¹⁷; it came to the Bodleian with Rawlinson's bequest on his death in 1755.

E. Bibliography

- Cat. Rawlinson MSS ii p.28;
Madden, Syr Gawayne pp.lxiv-lxviii;
Guddat-Figge, Catalogue pp. 288-92;
Field and Griffiths, Gawain and Dame Ragnell;
Foster, EETS o.s.147, pp15-16;
Manly & Rickert, Canterbury Tales i pp.472-75;
Brown, Register i pp.99-101.

Notes

1. Contents are listed in their present order; the original construction of the manuscript is described in Section C (e).
2. See Pächt and Alexander, Illuminated MSS iii pl.xcviii.
3. L & P Henry VIII iii p.60, iv p.2442; Foster, EETS o.s.147, p.16; VCH Surrey iii pp.131-32.
4. Manly & Rickert, Canterbury Tales i. p.475.
5. VCH Surrey iii pp.477 n. 6^a, 479, 15.
6. Sharpe, Letter-Books p.97; Ancient Deeds iii p.304; PCC Wills 1383-1558 ii p.555.
7. CCR Henry VII ⁱ 1485-1500 p.236.
8. CPR Henry VII ⁱⁱ 1494-1509 p.449.
9. CCL Wills 1489-1570 p.271.
10. The London goldsmith Bartholomew Rede is mentioned in Joan Warner's deposition of 1483 (above, n.7), along with other Warner family acquaintances. Rede was Master-Worker of the Tower Mint and Exchanger of the King's Exchanges from 1485 until his death in 1505; he was knighted, became Lord Mayor in 1502, and must have had close professional contacts with the court; for his career, see Reddaway & Walker, Goldsmiths' Company p.303. Rede was also apprenticed to Hugh Brice, one of Caxton's patrons; see Prior EETS e.s.110, p.6, and Reddaway & Walker, Goldsmiths' Company. It is interesting that a sixteenth-century note on f.140v of MS Rawlinson c.86 should detail some of the products of a goldsmith, seemingly named 'Calwerre' or 'Calwarly'. J.J. Griffiths has pointed out to me that this may well be the London goldsmith William Callaway (d. some time before 1551); see Harl.Soc. 62 p.112.
11. PCC Wills 1383-1558 i p.249; L & P Henry VIII iii p.1224, xv, p.559; IpM London 1485-1561 pp.55-16.
12. L & P Henry VIII xiv pp.112, 532; xvi p.57.
13. Steer, London Rec. Soc. 4 pp.24, 27 n.1.
14. BL MS Harley 231, Annales Monasterii de Bermondsey; see Wright, Fontes Harleiani pp.198-200.

15. Bernard's Catalogue, repr.Ormesby, Surtees Soc. 68 pp.469-75.
16. Wager, Heralds, p.362: 'This was possibly the most scandalous appointment ever made to the college, for Ward was an altogether unqualified person, though it was his misfortune, not his fault, that John Ward his father, member of parliament for Weymouth, was two years later convicted of forgery, expelled from the House, and stood in the pillory.'
17. Cat.Rawlinson MSS, Index s.v. Ward, Knox.
81. OXFORD, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson c.813 (s.c.12653).
- A. s.xvi¹. Two distinct anthologies, now bound together, the first containing English poems and prophecies in English and Latin, the second containing only prophecies.
- B. Contents (Section I only).
- *1. A Complaint to his Mistress (Index 2757.3), f.1r,
Please ytt your grace dere harte to gyffe audyence. . .
partly adapted from Hawes, The Pastime of Pleasure (lines 1-7 =
lines 2053-58).
- *2. The Prisoner of Love (Index 340.5), ff.1v-2r,
As I came by a bowre soo fayre. . .
- *3. A Love Letter to his Mistress (Index 1349.5), ff.2r-3r,
I recommende me to yow with harte & mynde. . .
- *4. A Love Letter to his Mistress (Index 1768), ff.3r-4r,
Jesue pat ys most of myght. . .
- *5. To his Sweetheart, arranging a Meeting (Index 2271.6), f.4r-v,
My swetharte & my lyllye floure. . .
6. A Warning from the Dead (Index 172, erroneously described as
Prologue to The Adulterous Falmouth Squire; see Wolf,
Religious Lyric p.321), ff.4v-6v.
- *7. Humorous Letter to a Female Friend (Index 2261.8), ff.6v-7v.
- *8. Humorous Letter to a Male Friend (Index 2827.5) ff.7v-9r.
9. A Father's Counsel to his Son (Index 432), ff.9r-11r.
- *10. On the Deaths of Eleanor Cobham, John Beaufort, and Humphrey
of Gloucester (Index 2228), ff.11r-12v.

- *11. To his Absent Mistress (Index 159.8), ff.13v-14r,
 Alas what thinge cane be more grevous payne. . .
- *12. Beware of a False Mistress (Index 79.5), f.14v.
- *13. Letter to his Absent Mistress (Index 2532), ff.14v-18r,
 O my lady dere bothe regarde & see. . .
 Partly adapted from Hawes, The Pastime of Pleasure and
The Comfort of lovers; see Power, Thesis.
- *14. Letter to his Mistress (Index 2532.5), ff.18r-21v,
 O my swete lady & excelente gaddas. . .
 Partly adapted from The Pastime of Pleasure; see Power, Thesis.
- *15. The Lover Persuades his Mistress to Return his Love
 (Index 2822), ff.21v-24r,
 Ryght gentylle harte of greane flourynge age. . .
 Partly adapted from Hawes, Pastime of Pleasure; see Power, Thesis.
- *16. A Letter to his Mistress (Index 2496), ff.24v-27v,
 O loue most dere o loue most nere my harte. . .
 Partly adapted from Hawes, The Comfort of Lovers; see Power, Thesis.
- *17. Epitaph on Lob, Henry VIII's Fool (Index 2482.5), ff.27v-28v.
- *18. Epitaph on Sir Gryffyth ap Ryse (Index 3962.5), ff.28v-29v.
- *19. The Lamentation of Lady Gryffyth (Index 2552.5), ff.29v-30r.
20. The Testament of the Buck (Index 368), ff.30r-31v.
- *21. Wanton and Nice (Index 3098.3), ff.31v-32v.
- *22. A Letter to his Mistress (Index 3804), f.33r,
 Trew loue to me yn harte soo dere...
23. On the Seven Deadly Sins and the Ten Commandments (Latin
 verse), f.33r-v.
24. Six Medical Recipes (English prose), ff.33v-34r.
 Pr. Jaech, Thesis.
25. The Properties of a Woman (English prose), f.34v,
 Pr. Jaech, Thesis.
26. Riddle: a Harlot, a Hunter, and a Whore (English prose), f.35r,
 Pr. Jaech, Thesis.
27. Skelton, Why Come ye not to Court (Index 194.5), ff.36r-43v.
- *28. A Farewell to his Merciless Mistress (Index 4210), ff.43v-44v,
 With woofulle harte plungede yn dystresse. . .
- *29. Letter to his Absent Mistress (Index 1180), ff.44v-45r,
 hevy thoughtes & longe depe sykyng. . .

- *30. A Letter to his Mistress (Index 1329), ff.45r-46r,
I loue on louyd I wotte nott what loue may be. . .
- *31. A Letter to his Mistress (Index 2529), f.46r-v,
O my dere harte the lanterne of lyght. . .
Partly adapted from Lydgate, The Temple of Glass; see Power, Thesis.
- *32. The Rejected Lover's Complaint (Index 649), ff.46v-47r,
Compleyn I may wher soo euer I goo. . .
- *33. The Lover's Dream Vision (Index 1450.5), ff.47r-48r,
In a goodly nyght as yn my bede I laye. . .
Pr. Davies, Medieval Lyrics pp.282-3.
- *34. The Lover's Dream Vision (Index 1841.5), f.48r,
Late on a nyght as I lay slepyng. . .
- *35. A Letter to his Mistress (Index 1926.5), ff.48v-49v,
Loo he that ys alle holly yourz soo free. . .
Pr. Bolle, Anglia 34; made up of extracts from Chaucer,
Troilus and Criseyde; see Power, Thesis.
- *36. The Lamentation of Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham
(Index 2409.5), ff.49v-50v.
- *37. Letter in Praise of his Mistress (Index 2421), ff.50v-51v,
O excelent suffereigne most semely to see. . .
- *38. The Lover to his New-Fangled Mistress (Index 2498), f.52r,
O lustye lylly þe lantorne of alle gentylnes. . .
- *39. Letter of Devotion from the Lover to his Mistress (Index 729),
f.52r-v,
Entierly belouyd & most yn my mynde. . .
40. A Lover's Farewell (Index 767), ff.52v-53r,
farewelle now my lady gaye. . .
- *41. From the Mistress to her Lover (Index 1017.5), f.53v,
grene flouryng age of your manly countenance. . .
- *42. Letter from a Mistress to her Lover (Index 2547), ff.53v-54r,
O resplendent floure prynte þis yn your mynde. . .
- *43. To his Mistress, Inspired by a Dream (Index 366), ff.54r-55r,
as I my selfe lay thys enderz nyght. . .
- *44. A Love Letter to his Mistress (Index 2560.5), ff.55r-56r,
A swete harte dere & most best belouyd. . .
- *45. The Maid and the Magpie (Index 3713.5), ff.56v-57v.

- *46. A Letter from the Lover to his Absent Mistress (Index 2245.1), ff.57v-58v,
 My harte ys sore but yet noo forse. . ., followed by Reply from the Deceiving Mistress (Index 733.1), f.58v,
 Evyn as mery as I make myght. . .
- *47. An Amorous Dialogue (Index 642.5), ff.58v-60r.
- *48. Your Bird shall Hop in my Cage (Index 4020.3), f.60r-v.
- *49. The Flower of True Love (Index 1328.7), f.61r-v,
 I loue so sore I wolde fayne descerne. . .
- *50. A Scornful Letter to a Faithless Mistress (Index 3785.5), f.62r-v.
- *51. The Lover Swears Devotion (Index 3228.5), f.63r,
 Swet harte I loue yow more feruent then my fader. . .
- *52. A Letter Begging the Mistress's Kindness (Index 4190), f.63r-v,
 With greate hymlyte I submytt me to your gentylnes. . .
- *53. A Letter in Praise of his Mistress (Index 3917.8), ff.64r-69v,
 What tyme as parys son of king priame. . .
 Partly adapted from Hawes, The Pastime of Pleasure; see Power, Thesis.
- *54. Warning against Deceitful Women (Index 2500.5), ff.69v-71r.
- *55. Complaint of an Unnoticed Lover (Index 2439.5), f.71r,
 O gentylle & most gentylle jhesu yow save. . .
- *56. The Mistress Refutes the Lover's Charge of Unfaithfulness (Index 2821), ff.71r-72v,
 Right best beloved & most in assurance...
57. Prophecy (Index 3889.5), ff.72v-88r; pr. Jaech, Thesis.
58. Prophecy (English prose), f.88r-v; pr. Jaech, Thesis.
- *59. Prophecy (Index 1253.5), ff.88v-90v; pr. Jaech, Thesis.
60. Prophecy (English prose), ff.90v-94v; pr. Jaech, Thesis.
61. Prophecy, with Key (English prose), ff.94v-95r; pr. Jaech, Thesis.
62. Advice of the Emperor Sigismund at the Council of Basle (Latin prose), ff.95v-96r,
 Celi enarrant gloriam dei. . .

C. Technical description (section 1 only).

- a. Paper; the leaf size varies considerably, but on average is 8 x 5½ ins (205 x 140mm).

- b. x + 96 + i (flyleaves separate the two parts of the manuscript).
Modern pencil foliation.
- c. Collation is impracticable, because many leaves have been remounted. There are some catchwords, but no evidence of leaf signatures.
- d. The layout also varies, although the texts are copied consistently in single columns. There is no evidence of any ruling.
- e. The various hands in the collection are hard to differentiate, as they are all informal, and fairly untidy versions of early Tudor secretary. One scribe, A, has certainly copied ff.1r-5v, 14r-34r, and 36r-63v, and another, B, has been responsible for ff.64r-72v. ff.6r-13v and 72r-96r are copied in a hand which looks rather like a larger, more definite variety of A's, and could be either the work of yet another scribe, C, or else merely A writing at a different time or with a different implement.
- f. Stanza divisions are marked by ink paraps, but there is otherwise no decoration.

D. History and provenance

The first section of MS Rawlinson c.813 forms one of the most substantial lyric collections of the period, concentrating on courtly and often 'aureate' love poetry, and including large numbers of 'epistles' and 'complaints'. The love lyrics have been to some extent organized in groups (13 to 15 all contain extracts from the poems of Stephen Hawes, for example), but they are interspersed with poems of different kinds (epitaphs, political poems, devotional ones) which interrupt any forceful impression of classification and grouping. The political bias shown in some of the items (criticism of Wolsey, support and sympathy for Edward Stafford) is both interesting and useful, providing as it does a likely date for the compilation of the

of the manuscript: after 1520. A certain Welsh interest is also evident in the poems on Sir Gryffyth ap Rys. K.J. Power's work on the collection leads her to suggest that it was a 'middle-class' compilation (from a milieu similar to that of Richard Hill, for example), but S.J. Jaech, disagreeing with this, supposes that the commissioner/chief compiler (who may have been the same) was 'a collector of the noble class with close ties to the court'. My own feeling is that 'close ties to the court' need not preclude non-noble ownership - plenty of 'middle-class' Londoners must have had close business contact with the court and its personnel - and that the manuscript is probably the product of a 'bourgeois' amateur, politically aware and familiar with much recent and contemporary literature, anxious to provide himself with a repertoire of fashionable lyrics. Some of the names copied into the second section of the manuscript (obviously closely linked with the first, in its political and prophetic preoccupations) rather support this. The John Morrrys, for instance, who has made several notes (f.103r, f.103v), may perhaps be identified with the John Morris who features in the records of the reign of Henry VIII as Chamberlain of the Exchequer, and later as surveyor and receiver of Syon Abbey¹. Other names, which I have been unable to trace in a preliminary search, include those of 'William Sheston' and 'Geffre Cliffe'.

The later ownership of the manuscript is unclear, until its appearance in the library of Richard Rawlinson.

E. Bibliography

Cat. Rawlinson MSS ii pp.415-20;

Power, Thesis;

Jaech, Thesis; Manuscripta 25;

Padelford & Benham, Anglia 31;

Bolle, Anglia 34;

Padelford, Anglia 35.

Notes

1. See L & P Henry VIII ii p.877; vii, 15, 222, 622, 1090; viii, 192, 1125; xv, 840 etc.

82. OXFORD, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson D.913 (s.c.13679).

A collection of miscellaneous fragments of various dates famous mostly for its few fourteenth-century lyrics; for a description, see Cat. Rawlinson MSS iv pp.136-43. f.6 is a parchment leaf, $9\frac{3}{4} \times 7\frac{3}{4}$ ins (250 x 200mm), ruled in red, and apparently unconnected with any other parts of the manuscript; on it are copied two lyrics, in two different informal and scrappy hands of the early sixteenth century:

- *1. The Lover Sends his Broken Heart to his Mistress (Index 2535.5),
f.6r,

[O PAINEFULL HARTE]

O painefull hart in peiyns syzht. . .

P.J. Frankis points out that the heading 'O painefull harte', added here in another contemporary hand, may explain the reference to 'O penfull harte' which precedes Index 2318. in Glasgow Univ.Lib. MS Hunterian 230; the heading is meant there perhaps to suggest the melody which was known to accompany the text here¹.

2. On the Nature of Love (Index 1864.5), f.6r-v,
Lett lowe to lowe go kyndly and sowfte. . .

Notes

1. Frankis, Anglia 73.

83. OXFORD, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson poet. 36 (s.c.14530).

A. s.xv²; small anthology of English poetry, with some additions.

B. Contents

1. Lydgate, A Valentine to Our Lady (Index 3065), f.1r-v.
2. 'Service is noon Heritage' (Index 1446), f.2r-v.

3. 'Gode Rule ys out of Remembrauns' (Index 1982), ff.2v-3v.
- *4. Satirical Letter from a Mistress to her Lover (Index 3832), ff.3v-4r.
- *5. The Lover's Mocking Reply (Index 2437), ff.4r-5r.
- [*6.] A Lover's Lament (Index 1334), f.5r,
I ne haue joy plesauns nor comfort. . .
- [*7.] Love Changes with Age (Index 1652), f.5r,
Iwyss iwyss I remember me. . .
- [*8.] To his Sovereign Lady (Index 1510), f.5v,
In my hertt is ther no thyngge off remembrauns. . .
- *9. The Virtues of the Mass (Index 333), ff.6r-9v.

C. Technical description

- a. Paper, $11\frac{3}{4}$ x 8 ins (295 x 205mm).
- b. i + 9 + i; ink foliation.
- c. Probably originally one individual gathering, although there may have been a break between present ff.5 and 6, as the watermarks change here. No catchwords or leaf signatures.
- d. All the texts are copied in single columns. The written space varies according to which scribe is at work, and the number of lines to the page can be anywhere between 30 and 44. Margins have been supplied.
- e. Scribe A, writing a neat, small, predominantly secretary script, copied items 1-5. Scribe B, writing a more formal anglicana, copied item 9. Items 6-8 are the work of a much more untidy scribe, C, and may well have been added at a later date.
- f. There is no decoration.

D. History and provenance

Some notes on f.5v include the inscription 'Ego sum bonus puer quod Jon s amant'. Ethel Seaton, taking this note to be copied in the same hand as the preceding love lyrics, linked them with Lord St. Amand, a retainer in the household of Henry VI¹. It is quite obvious, however, that the inscription is written in a completely different, and slightly later hand, so the identification will not hold; 'Jon s amant' was presumably a sixteenth-century owner of the collection.

R.H. Robbins remarked on the unusual nature of this manuscript: small, with mixed contents, and - unlike most short collections - lacking in any practical material which would explain its designedly accessible format². It is possible, of course, that this is all that remains of a larger collection which was dismembered at some stage. In either case, though, the predominance of lyrics is interesting. The original compilation must have contained religious and satirical material - items 4 and 5 are grotesque parodies of fashionable lyrics, rather in the spirit of Lydgate's Hood of Green or the anonymous piece in Trinity College, Cambridge MS R.3.19 known as O Mossie Quince³. The contents were, at this early stage, 'moral', offering explicit religious instruction (item 9), devotional aids (item 1), warnings about human behaviour (items 2 and 3), and mocking dismissal of contemporary love poetry (items 4 and 5). Some later reader, presumably, then added the 'serious love poems, expanding the scope of the collections and forming the 'curious mixture' which has been noticed.

E. Bibliography

Bodleian Summary Cat. iii p.292;

Robbins, MLR 37.

Notes

1. Seaton, Richard Roos pp.418-20.
2. MLR 37.
3. See above p.208.
4. Seaton describes it as 'a curiously mixed volume of religious and secular poetry'. Robbins's remarks on the unusual mixture in the manuscript are to some extent influenced by his belief that all the items in the collection were copied by the same hand.

84. OXFORD, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson poet.163 (s.c.14655).

A. s.xv²; Chaucer's Troilus and Criseyde, with a concluding lyric.

B. Contents

1. Chaucer, Troilus and Criseyde (Index 3327), ff.1r-113v.
- *2. Chaucer, To Rosemunde (Index 2031), f.114r,
Madame ye ben of al beaute shryne. . .
TREGENFIL/ CHAUCER.

C. Technical description

- a. Paper, 11½ x 8¼ ins (290 x 210mm).
- b. iv + 115 + ii; modern pencil foliation, 1-114, does not number the fragment of a damaged leaf after f.99.
- c. 1¹⁰(5 wanting), 2¹⁰, 3¹², 4¹²(12 canc.), 5¹⁰, 6⁸ - 10⁸,
11⁸(4,5 wanting), 12⁸(2 torn out), 13⁸, 14¹. Catchwords at the ends of all of the gatherings, and many leaf signatures.

- d. The layout of Troilus varies according to which scribe is at work. On average there are five rhyme royal stanzas (35 lines) to a page, all copied in single columns. Sometimes the stanzas are divided by faint ink lines and marked by paraph signs. No signs of ruling remain, and the size of the written space varies.
- e. One scribe, A, writing a secretary script and probably in charge of the work, copied most of Troilus, and the lyric at the end of it. Three other scribes, B and C writing mixed hands, and D secretary, copied short sections. The division of labour is as follows:
- A: ff.1-9, 16r-19v, 19r-v, 59r-114r.
B: ff.10r-16^r, 43r-51r.
C: ff.20r-28v, 30r-42v.
D: ff.51v-59r.
- f. Decorated initials were planned but never executed; only the guide-letters remain.

D. History and provenance

The history of this manuscript is obscure, and there are no clues to its provenance or early ownership until a sixteenth-century inscription on f.80v records 'Thomas Howlet writ this in the yere of oure Lord god/ 1568'. The use of the lyric as an accompaniment to Troilus and Criseyde, though, is most interesting; it seems as if the scribe offers it as something of an encore, a last taste of the 'gentil' Chaucerian tone distilled in the main piece in the manuscript. This interpretation of its role in the volume depends of course on whether or not the main scribe supplied the colophon to the lyric, 'tregentil Chaucer', a repeat of the 'Tregentyll Chaucer' which he appends to his colophon to Troilus: Brusendorff believed the lyric colophon to be merely a mindless copy, by some later reader of the manuscript, of the remarks on Troilus on the facing page, and allowed it no authority whatsoever; Skeat and Robinson believed the words to have been added by the main scribe, and to be a correct ascription¹. Despite slight differences in the hands, the lyric and its colophon do seem to have been written in the same ink, and as the main scribe's hand is hardly a

consistent one, I assume that we can believe him to be responsible for both the lyric and the concluding remark.

E. Bibliography

Bodleian Summary Cat. iii p.318;
Root, Troilus pp.37-42.

Notes

1. Brusendorff, Chaucer p.439; Skeat, Chaucer i p.82, Athenaeum 1891; Robinson, Chaucer p.858.

85. OXFORD, Bodleian Library, MS Selden B.24 (s.c.3354).

- A. c.1488, written in Scotland. Anthology of English poetry by Chaucer and other authors.

B. Contents

1. Chaucer, Troilus and Criseyde (Index 3327), ff.1r-118v, with unique Envoy (Index 524).
2. Chaucer, Truth (Index 809), f.119r.
3. Extract On Prosperity from Walton's Boethius (Index 2820, lines 83-90), f.119r.
4. Virtuous Maidens but Wicked Wives (Index 679), ff.119v-120r.
5. Lydgate, The Complaint of the Black Knight (Index 1507), ff.120v-129v.
6. Hoccleve, Mother of God (Index 2221), ff.130r-131v.
7. Chaucer, The Complaint of Mars (Index 913), ff.132r-136r.
8. Chaucer, The Complaint of Venus (Index 3542), ff.136r-137r,
THE COMPLEYNT OF VENUS FOLOWITH
There nys non so hie comfort to my plesance. . .
QUOD GALFRIDUS CHAUCERE.

9. Hymn in Praise of the Virgin (Index 2461), ff.137v-138r.
10. On the Instability of Worldly Joy (Index 3660), f.138r.
11. Clanvowe, The Cuckoo and the Nightingale, lines 1-245 (Index 3361), ff.138v-141v.
12. Chaucer, The Parliament of Fowls, beginning at line 15 (Index 3412), ff.142r-152r.
13. Chaucer, The Legend of Good Women (Index 100), ff.152v-191v
- *14. James I (?), The Kingis Quair (Index 1215), ff.192r-211r.
15. Hoccleve, The Letter of Cupid (Index 666), ff.211v-217r.
- *16. The Lay of Sorrow (Index 482), ff.217r-219r,
 Befor my deth this lay of sorow I sing. . .
 EXPLICIT &c.
- *17. The Lover's Complaint (Index 564), ff.219r-221v,
 Be cause that teres waymenting and playntee. . .
 HERE ENDIS THE LUFARIS COMPLAYNT &c.
- *18. The Quair of Jelusy (Index 325), ff.221v-228v.
- [*19.] Instructions for Serving Men (Index 2242), f.229r, unpubl.
- [20.] On the Uncertainty of Worldly Life (Index 3727), f.229v.
- [*21.] Moral Advice (Index 2043), f.229v, unpubl.
- [*22.] The Prisoner of Love to his Mistress (Index 2478), f.231r,
 cont. on f.230r,
 O lady I shal me dres with besy cure. . .
- [23.] Dialogue of a Night Visit (fragmentary; Index *4284.3), f.230r.

C. Technical description

- a. Paper, 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ ins (260 x 175mm).
- b. iv + 231 + ii; modern pencil foliation.
- c. Tight rebinding means that collation is now impossible. There are no catchwords or leaf signatures.
- d. Both the poems of the original anthology and the added lyrics are copied in single columns. Margins have been ruled along the top and left-hand edges of the pages in crayon. The size of the written space, and the number of lines to the page, vary.

- e. ff.1-209v, line 14 have been copied by one scribe, A, writing a French-influenced secretary script (see Parkes, plate 13ii). Attempts have been made to identify this scribe with the James Gray whose commonplace-book is now National Library of Scotland, Advocates' MS 34.7.3, but the identification is by no means certain¹. Rather more certain is scribe A's responsibility for the copying of the 'Haye Manuscript' (Abbotsford, the Scott collection), a selection of translations from French made for Oliver Sinclair of Roslin in the late fifteenth century². A second scribe, B, writing a more formal secretary script, copied ff.209v, line 15-228v³. Items 19-22, on ff.229r-231r, were added by what seem to be three rather later, informal hands, one copying items 19-21, another item 22, and the third, item 23.
- f. Scribe A's stint is decorated: a miniature and an illuminated border accompany the beginning of Troilus on f.1r, and more illuminated borders are found on ff.1v, 41v, 67r, 91v and 111v, marking the beginnings of books III, IV and V, and the end of one of Troilus's letters in book V. On f.118v, at the end of Troilus, are the arms of the Sinclair family. Further illuminated borders mark the openings of The Complaint of the Black Knight (f.120v), The Complaint of Mars (ff.132r and 134r - the beginning of the 'complaint' proper, in this poem), the Hymn in Praise of the Virgin (f.137v), The Cuckoo and the Nightingale (f.138v), the individual Legends of Good Women (ff.161r, 163r, 166r, 172v, 177r, 180r, 185r, 187v), and The Kingis Quair (f.192r).

D. History and provenance

A note on f.120r, in the hand of the main scribe, records 'Natiuitatis principis nostri Iacobi quarti anno domini M mo iiii^c lxxii^o xvii die mensis marcii videlicet in festo sancto patricii confessoris in monasterio sancte crucis prope Edinburgh'. James IV, to whom this note must refer, came to the throne in 1488, and the manuscript must have been produced at some time

after his accession. An inscription on f.230v, 'liber Henrici domini Sinclar', together with the Sinclair arms on f.118v, link the manuscript with Henry Lord Sinclair, who was to die with James IV at Flodden in 1513, so the collection must have been completed, and in his possession, before this date. The manuscript forms one of the most important anthologies of Chaucerian material from the fifteenth century, containing as it does unique copies of poems like The Kingis Quair and The Quair of Jelusy which testify to the taste for courtly literature, modelled on the most influential works of Chaucer, in Scotland. Most of the items are included for their real or supposed Chaucerian associations; many of the anonymous pieces are actually ascribed to Chaucer in colophons added by the scribes (item 4, for example - 'Quod Chaucere quhen he was rycht ausit', or item 9 - 'Quod Chaucere'), and the authorship of the pieces by Lydgate and Hoccleve is transferred to Chaucer (so The Complaint of the Black Knight becomes 'The maying and disport of Chaucere', and Mother of God, 'Oracio Galfridi Chaucere'). The Lay of Sorrow and The Lover's Complaint (items 16 and 17) are copied towards the end of the anthology -perhaps as postscripts to The Kingis Quair, with its own 'embedded' lyrics - and are unascribed. The other love lyric, item 22, is amongst the added items, copied in by some later reader of the manuscript.

The collection came into John Selden's hands in the early seventeenth century, and to the Bodleian on his death in 1654.

E. Bibliography

- Brown, Kingis Quair pp.70-77;
 Hammond, Chaucer, pp.341-43;
 Root, Troilus pp.43-44;
Bodleian Summary Cat. ii pp.614-16;
 Pächt and Alexander, Illuminated MSS iii no.1122;
 Norton-Smith, Kingis Quair pp.xxxi-xxxv;
Parkes p.13;
 McDiarmid, Kingis Quair pp.2-7.

Notes

1. A summary of these attempts, and a supporting argument, are provided by Norton-Smith, The Kingis Quair p. xxxii.
2. See Ker, Medieval MSS in British Libraries ii p. 1. Ker questions the identification of this scribe with James Gray.
3. B, according to Norton-Smith, may have been trained in the same scriptorium as 'V de F' who copied parts of CUL MS Kk. 1. 5. See above pp. 223-24.

86. OXFORD, Bodleian Library, MS Selden supra 52 (s.c. 3440).

- A. s. xv med., with some later additions. Metrical Old Testament History, selections from the Northern Homily Cycle, and some lyrics.

B. Contents

- [1.] Against Censoriousness (Index 4117), f. 1r.
2. Metrical Paraphrase of Old Testament History (Index 944), ff. 2r-168r.
- [*3.] To his Mistress, a Plea for Loyalty (Index 3524), ff. 168v-169v,
Thayr is no myrth vnder the sky. . .
4. Extracts from The Northern Homily Cycle (see Brown, Register i pp. 41-44), ff. 172r-239v.

C. Technical description

- a. Paper, except for two parchment flyleaves; $8\frac{1}{2}$ x $5\frac{3}{4}$ ins (225 x 155mm).
- b. i + 239 + i; the flyleaves are fragments of a fourteenth-century Latin proser. Modern pencil foliation.

- c. 1⁸(1 wanting), 2¹⁰, 3¹⁰, 4¹²-15¹² / 16¹² - 20¹², 21¹⁴(7,8, 11-14 stubs; 10 damaged). Catchwords are present at the ends of gatherings 16-20. Each gathering is numbered by a roman numeral at the foot of the first recto.
- d. The main texts are written in single columns, with the size of the written space and the number of lines to the page varying. There are traces of ruling.
- e. One scribe, writing a mixed hand, has copied both of the main texts, even though the aspect of the hand differs slightly, appearing thinner and less regular in the second part of the manuscript; this may be connected with a change of paper between the two parts - the paper in the second section is much coarser and more absorbent than in the first. The couplets Against Censoriousness (item 1) and the love-lyric (item 3) have been added by the same, slightly later hand.
- f. Some decoration was planned - the initial capital of item 2 was to have been illuminated - but it was never completed.
- g. The binding is the original one, plain brown leather on boards. The clasp is now lost.

D. History and provenance

The contents of the volume fall into two distinct sections (gatherings 1-15, ff.1-171; gatherings 16-21, ff.172-239), but the common scribe, and the early binding, suggest that they were designed from the outset to form a whole; the numbering of the gatherings is consecutive throughout both parts, too. The lyrics have been inserted in available blank spaces: one (item 1) on the first leaf (presumably left blank as protection), and the other (item 3) on the blank leaves remaining at the end of the first section of the manuscript. As the volume appears to have been

bound early in its existence, it is quite possible that the added items were copied in after binding. No traces of early ownership survive. In the first part of the seventeenth century the manuscript was in the possession of Samuel Purchas¹, who has written his name at the top of f.2r. Some time after this it came to John Selden, whose library was bequeathed to the Bodleian after his death in 1654².

E. Bibliography

Bodleian Summary Cat. ii p.635.

Notes

1. See DNB pp.212-24;
2. See Barratt , BLR 3.

87. OXFORD, Bodleian Library, MS Tanner 346 (s.c.10173).

s.xv^{med}. An anthology of poems in English by Chaucer, Lydgate and others, in four booklets. For a complete discussion, and full list of contents, see the facsimile edition¹. The love lyrics occur mainly in the first booklet, at the end; one concludes the second booklet. They are as follows:

- I 1. Chaucer, The Complaint of Venus (Index 3542), here immediately following The Complaint of Mars (Index 913), ff.69v-71r,
[THE COMPLAINT OF VENUS]
Ther nys none so hiegh counforte to my plesaunce. . .
2. Chaucer, The Complaint unto Pity (Index 2756), ff.71r-73r,
[HOW PITIE IS DEAD &c.]
Pitee that I haue soghte so yore ago. . .
3. A Lover's Plaint (Index 402), ff.73r-74v,
As ofte as syghes ben in herte trewe. . .

4. A Complaint, for Lack of Sight (Index 828), ff.74v-75v,
 For lac of sight grete cause I haue to pleyne. . .
 EXPLICIT QUOD [blank]
- II. 5. Ballade with Envoy to Alison (Index 2479), following Clanvowe's
Cuckoo and Nightingale (Index 3361), ff.101r-v,
 O lewde booke with pi foole rudnesse. . .
 [EXPLICIT YE CUCK. & YE NIGHTING.]
- IV. [6.] To his Mistress (fragment, Index 1328.2), f.131r,
 I loue and ffynde cause. . .
 not printed; see Appendix I p.456.

Notes

1. Robinson, Tanner 346.

88. OXFORD, Corpus Christi College, MS B.4.

c.1400. A copy of the Wycliffite Bible, with a fragment of a song for three voices copied onto the front flyleaf, in a sixteenth-century hand. For a description of the manuscript, see Coxe, MSS in Oxford Colleges ii p.2. The lyric is noted by Stevens, Music and Poetry p.455.

- * On his mistress (Index 3461.8), f.1v,

The sight which first my hart did strayne. . .

Pr.Robbins, ES 21. Despite repeated attempts, I have been unable to see this manuscript, and the librarian of Corpus Christi College informs me that it is too fragile to be photographed.

89. OXFORD, Corpus Christi College, MS D.61.

A. s.xv^{med}. Poems on St. Edmund, by Lydgate, with an added lyric.

B. Contents

1. Lydgate, The Lives of St. Edmund and St. Fremund (Index 3440), ff.1r-63r.
2. Lydgate, Prayer to St. Edmund on behalf of Henry VI (Index 2445), ff.63v-64v.
3. Lydgate, The banner of St. Edmund (Index 530), ff.64v-65v.
4. Lydgate, Envoy to Henry VI (Index 928), ff.65v-66r.
- [*5.] Advice resented (Index 2594), ff.66v-67r,
O ye louers that pletyn for your ryght. . .

C. Technical description.

- a. Parchment; $9\frac{3}{4}$ x 7 ins (250 x 180mm).
- b. i + 68; modern pencil foliation.
- c. $1^8 - 7^8, 8^{12?}$. Some leaf signatures.
- d. The main texts are copied in single columns of around 28 lines, within a written space of $6\frac{1}{2}$ x 4 ins (165 x 100mm). Frames have been supplied (with a stylus?). The lyric is copied neatly in double columns, ignoring the ruling which had been provided on the leaves which it occupies.
- e. The Lydgate texts were all copied by one scribe, writing an anglicana formata script. The lyric is added in a small, neat secretary hand, probably of the late fifteenth century.
- f. There is illuminated border on f.1r, and the major initials within the Lydgate pieces are illuminated. The lyric is not decorated in any way.

D. History and provenance

The early history of the manuscript is not known. Two members

of a sixteenth-century Wallis family have written their names in the volume: 'Henry Wallys est possessor huius libri', inside pastedown; 'Thys ys Thomas Wallys ys boke of/ bortun', recto of first flyleaf; 'This Thomas Wallisses boke/ witnesseth Thomas Gill', f.24v. The MS was presented to Corpus Christi College by Thomas Gorstelow, 1621.

E. Bibliography

Coxe, MSS in Oxford Colleges ii pp.22-23.

90. WARMINSTER, Longleat House, MS 256.

A. s.xvi^{med}. A late copy of The Isle of Ladies, a work associated with Chaucer.

B. Contents

1. The Isle of Ladies (Index 3947), ff.2r-23v.
2. Ballade to his Mistress, Fairest of Fair (1 stanza + Index 923), ff.23v-24r,
Fayrest of fayer and goodleste on lyue. . .
FINIS QUOD CHAUCER
also pr. Jenkins, Isle of Ladies¹.

C. Technical description

- a. Paper; 12 x 8 ins (305 x 205mm).
- b. ii + 26 + ii; modern pencil foliation (1-25). A note in the manuscript from Mr. Vincent Daly records that the foliation omits a leaf between 18 and 19, and that the present ff.21 and 24 should really be inserted between ff.8 and 9.

c. Collation is impracticable.

d. & e. The lyric follows on directly from The Isle of Ladies, copied somewhat scrappily in single columns by one scribe, who writes an early Tudor secretary hand. A different hand has added a couplet at the end of the ballade: 'ye that this balade rede shall/ I pray you kepe you from the fall/ finis quod Chaucer'.

f. There is no decoration.

D. History and provenance

There are no indications of early ownership. This is a late copy of what seems to be an earlier poem - dated by Skeat in the second half of the fifteenth century². Speght included The Isle of Ladies and its accompanying Ballade in his 1598 edition of Chaucer, entitling the whole thing 'Chaucer's Dream', and the work remained in the Chaucer canon until it was rejected firmly by Skeat. The ballade, thought by Skeat to be the work of Lydgate, functions as an envoy to the longer work. The first, self-contained stanza dedicates 'this booke' to a lady; the three refrain-linked stanzas of the ballade proper address the lover's heart to the mistress and instruct it on the manner of its service.

E. Bibliography

Brief mention, HMC 3rd Report p.188.

Jenkins, Isle of Ladies

Notes

1. I have been unable to consult a copy of his work at first hand.
2. Skeat, Chaucer vii pp.xiv-xv; McClumpha, MLN 3; Manual iv p.1096; Jenkins, Isle of Ladies.

91. WARMINSTER, Longleat House, MS 258.

A. s.xv². Anthology of English Poetry, mainly by Chaucer and Lydgate.

B. Contents

1. Lydgate, The Temple of Glass (Index 851), ff.1r-32r.
- [2.] Richard Hatfield (?), Punctuation Poem on Women (Index 232), f.32r.
3. Chaucer, The Complaint of Mars, lacking lines 1-42 (Index 913), ff.49r-54v.
4. Chaucer, The Complaint unto Pity (Index 2756), ff.55r-57v,
[THEXCLAMATYON OF DETHE OF PYTE]
[P]ite that I haue soughte so yoore agoo. . .
HERE ENDITYE THEXCLAMACIOUN/ OF THE DETHE OF PITE
5. The Assembly of Ladies (Index 1528), ff.58r-75v.
6. Chaucer, Anelida and Arcite (Index 3670), ff.76r-84v.
7. Chaucer, The Parliament of Fowls (Index 3412), ff.85r-101r.
- *8. The Eye and the Heart (Index 1548), ff.102r-119r.
9. Alain Chartier, trans. Sir Richard Roos, La Belle Dame sans Merci (Index 1086), ff.120r-136v.
10. Lydgate, The Churl and the Bird (Index 2784), ff.137r-147r.

C. Technical description

- a. Paper and parchment, with the parchment leaves making up the central and outer bifolia of the gatherings. The parchment leaves are slightly smaller than the paper ones, which measure $8\frac{3}{4}$ x 6 ins (220 x 150mm); some of them are rubbed and dirty.
- c. ii + 131 + ii. A modern pencil foliation, 1-147, which I retain, makes allowance for a presumed gathering of 16 leaves after f.32, which, according to the contemporary table of contents on f.147v, contained The Flower and the Leaf, and must also have included the beginning of The Complaint of Mars (item 3). Bradshaw, who seems to have supplied the foliation, inserted the following note:

The missing quire consisted of sixteen leaves each containing three stanzas on a page. The Flower and the Leaf would begin on the first page and end on the last leaf but with one stanza only on the page, the rest of the page and the back of the leaf being blank. The last leaf of the quire contained the first six stanzas of the Compleynte of Mars.

- c. 1¹⁶ - 5¹⁶, 6¹⁵, 7¹⁶, 8²⁰(2 and 19 wanting; one bifolium inserted after 18) 1. Leaf signatures, visible from time to time throughout the gatherings, start with 'b' (=1), pick up again with 'e' (=3), and run continuously through to 'k' (=8). The table of contents on f.147v begins with 'Littera directa cupidinis amatoribus' (presumably Hoccleve's Letter of Cupid) and 'Vnum carmen', both now lost, which would presumably have filled the missing gathering 'a'. The present second gathering (2), although no leaf signatures are visible, is presumably 'c'; Bradshaw's posited gathering containing The Flower and the Leaf and the beginning of The Complaint of Mars would be the missing 'd'. No catchwords remain. Most of the items in the manuscript run across the gatherings (invariably so, from f.49r to the end). The only exception is The Temple of Glass (item 1), which occupies two complete gatherings. Presumably, too, the missing first gathering was also self-contained. But the manuscript does not appear to be an amalgam of booklets; the leaf signatures, and the fact that it is written throughout by one scribe, suggest that it was planned as a complete anthology.
- d. The texts are copied in single columns throughout. The size of the written space is on average 6¼ x 4 ins (160 x 100mm). There are between 21 and 26 lines to the page, tidily written, even though no evidence of ruling remains.
- e. One scribe, A, writing a neat secretary script, has copied the main part of the manuscript. A later, more careless hand has added some headings and running titles; item 2 may well be the

work of this hand, too. Schick suggested that this was the hand of John Thynne, builder of Longleat and founder of its library, whose inscription ('Constat John Thynne') appears on f.1r in a rather more formal variety of Tudor secretary. I feel that it is impossible to determine whether these two hands are the same: other verifiable examples of John Thynne's writing show him to have been capable of executing a wide variety of scripts². One more Tudor secretary hand appears, adding some missing stanzas to item 10; it does not seem to me similar to any of the possible 'John Thynne' hands, although E.P. Hammond believed it to be the same.

- f. Spaces have been left for decorated initials, three to four lines high, at the beginning of all the major items, but these were never executed; only the guide-letters remain.

D. History and provenance

This is one of the best examples of a planned anthology, with its unusual homogeneity. Almost all the contents (even the missing items, and the added punctuation poem) deal with some aspect of love. The Complaint unto Pity is an obvious choice for inclusion: not only does it concern love, but it is also associated with Chaucer, whose poetry seems particularly to have attracted the compiler of this volume. It would be interesting to know more of the item described in the table of contents as 'Vnum carmen', which may well have been another lyric. Nothing is known about the earliest history of the collection, but a very faded note on f.147v (deciphered in pencil on the facing flyleaf) suggests interesting sixteenth-century associations: 'Maister Willam thyne/ clerke of the kechin/ to our soueraigne lorde/ king henry the viiith/ (by?) Thomas/ Godfray'. Printers' marks in the manuscript, and the agreement of texts, prove that Longleat 258 was used by William Thynne for The Assembly of Ladies and part of La Belle Dame sans Merci in his 1532 edition of Chaucer's works, which was, of course, printed by Thomas Godfrey³.

It seems very likely, therefore, that the collection actually belonged to William Thynne at some stage, and that it subsequently passed to his nephew, John, whose signature appears on f.1r. The manuscript has remained in the library at Longleat since the late sixteenth century.

E. Bibliography

Hammond, MLN 20;

HMC 3rd Report pp.188.-89;

Schick, EETS e.s.60 pp.xxiv-xxv;

Pearsall, Flower and Leaf pp.7-8;

Seaton, Richard Roos pp.92-3.

Notes

1. Not quired in eights, as stated by Hammond, Anglia 34.
2. I am grateful to Miss Jane Fowles, archivist at Longleat, for her help over John Thynne's hand.
3. See Blodgett, Library 6th series, 1.

* France: PARIS, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS f.fr.25458.

c.1450-1465. The 'autograph manuscript' of Charles d'Orléans, copied by various hands, some those of professional scribes, others those of Charles and his circle. For a full description, see Champion, Le Manuscrit Autographe. Amongst the French poems are nine English ones:

1. Myn hert hath send glad hope in his message (Index 2176), p.346.
2. Whan shal thow come glad hope fro bi vvage (Index 4014), p.346.
3. A 3ens the comyng of may (Index 134), p.310.
4. Go forth my hert with my lady (Index 922), p.310.
5. For the reward of half a yere (Index 844), p.311.
6. Alas mercy wher shal myn hert yow fynd (Index 158), p.311, with acrostic on Anne Molins.
7. Ye shul be payd after your whylfulnes (Index 4256), p.312.
8. So fayre so freshe so goodely on to se (Index 3162), p.312.
9. O thou fortune which hast the gouernance (Index 2567), p.313.

The English poems found in the autograph manuscript also appear in Bibliothèque de Grenoble MS 873, a copy of Charles's poems taken in part from the autograph manuscript, and including Latin translations supplied by Antonio Astesano. These versions are printed by Champollion-Figeac, Charles d'Orléans, and reprinted (in part) from here by MacCracken, PMLA 26.

Ireland: DUBLIN, Trinity College Library.

* MS D.4.11 (157), Abbot, TCD MSS p.20.

s.xv¹. The Prick of Conscience, with a later lyric:

* Thoythis fre bat lykis me (Index 3707.8), ff.87v-88r.

* MS D.4.15 (158), Abbot TCD MSS p.21.

s.xv ex. The Prick of Conscience, accounts, medical material, with an added lyric:

* My hert ys so plungit yn greffe (Index 2245), f.92r, with music for one voice; also pr. Silverstein, Medieval Lyrics p.138.

*MS D.2.7 (160), 'the Blage MS', Abbot, TCD MSS p.21, and Muir, Unpublished Poems.

1532-51. Poems in English, including many associated with Wyatt, and:
I muste go walke be wood so wyld (Index 1333), f.108r-v.

*MS E.2.33 (500), Abbot, TCD MSS p.74.

c.1400. A history of England, in French verse, and some Latin poems, together with the lyric:

* Fareth wele wirchepe and goodnesse (Index 763), f.1v.

*MS E.6.1 (641), Abbot, TCD MSS p.106.

1442. A history of the University of Cambridge, in Latin, by Nicholas Cantlowe, and other Latin prose pieces; copied by Thomas White, fellow of King's College. On a flyleaf is the lyric:

* Frende of that ere I knew (Index 871.5), not published; see Appendix I p. 456.

*MS E.5.11 (662), Abbot, TCD MSS p.111.

s.xv. A collection of legal material, in Latin and French, containing a fragmentary lyric:

* ... Nature ysette in 3owr ymage (Index 2284.3), p.174, unpublished; see Appendix I p. 456.

*Ireland: KILKENNY, manuscripts of the Marquess of Ormonde.

A fragment of vellum discovered amongst the Ormonde manuscripts at Kilkenny Castle early in this century contains two English poems copied in a late fifteenth century hand, one of them a love lyric. The fragment measures $9\frac{1}{2}$ x 5 ins (240 x 125mm). For a description, see Seymour, Proc.Royal Irish Acad. 41.

1. Against Pride and Flaunting Manners (Index 2774).

*2. A Description of his Mistress (Index 1010),

Gracius and gay/ on hyr lyytt all my tho₃th...

* Italy: TRENT CATHEDRAL, Chapter Library, MS 88.

The Trent codices are a collection of seven folio volumes containing a total of 1864 songs and instrumental pieces by different European composers of the fifteenth century. MSS 87-92 were acquired by the Austrian government in 1891, and became the property of Italy after 1918; a seventh volume was found in 1920, and re-united with its companion manuscripts; see Reese, Music in the Middle Ages p.410. The works of several English composers feature in the collection (Bedingham, Dunstable etc.), but only one of the songs appears to have an English text, apparently utterly garbled by its foreign scribe:

* Agwillare habeth standiff yn lantern this tale me[t]old...
(Index 135.5), MS 88, ff.209v-210r, with music for 2 voices.

* Netherlands: LEIDEN, University Library, MS Vossius Gem.Gall.Q.9.

s.xv². An anthology of English verse, mainly by Lydgate and Chaucer. The manuscript is described and discussed by Van Dorsten, Scriptorium 14. The following lyric is included:

* Venus Appears to the Lover in a Dream (Index 3844.5), f.112r,
Upon temse fro london myles iij...

* Spain: MADRID, Escorial Library, MS IV.a.24.

s.xv². A chansonnier, possibly of Neapolitan provenance, containing songs in French, Italian and Flemish, with one English piece (see New Grove 17 p.682). The foreign scribe transmits a garbled text:

* Princhesse af youth and floree of god li he de (Index 2782),
ff.78v-80r, with music for 3 parts. Also pr. Fallows, EM 5. Fallows suggests that the words are an extract from Lydgate's Temple of Glass, lines 970-71, and that the song is referred to by Skelton in The Bowge of Courte, line 253, and The Garland of Laurel, lines 897-98, 904-905.

U.S.A: NEW YORK, Pierpont Morgan Library.

*1. Printed Book 775

A copy of Boethius, De Consolatione Philosophiae, printed by Caxton, c.1478 (STC 3199), on the last page of which has been copied a lyric:

A definition of love (Index 2013),

Love þat is powre it is with pyne...

*2. Printed Book 698

A copy of the Royal Book, printed by Caxton c.1485 (STC 21429), with a lyric added in a sixteenth-century hand¹.

* On True Love (Index 1489.5),

In hond and [herte] true loue kepe...

Not published.

Notes

1. Mr. Paul Needham, Curator of Printed Books and Bindings at the Pierpont Morgan Library, suggests that the lyric may have been copied by Thomas Archer (1554-1630?), Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and divine, who owned the book in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. I am very grateful to Mr. Needham for his help in sending photographs and information.

* U.S.A: NEW YORK, Public Library, Drexel MSS 4180-85.

Some fragments in the bindings of these seventeenth-century part-books contain songs and instrumental pieces from the early sixteenth century, described by Stevens, Music and Poetry pp.426-28. They include:

1. Thus musyng in my mynd gretly mervelyng (Index 3724.5), MS 4183; fragments of the second part, and the whole of the third. As Stevens, Music and Poetry p.359.
- *2. ...thus hath mayd my payne (fragmentary; Index *3721.5), MS 4181; last stave of the bass part.

- *3. [Lo]kyng for her trew love/ long or that yt was day
(fragmentary; Index * 1944.5), MS 4185; treble part (?),
possibly the refrain of a song.

*U.S.A: PRINCETON UNIVERSITY, Scheide Library, MS 66.

s.x, with many later additions and annotations. The Blickling Homilies. For a description, see de Ricci, Census ii p.2323, and Census:Suppl. p.314, and the facsimile edition, Willard, Early Eng. MSS in Facs.10. On the recto of one of the flyleaves, f.x, added in a fifteenth-century hand (presumably while the manuscript was in the possession of the City of Lincoln, between c.1250 and 1609) is a love-lyric:

- * A Protestation of Loyalty (Index 3808.5),
Trust in my luf hy schall be trw...
pr. Robbins, Anglia 83.

U.S.A: SAN MARINO, CALIFORNIA, Huntington Library.

- *1. MS EL 1160.
c.1500. Legal treatises, in French: the 'Old Tenures', and Sir Thomas Littleton's 'New Tenures'. Paper, 9 x 6 ins (230 x 150mm), ff.132. For descriptions, see de Ricci, Census i p.140, and Greene, Early English Carols p.334. The many additions in sixteenth-century hands include:

The Banished Lover (Index 1333), f.11v,
As I walked the wood so wild...

- *2. MS EL.26.A.13.
s.xv; poems, mainly in English, by Chaucer, Lydgate, Hoccleve etc; with some extracts copied by John Shirley. For descriptions, see De Ricci, Census i pp.131-32, and Seymour, TEBS 4. Macracken, MLN 25, and Hanna, PBSA 74, identify in the manuscript two extracts from Troilus and Criseyde, expanding the Supplement entry which lists these as 'scraps';

Pandarus's 'whetstone' stanza (I 631-37), and the 'Canticus Troili' (I 400-406),

If no love ys o god what fele I so (Index 1422.1), f.iii. The manuscript has interesting connections. It contains the signatures of Averey Corneburgh, gentleman of the bedchamber to Edward IV and brother-in-law to Shirley, and of Elizabeth and Nicholas Gaynesford, connected with the household of Elizabeth Woodville and with documented book-owners of the late fifteenth century (see above p. 138).

3. *MS HM 136

s.xv^{med}. The Brut, to 1422, with some added poems in English and Latin; (for a brief description of the MS, see de Ricci, Census i p.56). Hanna, PBSA 74, notes an unindexed love-lyric:

* But now I se even then/ My mystrys dos me love, f.73r, not published.

4. *MS HM 28175

s.xv in. Book of Hours, Sarum use, with miniatures; produced in Northern France. Hanna, PBSA 74, notes two unindexed love-lyrics:

*1. O Cupid I graunt thy might is much, f.40v¹, not published.

*2. O that my toung covld but expres, f.22v, not published.

Notes.

1. Hanna, PBSA 74, erroneously gives f.41v. I am grateful to Miss M.L. Robertson, Curator of Manuscripts at the Huntington Library, for pointing this out and for supplying helpful information on the manuscript.

*U.S.A: YALE UNIVERSITY, Beinecke Library, MS 91; the 'Mellon Chansonnier'.

c.1480. A collection of 57 songs, for 3 or 4 voices, with words in French, Italian, English, Latin and Spanish. The manuscript is made of parchment, and its contents, lavishly decorated, were copied throughout by one scribe. Many of the composers whose works appear were connected with the Burgundian court, and Neapolitan connections

have been supposed for the collection. For descriptions, see Bukofzer, Yale Univ.Lib.Gazette 15, and MQ 28; Menner, MLQ 6; New Grove 17 p.682; De Ricci, Census.Suppl. p.390; NOHM iii pp 130-131; Perkins & Garey, Mellon Chansonnier. The English love-songs are as follows:

- *1. Alas alas alas is my chief song (Index 138), ff.77v-79r, with music for 3 voices, probably by Walter Frye.
- *2. Myn hertis lust sterre of my confort¹ (Index 2183), ff.65v-67r, with music for 3 voices, by Bedingham or Frye.
- *3. So ys emprentid in my remembrance² (Index 3165), ff.61v-63r, with music for 3 voices attributed to Walter Frye.

Notes.

1. The title of this song appears among the list of pieces taught to George Cely in Calais; see Hanham, RES n.s.8.
2. A French version of this song, Soyez aprantis, appears in several continental sources. See Kenney, JAMS 8.

* Unknown location: Index reference ¹Rosenbach Company Sales Catalogue 678¹.

A copy of Boethius, De Disciplina Scholarum, printed by Jacobus de Breda, Deventer 1496, formerly amongst the Heber Incunabula (see Sotheby's Sale Cat. 1834, iii no.810), and then in the possession of the Rosenbach company. The book was sold before the foundation of the Rosenbach Museum, and its present location is not known¹. Before and after the printed text are miscellaneous items copied in by one John Symson including Wofully Arayde (used by Dyce in his edition of Skelton's Works; Index 497), and a love lyric:

Sorrow at Parting (Index 2755.5), f.iii,

Petyously/ Constrayned am I...

pr. Birch, Athenaeum 1873 p.697 (not p.679, as given by Supplement).

Notes.

1. Information from the Assistant Director of the Museum, Walter C. Johnson.

Courtly love lyrics in printed sources, c.1477-1530.

1. Notary, The loue and complayntes bytwene Mars and Venus, 1500? (STC 5089, Duff 91), includes:
Chaucer, The Complaint of Venus (Index 3542; Ringler, PBSA 49 no.73),
 Ther nys soo hyghe comfort to my plesaunce...
2. Pynson, Dyuers balettys and dyties solacyous deuysed by Master Skelton Laureat, c.1520 (STC 22604); a collection of lyrics, some courtly, some decidedly anti-feminist. For descriptions, see Pollet, Skelton p.212, and Greene, Early English Carols p.341. The courtly lyrics are:
 *(i) An acrostic on the name of Katernyn (Index 1829.8),
 Knolege acquayntance resort fauour with grace...
 *(ii) The lover sends his heart to unfriendly fortune (Index 932.5),
 Go piteous hart rasyd with dedly wo...
3. Pynson, The book of fame, 1526? (STC 5088); a collection of Chaucer's poems, with a few others. Part II, a selection of Chaucer's minor poems (The House of Fame, The Parliament of Fowls etc.) includes the apocryphal Letter of Dido to Aeneas (Index 811.5),
 Folke discomforted bere hevy contenance...
 not reprinted.
4. The book of XX songes, 1530 (STC 22924); the bass part, and fragments of two other parts from a set of part-books of songs for 3 and 4 voices. See Flügel, Anglia 12; Imelmann, Shakespeare Jahrbuch 39; Nixon, BMQ 16; Stevens, Music and Poetry p.467; Greene, Early English Carols p.338. The following courtly love songs are included:

- (i) The resigned lover (Index 2015),
Love wyll I and leve so yt may...
 - *(ii) A love dialogue (Index 2182.6),
Mi hartys lust and all my pleasure...
 - *(iii) Love scorned (Index 1485.5),
In fayth ye be to blame...
 - (iv) A promise of faithful service (Index 2245.6),
My hart my mynde & my hole poure...
 - *(v) The injured lover (Index 3163.5),
So gret vnkyndnes wythoute diseruing...
5. Pr. Thomas Godfray, ed. Thynne, The Workes of Geffray Chaucer newly printed, 1532 (STC 5068); see facsimile: Skeat, Thynne & Chaucer; includes several apocryphal pieces:
- *(i) A letter: a goodly ballade to his lady Margaret (Index 2223),
f.ccxixiv,
Modur of norture best beloved of al...
 - *(ii) Lydgate? The flower of courtesy (Index 1487), f.cclxxxiii,
In feverier whan the frosty moone...
 - (iii) Chaucer, The complaint unto pity (Index 1756), f.cclxxxv,
Pitee that I haue sogthe so yere ago...
 - (iv) Chaucer, The complaint of Venus (Index 3542), f.ccclxx,
There nys so high comfort to my plesaunce...
 - *(v) To my sovereign lady (possibly the Virgin, Index 1309,
printed as part of Lydgate's Ballade in commendation
of Our Lady, Index 99), f.ccclxxxiiij,
I have non English convenient and digne...
 - (vi) Ballade with envoy to Alison (Index 2479), f.ccclxxxix,
O lewde book with thy foole rudenesse...

Appendix I: Courtly Love Lyrics

The texts which follow have been emended as little as possible. Punctuation, capitalization and layout are editorial, but the original manuscript spellings have been retained. Manuscript abbreviations are expanded, and the expansions underlined. Suggested readings for passages which are unclear in the manuscript, and illegible sections, are enclosed in square brackets.

1. Aberdeen University Library MS 223: f.172r, partly illegible.

I patrik larrons of spittall feylde, 1
That euer in armor [...]me scheild,
Persit with luffis inesperaunce,
And thwilit with continuance,
In luffis service my dais dois drif, 5
Abuiff all odyr wicht in lyif,
So is my fortē and my weyd
Abwif all odyr wucht in 3erd.
Sum men giffis pair felicite
Apone þis vardillis prosperite, 10
As for [.....]

2. CUL MS Kk.6.30: f.71v.

I se ryght well ther is but lytill trust 1
On to this world, ay so full of britihlle:
So longe I louyd till all lay in þe dowst;
For be my trowthe it wyll not the
Be erthely thyng that I can se. 5
Thus ham I rokyd hydyr & theder -
The devyll sett fyer on all to geder .

3. Durham University Library, MS Cosin V.II.13: ff.112v-113r.

Not long agoo purposyd I and thought 1
To breken of pleylnly frome lusty luffes daunce,
f.113r And haue set all thes louears at nought,

By cawse I founde noyn to my plesaunce
In whome I myght set my hole suffisaunce; 5
But Venus whit hir smylling semblaund straunge
Of all my purpose made a soden chaunge -

Whiche set in my sight oon so ravisshaunt,
Full of plesaunce and of goodlynesse,
That thorught myn hert she wase so presaut 10
She kyndlyd ayan my nould besynes,
And ferryd myn hert so with loueys duresse
That for to loue I kan not me absten,
Or to sterve and dye soddenly for peyn.

And of your good grace most it now procede 15
To cure myn hert with comforth & releue,
Wich trymbleth and qwakith for besy drede
For lake of pety nowe in this myscheffe,
Saff that it rennyth aye in my belove,
Yee will be pitous I ame so sure:
Ye can not hurt where pat ye may cure. 20

And I west and coude veryly conceive
That I stude in case to do you plesaunce,
Or pat your benignite wolde receve
Me to do your right lowly obseruaunce,
Ye coud neuer better myn hert avaunce, 25
Ne settyn itt oone a mery mery pynne -
Itt wer me leuer and all pis world to wyne.

Felt ye the peynne, or cowde ye it conceyve,
That persith myn hert with dedely constrynt,
To grace and mercy ye wolde me receve; 30
For by my trowth I can not make it qweynt,
Ne my language gayly florrish & paynt,
But shortly to say, I ame aye pat man
That you wyl serue as suffise and can.

11 kyndlyd] MS kyndly
14 for peyn] MS fo peyn

4. London BL Additional MS 60577: f.108r.

O splendent spectakyll moste comlyeste of hewe 1
Lyuynge in londe to my estymacyon;
O myrroure of mirrours soo trustye and trewe,
To you I wolde wryte a dewe salutacyon.
But hit passythe my wytt with out informacyon, 5
The grete ignoraunce in me may hit not attayne;
Yett Sapience saythe ther ys non excusacyoun,
There fore I be seche that ye not dysdayne,

Thoff my rude langage can make noun expressacyoun
In termys eloquent to youre affyaunce; 10
Whoo myght haue youre loue with out varyacyoun
Myght fully be satysfyede of worldys plesaunce.
God sende me kunnyngre strenghte & myght
To be with you euer when me lyste,
Some tyme be daye some tyme be nyght, 15
Bryngynge the plesurys to youre fyste.

5. London BL MS Harley 541: f.208r.

O desiderabulle dyamunt distinit with diuersificacion 1
Distate with deite and yndefynent dileccion,
The whych splendiferus clarite is deferens defeccion;
Youre lucyble uertuhesite replete with discrecion,
Youre mellifluus suauyte and aurealle decoracion, - 5
The famous facundite diserte yn alle dyffynycion,
Youre potent probyte ympassyble of deieccion,
And iuicant strenuyte without any decepcione,
Youre radicaunt vertues withoute tenebrosyte
Me to love & magnifye behovith sapient with speciosite. 10
To youre yndyssoluble cordyalle connexione
I me recomende with most perfite dyleccione,
Which is so radycant yn myne amerous affecione
That youre personalle absens & corperalle dissessione
May neuer reserate youre dulcyfluus desideracion 15
Fro my meret intencion of your absens & ioying of youre
presence.

6. London, PRO SP.1/246: f.28v (with music for one part).

Yf I had space 1
Now for to write,
My mortall paynes
For to endite,
Part of my woe 5
Who [shalle resyght?]
For why, for why?

I be specheles,
Remediles;
True loue it was 10
Did me oppres;
For the good love
Of my mistres
I die, I die.

6 MS badly faded.

7. Oxford, Bodleian MS Laud Misc.735: end flyleaf, recto.

Alas dere hart what ayleth the 1
To aske agayne that thou gaue me,
Syns thou knowest as well as I
Me lyst not for to se you dye?

Where ye complayne off a wounde, 5
That lyeth in me yt shall be founde;
Therefore cease you off yowr crye,
Nor yet dyspare: yow shall not dye.

Yf yow do well, well ys my hart;
Yf yow doewyll, yt ys my smart: 10
Yow knowe pat ryght as well as I,
Yt were my death to see yow dye.

And for exchange I undertake
That bargayne wyth yow for to make,
And yow knowe as well as I
Yt were my death to se you dye.

12 Yt were my death] MS ye my death

8. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Tanner 346: f.131v, partly illegible.

I loue ar I ffynde cause 1
Your seruant[.....]
I you ensure
So to endure
My lif days. 5

9. Dublin, Trinity College, MS E.6.1 (641): f.1r; the text is badly faded and partly illegible.

Frende of that ere I knew & I lowe [...] 1
I prey 3ow that 3e wyl be trewe for so þe [...]
Semly swet, 3e wityth wel how it is [...]
I am 3owre herdel & 3e myn I trow also;
[...]me wolde sore [...] 5
Haue founden ful fair, & for þat I haue [...]
3et i wys non lekith me as 3e sou [...]
Rodi as þe rose in hew & most plesaunt

10. Dublin Trinity College, MS E.5.11 (662): f.88r, a fragmentary leaf.

[.....] ance 1
[.....] age
[.....] laye contenance
[.....] age
[.....] nature y sett in 3ow ymage 5
[.....] prey grounde of gentylnes
[.....] my souerayn maystrys.

Appendix II : Other Lyrics and Fragments.

1. Durham University Library, MS Cosin V.ii.13: ff.2r and 115r.

(i) f.2r:

Whan euery woo hathe easse, 1
And euery wyshe his wyll,
And all on man please,
And the valley to clyme þe hyll —
Suche change of diuerse sorte 5
May tourne my payne to sporte.

(ii) ff.2r and 115r, copied twice:

Whan euery woo hath easse, 1
And euery wyshe his wyll,
Whan on thinge all men please,
And euery springe hys ffylle;
Whan valles clyme the hyll, 5
Than shall my thoughtfull harte
Be eased of his smartes.

2. London MS Arundel 26: f.32r.

It is well fownde a passyng grete damage, 1
Knowe and expert in euery regyon,
Thoughe a tale haue a fair visaige,
It may include fulle grete deception,
Hid under sugur, galle and fele poison, 5
With fresshe face of double intendement:
Yet yevethe noo credens with out avisement.

Let folkes alle beware of their langaige,
Kepe their tonges from ablocucyon;
To hynder or hurt by no maner outrage, 10
Preserue their lippys frome all detraction,
Frome champarty and contradiccyon,
Lest that ffraude were founde in their intent;
Ne yevethe noo credens with oute avisement.

Pryncis, pryncesses, of noble and highe parage, 15
 Whiche haue lordshipe and domynacyon,
 Voide hem aside that can flatir. and fage,
 Fro tungis. that haue a tarage of treson;
 Stoppithe your erys from their bitter sowne;
 Bethe circumspecte; not hasty, but prudent, 20
 And yevithe noo credence with oute advisement.

3. London BL MS Harley 2251; f.1r-v.

f.1r O Jhesu Crist, kepe oure lyppes from pollucioune; 1
 As thow suffredist deth for al mankynd,
 Vpon oure sowlis haue thow compassioune,
 And continually haue thow vs in mynd;
 The syker wey that we may fynd, 5
 As wistely as on the crosse thow didest deye,
 So that the fiend bryng vs nat behynd,
 'Thy crosse vs guyde', al we to guyder seye.

Whanne temptacions com, nyght or day,
 By the vertu of the crosse that is afore me 10
 The wikked spirites mote fle away,
 So that I may fele none aduersite;
 And to be put out of dout and ambiguite,
 By the vertu of the crosse vpon me take,
 Glorios Lord Jhesu therof I beseke the, 15
 That thow me it graunte for thi modir sake.

By the signe of the crosse that is so dere,
 Ful many a cristened man saved is.
 Euery goode creature shuld gladly leere
 The bitter passioun of Jhesu lord of blis: 20
 Wele avised than wold nat he do amys.
 Wherfor he that on the crosse hath affectioune
 Shuld right wele thynk vpon this:
 Than the rather he shal have remyssioune.

For euery cristen man wele may seye 25
 'He that castith hym to goode, he shal have grace;
 So that with his hert he wil obeye,
 Wepyng ful sore for his trespace,
 Syker he may be to se Goddis face,
 Whan in this world he hath made anend, 30
 For of triewe repentaunce he shal have space;
 By the vertv of the crosse that end God vs send.'

f.1v. Cristes crosse, thow now me spede;
 Thow art the crosse of al worthynes;
 With good vertues thow me spede 35
 The for to serve with humble buxumnes;
 And me thow kepe from al hevynes
 With al my hole hert in thi service,
 For than may I love without grete offence,
 Without chaunge, as thow canst wele devise. 40

Now Jhesu lord that formedist alle
 And suffredist on the crosse grete duresse,
 To thi blissed brothirhed thow vs calle,
 Whiche is cristen mennes sikyrnes;
 As we knowe the lord of sothfastnes 45
 Gyve vs alle suche remembraunce
 Thurgh thyn high and glorious goodenes
 Or that the swerde be whet of vengeaunce.

Variants from BL MS Addit.34360, f.59r-v.

- 1 O Jhesu Crist] [J]hesu Crist
 5 Line omitted.

4. London, BL MS Loan 29/333, fragment of a single folio, partly illegible.

... And youthe that yeldes newe ioyes, 1
 That wanton lust desiers,
 In age repentes the toyes,
 That retchles youthe requyres;
 All [...] I leaue 5
 To suche as follye fraynes,
 By plesures to [...],
 Till they doe feele the paynes.

And from vayne pleasures past
 I flytte, & fayne would knowe 10
 The happiest lyfe at last,
 Wherto I hope to goe;
 For wordes, nor wast reporte,
 Nor yet examples gon,
 Can bridell youthefull sporte, 15
 Till age come creepinge on.

The pleasant courtly [...],
 That I delighted in,
 My elder yeres now [....] ,
 Suche follyes to begyn; 20
 And all the fancyes [....]
 I found delight [....] ,
 I doe entend & [....],
 But vayne & [....] workes.

For I, by yeres worne, 25
 Am tought to knowe the skill
 What might and [....] forborne,
 In my younge rekieles will;
 By noe good wocrkes I flew
 From wyll to [....] agayne, 30
 In hope to set my [....]
 In suertie to remayne.

- 1 Previous stanza almost completely erased.
 17 The ends of the lines in this stanza are badly faded.

5. London, BL MS Sloane 1212: f.101r, fragment.

Off my chambyr he is and born in pallatye, 1
 I namyd tresgentyl Eger de Femenye.

And syth he lusty is and in armys desirous,
 Like it brd vnto 3oure worthynesse,
 Whos fame retornyth vnto Phebus house, 5

That in armis thei may this nyght them dresse.
I can no more but to 3ow sauour of gentillesse
I me commytte, for in 3oure obeysaunce
I shall euere be with oute disseueraunce.

Pallas the dowtyr of Jupiter 10
Goddesse and gouernour of Venus verre.

6. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 120: f.95r.

Aue Maria

Besyechyth you of moderly pete 1
Vppon youre sonne to hawe remebraunce,
My symplenace of [...] properte
With all my myght do to you plesance,
Serwyce & hert with outyne warriance, 5
Neuer depart on to my lywes end
Fro you the weche my ioy yt may amend.

For all the ioye and the felycyte
The weche hathe be reportyd in [s]crypture
To your fayrnece and excellent bewte 10
May not conpeyre sothly in fygure
To myn entent, for as in portrature
Youre godly chere and plesand contynance
Appallyth neuer in my remembrance.

Whan þat the [nорice] off deiestione 15
Comandyth me for to tak my rest,
It wyll not be, it is no questione,
Whan I remembre vpon you godlyest
Off womanhed, the fayrest & the best,
Youre godly seruyce neuer to forsake 20
for ioy, sorow, where þat I slepe or wake.

Aue Maria.

- 6 MS fro you in any wyse deleted.
19 MS Off womanhed where stedfast as doth rest deleted.

7. Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Lat.misc.c.66: f.127v.

Quene Phebus passyd was þe ram,
And in myd April into þe bulle cam,
And Saturnus with ys frosty face
In Iubiter had takyn hym a place.

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